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**Building exchanges
(1895-1953)**
International Exhibitions and Swedish resonances
in Italian Modern Architecture

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Abstract

(English Version)

This work is part of a wider research on the relationship between Italy and the Nordic countries, headed by prof. Antonello Alici at the Università Politecnica delle Marche. The work is organized chronologically around the analysis of both Italian articles on Nordic countries and original archival materials, tracing back the mutual relationships with the Italian audience, focusing on artistic and architectural travels and exhibitions. In particular, the research focuses on the events related to the nation –Sweden– which first had the most relevant introduction into Italian Architecture since the first Venetian Biennale in 1895. The first chapter investigates the genesis of this relationship before the beginning of the First World War, thanks to the contribution of figures as Vittorio Pica and Ferdinand Boberg.

The second chapter deals with the consequences occurred after the First World War, with the emigration of the futurist Arturo Ciacelli (1883-1966), the engraver Guido Balsamo Stella (1882-1941) and the travels of the architect Giuseppe Broglio (1874-1956).

The third chapter concentrates on the two Fascist decades, focusing on the role of Institutions like the *Triennale* in Milan and the *Swedish Institute of Classical Studies* in Rome.

Finally, the last chapter examines the Post-war period, when Italian admiration for Swedish design and architecture found interesting resonances both in the INA Casa plans as well as in some exhibition projects, in the work of Italian architects like Piero Bottoni (1903-1973), Piero Maria Lugli (1923-2008), Gio Ponti and Franco Albini (1905-1977).

The research highlights how the new Institutions, on the heels of the ones founded in the previous decades, like the Swedish Institute (SI) and the Italian Institute of Culture in Stockholm (IIC) –both still active nowadays– had a fundamental role in the International propaganda.

Finally, the thesis discusses how this complex combination of personal experiences, art and architectural magazines and official institutions formed the real background for an historian like Bruno Zevi, who was the first to insert three Nordic masters in his seminal pamphlet *Verso un'architettura organica*, and Leonardo Benevolo, who in 1960 recognized the role of 'peripheral' areas like Sweden and Finland, in his *History of Modern Architecture*.

Abstract

(Versione Italiana)

Questo lavoro fa parte di una più ampia ricerca sul rapporto tra l'Italia e i Paesi Nordici, guidata dal prof. Antonello Alici presso l'Università Politecnica delle Marche. Il lavoro è stato organizzato cronologicamente, attorno all'analisi di articoli italiani sul tema paesi nordici e di materiali d'archivio originali, tracciandone i rapporti reciproci con il pubblico italiano, e concentrandosi su viaggi ed esposizioni architettoniche e artistiche.

In particolare, la ricerca si concentra sugli eventi legati alla nazione –la Svezia– che per prima ha avuto l'introduzione più rilevante nel panorama italiano, a partire dalla prima Biennale veneziana nel 1895.

Il primo capitolo indaga la genesi di questo rapporto prima dell'inizio della prima guerra mondiale, grazie al contributo di persone come Vittorio Pica e Ferdinand Boberg.

Il secondo capitolo affronta le conseguenze della prima guerra mondiale, con l'emigrazione del futurista Arturo Ciacelli (1883-1966), l'incisore Guido Balsamo Stella (1882-1941) ed i viaggi dell'architetto Giuseppe Broglio (1874-1956).

Il terzo capitolo si concentra sui due decenni fascisti, concentrandosi sul ruolo di istituzioni come la Triennale di Milano e l'Istituto Svedese di Studi Classici a Roma.

Infine, l'ultimo capitolo esamina il periodo del dopoguerra, quando l'ammirazione italiana per il design e l'architettura svedese ha trovato risonanze interessanti sia nei piani INA Casa che in alcuni progetti espositivi, nel lavoro di architetti quali Piero Bottoni (1903-1973), Piero Maria Lugli (1923-2008), Gio Ponti e Franco Albini (1905-1977).

La ricerca ha evidenziato come le nuove Istituzioni, sulla scia di quelle fondate nei decenni precedenti, come l'Istituto Svedese (SI) e l'Istituto Italiano di Cultura di Stoccolma (IIC) –oggi ancora attive– abbiano avuto un ruolo fondamentale nel propaganda internazionale.

Infine, la ricerca vuole mettere in luce come questa complessa combinazione di esperienze personali, riviste (di arte e architettura) e istituzioni costituisca il vero sfondo per storici come Bruno Zevi (che fu il primo a inserire tre maestri nordici nel suo pamphlet *Verso un'architettura organica*) e Leonardo Benevolo, che nel 1960 riconobbe il ruolo di aree 'periferiche' come la Svezia e la Finlandia, nella sua *Storia dell'architettura moderna*.

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INTRODUCTION

This work is part of a wider research on the relationship between Italy and the Nordic countries, headed by prof. Antonello Alici in collaboration with Giovanni Bellucci at the Università Politecnica delle Marche, started in the past years.

The work had been organized in chronological order, around the analysis of both Italian articles on Nordic countries and archival materials, tracing back the mutual relationships and events, connected to the Italian audience.

The recollection was carried on in Italian archives and in the Swedish ones, during a period abroad at the Italian Institute of Culture in Stockholm.¹

While the foreign archives were mostly located in the Swedish capital or in its surroundings, Italian materials, due to the plurality of Italian culture, were more widely spread throughout the peninsula.

The main purpose of this work is to underline the role of Italy in the international scene, since the beginning of the Modern Movement, as well as to highlight new aspects of modern Italian architecture, in relationship to foreign influences.

The importance of Italian architecture is focused worldwide on the deep connection with its long history, but it is equally relevant to analyze the role of other influences in order to renew the conservative approach of Italian schools of Architecture and Engineering since the beginning of the twentieth-century.

After the *Grand Tour* tradition, when generations of architects traveled to Italy in order to study classical principles, in the twentieth-century Italian architects began to understand the great challenge offered by modernity.²

The static culture characterizing Italian education had to be unhinged by the new generations, in search of a ‘modern way of living’ and not only interested in new ‘styles’ or technologies. Suddenly the right place to be was not Italy anymore, but the rest of Europe, starting a new tradition of the ‘Trip to the North.’

Historical cultural relationships of Italy were limited to some close territories: especially France and Germany, but also Spain and a few Baltic countries.

From the second half of the nineteenth century, thanks to modern transportation –like trains and steamboats– but also to the first ‘media’ revolution (birth of lithography, chromolithography and photography), the Italian audience and its

¹ The complete list of the visited archives is included at the end of the bibliography.

² For a deepening of the state of art of the *Grand Tour* tradition in Italy see par. 1.2.

national debate started to be more and more influenced by culturally distant countries like England and the *Norden* (Denmark, Sweden, Finland and Norway).³

In particular, the research focuses on the events related to the nation, which – first among all the Nordic countries – had the most relevant introduction into Italian Architecture (since 1902): Sweden, as proved by the long list of Italian publications included in the bibliography.⁴ Before this study, the main persuasion was that, between 1895 and the 1930s, Nordic countries did not represent anything more than an ‘exotic distraction’ for Italian architects and only after 1945 Sweden became an evident reference model. On the contrary, this work highlights how, since the First International Exhibition of Decorative Arts in Turin in 1902, some Italian artists were interested in either Swedish Architecture, Planning practice and Applied Arts in order to reform not only the Italian production but also its arrears educational system.

But when –and most important how– did these exchanges begin with Nordic countries, especially Sweden? The research contributes to modern historiography with the idea, already expressed by Jean Louis Cohen in his *The future of Architecture since 1889*, that fundamental ‘vectors’ of modernity were International Exhibitions and printed magazines,⁵ especially in a country like Italy where architects were not used to traveling abroad.

The research is divided into four main parts, organized in temporal areas, introduced by a ‘Prologue’, conceived as a large analysis of the state of art on the relationships between Italy and Nordic countries in modern historiography.

Each chapter is also introduced by an overview of the main feature of the historical context in the two countries.

³ From a geographical point of view the term ‘Scandinavia’ includes the peninsula of Nordic Europe which is surrounded by the Sea of Norway, the Nordic Sea, the Baltic Sea and the Botnia Gulf, delimitating the countries of Norway and Sweden. From a historical-political perspective, the term also includes Denmark. On the other hand, the term ‘*Norden*’ or, more specifically, ‘Nordic countries’, also includes the territories of Finland and Island.

⁴ The list is included in a section of the bibliography titled ‘Italian Articles on Nordic countries’ architecture (1897-1976)’. In **Appendix ‘Statistics’** is also included a brief statistic analysis of these articles, which shows the increasing interest of the Italian audience towards Nordic countries’ Architecture, and the prominent role of Sweden, compared to the other Nordic states.

⁵ Jean-Louis Cohen, *The future if Architecture since 1889* (London: Phaidon, 2012), 11; also in Jean Louis Cohen, “Preface,” in H el ene Janniere, *Politiques  ditoriales et Architecture “moderne”. L’emergence de Nouvelles revues en France et en Italie (1923-1939)* (Paris: Editions Arguments, 2002), I.

The first chapter investigates the genesis of this relationship between Italy and Nordic countries in the two decades before the beginning of the First World War, thanks to the work of enlightened journalists and advanced magazines' directors.

In particular, this chapter analyzes the role of Ferdinand Boberg (1860-1946) and Vittorio Pica (1864-1930) in relation to Italy at the Venice Biennale before 1915.

The second chapter deals with the consequences occurred after the beginning of the First World War, when Sweden declared its neutrality and it became appealing for Italian emigrants and artists against the conflict.

The research highlights the influence, on their contemporary *entourages*, of minor Italian protagonists, who traveled or lived in Sweden for a long period and who were in charge of Italian exhibitions in Sweden, like the futurist Arturo Ciacelli (1883-1966), who opened the first avant-garde art gallery in Stockholm;⁶ the engraver Guido Balsamo Stella (1882-1941), organizer of the 1920 *Italienska Utställningen*;⁷ and the architect Giuseppe Broglio (1874-1956), the 1910s director of the Milan *Institute for Popular Housing* (ICP) invited to the Göteborg Jubilee Exhibition.⁸

On these three less-known artists, some basic information was available, and none of their Swedish permanence had been analyzed more in depth, especially in relation to modern architecture. These early experiences, although born from personal interests (Balsamo Stella and Ciacelli both had married two Swedish artists before moving to the north), had relevant implications in both countries, and it constituted the origin of the following experiences, for example the

⁶ The information on Ciacelli's work in Sweden is not very much. On the artist see: Enrico Crispolti (ed.), *Arturo Ciacelli: 1883-1966* (Bergamo: Galleria d'arte Bergamo, 1991). During the research the unpublished manuscript at the Kungliga Library, by Margit Fant on Ciacelli in Sweden was very useful.

⁷ A profile of Guido Balsamo Stella was included in: Rossana Bossaglia (ed.), *L'ISIA a Monza. Una scuola d'arte europea* (Monza: Associazione Pro Monza, 1986); Irene de Guttry, Maria Paola Maino, Mario Quesada, *Le arti minori d'autore in Italia dal 1900 al 1930* (Milan: Laterza, 1985). For the Exhibition in Stockholm, the published material was in: Michelangelo Sabatino, *Orgoglio della modestia* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2011): 103–104; Åsa Rausing-Roos, *Textilkonstnären Maja Sjöstrom. Ett skånskt-romerskt konstnärsliv* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 2012), 172–185. Finally, some biographical elements were available in the *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* and in the *Svenskt Konstnärslexicon*.

⁸ On Broglio's work in Milan: Giovanni Broglio, *L'istituto per le case popolari di Milano e la sua opera tecnica dal 1909 al 1929* (Milan: Bertieri, 1929); Giovanni Broglio, *La casa minima e l'architettura razionale* (Milan: la grafica sociale, 1931); Raffaele Pugliese (ed.), *La casa popolare in Lombardia 1903-2003* (Milan: Unicopli, 2005).

constant presence of a Swedish section in almost every Italian ‘Triennale’ since 1923.⁹

The third chapter concentrates on the two Fascist decades and on the effects of Italian propaganda and its foreign policies.¹⁰

The study analyzes the complex relationships between Italian and Swedish artists and institutions, between Milan and Rome. On one side the chapter analyzes the role of the Milan Exhibitions called ‘Triennale’ and how these events helped in the debate between Nordic Classicism and early Functionalism, especially with the Italian Group ‘Novecento’, represented by the critic Margherita Sarfatti (1880-1961),¹¹ the architect Giovanni Muzio (1893-11982) and the polyhedral figure of Gio Ponti (1891-1979), largely studied in recent historiography, but not in relationship to their Swedish interests.¹²

On the other hand, the 1930s were characterised by the construction (1938-40) of the Swedish Institute of Classical studies in Rome, by Ivar Tengbom (1878-1968), whose building was celebrated in 2011 with a dedicated publication.¹³

Finally, the last chapter examines the Post-war period, when Italian admiration for Swedish design and architecture found interesting resonances both in the

⁹ The Exhibition was initially called ‘Biennale’ and was located in Monza, until 1932. Then from 1933 the organization moved to Milan.

¹⁰ On the political analysis of the Italian institute see: Francesca Cavarocchi, *Avanguardie dello spirito: il fascismo e la propaganda culturale all'estero* (Rome: Carocci, 2010).

¹¹ The bibliography on Margherita Sarfatti is particularly large, but on the Nordic countries the only related short essay was: Sileno Salvagnini, “Margherita Sarfatti, critico irriducibile. Dalla Biennale del 1928 alle mostre in Scandinavia del 1931-32,” *Donazione Eugenio Da Venezia 4* (Venice: Fondazione Scientifica Querini Stampalia, 1998): 49–55.

¹² On Giovanni Muzio: Giovanni Muzio, *Giovanni Muzio* (Ginevra: Casa Editrice "Maestri dell'architettura", 1931); Gianni Mezzanotte, *Giovanni Muzio: architetture francescane* (Milan: Eris, stampa 1974); Giuseppe Gambirasio e Bruno Minardi (eds.), *Giovanni Muzio: opere e scritti* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 1982); *Muzio. L'architettura di Giovanni Muzio - Exhibition catalogue 20 December 1994 to 19 February 1995* (Milan: Abitare Segesta, 1994). On Gio Ponti the historiography is far larger, and on the most important we can list: Gian Carlo Bojani, Claudio Piersanti, Rita Rava (eds.), *Gio Ponti: ceramica e architettura* (Florence: Centro Di, 1987); Lisa Licitra Ponti, *Gio Ponti: l'opera* (Milan: Leonardo, 1990); Ugo La Pietra, *Gio Ponti* (Milan: Rizzoli, 1995); Loris Manna, *Gio Ponti: le maioliche* (Milano: Biblioteca di Via Senato, 2000); Lucia Miodini, *Gio Ponti: gli anni Trenta* (Milano: Electa, 2001); Fulvio Irace, *Gio Ponti* (Milan: 24 ore cultura, 2011); Luca Molinari e Cecilia Rostagni, *Gio Ponti e il Corriere della Sera, 1930-1963* (Milan: Fondazione Corriere della Sera, 2011); Livia Frescobaldi Malenchini, Oliva Rucellai, *Gio Ponti e la Richard-Ginori: una corrispondenza inedita* (Mantova: Corraini, 2015).

¹³ Börje Magnusson and Jan Ahlklö (ed.), *Svenska Institutet i Rom* (Stockholm: L'Istituto Svedese di studi classici a Roma, 2010); Åsa Rausing-Roos, *Textilkonstnären Maja Sjöström*, 325–334.

INA Casa plans as well as in some exhibition projects, in the work of architects like Piero Bottoni (1903-1973), Piero Maria Lugli (1923-2008), Gio Ponti and Franco Albini (1905-1977).

In particular, Piero Bottoni was invited in 1948 to Sweden by the *Svenska Sjödjöföreningen* and by the *Swedish Institute*, as head of the Italian Triennale and member of the Italian CIAM group, while Ponti and Albini organized the 1953 Italian Exhibition in Stockholm, today not very known in Italy.¹⁴

The research highlights how the new Institutions, on the heels of the ones founded in the previous decades –like the Swedish Institute (SI) and the Italian Institute of Culture in Stockholm (IIC) both still active nowadays– had a fundamental role in the International propaganda.¹⁵

The research ends with the construction of a second Institute by Gio Ponti, the first built in a Nordic Country, which had been analyzed by Fulvio Irace for an exhibition in Rome in 2007.¹⁶

Ponti's building was in fact not only as a starting point for further cooperations, but also a moment of arrival after half a century of meaningful exchanges, especially through exhibitions organized between Italy and Sweden.

This combination of personal experiences, printed magazines and official institutions constituted the real background for modern historians, like Bruno Zevi, who was the first to insert three Nordic masters in his seminal pamphlet *Verso un'architettura organica*, and Leonardo Benevolo, who in 1960 recognized the role of 'peripheral' areas like Sweden and Finland, in his *History of Modern Architecture*.

In this way, the research wants to contribute to the construction of a more inclusive and 'worldwide' history,¹⁷ where Italy, even if it was not inserted among the leaders of the Modern Movement, had been able to exploit its openness to other countries in order to renew its tradition as well as to contribute to architectural historiography.

¹⁴ Some images of the exhibitions are included in: Federico Bucci and Augusto Rossati, *I musei e gli allestimenti di Franco Albini* (Milan: Electa, 2005), 160–165.

¹⁵ The only available study on the Swedish Institute was: Per-Axel Hildeman, *Upplysningsvis Svenska Institutet 1945-1995* (Värnamo: Swedish Institute, 1995). On the other hand, the latest studies by Petra Čeferin, had largely shown the role of the Finnish Museum for the propaganda of national architecture on an international scale. Petra Čeferin, *Constructing a legend. The International Exhibitions of Finnish Architecture 1957-1967* (Helsinki: SKS, 2003).

¹⁶ Fulvio Irace, *Gio Ponti a Stoccolma: l'Istituto italiano di cultura C. M. Lerici* (Milan: Electa, 2007).

¹⁷ Jean-Louis Cohen, *The future of architecture*, 15.

PART I PROLOGUE

1.1 The role of Nordic countries in modern historiography

If we follow the early historiography of the Modern Movement, starting with the panorama drawn by Nikolaus Pevsner (1902-1983) in 1936,¹⁸ Walter Behrendt (1884-1945)¹⁹ in 1937 and Sigfried Giedion (1888-1968) in 1941,²⁰ we can read how the social and economic changes that took place in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, had led to the emergence of different nations in the field of Architecture: first of all Great Britain, with the seminal Arts and Crafts movement, then outdated by France –thanks to Le Corbusier– and Germany, with masters like Walter Gropius and Mies van der Rohe. At the same time –according to these first histories– the Mediterranean countries (Italy but also Greece, Spain and Turkey), since the XVII century considered the ‘cradle of civilization’ and indispensable travel destinations for a valuable education, were progressively losing their prominent position within the official historiography. This exclusion –of course– did not mean that the Mediterranean countries stopped being a valid source of inspiration for modern architects,²¹ but that, in a moment of affirmation of the Modern Movement –which could be described following the progressive fortune of the CIAM Congresses²²– the official

¹⁸ Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of the modern movement from William Morris to Walter Gropius* (London: Faber & Faber, 1936).

¹⁹ Walter Curt Behrendt, *Modern Building: its Nature, problems and Forms* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1937). Truly, in this book few notes are included on only two Swedish architecture: on the Stockholm City Hall by Ragnar Östberg as fine example of National Romanticism and suggesting the comparison with the Venitian Ducal Palace (page 31–33) and a picture of the Silo in Kvarholmen near Stockholm by Sven Wallander dated 1927 (page 206).

²⁰ Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and architecture. The growth of a new tradition* (Cambridge/ London: The Harvard University Press/ H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1941).

²¹ See for example the famous *Voyage d’Orient* by Le Corbusier. For a wide look on the relationships between International masters and the Mediterranean, see: Jean-François Lejeune e Michelangelo Sabatino, *Modern architecture and the Mediterranean: vernacular dialogues and contested identities* (New York: Routledge, 2010); Andrea Maglio, Fabio Mangone, Antonio Pizzi (eds.), *Immaginare il Mediterraneo. Architettura, Arti, Fotografia* (Naples: Artstudiopaparo, 2017). See also par. 1.2. on the topic.

²² The notion of the Modern Movement as an ‘historical fiction’ perpetuated by critics like Pevsner and Giedion, was first pointed out by Giorgio Ciucci, “The Invention of the Modern

historians considered more important to draw an evolutionist and unique line of development of Modern Architecture. Moreover, influenced by international politics, these critics established precise directions of 'spreading' of modernity: from England to Germany (Pevsner) or from Europe to America (Behrendt and Giedion),²³ leaving out everything that was happening in other 'peripheral' areas of Europe, like the Mediterranean countries and the *Norden*, not to mention in the rest of the planet.

However, after the Second World War architectural critics like Bruno Zevi (1918-2000) started a new phase of modern historiography, trying to widen the different declinations which could be included inside the so-called 'Modern Movement'.

In 1945, in his seminal *Verso un'architettura organica*,²⁴ was the Italian Zevi to insert among the masters of the new generation, several Nordic names: Erik Gunnar Asplund (1885-1940), Alvar Aalto (1888-1976) and Sven Markelius (1889-1972).

Zevi anticipated several years Giedion's 1949 new edition of *Space, Time and Architecture*, which included a new chapter dedicated to the Nordic master Alvar Aalto, following his arrival in the United States in 1945.²⁵

Movement," *Oppositions* 24 (1981): 69–91; also deepened throughout the work by Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanisme, 1928-1960* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2000).

²³ Their work was of course influenced by their personal history: Pevsner in 1936 was in fact a Jewish German exile in England, while Behrendt, also of German origin, emigrated to the US in 1934, followed by Giedion in 1938 in order to teach at Harvard University. For their biography and their role in the Modern historiography of Architecture see: Maria Luisa Scalvini, Maria Grazia Sandri, *L'immagine storiografica dell'architettura contemporanea da Platzen a Giedion* (Rome: Officina, 1984); Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani, "Sigfried Giedion: un progetto storico," *Rassegna: problemi di architettura dell'ambiente* 25 (1986); Sokratis Georgiadis, *Sigfried Giedion: an intellectual biography* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh university press, 1993); Miles David Samson, "Lewis Mumford, Walter Curt Behrendt, and the Modern Movement in Germany," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 55, no. 2 (May 1996): 126–139; Panayotis Tournikiotis, *The Historiography of modern Architecture* (Cambridge/London: MIT Press, 1999); Susie Harris, *Nikolaus Pevsner: the life* (London: Chatto & Windus, 2011).

²⁴ Bruno Zevi, "La resistenza dell'architettura moderna europea e i suoi sviluppi," in *Verso un'architettura organica: saggio sullo sviluppo del pensiero architettonico negli ultimi cinquant'anni* (Turin: Einaudi, 1945): 52–61. Few years later Bruno Zevi also published the first Italian monography on Erik Gunnar Asplund: *E. Gunnar Asplund* (Milan: Il Balcone, 1948). For a short biography of Bruno Zevi see: Roberto Dulio, *Introduzione a Bruno Zevi* (Bari: Laterza, 2008).

²⁵ The question had been analysed, from a critical point of view in: Panayotis Tournikiotis, "Mapping History: Greece and Finland in the historiography of modern architecture," in Tom Simons (ed.), *What is going on in Moscow? – Historiography. Quo vadis Architectura? 4* (Espoo: Department of Architecture, Aalto University, 2012), 178–203. For a deepening of the

Even if separated only by few years, these two interpretations were quite opposite: for Giedion, Aalto was considered an evolution of the ‘spirit of age’ from the ‘rational-functional’ to the ‘irrational-organic’ already latent in the functionalist conception.²⁶

On the other hand for Zevi, Giedion’s idea of an individualistic assertion only related to the work painters like Joan Mirò and Paul Klee, was far too simplistic to explain the new needs of the Post-war society.²⁷

In his idea, the young generation –represented by Asplund,²⁸ Markelius and Alvar Aalto– was deeply changing the new expressions of modernity, without denying the moral and ethical bases of the first generation.

In particular, in his 1945 pamphlet, he tried to answer one simple question: what has been brought to architecture that the previous generation did not bring?

His answer was far from any form of ‘irrationalism’ as expressed by Giedion, but, otherwise, in a ‘higher modesty’ as well as a further attention to small objects and to the ‘human factor’: ‘*not great theories about how men should live, but a deep, solid love for real problems.*’²⁹

Eventually, between 1945 until his 1950 publication *Storia dell’architettura moderna*, Zevi described in several occasions the 1930 Stockholm exhibition as the earlier turning point for European architecture, towards a more mature approach to modernity, defined by what he called an ‘organic tendency’.³⁰

relationships between Aalto and America see: Stanford Anderson, Gail Fenske, and David Fixler, *Aalto and America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012).

²⁶ Sigfried Giedion, *Space, Time and Architecture*, 4th ed. (Cambridge: The Harvard University Press, 1949): 560.

²⁷ It is the same Bruno Zevi to express his judgement on Giedion’s interest: ‘If later, the Swiss historian will be interested in Aalto, it is not so much because he is the clearest example of the feelings of the second generation of modern architects, but because he also contributes to the construction technique and to a spatial vision partially defined in terms of the first rationalism.’ Bruno Zevi, *E. Gunnar Asplund*, 38.

²⁸ By birth he was a little younger than the other two, and even older than Le Corbusier (born in 1887) and Mies Van der Rohe (1886). In Zevi’s words Asplund represented the new generation of Modern Architecture with ‘an expression of the word “generation” that transcended any date limit,’ *Ibid.*, 38.

²⁹ Bruno Zevi, *Verso un’architettura organica*, 56.

³⁰ He repeatedly returned on the topic in his early writings: *Verso un’architettura organica*, 58-59; *E. Gunnar Asplund*, 58-60; “Invito alla storia dell’architettura moderna,” *Metron* 30 (December 1948): 7-13; “Riconoscimento dell’architettura post-razionalista,” *Metron* 31-32 (January 1949): 18-27; *History of Modern Architecture* (Turin: Einaudi, 1950): 223-242. In his *History*,

In 1960, Leonardo Benevolo made another step further in the inclusion of the Nordic Countries in modern historiography, combining Giedion's positivistic vision of contemporary architecture and Zevi's considerations on the 1930s Exhibition:

*'The Modern Movement is welcomed in the Scandinavian countries in 1930 without encountering strong obstacles as elsewhere; right here, with a strong advance from the rest of Europe, a revision and enlargement of the international repertory is accomplished, including part of the values inherited from tradition. [...] In order to explain the replacement of the illustrious models of the past with the functionalist models, we must refer to the consolidation of socialist democracy and the rapid leveling of the living conditions.'*³¹

For the first time, Benevolo included in a western history of Architecture, the general social-economical and political conditions of that country, as fundamental questions to understand the differences between modern architecture's declinations.

He was also the first to see in Swedish neoclassical tradition an important precedence, which had helped in the constitution of a modern attitude.

After Zevi's and Benevolo's historiographical attention on Nordic architects, the 'fame' of Alvar Aalto was finally celebrated in 1965 with a retrospective at Palazzo Strozzi (Florence) edited by the young Italian architect Leonardo Mosso.³²

Between the 1960s and 1970s, Italy produced most of the publications on Nordic masters, celebrating their version of a more 'human' functionalism, as

Aalto was presented as the European response to the crisis of the Modern Movement, as expressed in the United States by Frank Lloyd Wright.

³¹ Leonardo Benevolo, *Storia dell'Architettura moderna* (Bari: Laterza, 1960), 615. He also included in his *Modern History of Architecture* two chapters on Scandinavian (Sweden, Finland and Denmark) architecture and planning practice (615–625; 756–767). Differently from Zevi, Benevolo included the figure of Alvar Aalto only in two paragraphs dedicated more in general to Finland.

³² Leonardo Mosso, *L'opera di Alvar Aalto* (Milan: Edizioni di comunità, 1965). The exhibition was held between 14 November 1965 and 9 January 1966.

remembered by the works of Michele Capobianco, Stefano Ray, Sergio Poretti³³ and the generous amount of Italian articles on the topic.³⁴

In a certain way, both Zevi's and Benevolo's opinions were partially re-affirmed by the critic Manfredo Tafuri (1935-1994) –who had studied under Zevi's supervision– who in his 1973 polemic pamphlet *Progetto e Utopia* also pointed out that the crisis in modernism had become evident around 1930, but this time in the German Siemensstadt (1929-1931) by Hans Scharoun,³⁵ in which the contradictions between the 'promises of architectural reform and the development of the capitalist metropolis could no longer be concealed'.³⁶

However, Tafuri was not interested in a what Zevi highlighted as a 'Nordic sense of humanity', but instead he pointed out the profound economic and political changes that reached Europe after the 1929 American Stock Market crash, also questioning, as affirmed by Benevolo, the Swedish Socialist-Democratic model as the best response to the crisis.

The later 'histories', like the one first published by Kenneth Frampton (1930-) in 1980, were strictly related to this new attitude, which aimed to revise the severe judgments towards the different manifestations of modern architecture and the unshakeable faith in the 'democratic values' expressed by the Modern Movement, linking each architect to his background and to his own national experiences.³⁷

³³ Michele Capobianco, *Asplund e il suo tempo* (Naples: Tip. Licenziato, 1959); Leonardo Mosso, Göran Schildt, Teivas Oksala, *Alvar Aalto* (Jyväskylä: Gummerus, 1964); Stefano Ray, *L'architettura moderna nei paesi scandinavi* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1965); Stefano Ray, *Il contributo svedese all'architettura contemporanea e l'opera di Sven Markelius* (Rome: Officina edizioni, 1969); Stefano Ray, *Ralph Erskine. Architetture di bricolage e partecipazione* (Bari: Dedalo, 1978); Carlo Cresti, *Alvar Aalto* (Florence: Sansoni, 1975); Carmine Benincasa, *Il labirinto dei Sabba. L'Architettura di Reima Pietila* (Bari: Dedalo, 1979); Sergio Poretti, *Edilizia e architettura in Svezia e Danimarca* (Rome: Kappa, 1979).

³⁴ The complete list of Italian articles on Nordic countries is included in the bibliography.

³⁵ Manfredo Tafuri, *Progetto e Utopia: Architettura e sviluppo capitalistico* (Bari: Laterza, 1973), 107.

³⁶ Helena Mattsson, Sven-Olov Wallenstein (eds.), *Swedish modernism: architecture, consumption and the welfare state* (London: Black dog, 2010), 9. It is interesting to notice that the introduction to this book, which wanted to question most of the 'historical truth' about Swedish Modernism, starts from this Tafuri' quote by *Progetto e Utopia*.

³⁷ Kenneth Frampton, *Modern Architecture: a critical history* (New York/Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1980), IX–XII.

In his concise history, Frampton dedicated every chapter to a significant modern architect, including Alvar Aalto, presenting his figure as deeply rooted not only in Asplund's Classicism but also in the Nordic Peasant tradition.³⁸

Recalling Giedion's 1954 definition of a 'New Regionalism',³⁹ expanded in 1979 in the phenomenological idea of *Genius-loci* by the Norwegian Christian Norberg-Schulz (1926-2000),⁴⁰ in 1983 Frampton brought up to the international panorama the concept of 'Critical Regionalism', which aimed to 'mediate the impact of universal civilization with elements derived indirectly from the peculiarities of a particular place',⁴¹ explaining the term using only two architectural examples, both connected to the work of Nordic masters: the Bagsvaerd Church (1973-1976) by the Danish Jørn Utzon (1918-2008) and the Säynätsalo Town Hall (1952) by Alvar Aalto.⁴²

In Frampton's idea, the Nordic 'sense of place', the use of natural as well as artificial materials and a substantial continuity between the Swedish Arts and Crafts tradition and the *Svensk Funktionalism*, made the Nordic masters like Asplund and Aalto particularly significant for the world of today, in the struggle between globalization and local traditions.

Moreover, Frampton's ideas also deepened the vernacular and Mediterranean roots of the most important Nordic names⁴³ (already world-wide known), and

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 223.

³⁹ 'All contemporary contemporary architecture [...] share the new space conception, but each connects in some way with the region in which he operates.' Sigfried Giedion, "The new regionalism," in *Architecture You and Me: diary of a development* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958): 138–151.

⁴⁰ Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Genius loci: paesaggio, ambiente, architettura* (Milan: Electa, 1979); Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Scandinavia. Architettura gli ultimi vent'anni* (Milan: Electa, 1990). To this list, we can also add the 1996 book *Nightlands: Nordic Buildings* (Cambridge, Mass: The MIT Press, 1996), in which Architecture is presented as a 'manifestation of the environment' in which it is placed, tracing the major differences between Nordic and southern traditions of construction.

⁴¹ Kenneth Frampton, "Towards a Critical Regionalism: Six Points for an Architecture of Resistance," in Hal Foster (ed.), *The Anti-Aesthetic: Essays on Postmodern Culture* (Seattle, Washington: Bay Press, 1983), 21.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 22-23; 28-29. the Danish Jørn Utzon was introduced by Sigfried Giedion with the help of an Italian publishing house: *Jørn Utzon and the third generation: three works by Jørn Utzon: Sydney Opera House, Silkeborg Museum, Zurich Theatre* (Milan: Edizioni di Comunità, 1965).

⁴³ The figure of Aalto, Asplund and Markelius, especially concerning their classical and "regional" education, had a particular fortune in these last decades. Only to mention the most important titles we can list: Stuart Wrede, *The Architecture of Erik Gunnar Asplund* (Cambridge/ London: MIT Press, 1980); Paolo Angeletti, *Alvar Aalto 1898-1976* (Rome: Leader Arte, 1983); Stefano

the role of the previous generations, like Ellen Key's (1849-1926) seminal writings⁴⁴ and the work of architects like Ragnar Östberg (1866-1945) and Ferdinand Boberg (1860-1946).⁴⁵

At the same time, historians focused on the poetic of other less-known names of Aalto's generation and even younger, like Hakon Ahlberg (1891-1984), Sigurd Lewerentz (1885-1975), Erik Bryggman (1891-1955), Kay Fisker (1893-1965), Uno Åhrén (1897-1977), Peter Celsing (1920-1974), Jørn Utzon and Sverre Fehn (1924-2009).⁴⁶

Finally, at the dawn of the third millennium, Jean-Louis Cohen published his 'history' with the polemic title *The future of architecture since 1889* (2012), celebrating not only the different local roots of modernity but also the mediatic role of modern world-wide architecture, describing its propaganda as an

Ray, *Sven Markelius. 1889-1972* (Rome: Officina edizioni, 1989); Fabio Mangone, Maria Luisa Scalvini, *Alvar Aalto* (Bari: Laterza, 1993); Paolo Angeletti, Gaia Remiddi, *Alvar Aalto e il classicismo nordico* (Rome: Palombi, 1998); Peter Reed (ed.), *Alvar Aalto 1898-1976* (Milan: Electa, 1998); Antonello Alici, Gabriele Milelli (eds.), *Alvar Aalto: architettura per leggere – architecture to read* (Rome: Gangemi, 2003).

⁴⁴ Kenneth Frampton (ed.), *Modern Swedish Design: Three founding texts* (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2008).

⁴⁵ Luca Ortelli, *Ragnar Östberg: Municipio di Stoccolma* (Milan: Electa, 1990); Ann Thorson Walton, *Ferdinand Boberg – Architect. The complete work* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991); Chiara Monterumisi, *Ragnar Östberg. Villa Geber, una casa nell'arcipelago* (Vicenza: In Edibus, 2017). The Nordic 'National Romantic' generation was also included in William J. R. Curtis, *History of Architecture since 1900* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1982): 134–138.

⁴⁶ Only to list some of the biographies published since 1980: Yukio Futagawa, Christian Norberg-Schulz (eds.), *Jorn Utzon: Church at Bagsvaerd, near Copenhagen, Denmark 1973-76* (Tokyo, Ada edita, 1981); Eva Rudberg and Öberg Astrid, Reuterskiöld Barbro, *Uno Åhrén: arkitekt och planerare* (Stockholm: Arkitekturmuseet, 1981); Riitta Nikula (ed.), *Erik Bryggman, Architect. 1891–1955* (Museum of Finnish Architecture, Helsinki, 1991); *Nordic Classicism 1910-1930*, (Helsinki: Museum of Finnish Architecture, 1982); Antonello Alici, *Il Romanticismo nazionale in Finlandia (1890-1910)* (Pescara, 1993); Eva Rudberg, Eva Paulsson, *Hakon Ahlberg: arkitekt & humanist* (Stockholm: Statens råd för byggnadsforskning, 1994); Norberg-Schultz Christian, *Sverre Fehn. Opera completa* (Milan: Electa, 1997); Connah Roger, *Reima Pietila, Centro Dipoli, Otaniemi* (Turin: Testo & Immagine, Torino 1998); Ismael Garcia Rios, *Alvar Aalto y Erik Bryggman: la aparición del funcionalismo en Finlandia* (Madrid: Instituto Iberoamericano de Finlandia, 1998); Fromont Francois, *Jorn Utzon. Architect of the Sidney opera House* (Milan: Electa, 1998); Carlotta Torricelli, *Classicismo di frontiera. Sigurd Lewerentz e la cappella della Resurrezione* (Milan: Il Poligrafo, 2014); Marianne Ibler, *Kay Fisker and the Danish Academy in Rome* (Åarhus: Archipress, 2006); Silvia Micheli, *Erik Bryggman, 1891-1955: architettura moderna in Finlandia* (Rome: Gangemi, 2009).

important part of its sense and its conscious dissemination as the trigger to its following modifications.⁴⁷

Cohen's history –described by the concept of 'critical internationalism' first expressed in 1996 in the pages of the Italian *Casabella*⁴⁸– completed Curtis' destruction of any modern 'trajectory of evolution': the movement it is not progressive but rather not-synchronic, the hierarchic system of a 'centre' and a 'periphery' is not efficient, with the consequent affirmation of the idea of contemporary 'multiple modernities'.⁴⁹

The term also re-affirmed the role of historians in their never ending construction of the past, which –in opposition to the first *engagé* critics like Pevsner, Giedion and Zevi– should work in order to deconstruct the myths of history, instead of creating them.

In accord with this direction, we can list for example the book by Paolo Scrivano *Building Transatlantic Italy*⁵⁰ on the influence of the American industry and architecture on the Italian panorama, as well as at least two other publications on the 'Nordic myth': the 1999 book by Eva Rudberg on the 1930 Stockholm Exhibition,⁵¹ and the 2010 volume *Swedish Modernism* by Helena Mattsson and Sven-Olov Wallenstein, which first tried to challenge the historical fundaments of Swedish social-democratic myth between the 1930s and the 1950s.⁵²

In this short retrospective, the role Nordic architecture had become an interesting 'thermometer' of modern historiography, making its entrance in 1945, in the moment when the positivist faith in the Modern Movement had begun to waver.

⁴⁷ Jean-Louis Cohen, *The future of architecture since 1889* (London/New York: Phaidon, 2012): 15–17.

⁴⁸ Jean-Louis Cohen, "Alla ricerca di una pratica critica," *Casabella* 630-631 (January-February 1996): 20–27.

⁴⁹ The term was introduced in Shmuel N. Eisenstadt (ed.), *Multiple modernities* (New Brunswick/ London: Transaction Publishers, 2002).

⁵⁰ Paolo Scrivano, *Building Transatlantic Italy. Architectural dialogues with Post-war America* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013). On Transnationalism and architecture see Paolo Scrivano, "Architecture," in Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Sauniers (eds.), *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History* (Basingstok/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009): 53–56.

⁵¹ Eva Rudberg, *The Stockholm exhibition 1930: modernism's breakthrough in Swedish architecture* (Stockholm: Stockholmia, 1999).

⁵² Helena Mattsson, Sven-Olov Wallenstein (eds.), *Swedish modernism: architecture, consumption and the welfare state* (London: Black dog, 2010).

On the other hand, we can say that profound doubts on the possibility of ‘critics’ were unconsciously expressed already in 1948 by Bruno Zevi himself, in his book on Asplund, where he stated that the work of the Swede could be evaluated at least in two ways: the first, strongly positive, considering his work in relation to the general history of the Modern Movement (thanks to the role of his 1930 Exhibition), and the second, rather disappointing, related to his personal parabola.⁵³

Leaving at the historical moment Zevi’s drastic judgments, he accidentally suggested how an architectural fact (or even an individual series of works) could have several interpretations, and the one related to its instrumental use by the propaganda could be quite different from the protagonist’s personal interpretation of his own work.

In this sense, the ‘stories’ about how the ideas of modernity had spread, were the unavoidable sub-text of modern historiography, which was fundamentally based upon icons drawn by the combinations of different media and events (exhibitions, congresses, magazines, journalists etc.), often still in need to discern between myth and reality.

1.1.1. Before Bruno Zevi: the construction of the Swedish ‘myth’ between England and Italy

But why are two Italian critics, Bruno Zevi and Leonardo Benevolo, the first to recognize, in modern historiography, the value of the Finnish Alvar Aalto, or the Swedish Erik Gunnar Asplund and Sven Markelius? How were the two Italians aware of Nordic Countries Architecture? What were their sources and what kind of consequences could have had Nordic modernism on the Italian Post-war reconstruction?

If we take into consideration the first of the two figures –Bruno Zevi– it is important to highlight how he used the two figures of Frank Lloyd Wright and Alvar Aalto in order to perpetuate his idea of an ‘organic architecture’.

Since his death in 2000, Zevi’s education and his relationship with Wright’s theories on architecture, has been analyzed by Roberto Dulio, in his PhD.

⁵³ Bruno Zevi, *E. Gunnar Asplund*, 7-10. In these pages, Zevi highlighted the role of the 1930 Stockholm Exhibition as a major breakthrough for the rest of the modern architects, and, on the other side, expressed doubt on Asplund’s ‘inconscious modernity’ if compared to its neo-classical early works and the quite equilibrium of his last projects.

dissertation,⁵⁴ while, on the other hand, no studies had deepened Zevi's knowledge of Nordic architecture.

The problem is –of course– related to the fact that his knowledge of the *Norden* was indirect, since he had never visited these places.

Truly, Bruno Zevi met Alvar Aalto in 1946, as the Italian member of the United States Information Service (USIS) visiting the United States, while Aalto was working at the MIT and at the Baker House's design.⁵⁵

Contemporary to this first meeting, in Italy the issue number 7 (February 1946) of the progressive magazine *Metron* was dedicated to the Finnish Reconstruction plans to Alvar Aalto's architecture.⁵⁶ Zevi entered the editorial board of the journal in May, once he had returned from his American trip, and he signed his new direction inviting both Frank Lloyd Wright and Alvar Aalto as an honorary member of his new organization: the 'Associazione per l'Architettura Organica' (APAO).⁵⁷

Later on, in 1948, Zevi published his second important book in Italy, after the polemic pamphlet *Verso un'architettura organica*: the first long Italian essay on the Swede Erik Gunnar Asplund, for the series *Il Balcone*.

In this occasion, the series included a book dedicated to Alvar Aalto, and even if in 1948 Zevi's predilection for the Finnish master was already known, the architects' member if the BBPR (Ludovico Belgioioso, Enrico Peressuti and Ernesto Nathan Rogers)⁵⁸ –editors in chief of *Il Balcone*– decided to rely on the words of the young architect Giorgio Labò (1919-1944),⁵⁹ who died during the Second World War, who had worked as a journalist for *Casabella* in the 1930s.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ R. Dulio, "Bruno Zevi. Le radici di un progetto storico 1933-1950" (PhD diss., Politecnico di Torino, 2003). The research was then condensed in the already mentioned book: *Introduzione a Bruno Zevi*.

⁵⁵ *List of Foreign Architects visiting the US (St. regis Hotel, NY), February 22, 1946*, Serie 7.01 'Convegni e Conferenze 1935-1946', Folder 59, Bruno Zevi Archive, Rome. The meeting is also included in Roberto Dulio, *Introduzione a Bruno Zevi*, 134.

⁵⁶ On the role of *Metron* in the Post-war debate see: Maristella Casciato, "Gli esordi della rivista *Metron*: eventi e protagonisti," *Rassegna di architettura e urbanistica* 51 (September-December 2005): 45–55; Marco Mulazzani, "Le riviste di Architettura. Costruire con le parole" in *Storia dell'Architettura italiana. Il secondo novecento* (Milan: Electa, 1997): 430–443.

⁵⁷ "Wright e Aalto membri dell'APAO," *Metron* 10 (May 1946): 12–13.

⁵⁸ The original group also included the fourth member: Gianluigi Banfi, dead in Mathausen in 1945 and to whom the editorial series was dedicated.

⁵⁹ Giorgio Labò, *Alvar Aalto* (Milan: Il Balcone, 1948).

⁶⁰ Giorgio Labò and Lionello Venturi (ed.), *Un sabotatore: Giorgio Labò* (Milan: La stampa moderna, 1946); Pietro Boragina, *Vita di Giorgio Labò* (Turin: Aragno, 2011).

But besides some notes on the Swedish Asplund and Markelius included in his 1945 book, why was this biography entrusted to Zevi?

Once more, the book itself helped in recognizing the sources for its writing. After a brief analysis of the bibliography it was clear that Zevi's researches had reached different backgrounds: Nordic magazines (like *Byggmästaren* and *Arkkitehti*), the German *Wasmuths Monatshefte für Baukunst*, but mostly –since Zevi did not understand German or other Nordic languages–on English (*Architectural Review* and the *RIBA Journal*) and, more surprisingly, on Italian articles (*Rassegna di Architettura, Architettura e Arti figurative, Architettura, Casabella*) published between 1925 and 1945.⁶¹

As already underlined by Dulio's study, particularly important for the maturation of Zevi's theories, were the few years he spent in England, first in 1939-1940, when he had just emigrated from Italy because of the Racial laws, and then several other times between 1943 and 1950, in a 'desperate' study at the RIBA library, first involved in the writing of *Towards an Organic Architecture* and then in its *History of Modern Architecture*.⁶²

During summer 1939, once he had arrived in London, he worked, as first experience abroad, in the studio of the Finnish architect Cyril Leonard Sjöström Mardall (1919-1994),⁶³ who had moved to England in 1927 and who had become a teacher at the Architectural Association.⁶⁴

In these years in the English context, particularly significant was the attention on Swedish Architecture, raised since the early 1920s by the journalists Francis Rowland Yerbury (1885-1970) and Howard Robertson (1888-1963), and which has been partially analyzed by English historiography only from the early 1990s. The first was a simple clerk at the Architectural Association School of Architecture with a passion for architecture and photography, while the second was an American-born architect, who had moved to Europe in order to complete his education.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Bruno Zevi, *E. Gunnar Asplund*, 52–56.

⁶² Roberto Dulio, *Introduzione*, 29–31.

⁶³ Cyril Sjöström, *Letter of raccomandation of Sjöström to Bruno Zevi, December 4, 1939*, Serie 4.01.01 'Cyril Sjoström', Folder 5, Bruno Zevi Archive, Rome; also included in Roberto Dulio, *Introduzione*, 9. **Appendix 'Letters 4.2'**

⁶⁴ Anne P. Baker, "Mardall, Cyril Leonard Sjöström (1909-1994), architect," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004).

⁶⁵ Andrew Higgott, "Frank Yerbury and the Representation of the new," in Andrew Higgott and Timothy Wray (ed.), *Camera constructs: photography, architecture and the modern city* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 23–24.

After their enthusiastic visit to the 1923 Göteborg Jubilee Exhibition, the two decided to make Swedish Architecture better known in England, thanks to a series of Nordic travels⁶⁶ whose results were first published in *The Architect and Building News*⁶⁷ and then in the *RIBA Journal*, starting in 1926 with the Stockholm City Hall by Ragnar Östberg.⁶⁸

The dissemination continued with an exhibition of Swedish drawings and models, which opened in London in May 1924, and with the publication, first in 1925, of the English volume *Swedish Architecture of the Twentieth-century*, followed in 1926 by the book *The modern decorative arts of Sweden*⁶⁹ and by the RIBA Golden Medal to Ragnar Östberg.

At the beginning of the 1930s, when Yerbury and Robertson started to feel their disappointments towards the contradictions and the different experimentations of modern architects,⁷⁰ the Stockholm exhibition drew the international attention to Sweden, and especially the one of the critic Philip Morton Shand (1888-1960),⁷¹ which in 1925 had coined the term 'Swedish grace' for Carl Bergsten pavilion in Paris.⁷²

He personally visited the exhibition and continued to exchange letters with architects like Asplund and Alvar Aalto, encouraging the spread of those names

⁶⁶ Howard Robertson and Frank R. Yerbury, *Travels in modern architecture, 1925-1930* (London: Architectural Association, 1989); *Frank Yerbury: Itinerant Cameraman. Architectural Photographs 1920-1925* (London: Architectural Association, 1987).

⁶⁷ Andrew Higgott, "Frank Yerbury," 26.

⁶⁸ Howard Robertson, "Stockholm architecture designed by Ragnar Östberg," *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* 34 (November 1926); Howard Robertson, "The achievements of Ragnar Östberg," *American Institute of Architect Journal*, 15 (June, 1927).

⁶⁹ Hakon Ahlberg, *Swedish Architecture of the Twentieth-century* (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1925); Erik Wettergren, *The modern decorative arts of Sweden* (Malmö: Malmö museum, 1926-1927).

⁷⁰ 'Astonishments, perhaps contempt, may be levelled at this seeming chaos, at these twentieth-century decades in which crystallised no style, in which all architects seemed agreed only to differ'. Frank Yerbury, "Poverty and Promise: Examples of Dutch detail," *The Architect and Building News*, October 23, 1931, 925. The quotation is also included in Andrew Higgott, "Frank Yerbury," 31.

⁷¹ Philip Morton Shand, "Stockholm 1930," *The Architectural Review. A magazine of Architecture & Decoration* 405 (August 1930). The issue is mostly dedicated to the 1930 Swedish exhibition.

⁷² Alan Windsor, "Letters from Peter Behrens to P. Morton Shand, 1932-1938," *Architectural History* 37, (1994), 165. For a comment on Shand and his critic to Swedish architecture see: Gillian Naylor, "Swedish Grace...or an Acceptable Face of Modernism?," in *Modernism in Design* (London: Reaktion Books, 1990): 164-183.

in a foreign debate and, at the same time, the English participation to the modernist debate. His work continued especially between the end of the 1930s and the beginning of the 1940s, with a series of articles on the topic, until 1943, with a special issue of the *Architectural Review* dedicated to “Sweden outpost of peace in war”,⁷³ since the country was the only one in Europe which had managed to remain neutral in both World Wars.

This special number was also illustrated by several images taken by George Everard Kidder Smith (1913-1997), american-born architect, a fellow of the American-Scandinavian Foundation and photographer protagonist of the traveling exhibitions entitled ‘Stockholm Builds’, organized by the MOMA in collaboration with the Swedish Institute between 1940 and 1941.⁷⁴

Kidder Smith’s images finally found a larger diffusion in 1950, once he had published the third book of his famous ‘Builds’ series, entirely dedicated to modern Sweden.⁷⁵

The assimilation of the Nordic Social-democratic system and his architecture as a symbol of democracy and freedom, was largely built by the joined effort of Swedish and English propaganda, and it entered the history of architecture with the term ‘New Empiricism’, based on Nordic examples.⁷⁶

⁷³ “Gothemburg Town Hall extension,” *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* vol. 46, 6 (February 1939): 344–5; “E. G. Asplund: obituary,” *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* 16 (December 1940): 20; Philip Morton Shand, “E. G. Asplund,” *Architectural Record* (August 1941): 30; “Sweden outpost of peace in war,” *Architectural Review* 94 (September 1943, special issue): 59–87. In 1938, Ivar Tengbom was also the second Swede to win the RIBA Gold Medal, while in 1937 Asplund had become an honorary member of the same English association.

⁷⁴ The MOMA Archive had recently digitalized a series of invitations which were directed to different Art editors for the inauguration of their exhibitions. The letter, dated *July 31, 1941*, followed by a short description of the exhibition is accessible at: https://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/press_archives/726/releases/MOMA_1941_0063_1941-08-04_41804-62.pdf; 2010.

⁷⁵ George E. Kidder Smith, *Sweden builds: its modern architecture and land policy background, development and contribution* (London/ New York: The Architectural Press/ Albert Bonnier in cooperation with the Swedish Institute, Stockholm, 1950). The first of the series was published in 1943, *Brazil Builds*, followed by *Switzerland Builds* (1950), *Sweden Builds* (1950) and, finally, *Italy Builds* (1955).

⁷⁶ “The New Empiricism: Sweden’s latest style,” *Architectural Review* 101/606 (June 1947): 199–204; Eric de Maré, “The New Empiricism: the Antecedents and Origins of Sweden’s Latest Style,” *Architectural Review* 103 (January 1948): 9–22. On the role of *Architectural review* in the international debate see also: Erdem Erten, “Shaping ‘The second Half Century’: *Architectural Review* 1947-1971” (PhD diss., Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 2004).

The term provided an ‘undogmatic, psychologically expressive, naturalistic and commonsensical interpretation of modern architecture,’ towards a ‘progressive humanization of the Modern Movement’ and a conscious reaction against the rigid formalism proposed by early historians.⁷⁷

Moreover, in 1936, the English publishing house Faber & Faber not only printed the first edition of Pevsner *Pioneers of the Modern Movement*, but also the crucial essay *Sweden: The middle way* by the American journalist Marquis W. Childs, which showed the Swedish model in equilibrium between democracy and welfare state, and which had a major impact on anglo-american reformisms and Post-war politics.⁷⁸

On the other, as previously mentioned, the second source of the Italian Bruno Zevi was the Italian press, headed by the progressist journal *Casabella* as well as the more conservative *Architettura*.

But what was the Italian context, and why had Swedish architecture been introduced to the Mediterranean audience?

Moreover, in the previous paragraph we mentioned that, between the 1950s and 1970s, many of the published studies on Nordic Masters were made by Italians, who generally referred to Swedish New Empiricism as a valuable source for the INA-Casa Plans.⁷⁹

However, only in these very recent years, few studies had taken into consideration the reality of these connections between Swedish and the Italian

⁷⁷ Joan Ockman, “The New Empiricism and the New Humanism,” *Design Book Review* 41–42 (Winter/Spring 2000), 19. On the relation of the term to other Nordic architects see also: Stanford Anderson, “The “New Empiricism–Bay Region Axis”: Kay Fisker and Post-war Debates on Functionalism, Regionalism, and Monumentality,” *Journal of Architectural education* 50 (1997): 197–207.

⁷⁸ Marquis Childs, *Sweden: The middle way* (London/ New Haven: Faber & Faber/Yale University press, 1936). The book was an essential part of the construction of the Swedish architectural myth, as explained in Urban Klundberg and Mattias Dydén, “In search of the Swedish model: contested historiography,” in Helena Mattsson, Sven-Olov Wallenstein (eds.), *Swedish modernism*, 36–49.

⁷⁹ Many references to ‘housing in Scandinavia’ appeared in the national guidelines *Piano incremento occupazione operaia: Case per lavoratori 2. Suggestimenti, esempi e norme per la progettazione urbanistica*. (Rome: Danesi, 1950). From here, the topic had been mentioned in all the publication on Italian Neorealism. See in particular: Paola Di Biagi (ed.), *La grande ricostruzione: il piano Ina-Casa e l'Italia degli anni cinquanta* (Rome: Donzelli, 2001), 153; 417–418; Bruno Reichlin and Branden W. Joseph, “Figures of Neorealism in Italian Architecture (Part 1),” *Grey Room* 5 (2001): 78–101; Rinaldo Capomolla, Rosalia Vittorini (eds.), *L’architettura INA Casa (1949-1963): aspetti e problemi di conservazione e recupero* (Rome: Gangemi, 2003): 13–14, 70, 278; Carlo Melograni, *Architetture nell’Italia della ricostruzione* (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2015): 56, 73–75, 134–135, 186.

Architects, who were responsible for their first introduction in Historiography, close to the 1949 edition of Giedion's *Space, Time and Architecture*.

Most of the contemporary investigations in fact, considering the relationships between Italy and the Nordic countries, were mostly connected to the Classical and Mediterranean influences on Nordic architecture, due to the traditional experience of the *Grand Tour*.

However, the twentieth-century, as we mentioned in the beginning, challenged the classical canone and brought the interest towards other areas, demanding to the Italian *élités* to confront itself with the architectural production in the rest of Europe.

1.2 Italy and Nordic countries. From the traditional *Grand Tour* to the modern ‘Trip to the North’

After a historiographical analysis of the Nordic countries in the International panorama, we wondered which were the different cultural backgrounds and the possible interconnections behind the first Italian critics like Bruno Zevi and Leonardo Benevolo.

To a wider view, in the early 1950s, main sources on the topic were English as well as Italian writings on Swedish Architecture and on the Finnish Alvar Aalto. However, if the English debate around their own interpretation and dissemination of the Nordic countries had already been started in the early 1990s (thanks the first analysis of critics like Frank Yerbury and Morton Shand); in Italy, scholars mostly focused, from the beginning of the 1980s, on the influences ‘coming’ from the Mediterranean countries, ‘towards’ the Nordic areas, related to the tradition of the *Grand Tour*, especially investigated by the Italian critic Cesare De Seta (1941-).⁸⁰

The phenomenon was not only related to architectural students, but to all European cultural *élités* since the seventeenth century (as it was celebrated by Goethe’s *Italianische Reise* made between 1786-1788 but published only in 1816), which also inaugurated the neo-classical tradition in Europe.

In opposition to the statements of the first official ‘histories’ of modern architecture, the researches on the *Grand Tour* have clarified that –from the middle of the nineteenth century onwards– was not infrequent for western architects to travel abroad (and especially to Italy), in order to measure and copy buildings of ancient ages, and the travel always kept its high educational value.

⁸⁰ Cesare De Seta, “L’Italia nello specchio del Grand Tour,” in *Storia d’Italia. Annali 5: Il Paesaggio* (Turin: Einaudi, 1982); Cesare De Seta, *Vedutisti e viaggiatori in Italia tra Settecento e Ottocento* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 1999); Cesare De Seta (ed.), *Grand Tour. Viaggi narrati e dipinti* (Naples: Electa, 2001); Cesare De Seta, *L’Italia del Grand Tour: da Montaigne a Goethe* (Naples: Electa, 2001); Cesare De Seta, *Il mito dell’Italia e altri miti* (Turin: UTET, 2005); Cesare De Seta, *Il fascino dell’Italia nell’età moderna: dal Rinascimento al Grand Tour* (Milan: Cortina Raffaello, 2011). For a general introduction see also: Attilio Brilli, *Quando viaggiare era un’arte: il romanzo del Grand Tour* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 1995); Attilio Brilli, *Il viaggio in Italia: storia di una grande tradizione culturale* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2006). The 2017 AISU Congress in Naples was also dedicated to the topic of travel: “The city, the Travel, the Tourism. Perception, production and Processing,” 7–9 September 2017.

And, as experienced by a large amount of annual visitors, for those coming from the Nordic countries, ‘the Italian Tour was a major factor in their “collective biography”, even in the twentieth-century’.⁸¹

In the seventeenth century, when the profession of architect was first established in the Nordic countries, the most important destinations for a classical education was Italy and especially Rome, then expanded during the eighteenth and nineteenth century towards the South of Italy (Sicily and Paestum),⁸² but also towards other exotic destinations like Greece. Finally, in the twentieth-century, nordic interests shifted towards the regional and the vernacular, but also towards other Mediterranean regions, like Spain and Turkey.

However, in all cases, the architectural tours were needed to widen the architects’ horizons in a more general way, ‘to overcome distances by sensually experiencing highly ranked architecture in its genuine context. On one hand the Grand tour can be about overcoming distances, finding types, solutions, configurations that can be refused in a different context. But on the other hand, visiting and documenting architectural highlights in their genuine context is a way of understanding architecture as fundamentally regional, local, site-specific.’⁸³

⁸¹ Fabio Mangone, *Viaggi a sud. Gli architetti nordici e l’Italia 1850-1925* (Milano: Electa Napoli, 2002), 11. It is also possible to refer to this publication for a general bibliography of Nordic architects in Italy. The complete bibliography is of course very wide, and, limiting the analysis to Italian Architecture and the Nordic countries between the seventeenth and the twentieth-century we can list, after *Viaggi al Sud*, the fundamental titles: Johan Mårtelius, “Den stora resan. The Grand Tour,” *Arkitektur* 3 (April, 1987), Special issue-Italien; Alvar Aalto, *Alvar Aalto. Il Baltico e il Mediterraneo* (Venice: Marsilio, 1990); *Matkalla! En route! Suomalaiset arkkitehdit opintieillä*, Exhibition catalogue (Helsinki: Gummerus, 1999); Antonello Alici, “Alvar aalto. Il viaggio in Italia nella tradizione degli architetti finlandesi,” in *A Roma da Roma. Il viaggio di studio degli architetti: 1900-1950* (Madrid: Maira Libros, 2012), 98–111. On the Nordic architects visiting Rome through the Skandinaviska Föreningen see also the recent: Ann Katrin Pihl Atmer, Brita Carlens, Fredrik Lång (eds.), *Till Rom. Nordiska Konstnärer I Rom under 150 år* (Stockholm: Calsson, 2010). See also the International conference *Italy and the Nordic architects* organized by Antonello Alici and Luca Ortelli at the Accademia di San Luca on 14 and 15 November 2013.

⁸² Specifically on Sicily and Paestum and its influence on the Neoclassical tradition in the North, see: Joselita Raspi Serra e Giorgio Simoncini, *La fortuna di Paestum e la memoria moderna del dorico 1750-1830* (Florence: Centro Di, 1986); Michele Cometa, *Il romanzo dell’architettura: la Sicilia e il Grand Tour nell’età di Goethe* (Roma: Laterza, 1999).

⁸³ Johan Mårtelius, “Preface. Routes, connections and resonances between the Mediterranean and the Nordic countries in the 20th century”, *EdA* vol.3, 1 (2016), 5.

Now, this quotation on the role of travel can be equally applied not only to ancient and classical architecture, but also to large part of the modern constructions, which, thanks to the help of global events and a dedicated press, became world-wide known in few years.

In fact, the economical and social changes of the nineteenth century, naturally favored the circulations of new ideas and models.

A 'cosmopolitan sense' was instrumentally used by the first historians of Architecture, in order to prove the existence of a new and 'homogeneous' *Zeitgeist* in geographically distant cultures.⁸⁴

The word 'Internationalism' however, raised already in the second half of the eighteenth century, close to the concept of 'cosmopolitism', and it spread after the French Revolution in 1789.⁸⁵

In this specific context, the term expressed the 'idea that it is impossible to think about values of *freedom, equality, national independence* and *social justice* as principles valid for one country and limited only to a national space. The nature of these values are inherently universal'.⁸⁶ Thanks to the awakening of rational studies during the age of Enlightenment, intellectuals slowly underlined the need for a superior solidarity for the whole mankind, above national differences.

Moreover, this attitude corresponded to a stage in European history in which political stability was not disturbed by serious problems. From the Vienna Congress in 1815 to the beginning of the First World War in 1914, Europe lived a historic phase of exceptional international reconciliation, which Karl Polanyi called 'a hundred years' peace': 'apart from the Crimean War, a more or less colonial event' – he observes – 'England, France, Prussia, Austria, Italy, and Russia were engaged in war with each other for altogether only eighteen months'.⁸⁷

⁸⁴ Fabio Mangone, *Viaggi a sud*, 9.

⁸⁵ First notions of a necessary 'Internationalism' were mentioned by Immanuel Kant in his 1795 pamphlet *Perpetual Peace: A philosophical Sketch*.

⁸⁶ Lucio Levi, "Che cos'è l'Internazionalismo?," *Il Federalista* 3 (1991), 173. Trans. by the author.

⁸⁷ Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation* (New York, Toronto: Reinhart & Company, 1944), 4. In the first note of the chapter, Polanyi also points out the Great Powers of Europe were at war for three short periods: for six months in 1859, six weeks in 1866 and nine months in 1870-71.

This long-lasting moment of ‘peace’⁸⁸ led many intellectuals to believe a world without conflicts between nations was possible, once all different populations had been recognized independent.

In this scenario, the uprising sense of ‘nationalism’ was completely in accord with the ‘internationalist’ sentiment: for Thomas Paine (1737-1809) for example –as well as for others contemporary philosophers– humankind solidarity could only be achieved only after the conclusion of all the internal revolutions. After this phase, there was going to be no need for further wars. Quite opposite, a proper understanding of national roots was considered an important phase in global peace:

*‘Monarchial sovereignty, the enemy of mankind, and the source of misery, is abolished; and sovereignty itself is restored to its natural and original place, the nation. Were this the case throughout Europe, the cause of wars would be taken away’*⁸⁹

Besides this naïve look, which we know it led to two World Wars in the twentieth-century, it is relevant to think about this ‘Internationalist’ idea as an important tool to renew national traditions as well as a root of contemporary Europe.

Although a first theoretical definition of ‘Internationalism’ –strictly connected to a political and humanitarian point of view– occurred already at the end of the eighteenth century, its material basis were the economic changes of the nineteenth century. In particular, the development of the industrial production had led to a significant extension of trades and human relations, being before confined within the boundaries of local and regional communities.

Then, social relations gradually extended beyond the state’s limits and made each society increasingly dependent on others and finally, the development of media and modern transportations brought people closer, unifying the social life of the planet.

⁸⁸ This ‘peace’ can be considered valid only if related to conflicts between the six majors European Powers, without thinking about the deep changes undergoing inside each State, like the long series of revolutions started in the 1820s for Italian Independence. Moreover, other peripheral areas of Europe were passing through a similar phase, looking for political autonomy, such as the Greek and Baltic populations.

⁸⁹ This words expressed an opinion on the role of the French Revolution; in Thomas Paine, “Rights of Man,” in Philip S. Foner (ed.), *The complete writings of Thomas Paine* (New York: the Citadel Press, 1945), 342.

In a few decades, a peculiar liberal interpretation of the term ‘internationalism’ assumed global cooperation could be assured by diplomacy as well as by the market.⁹⁰

The International Exhibitions, organized between 1851 and 1914 by the six major European powers, represented a relevant outcome of this bourgeois point of view. It is not by chance the role of these global ‘encounters’ was deeply reassessed after the First World War, as the ideas of perpetual peace and balance between ‘nationalism’ and ‘transnational solidarity’ had fallen ruinously.

Metaphorically, a rational and universal organization of powers and goods was briefly reached in the elliptic *Palais Omnibus*⁹¹ in the 1867 Exhibition in Paris: a transparent ‘globe’ with seven concentric galleries hierarchically representing the human knowledge⁹² and, on the other side, a fair division of the space between each represented state. The symbolic shape of the globe was a utopia of a perfectly organized, independent and peaceful world, designed by Jean-Baptist Sébastien Krantz (1817-1899) and built with Gustave Eiffel (1832-1923)’s help, after the ministers Frédéric Le Play (1806-1882) and Michel Chevalier (1806-1879)’s saint-simonian faith.⁹³

Unfortunately, after the French-Prussian conflict in 1870, nationalist prevarications started to be more important than global balance and therefore, from the Universal Exposition in Wien in 1873, a large number of fragmented pavilions became more and more relevant in comparison to the main building.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ Stanley Hoffmann, “Sistemi internazionali e diritto internazionale,” in Luigi Bonanate (ed.), *Il sistema delle relazioni internazionali* (Torino: Einaudi, 1976), 259–60.

⁹¹ In Linda Aimone, Carlo Olmo, *Le Esposizioni Universali 1851-1900. Il progresso in scena* (Torino: Allemandi & c., 1990), 55-56 the building is described as a ‘cosmological analogy’: ‘Palais Omnibus, la Babel de l’Industrie, un gigantesque avortement de fer et de tôle’.

⁹² In the general hierarchy, the galerie des machines were in the outer circle, while in the centre were placed major arts (Painting, Sculptures...) and measurements, a clear symbol of unification beyond national boundaries.

⁹³ On the Saint-simonian faith and its role in the education of the first Engineers see: Massimiliano Savorra, “La storia dell’architettura e gli ingegneri: le “ragioni del materiale” nel pensiero di Léonce Reynaud e di Auguste Choisy,” in Loretta Mozzoni, Stefano Santini (eds.), *Architettura dell’Ecclettismo: studi storici, rilievo e restauro, teoria e prassi dell’architettura* (Naples, Liguori, 2012): 33–55.

⁹⁴ A progressive climax towards a global war was visible far before the 1911 Italian International Exhibition, one of the biggest before the beginning of the First World War. The 1873 International Exhibition in Wien was formally a starting point of this escalation where the national pavilions officially made their first appearances. ‘With the pavilions’ structure, the morphological, cognitive but also politically unified illusion, leaves room for national differences.’ Aimone, Olmo, *Le Esposizioni*, 31. Trans. by the author.

While this peaceful illusion was slowly torn apart in the World's fairs, a second 'vector' for architectural modernization and international cooperation arose in the last two decades of the nineteenth century: magazines and publications, generally well-aware of foreign debates.

The sudden spread of this media was possible thanks to several industrial innovations: 'Lithography', which allowed the drawings' reproduction, was invented in 1796 and then improved in England in 1838 by Englemann's 'chromolithography', a four-color printing.⁹⁵

Just a year later, in France, Daguerre and Niepce began their dispute over the invention that would change visual arts forever: Photography.

Last – but not least – a revolution took place a few decades later and concerned the only element, within the printing process, that had had no improvements since Gutenberg: the movable types. The first mechanical compositors' production in 1885 – the Linotype – and Monotype in 1890 allowed the use of several character sets and it finally opened the way for the graphic industry development.⁹⁶

In the same way magazines helped to trace a common debate on modern Arts, and they spread ideas of modern 'cooperation', within different national declinations: from the English 'The Studio' to the Russian 'Mir Isskustva' a new wind of change was finally perceivable, thanks to the new media.⁹⁷

Though the question about the authenticity of the different histories presented in architectural magazines still needs to be solved,⁹⁸ the complex

⁹⁵ Roberta Spallone, "Il progetto illustrato. Cromolitografie dalle riviste torinesi di fine ottocento," in Veronica Marchiafava (ed.), *Colore e colorimetria. Contributi multidisciplinari, vol. XIII* (Milan: Associazione Italiana Colore, 2016), 289–90.

⁹⁶ Giorgio Mirandola, "Libro, stampa, editoria tra Ottocento e Novecento," in Giorgio Mirandola (ed.), *Emporium e l'Istituto di arti Grafiche 1895-1915* (Bergamo: Nuovo Istituto di Arti Grafiche), 9–11.

⁹⁷ Their relevance was largely underlined by Nikolaus Pevsner, who spent several pages in listing modern journals and exhibitions: 'The only fact that, all of a sudden, a lot of decorative art magazines and many exhibitions with great public success have come out, proved the vivacity of this rebirth on the continent'. Nikolaus Pevsner, *Pioneers of the modern movement* (Milano: Garzanti, 2011), 124. A long list of magazines and exhibitions follows at page 126–129.

⁹⁸ Jean Louis Cohen, « Preface, » in Hélène Janniere, *Politiques éditoriales et Architecture "moderne". L'émergence de Nouvelles revues en France et en Italie (1923-1939)* (Paris: Editions Arguments, 2002), I.

interconnections between journalists, art directors and architects are increasingly becoming a central question for modern critical historiography.⁹⁹

Moreover, this net of interpersonal relationships, had its roots in real travels and letters exchange.

It is also important to remember that, at least until 1871, the two definitions of ‘national’ and ‘international’ were not necessarily used in open opposition.

Finally, the edge of this friction between ‘patriotic nationalism’ and ‘transnational solidarity’ was definitely reached during another international exhibition in Paris: the *Exposition Internationale des Arts et techniques dans la vie modern* in 1937. Only seventy years after the 1867 utopian *Palais Omnibus*, the panorama was quite different, dominated by the facing pavilions of Russia and Germany openly announcing the imminent conflict. Ironically –as Frampton stated in his *History of Modern architecture*– they both used a similar syntax: a simplified classicism and monumental dimensions.¹⁰⁰

In the architectural debate, hidden under the old push for nationalistic glorification, the real conflict of the inter-war period was in fact between two different tendencies, which could both be considered ‘international’: on one side this new classicism – called ‘New Tradition’ by Frampton– and on the other the new ‘Modern Movement’.

In a way, we could say that both represented the modern world: on one side the first aimed to represent stability, national powers and international diplomacy, while the second interpreted the ideals and the dynamic transformations of the western bourgeoisie.

Thanks to the struggle between this two opposing factions, the Modern Movement became particularly concerned in transmitting its international dimension as a crucial form of a ‘legitimation process’,¹⁰¹ ongoing since the

⁹⁹ The bibliography is becoming more relevant since the beginning of the twenty-first century. In particular see critical essays relevant for the present study: the already mentioned Janniere, *Politiques éditoriales* and David Rifkind, *The battle for modernism: Quadrante and the politicization of architectural discourse in fascist Italy*, (Venice: Marsilio, 2012); Maria Luisa Negri (ed.), *L'altra modernità nella cultura architettonica del XX secolo. Dibattito internazionale e realtà locali* vol.1 (Rome: Gangemi, 2011) **and also** the project promoted by the Agence Nationale de la Recherche “Mapping Crit.Arch: Architectural Criticism XXth and XXIst centuries, a cartography” (2016-2017). For a later period see also: Beatriz Colomina and Craig Buckley (eds.), *Clip stamp fold. The radical architecture of little magazines 196x to 197x* (Princeton: Media and modernity program, 2010).

¹⁰⁰ Kenneth Frampton, *Storia dell'architettura moderna. Quarte edizione* (Bologna: Zanichelli 2012), 258.

¹⁰¹ Hélène Janniere, *Politiques éditoriales*, 133.

second half of the 1920s and especially after the Society of Nations' competition in 1927.¹⁰²

After this moment, architects and art historians (especially of German and French education) were induced to look for a sense of unity of intentions within the different European architectural languages (and debates), forcing a uniform interpretation of a much more complex panorama.¹⁰³

This purpose was consciously started by the Bauhaus' group, thanks to a series of publications: in 1927 Walter Gropius published *Internationale Arkitektur* and Ludwig Hilberseimer the pamphlet *Internationale neue Baukunst*, both in occasion of the 'Weissenhof' Exhibition in Stuttgart.

These two books arrived only a few years before the international 'consacration', with the 1932 volume by Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Philip Johnson, *The International style: architecture since 1922*.¹⁰⁴

In the end, instead of speaking about an illusionary concept of 'Internationalism', it is possible to move towards a more mature idea of 'Transnational History' in which the mutual exchanges, based on travels, correspondences and exhibitions, modified and challenged both colonizer and the colonized cultures.¹⁰⁵

Within this general struggle between the 'Modern Movement' and the 'New Tradition' for example, the Nordic countries and Italy had both a peculiar position: Sweden in particular, not only had managed to remain neutral during the First World War, but it was also experiencing the highest growth rate in the world with a social-democratic government, as well as a gradual passage from the Classical tradition to the Modern forms.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² The event was a major breakthrough, since after Henry Paul N not's winning from among 337 competitors, a German and French faction of the future 'Modern Movement' would start to cooperate in order to spread their ideals. The winning project was a classical interpretation of this 'New Tradition'. The bibliography on the connections of this two event is of course very large; see Eric Mumford, *The CIAM discourse on Urbanisme 1928-60* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002), 8-12 and the related bibliography.

¹⁰³ Giorgio Ciucci, "The Invention of the Modern Movement," *Oppositions* 24 (1981): 69-91.

¹⁰⁴ On the cover of the first edition (New York: W.W Norton, 1932) it is written: '*this book for the first time establishes the existence of a true modern style of architecture, the only genuine architectural style since the Eighteenth Century*'. The book also included for the first time the United States' architects inside the common frame of the Modern Movement.

¹⁰⁵ Paolo Scrivano, "Architecture," in Akira Iriye and Pierre-Yves Sauniers (eds.), *The Palgrave Dictionary of Transnational History* (Basingstok/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009): 53-56.

¹⁰⁶ Between the 1930s and the 1950s, in a moment when the Global markets suffered the most first the 1929 American Crisis and then a World War, Sweden had the highest growth rate in

On the other hand, Italy had largely suffered the 1929 crisis and the First World War, but, due to its rooted tradition of Classicism, a complete fracture with the past was always denied as a viable option to innovation, with the only exception perhaps of the Futurist group at the beginning of the twentieth-century (which also, after 1919, had moved towards less drastic positions).

In this context, Italian journalists started to look up to the modern 'Scandinavian art',¹⁰⁷ suddenly visible in this country thanks to different International Exhibitions, first of all the 1902 Decorative Arts Exhibition in Turin and the Venice Biennali, which had opened in 1895.

Italian artists and architects in fact, had always been open to travelers from all nationalities, but it is possible to say that, because Italy was the main destination, they had never built a tradition of 'travels abroad'.

At the beginning of the twentieth-century though, due to this cosmopolitan feeling, few of them started to move throughout Europe, at first called by the echo of the materials which they had seen in the Italian Exhibitions.

This is why, in order to analyze the characters of a possible Italian 'Trip to the North', which influenced the early Italian Post-war historiography (as it happened in the English panorama of the 1920s and 1930s), it is important to start from these first experiences: the mutual Exhibitions between Italy and the Nordic countries, in order to understand the role and the names of the Italians in the *Norden*.

In this sense, if we exclude a 1943 brief pamphlet by professor Sibilìa which nominated the early Italian artists and architects in Sweden,¹⁰⁸ the only famous experiences of Italians in the North were basically three: the famous travel in 1939 by Giuseppe Pagano Pogatschnig (1896-1945) and Ignazio Gardella (1905-1999) in occasion of a series of conferences, whose relevance had been mentioned in several occasions by professor Antonello Alici.¹⁰⁹

the world, due to its political neutrality and its exportation of iron throughout the world. Helena Mattsson and Sven-Olov Wallenstein, *Swedish modernism*, 15.

¹⁰⁷ In note 3 of the 'Introduction' has already been mentioned the difference between 'Scandinavia' and 'Nordic Countries'. However, in the first decades of the twentieth century, Italian critics were consistently using the term 'Scandinavia' instead of 'Nordic countries', including Finnish art and architecture and, sometimes, even part of the German populations.

¹⁰⁸ Salvatore Sibilìa, *Italiani nella Svezia: 1000-1800* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1943). In this occasion the famous Italian artists included were: the Pahr family (Giovanni Battista, Domenico and Francesco) in the sixteenth century and the architect Carlo Francesco Bassi (1772-1840) active both in Sweden and Finland.

¹⁰⁹ Antonello Alici, "From Pagano to Rogers. Continuità in Italian architecture between 1930s and 1950s," in Nils Erik Wickberg (ed.), *Quo Vadis Architectura?* (Helsinki: Helsinki University

Unfortunately, the only few information available on this travel are contained in two articles published on *Casabella* and *Circoli*, with a Pagano's discourse on Italian modern architecture.¹¹⁰

The second known Italian in the North is Ivo Pannaggi (1901-1981), a young Futurist who in 1928 moved to Germany in order to study at the Bauhaus. After the closure of the school, in 1936 he began to travel to Sweden, Finland and, finally he moved to Oslo until the end of the 1960s, where he became quite known for his architectural works.¹¹¹

The third important series of travels are the ones related to the construction of the Italian Institute of Culture in Stockholm by Gio Ponti, inaugurated in 1958.¹¹²

However, already in 1955, Ponti wrote:

*'The trip to Sweden became traditional for us architects (Muzio, Pagano, Gardella, Bottoni, Albini, Rogers, Ponti and the graduates of the Faculty of Architecture in Milan etc.)'*¹¹³

This statement, and the references of the 1950 Italian Housing Plan to the 'Scandinavian' models, suggested that the 'trip to Sweden' became particularly popular in the 1950s and 1960s, though with little feedback in contemporary historiography.

The latest developments on the topic of the 'Trip to the North' were finally provided by a series of International seminars, held by professor Alici with the help of Ph.D. Bellucci,¹¹⁴ who also started to develop an Italian bibliography on

of Technology, Department of Architecture, 2007): 156–181; Antonello Alici, "Architects Travel. A research programme," *EdA* vol.3, 1 (2016): 7–9.

¹¹⁰ Giuseppe Pagano, "Discorso sull'Architettura Italiana di oggi," *Circoli* (February 1939): 164–173.

¹¹¹ Roberta Luciani, "Ivo Pannaggi – europeisk avantgardist og norsk arkitekt," *Byggekunst* 2 (1993): 130-136; Ivo Pannaggi, *Pannaggi* (Oslo: Reclamo trykkeri, 1962); Mario Pianesi and Luigi Ricci (ed.), Ivo Pannaggi (author), *Dall'Artide all'Antartide* (Tolentino: Un lupu, 2015).

¹¹² It had been already mentioned the volume: Fulvio Irace, *Gio Ponti a Stoccolma* (Milan: Electa, 2007).

¹¹³ Gio Ponti, "Italia e Svezia," in Fondazione C. M. Lericci (ed.), *Rassegna annuale di scambi culturali italo-svedesi. ITALIA SVEZIA*, anno I (Stockholm: Istituto Italiano, 1955), 45. The quotation is also included in Antonello Alici, "Architects Travel. A research programme," 9.

¹¹⁴ Before the 2007 book by Fulvio Irace, Giovanni Bellucci made his thesis on the Italian Institute of Culture (2005).

Sweden, which I eventually expanded to other titles and to the other Nordic countries.¹¹⁵

The first of these conferences go back to 2010, organized by the Università Politecnica delle Marche in collaboration with the Royal Institute of Technology of Stockholm, titled: 'Housing policies in Sweden and Italy (1920s-1960s)';¹¹⁶ followed in 2013 by the conference 'Italy and Nordic Architects' at the Accademia di San Luca in Rome.¹¹⁷

Finally, in 2016, we can recall the meeting 'Beyond Rome. Architects' travel between the Nordic and the Mediterranean country',¹¹⁸ which included many of the paper presented in the *EdA* special number (2016), also dedicated to Italy and the Nordic countries.

In this occasion, Saverio Sturm presented the travels to Sweden of the young architects from the Faculty of Architecture 'La Sapienza' in Rome by Gianfranco Caniggia, Paolo Marconi and Adelaide Ragazzoni in the summer of 1958, with the support of the Accademia Nazionale di San Luca.

One problem with these latest experiences is that much of the travel documentation is still not included in public archives, but is in the hands of the family or of private collectors.¹¹⁹

Moreover, these experiences, most of the time, were (probably) not accompanied by drawings or sketches, but mainly by photographs and describing letters.

In this sense, the research is an attempt to fill the first evident void on the topic, trying to analyze the early experiences of Italians in Sweden, and their consequences within the national panorama.

¹¹⁵ This list is included in the bibliography of the thesis.

¹¹⁶ 15 December 2010 at the UNIVPM in Ancona.

¹¹⁷ International seminar, 14-15 November, 2013.

¹¹⁸ The conference was held May 20-21, 2016 at the Italian Institute of Culture in Stockholm.

¹¹⁹ It is the case for example of Hilda Selem, Giorgio Gentili, Eugenio Gentili, Carlo Chiarini, Michele Capobianco, Roberto Aloï, Franco Albini, Maria Cittadini, Igino Chiellini.

PART II (1895-1914)

First Impressions of the North.

The role of Decorative Arts and International Exhibitions in Venice

This chapter presents an analysis of the most meaningful exchanges between Italy and Swedish artists from 1895 –the year of their first exhibition in this southern country– to 1915 with the publication of the first Italian monography on Nordic Art.

As already mentioned, the debate on international influences was particularly significant in Italy *fin-de-siècle*, even if in the race for modernity, it seemed like the country was destined to lag behind others.

One of the main reasons for its cultural delay was due to the absence –crucial in other European states– of the traditional *Grand Tour*, recently enlarged to a bourgeoisie tradition, and that, since the late Renaissance, had allowed to different generations to travel and compare ideas, lifestyles, and artistic beliefs.¹ For this reasons, the modernization of the country had to go through different channels, such as international exhibitions and progressive journals, first promoted in cities like Torino and Bergamo, which were closer to foreign influences.

This polycentric dissemination of schools and experiences –at the origin of an Italian ‘evolving notion of Modernism’²– was of great help to a diversified debate, before the universities of Rome and Milan fully concentrated the Italian cultural productions in the 1920s and 1930s, under the Fascist regime.³

¹ See par.1.2. on the *Grand Tour* tradition.

² Richard A. Etlin, *Modernism in Italian Architecture, 1890-1940*, (Cambridge London: MIT Press, 1991), xiii.

³ The progressive centralization of the architectural production in Italy was made visible by many factors. Among them, we can take for example the number of new architectural (and artistic) magazines born in the country between 1859 and 1933: until 1915, Milan, Rome and Turin were almost up to approximately thirty titles, followed by Florence and Naples. In 1933, year of the foundation of the last Italian school of Architecture, the situation had radically changed: Milan and Rome had almost forty new dedicated journals, far ahead of the other Italian cities. The data are from a recent digital catalogue, presented by Raffaella Inglese, “CNBA: forty years of activity. From the first catalogue of architectural periodicals to a new database by Monica

At the origin of this centralization there was the educational reform (started in 1859 with the national law ‘Legge Casati’), which provided the institution of the first two Italian Schools of Engineering in Turin and Milan. In 1870, the First Italian Artistic Congress in Parma proposed to separate the ‘Architecture’ course from both the Universities of Engineering as well as the school of Belle Arti.⁴ However, a final agreement on the general purposes of a new school was reached only fifty years after this initial meeting, in 1919 with the foundation of the first Royal School of Architecture in Rome.⁵

During this troubled period, the questions of a national cultural renovation, as well as the evident limits pointed out by the division between an artistic and a technical education, were the main focuses of the Italian debate.

In many ways, the 1902 International Exhibition of Decorative Arts in Turin wanted to represent the beginning of this renewal and –almost for the first time– it took into consideration the role of foreign influences into Italian culture.

Only ten years after, the 1911 International Exhibition in Rome and Turin clearly showed how difficult and far from a coherent resolution this process was. The result of this last exposition was in fact a conservative response to a general accusation of being too involved with international tendencies, protagonists of the 1902 exhibition.⁶

A second privileged network of innovation, besides International exhibitions, was the massive work of art critics and reformist journals, interested in publishing foreign artists in order to favor the constitution of a ‘modern’ conscience.

Prencipe” (paper presented at the annual international meeting of the National Board of Architectural Libraries, Bologna, 26 May, 2017).

⁴ The Schools of Applied Engineering were mainly a technical education after a high school degree, while the ‘Belle Arti’ course was a seven-year period after an elementary degree, focused on drawing skills and art history.

⁵ After Rome, other schools were soon established throughout Italy: Venice (1926), Turin (1929), Florence and Naples (1930), Milan (1933). Only in 1932, with a national law, all the Superior Schools became Universities. The bibliography on the topic is very wide; see the fundamentals Roberto Gabetti, Plinio Marconi, “L’insegnamento del sistema didattico franco-italiano (1789-1922),” *Controspazio*, 11 (September 1971), 43–55; Paolo Nicoloso, “Una nuova formazione per l’architetto professionista: 1914-28” in Giorgio Ciucci, Giorgio Muratore (eds.), *Storia dell’architettura italiana. Il primo Novecento*, (Milan: Electa 2004), 56–73.

⁶ Ironically, this complaint, first used to obstacle the diffusion of the *Art Nouveau* (known in Italy as *Liberty* or *Stil Novo*), would have also been a major motivator against the *Modern movement*.

These innovative correspondents were often members of a cosmopolitan establishment, interested in traveling abroad and in building long-lasting relationships with each other. So, as soon as the modern transportation and communications allowed it, Italian magazines tried to keep up with the many artistic revolutions that were starting all over Europe, even the most distant ones, like in the Nordic countries.

Research highlighted how –at this point– this link was related to specific occasions: first of all the Biennali d’arte in Venice, where –since its first event in 1895– art critics had shown a profound interest for the *Norden* spirit.

An ‘exotic’ interest for the most remote areas of the planet was also induced in the public audience by the contemporary Italian geographical expeditions to the North Pole, like the one by the Duke of Abruzzi in 1900.

Moreover, this was the period of the worldwide fame of the innovative theatre by the Swede August Strindberg (1849-1912) and the Norwegian Henrik Ibsen (1828-1906), both known throughout Europe.

In particular, the constant attention of the Italian progressive journal *Emporium* helped to fraternalize with a distant culture, made more difficult by a general ignorance in our country of any Nordic language.

Undisputed protagonists of these first mutual discoveries were, on one side, the Italian critic Vittorio Pica (Naples 1862 – Milan 1930) and on the other, the Swedish architect Ferdinand Boberg (Falun 1860 - Stockholm 1946), who elected Italy his ‘second home country’⁷ and who had been described in 1932 by Margherita Sarfatti ‘a Venetian, born out of error, at Stockholm’s latitude’.⁸

Vittorio Pica established early and close relationships with many Swedish artists (like Carl Larsson and Anders Zorn), thanks to his recurrent frequentation of the Venetian International Art Exhibitions.

In particular, Pica deeply admired the Nordic connection of the people to their landscape and the straight analysis of reality without the ‘burden’ of Classical traditions. In extension, he brought these concepts to the analysis of Ferdinand Boberg’s architecture, known in Italy as the head of the Swedish sections for the Biennale d’arte and for his participation to the 1902 exhibition in Turin.

In the end, the Italian critic’s view seemed to be highly influenced by Nordic paintings and Literature without a deep understanding of the complex changes underway in the Swedish society.

⁷ Ferdinand Boberg, *Nagra episoder från våra resor i Italien*, Box L57, Folder 14, Kungliga Biblioteket Handskriftsenheten Arkivet (KBHA), Stockholm.

⁸ Margherita Sarfatti, “Ferdinando Boberg,” *Giornale d’Italia*, April 26, 1932.

The chapter is closed by the 1915 publication of *Arte ed Artisti nella Svezia dei giorni nostri* (Fig.1), by Vittorio Pica, as the result of twenty-five years of constant interest and mutual exchanges with Swedish artists.

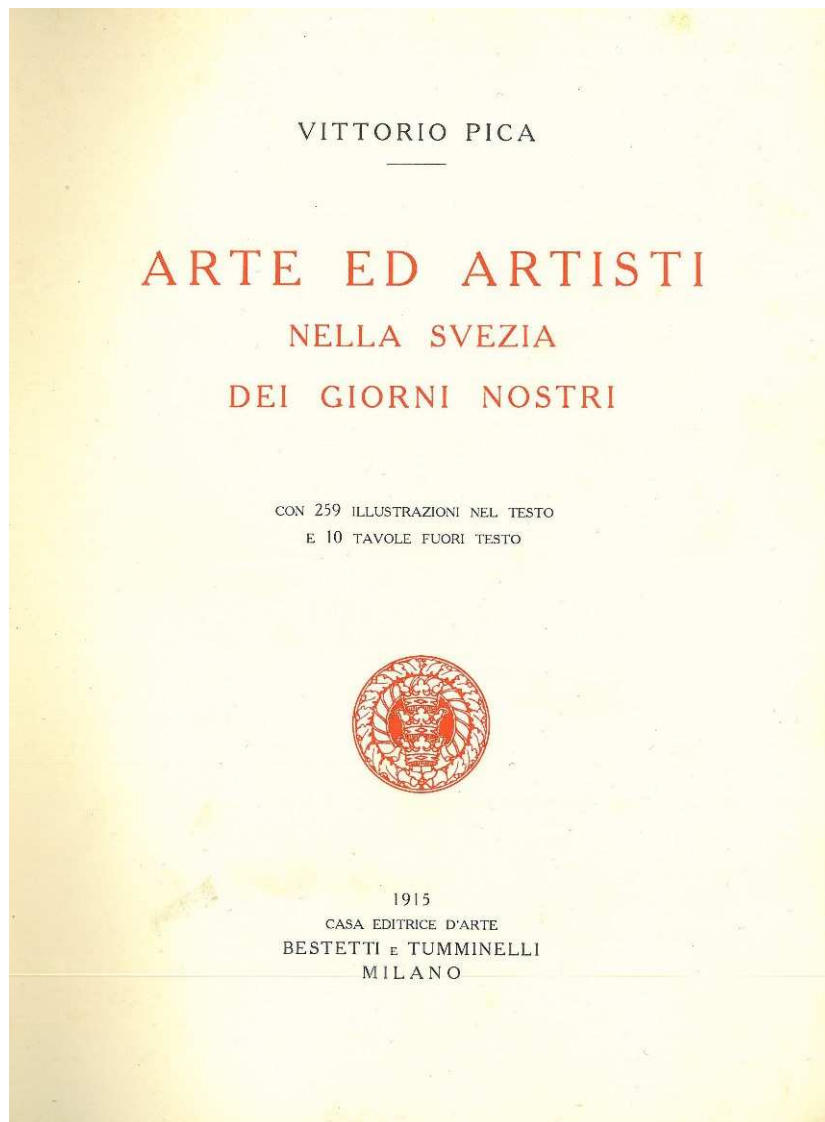


Fig.1 – Vittorio Pica, *Arte ed Artisti nella Svezia dei giorni nostri* (Bergamo: Bestetti e Tumminelli, 1915).

2.1 *Emporium* and the discovery of the North

The first journal to deal with the 'North' was the illustrated magazine *Emporium*, founded in January 1895. It was published by the Istituto italiano di Arti Grafiche in Bergamo, by the cartographer Paolo Gaffuri (1848-1931) and the republican geographer Arcangelo Ghisleri (1855-1938), first director of the journal.⁹

The periodical was inspired by the most advanced editorial experiences in Europe, like the English *The Studio* (London, 1893), focusing its efforts on finding a new balance between writings, drawings and images.¹⁰

Other crucial references were taken from the Americans *Century Magazine* and *Harper's magazine*, collected during the Chicago's Universal Exposition in 1893 by Arcangelo Ghisleri himself.¹¹

In particular, these two examples were closer to the Italian experience, since they all shared a wide variety of subjects and the lack of a rigorous artistic orientation, placing *Emporium* between a popular magazine and a scientific journal.

According to its manifesto and the founders' private interests for modern geography, the main purpose of the journal was to spread the 'high culture'¹² from the world in Italy; nevertheless, it was never intended to be a proper militant artistic magazine.

⁹ Paolo Gaffuri was the founder of the Istituto Italiano di Arti Grafiche in Bergamo, from 1893 to 1915. Arcangelo Ghisleri was a geographer and close friend of the politician Filippo Turati, founder of the Italian Socialist party. On the work of Gaffuri and Ghisleri before the foundation of *Emporium* see Mangini Giorgio, "Editoria e impegno civile. L'incontro tra Arcangelo Ghisleri e Paolo Gaffuri", *Archivio Storico Bergamasco* 9 (1985): 11–38.

¹⁰ Silvia Lorandi, "Emporium e le riviste straniere contemporanee," in Giorgio Mirandola (ed.), «*Emporium*» e *l'Istituto Italiano d'Arti Grafiche 1895-1915*, (Bergamo: Nuovo istituto italiano d'arti grafiche, 1985), 21.

¹¹ In 1891 Paolo Gaffuri and Arcangelo Ghisleri founded the periodical *Geografia per tutti*, but after the journey to America, the two intellectuals sold the journal and start publishing *Emporium*. See Giorgio Mangini, "Alle origini di Emporium. Il viaggio di A. Ghisleri all'Esposizione Universale di Chicago del 1893," in Giorgio Bacci, Massimo Ferretti, Miriam Fileti Mazza (eds.), *Emporium. Parole e figure tra il 1895 e il 1964* (Pisa: Edizione della Normale, 2009): 39–94.

¹² In december 1894 Gaffuri and Ghisleri wrote that the idea of this new magazine was to 'to polarize the high culture, the science results, the best flowers of the arts, not only Italian, but of the whole civilized world, with precise, brief, juicy news, wrote by specialists, and always accompanied with illustrations, which are documents taken from reality and in the actual places, reproduced with the latest systems of the most advanced graphic art. This is the intent of the new magazine' *Emporium* 1 (1895), 1.

On the other hand, thanks to its versatile concept, the journal became increasingly popular –as shown by its long life, from 1895 until 1964– and a growing relevant voice in the artistic national panorama.

In particular, the interest towards Nordic countries started relatively early –in 1896– with the publication of the first ‘Travel diary’ to Norway, written by the United States diplomat Rasmus Anderson¹³: an echo of the latest anthropological researches on the Sami people as well as geographical explorations, besides a specific view of nature, influenced by Norwegian paintings.¹⁴

Focusing on architecture, the first important event for showing Nordic examples in Italy occurred in 1897, with an article by Erik Sjøestedt –a Swedish diplomat stationed in France– on the Stockholm Exposition celebrating the 25th anniversary of King Oscar II.¹⁵

The exhibition was also the occasion to talk about two of the most important national architectures in Sweden *fin-de-siècle*, both situated on the island of Djurgården: *Skansen’s* park, the first open-air museum in the world founded by Artur Hazelius in 1890; and the *Nordiska Museet*, the ethnological museum dedicated to Nordic traditional artisanship, built by Isac Gustaf Clason in 1889.¹⁶

¹³ Rasmus Anderson, “Gita invernale sulle coste della Norvegia,” *Emporium* 13 (January 1896): 23–31.

¹⁴ On the perception of Nordic Countries in Italy in the popular press, the role of geographical exploration and its influence by Nordic painters, see: Margherita D’Ayala Valva, “Touristic and Chauvinistic Perspectives on the Arctic in the Italian Popular Press. Some cases of literary and artistic reception, from the fin-de siècle to the Fascist era,” *Nordlit* 23 (Spring 2008): 371–384; Margherita D’Ayala Valva, “Una mappa delle nuove scuole nazionali su “Emporium” del primo decennio del ‘900: Carl Larsson, «seminatore di gioia» in terra scandinava,” *Emporium. Parole e figure* 2009, 435–463.

¹⁵ ‘Once the master plan by the construction manager, Mr. Möller, was determined, full freedom was left to the architects in the construction of the various pavilions [...]. And similar concept, from which it appears the most pleasant variety and a character of attentive personality, has provided the remarkable school of young architects, who are transforming the city of Stockholm, the opportunity to manifest itself; and, among them, please mention Messrs Boberg, Lindegren, Liliegvist and Wickmann’ from Erik Sjøestedt, “L’esposizione storico-artistica-industriale di Stoccolma,” *Emporium* 32 (August 1897), 144 (Translation by the author).

¹⁶ The bibliography on Skansen and the Nordiska Museet is very wide. They had a central role on the birth of the first craftsmanship societies and, in general, for the construction of a National conscience. On their role in the national panorama see: Mathias Bäckström, “Loading guns with patriotic love. Artur Hazelius’s attempts at Skansen to remake Swedish society,” in Simon J. Knell et al., *National Museums. New studies from around the world* (London, New York: Routledge, 2011), 69–87.

Even though the exhibition included the participation of only Nordic nations (with the exception of a Russian section),¹⁷ the event had positive reviews in Italy and in other southern countries, and it was the first chance to show Ferdinand Boberg's work to an Italian public.

Gustaf Ferdinand Boberg (1860-1946) was one of the chief-architects of the exhibition, in charge of the design and construction of almost twenty pavilions, like the Palais de l'Industrie (**Fig.2**), deeply influenced by the buildings at the 1893 Chicago World Fair.

Despite his young age, this was not his first International appearance, since he had already built the Swedish pavilion at the 1889 Exposition Universelle in Paris.¹⁸

Even if his name was only briefly mentioned in this first article, his work started to be regularly published by *Emporium* from 1902, thanks to the Vittorio Pica's personal interest in Nordic Art and Architecture.

¹⁷ The only International section was 'Belle Arti', and only Giuseppe Segantini, represented Italy (in Sjøestedt, "L'esposizione storico-artistica-industriale di Stoccolma," 148).

¹⁸ On Ferdinand Boberg's work for the International Exhibition see: Ann Thorson Walton, *Ferdinand Boberg – Architect. The complete work* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1991), 29–48.



Esposizione di Stoccolma — Grande Palazzo dell'Industria. (Entrata principale).

alla sua inesauribile energia che il paese stesso dovrà la conoscenza del proprio passato e della propria peculiare genialità, manifestata così nell'arte come nella storia dell'antica civiltà svedese. È pure al dottore Hazelius che deve la creazione dello *Skansen*, il quale completa la sezione.

Lo *Skansen* è un museo all'aria aperta. Esso incorona l'alto colle occidentale che domina l'Esposizione ed è stato congiunto a questa in guisa da formare una specie di giardino. Ed è con vanto della capitale svedese ch'esso differisce completamente dalle ordinarie distrazioni che si offrono ai visitatori di tutte l'altre esposizioni. Là nessuna agglomerazione di caffè-concerti, di giocolieri e saltimbanchi; ma un luogo incantevole dagli alberi maestosi e le

vive acque, nel quale la vita tradizionale degli antenati spiega i suoi gravi e commoventi quadri. Si può chiamare lo *Skansen* un riassunto della Svezia e della vita svedese traverso i secoli e le varie provincie. Le sue case rustiche e le sue capanne di lapponi circondate da renne, non porgono soltanto una serie d'immagini e di riproduzioni, sempre un po' artificiali, de' modi successivi della esistenza nazionale, ma costituiscono codesta esistenza medesima nella sua fedeltà intrinseca ed ingenua. Le sue case contadinesche coi loro utensili ed attrezzi sono state trasportate là quali esistevano altra volta nella Delecarlia, o nel Wermoland, per ricordare alle attuali generazioni la vita laboriosa e frugale, piena di un carattere pittoresco e forte, degli antenati. E le piante e gli ani-

Fig.2 — Ferdinand Boberg's pavilion at the 1877 Stockholm Exhibition.

Source: Erik Sjöstedt, "L'esposizione storico-artistica-industriale di Stoccolma," in *Emporium* VI, 32 (August 1897), 145.

2.2 Vittorio Pica and the ‘Nordic Obsession’ at the Italian Exhibitions

Vittorio Pica (Naples, 1862 – Milan, 1930), Italian art critic and tireless globetrotter, started to work for *Emporium* in 1896.¹⁹

He was the son of an exiled Italian patriot, Giuseppe Pica, and the foreigner Anne James, who he had met in London in 1860. Thanks to his double English and Italian education, Vittorio showed an early interest towards the new artistic agitators at work throughout Europe.²⁰

Besides an unstoppable campaign to raise awareness towards the new artistic reforms in Italy, Pica had also written for important foreign magazines such as *The Studio*, *Die Kunst* and *Dekorative Kunst*, doing more than a little to spread Italian art abroad.²¹

¹⁹ Vittorio Pica’s first article for *Emporium* was published in January 1896 for the ‘news’ section with an English subject: Vittorio Pica, “Il centenario di Keats. Per la gioia degli occhi. (A Matilde Serao),” *Emporium* III, 13 (January 1896), 73-76. See also Marco Lorandi (ed.), *Un’affettuosa stretta di mano. Vittorio Pica. L’epistolario di Vittorio Pica ad Alberto Martini* (Monza: Vienneperre edizioni, 1994), 276–277.

The role of Vittorio Pica in the Italian critical panorama has been investigated only in recent times since 2007, by Davide Lacagnina’s thesis and his following research project ‘Vittorio Pica, critico “d’eccezione” (1880-1930)’ in 2012. In this research, Lacagnina highlighted several erroneous pieces of information on Pica’s life: the most relevant for this essay is that Pica was never an *Emporium* director but always a regular journalist. See Davide Lacagnina, “Pica, Vittorio” in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol.83 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana 2015), 125.

The research project also included the creation of an online database (partially accessible at <http://www.capti.it/index.php?ParamCatID=5&IDArchivio=7&clang=IT>): since Pica did not leave any private archive, it was a necessary step for further investigation to collect all personal letters available in several archives throughout Europe. The research also cooperates with this project, focusing on Pica’s relationships with Swedish artists and including new materials for the online database. For more information on Vittorio Pica and the online database see Davide Lacagnina, “Vittorio Pica à neuf! Un progetto di ricerca, un archivio virtuale, una raccolta di saggi,” in Davide Lacagnina (ed.), *Vittorio Pica e la ricerca della modernità. Critica artistica e cultura internazionale* (Milan: Mimesis, 2016), 7–30.

²⁰ Thanks to the last archival recognitions, the complexity of Pica’s hectic life –picturing an articulated European geography between Paris, Bruxelles, Munich, Berlin, Prague and Stockholm– is becoming more and more evident. However, Pica’s interests were not limited to the Europe, since his 1894 volume *L’arte nell’estremo oriente* (Turin; Rome: L. Roux, 1894), a collection of articles on Far-East Art.

²¹ Lacagnina, “Pica, Vittorio,” 122.

Because of his miscellaneous interests and a great personal curiosity, Pica's point of views was also shifting from one subject to another: it is the case of his lateral interest towards Decorative arts and Architecture, after a long concentration on Painting and Literature, as indispensable parts of a larger discourse on the *gesamkunstwerk*.²²

However, for long time Pica's critical fortune has been mainly linked to the publication of the first Italian book on Impressionists painters,²³ whose opinions eventually condemned him to a long *damnatio memoriae*.²⁴

Finally, the latest studies have progressively raised attention towards his endless peregrinations and the constant fight to spread a cosmopolitan view among his audience.

At the beginning of the twentieth-century, his effort in a positive reception of Nordic countries' art in his home country remains unrivaled: between 1897 and 1919 –just considering his work for *Emporium*– he wrote more than thirty articles on single artists and exhibitions reviews.²⁵

²² On a critical analysis of Pica's idea on Architecture see Luca Quattrocchi, "L'equivoco dello stile: Vittorio Pica e l'architettura modernista," in *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*, serie 5, 8/2 (2016), 663-682; 898-905; on his role for the birth of an Italian debate on decorative arts see Section III in *Vittorio Pica e la ricerca della modernità*, 239-302.

²³ Vittorio Pica, *Gli Impressionisti francesi* (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano d'arti Grafiche, 1908).

²⁴ See Lacagnina, "Vittorio Pica à neuf," 9-12.

²⁵ Written by Vittorio Pica for *Emporium* in the 'Artisti contemporanei' section are the following articles: "Carl Larsson" 125 (1905): 332-352; "Anders Zorn" 129 (1905): 163-187; "Halfdan Ström" 134 (1906): 83-98; "Ferdinand Boberg," 136 (1906): 242-303; "Hans Stoltenberg-Lerche" 138 (1906): 404-423; "Carl Wilhelmson" 164 (1908): 85-97; "Bruno Liljefors" 167 (1908): 325-334; "Carl Millès" 169 (1909): 3-19; "Principe Eugenio di Svezia" 190 (1910): 243-259; "Ernest Josephson-Per Hasselberg" 193 (1911): 3-18; "Gustav Fjaestad, Anselm Schultzberg, Otto Hesselbom, Anna Boberg" 195 (1911): 171-191; "Richard Bergh - Oskar Björck" 199 (1911): 3-20; "Karl Nordström - Nils Kreuger - Eugen Jansson - Herman Norman" 201 (1911): 163-178; "Axel Petersson - Albert Engström" 205 (1912): 3-16; "Christian Krohg" 206 (1912): 83-97; "Laurits Tuxen" 215 (1912): 323-337. In the section 'Attraverso gli albi e le cartelle': "I cartelloni illustrati in Germania, Russia, Scandinavia, Spagna, Italia, ecc." 27 (1897): 208-232; "Un nuovo albo di Carl Larsson" 195 (1911): 246-252. In the 'exhibitions review': "La pittura all'Esposizione di Parigi. III. Gli Stati Uniti, l'Inghilterra, la Scandinavia e la Russia" 74 (1901): 95-110; "L'arte decorativa all'Esposizione di Milano: qua e là per le sezioni straniera" 141 (1906): 163-180; "L'Esposizione degli 'Amatori e cultori di Belle Arti in Roma'" 171 (1909): 163-176; "L'arte mondiale all'VIII Esposizione di Venezia, I: Le mostre individuali di Besnard, Zorn e Stuck" 175 (1909): 56-66; "L'arte mondiale all'VIII Esposizione di Venezia, II: Le mostre individuali di Kroyer, Frieseke, Miller, Pasini, Fattori" 176 (1909): 134-149. In other sections: "Edouard Munch" 113 (1904): 347-368; "Le acqueforti a colori di Olaf Lange" 158 (1908): 153-158; "Due maestri nordici dell'incisione: Anders Zorn e Frank Brangwyn" 165 (1908): 165-179; "Necrologio di Peter Severin Kroyer" 181 (1910), 73; "La moderna arte

2.2.1 Vittorio Pica and the first meetings with the 'Norden' spirit

More specifically, Vittorio Pica's patronage with Nordic countries started in 1895, in occasion of the First Esposizione Internazionale d'Arte della città di Venezia (today known as Biennale d'arte²⁶) where artists like Carl Larsson (1853-1919) and Anders Zorn (1860-1920) –considered today among the most representative Swedish painters of the twentieth-century– were introduced to an Italian public.

In his first 1895 article on Scandinavian painters,²⁷ he showed an appreciation for a series of peculiar 'nordic' characteristics: first of all their sensitivity for the natural landscape as well as their simple and direct look towards reality, far from Italian Academic teaching and probably an echo of his personal preference for a certain Parisian *fin-de-siècle* primitivism.²⁸

He wrote:

Indeed they [The Scandinavian painters] are not cerebral artists like the English; they are not only simple and sincere observers of the nature, but they have also the rare fortune of not having a classical traditions, of being new to art, and therefore able to take advantage of an exact and naive vision of reality, without the need to be first painfully emancipated from the terrible iron net that, among us, the Academic teaching throws on even the most lively and rebellious artistic geniuses. And when the Scandinavians wanted to be acquainted with the tendencies and the directions of Painting in other European countries [...] no hostile prevention, no narrow prejudice of the school forbade them to appropriate, with wise precaution, of all that, in the daring research of the painters, [...] seemed to make their technique more effective in reproducing scenes from natural life. But yet, another attraction

decorativa in Isvezia” 186 (1910): 403–421; “Un medaglista svedese: Erik Lindberg” 206 (1912): 140–144; “Stoccolma nei disegni di un architetto svedese” 299 (1919): 227–242.

²⁶ The Exhibition opened on the 30 April 1895, inside the Palazzo delle Esposizioni at the Giardini del Castello and had a great success with 224.000 visitors.

²⁷ Looking at the Italian press at that time, it is clear the word 'Scandinavian' was used to indicate the states of Sweden, Norway, Denmark and Finland, with little understanding of their cultural and political differences.

²⁸ On a further analysis of Pica's interpretation of Nordic painters see Alessandra Tiddia, “Vittorio Pica e l'«Osessione nordica»,” in *Vittorio Pica e la ricerca della modernità*, 196-209; *L'ossessione nordica. Böcklin, Klimt, Munch e la pittura italiana*, ed. Giandomenico Romanelli and Franca Lugato (Venice: Marsilio, 2014), Exhibition catalogue.

*have the Scandinavian canvases, to say the truth independent from any particular merit of the authors [...]: the attraction of the exotic.*²⁹

However, his analysis does not stop at their realism and the role of Nature: besides their eye, cleared of cultural superstructures, Pica admired their 'freedom of appropriation', a fully modern version of eclecticism, derived from a widespread tradition of the *Grand Tour* in the Nordic countries.

An important outcome of this International Art Exhibitions was the construction of a series of mutual relationships with Vittorio Pica that lasted over the years. It is the case of the mentioned Carl Larsson, Anders Zorn³⁰ as well as other Swedish artists, like the sculptor Carl Milles (1875-1955), the painters Alfred Bergström (1869-1930), Anshelm Schultzberg (1862-1945) and Oscar Björck (1860-1929), all present in Pica's private collections.³¹

²⁹ Vittorio Pica, *I pittori scandinavi in L'arte europea a Venezia* (Naples: Luigi Pierro editore, 1895), 51–52 (Translation by the author). This book, as usual in Pica's work, is a collection of articles published in different newspapers during 1895. In particular, the Scandinavian section was published in Vittorio Pica's, "All'esposizione di Venezia VIII. I pittori scandinavi," *Il pungolo parlamentare. Giornale della sera* II, 211 (1-2 August 1895).

³⁰ Both Larsson and Zorn continued to participate in the International Art Exhibitions in Venice in the following years, and also to the 'Black and White exhibition' in 1909 organized by the Società Amatori e cultori di Roma, reviewed by Vittorio Pica himself in the *Emporium* pages. See note 52. On the personal relationships between Carl Larsson, Anders Zorn and Vittorio Pica some information on their late exchanges (after 1920) are included in Marco Lorandi (ed.), *Un'affettuosa stretta di mano*, 99, 228–229, 285. A further deepening of other personal relationships with other Swedish artists is included in this research, thanks to new sources available in foreign archives (see **Appendix 'Letters 1'**).

³¹ We know today about the artists represented in Pica's collection thanks to the catalogues of the public auctions of his belongings, which occurred in 1931, after his death. Moreover, in 1928, Arturo Martini organized an International donation by artists, friends of the Italian critic, in his honor. From these sources we can recollect the following information on his connections with Sweden: Alfred Bergström professor at the Royal Konstakademien, donated two aquatints in 1928 (n.20-21); Pica possessed two Anders Zorn, *Portrait of Frau Olga Bratt* and *Portrait of Paul Verlaine* (n.695-696 in the November auction); Carl Millès, one of the major sculptors in Sweden, was a member of the 1928 committee and Pica owned the work *Dancer* (n.14, auction in march 1931); Oscar Björck, professor at the Konsthögskolan, for the 1928 donation gave one painting; the critic also bought two paintings by Anshelm Schultzberg, an erratic artist. See: Arturo Martini (ed.), *Raccolta Internazionale d'arte offerta dagli autori in omaggio a Vittorio Pica* (Milano: Galleria Scopinich, 1928); *Collezione Vittorio Pica*, ed. Cada d'Artista (Milan: Casa d'artisti, 1931), Pica's collection Public Action 4-16 March 1931; *Catalogue de la collection Vittorio Pica*, ed. Antiquariato W. Toscanini & C. (Milan: Antiquariato W. Toscanini & C., 1931), Pica's collection Public Action 22-27 November 1931.

His connections were not limited to Sweden –certainly the most covered in his works– but he was also a great admirer of other Nordic artists like the Danish Laurits Tuxen (1853-1927) and the Norwegian Halfdan Ström (1863-1949) and, finally, of Edvard Munch (1863-1944), often presented in Venice in the same ‘Scandinavian’ section.³²

Besides the following International Art Exhibition in 1897 and 1899,³³ a second significant chance to meet with the most advanced Nordic experiences was the 1900 Universal Exhibition in Paris, where Pica was sent as correspondent and Art critic. In this case, he was particularly fascinated by the Finnish Pavillion, built by Herman Gesellius (1874-1916), Armas Lindgren (1874-1929) and Eliel Saarinen (1873-1950),³⁴ and especially by the series of paintings by Akseli Gallen-Kallela, still introduced by Pica with his Swedish name, Axel Gallen.³⁵ The pavilion was one of the most important moments in the Finnish history of architecture, since it introduced Finland in an international context, as a separate cultural area from Sweden and Russia, even if at that moment it was still a province of the Russian empire.

³² In the mentioned Pica’s Public Auctions catalogue and the 1928 donation (note 63), we can see Pica owned eighteen works by Edvard Munch (n. 481-498 in the November auction); two paintings by Ström (n.96-97 in the March auction 1931); and finally a painting, Beach in Denmark (n.98 in the same March catalogue) by Laurits Tuxen. Both Ström and Tuxen were also part of the international committee for the donation organized by Arturo Martini.

³³ In every occasion, Pica always followed the Scandinavian section very closely, which was always increasing in his dimension. The Scandinavian painters were 23 at the first exhibition, 26 with 47 works in the second edition and in 1899 they were 30 artists for 70 paintings. Vittorio Pica, “Pittori Scandinavi,” in *L’Arte Mondiale a Venezia nel 1899* (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano di arti grafiche, 1899), 6.

³⁴ In this occasion, he wrote only about Kallela’s painting. However, within a couple of years he introduced the pavilion and Saarinen’s work as one of the most representative architectural modern examples. See Vittorio Pica, “Il problema dell’architettura moderna,” *La Stampa*, 27 May 1902, 1.

³⁵ Vittorio Pica, “La pittura all’Esposizione di Parigi. III. Gli Stati Uniti, l’Inghilterra, la Scandinavia e la Russia,” *Emporium* XIII, 74 (February 1901), 108–109. Axel Gallén (1865-1931) changed his name into its Finnish version ‘Akseli-Gallen Kallela’ in 1896. After a French training between 1884 and 1889, Akseli was the protagonist of a new interest towards the Finnish vernacular heritage and traditions, evident in his paintings on the *Kalevala* epic poem. See Timo Maritna, Douglas Sivén, *Akseli-Gallen Kallela. National artist of Finland* (Sulkava: Watti-Kustanus Oy, 1985). On the relationships between Kallela, his Italian exhibitions and Vittorio Pica see M. S. Bottai, “Perchè vai in Italia? – Artisti finalndesi in Italia e la rinascenza della pittura murale in Finlandia tra Otto e Novecento” (PhD diss., Università di Roma ‘La Sapienza’, 2009), 96–126, 144–150.

Besides, the pavilion was, for the three architects in charge, the first international experience and the main occasion to show Kallela's painting, capturing images from the *Kalevala*, an epic poem with nationalistic aims.³⁶

This time, Pica's article –which confirmed the judgment and peculiarities already expressed in 1895 on Nordic art– was welcomed with much more interest by the Italian press. By chance, at the beginning of the 1900 another great event took place in North Europe: the famous Duke of Abruzzi's Polar expedition reviewed only few pages before Pica's article on Scandinavian artists in February 1901.³⁷ Also thanks to the great resonance of the mission in the Italian audience, at the fourth edition of the Venetian International Art Exhibition in 1901 Vittorio Pica noticed how the entire Italian section was affected by what he called a 'Nordic Obsession'

'so much to renounce to some of the features of Italian art in order to present themselves disguised as Scots, Scandinavians and Germans. What happened had to fatally happened and I, to be honest, do not feel ready to regret it too much [...] Given the particular conditions of the necessarily cosmopolitan modern spirit, the isolation, in the field of the arts as in every other intellectual activity, must and can only be cause of decadence [...]

*"Renew or die," D'Annunzio's prophetic motto, threatening imposed itself on most of our painters.'*³⁸

³⁶ On the Finnish Pavilion see Marika Hausen, "The Paris Pavilion. Finnish Pavilion at the 1900 Paris World Fair", in Albert Christ-Janer, *Eliel Saarinen* (Helsinki: Kustannusosakeyhtiö Otava, 1951), 84-89; *Suomen Paviljonki Pariisin Maailmannäyttelyssä 1900 / Le Pavillon Finlandais à l'Exposition universelle de 1900*, ed. Erkki Fredrikson (Jyväskylä: Keski-suomen museo 2001), Exhibition catalogue.

³⁷ Giovanni Roncagli, "Spedizione del Duca degli Abruzzi. La conferenza al Collegio Romano," *Emporium* XIII, 74 (February 1901): 83-94. This is not the first article on the Polar Expedition on *Emporium*: see Toberal, "Spedizione del Duca degli Abruzzi," *Emporium* 63 (March 1900): 162-172. On a complete (almost 700 pages) reportage of the expedition see also Luigi Amedeo Savoia Duca degli Abruzzi, Umberto Cagni, Pietro A. Cavalli Molinelli, *La Stella polare nel Mare Artico 1899-1900* (Milan: Hoepli, 1903). The experiment was also described by Ugo Ojetti (1871-1946), journalist and future influential art critic, at that moment working as a young reporter for the popular daily newspaper *Corriere della Sera*, with a dedicated section named 'Lettere Boreali'. Laura Cerasi, "Ugo Ojetti", in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol.79 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana 2013), 178. For Ojetti, this was an important occasion to get to know a distant culture, which he eventually continued to deepen during his direction of the artistic journal *Dedalo* (1920-1933).

³⁸ Vittorio Pica, "L'Ossessione Nordica," in *L'arte Mondiale alla IV Esposizione di Venezia* (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano di Arti Grafiche, 1901), 5-6 (Translation by the author). This

It was first time an Italian critic had spoken about a Nordic echo in the Italian Art and even as a positive example for the development of a modern conscience. The credit for this process of renewal was especially due to the Biennali d'arte in Venice, offering a unique occasion for Italian painters, art critics and journalists to exchange views. As in the previous exhibition, protagonists of the Scandinavian section were once again Anders Zorn and Carl Larsson.

2.2.2 Vittorio Pica and Ferdinand Boberg

It is not a stretch to say that thanks to Zorn himself and the echo of the 1897 Stockholm exhibition published by *Emporium*, Vittorio Pica was introduced to Ferdinand and Anna Boberg's work and eventually to them in person.³⁹

The exact beginning of their relationship is still an open question, since the lack of conspicuous archival materials.⁴⁰

However, Anna and Ferdinand's numerous drawings present in Pica's collection, as well as the generous amount of ink on Boberg's behalf by the Neapolitan critic, seem to indicate a rather direct frequentation of the two, assured by a series of Italian exhibitions, when Ferdinand was in charge of the Swedish sections.⁴¹

Particularly significant are two unpublished elements found in the Biennale archive in Venice, confirming a close relationship from the beginning of the 1910s. The first is a picture of a group of people –including Vittorio Pica– standing in front of the Swedish pavilion –designed by Ferdinand Boberg– during its inauguration in 1912. (Fig.3)

A second source it is a letter from the Swedish architect to Antonio Fradeletto, general secretary of the exhibition, in which he sent a warm invitation to both

definition inspired the title of a recent exhibition in Ferrara: *L'Ossessione nordica. Böcklin, Klimt, Munch e la pittura italiana*.

³⁹ The only published evidence of a mutual relationship was, until now, a letter sent by Vittorio Pica to Antonio Martini, on 6 September 1928, while the Italian painter was in Paris. In his writing, Pica ended the letter with an affectionate greeting to Anna and Ferdinand Boberg, at that time also in Paris for an exhibition. The letter is published in Marco Lorandi (ed.), *Un'affettuosa stretta di mano*, 268–9.

⁴⁰ After a meticulous research, it was not possible to find any direct letters between Vittorio Pica and Ferdinand Boberg: as already mentioned, Pica never left any archive and Boberg's list of personal letters –available at the Kungliga Biblioteket and at the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm– includes only a small part of the original amount.

⁴¹ See paragraph 2.4.

him and Pica to visit the 1914 exhibition in Malmö, where Boberg was in charge of the arrangements.⁴²

Moreover, at his death in 1930, Pica owned two paintings by Anna Boberg⁴³ (*Fishing Boat* and *Storm in the Lofton Islands*), four etchings by his husband as well as five different editions of the Swedish architect's album *Stockholmsbilder från Borjan af 1900 talet*, edited after an exhibition in 1915.⁴⁴

Thanks to this, we can say that in Pica's collection the second most represented Nordic artist (after Edvard Munch with eighteen art works) was Boberg himself.⁴⁵

A further clue of the close relationship of the three (Vittorio, Ferdinand and Anna) is also that, in occasion of the 1928 International donation, organized by the Italian artists Arturo Martini on Pica's behalf, Anna and Ferdinand were nominated part of the general committee and they both chose to donate a piece of their work.⁴⁶

Finally, as evidenced by many letters preserved at the Royal Library in Stockholm, the Swedish couple spoke Italian fluently (together with German, English and French), which helped them very much in the definition of close collaborations with Italian institutional authorities and French-speaking journalists like Vittorio Pica.

⁴² Ferdinand Boberg, *Letter from Boberg to Antonio Fradeletto, April 24, 1914*, ASAC Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, Venice, 'Lettere autografe' Box, Folder 'Ferdinand Boberg'. **Appendix 'Letter 2.1'**

⁴³ Anna Boberg, n.17 and 18 in the *Collezione Vittorio Pica* (see note 63).

⁴⁴ The etchings were: *Treno nella notte, Riviera, Effetto della neve, Ponte S. Martino a Toledo*, numbers 57-58-59 in the *Catalogue de la collection Vittorio Pica*, November 1931, while the albums with Stockholm drawings were at numbers 38-39-40-41-42 in *Beaux Arts – Peinture, sculpture, gravure. Beaux ouvrages illustrés, monographies et biographies d'artistes, bibliographies, catalogues d'expositions d'art, etc. composant la bibliothèque Vittorio Pica, critique d'art et ancien directeur*, ed. Antiquariato W. Toscanini & C. (Milan: Antiquariato W. Toscanini & C., 1931), Pica's collection Public Action 9-12 December 1931.

⁴⁵ The importance of Pica's private collection was also commented by the famous architectural magazine *La casa bella*, shortly before its renewal in *Casabella*. See Il Bibliofilo, "La collezione Vittorio Pica," *La casa bella* 47 (November 1931): 55–56.

⁴⁶ In particular she offered the painting *Escape before the storm* and he gave the drawing *The Cathedral*, with the Parisian Basilique du Sacré-Cœur de Montmartre. See Arturo Martini (ed.), *Raccolta Internazionale d'arte*, 10, 18.

2.2.3 Pica at the 1909 Konstindustriutställningen in Stockholm

In 1909, while Ferdinand Boberg was in charge, for the third time, of the Swedish Salon in Venice, he had also won the assignment for a second Stockholm exposition: the Konstindustriutställningen (Expositions of the Arts and Industry) held in Stockholm between 4 June to 15 September. This time, differently from the 1897 occasion, Boberg was the only architect in charge of the general plan and the pavilions.

Compared to the other times, the project was conceived as one organic palace, divided into a series of continuous courts into different levels on the Island of Djurgården. **(Fig.4)**

The Architecture of the Exhibition was a combination of motifs coming from the 1893 Columbian Exhibition in Chicago –which had a great impact in Boberg’s architectural education– and the echo of a Mediterranean architecture, known during his many peregrinations with his wife Anna.

The wide resonance of the event, finally led Vittorio Pica on a dedicated trip to the North: his later article on *Emporium*, in June 1910, titled ‘The modern decorative art in Sweden’, was indeed a brief summary of his Stockholm visit in occasion of the exhibition.⁴⁷

He focused his attention on the great quality of the new Artistic schools, born throughout the country, like the Technical School in Stockholm (*Tekniska Skolan i Stockholm*) –directed by Viktor Adler (1848-1910) since 1886– and of the “Handwork Friends Society” (*Handarbetets Vänner*), founded by the ladies of the capital, inspired by the popular artifacts shown at the *Nordiska Museet*. In his words, we can find some interesting predictions about the future challenges of modern arts, which was to ‘find a balance between two parallel currents: one popular, anonymous, traditional, and the other one aristocratic, individualistic and cosmopolitan, which, without confusing them, are both sympathetic, influenced and completed by each other’.⁴⁸

Besides resuming and expanding the discourse on the birth of decorative groups in Sweden –most of them already present in Turin 1902– Pica noted the participation of a younger generation of architects, like Carl Westman (1866-1936), Ragnar Östberg (1866-1945) and Axel Lindegren (1860-1933), with a series of modern furniture designed with simplified shapes and a progressive abandonment of decoration.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Vittorio Pica, “La moderna arte decorativa in Isvezia,” *Emporium* 186 (June 1910): 402–421.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 421.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 418.

Moreover, the Exhibition was certainly an important occasion for the Neapolitan critic to get acquainted with the modern architecture of the city, as well as to meet with the artistic *milieu* of Stockholm.

This might also be one of the reasons why the letters by Pica, found in the Stockholm archives, were dated after 1910, after his trip to the North in the summer of the previous year.

2.2.4 *Pica's Swedish correspondences and last publications on Nordic artists*

The letters by Pica, found in the Swedish Archives, are in total five, covering a period between 1910 and 1915 and we can also add other four letters, sent by different Swedish protagonists in response: the journalist August Brunius (1879-1926), the medal artist Erik Lindberg (1873-1966) and the famous painter Richard Bergh, all in French.

The first one, dated February 1910, was directed to August Brunius, a journalist in the art section of the popular newspaper *Svenska Dagbladet*, in order to confirm Pica's participation for the celebration for the fiftieth birthday of his 'loyal and playful' friend Anders Zorn in that same year.⁵⁰

In this occasion, as well as in other letters, he refers to the help of his friend Thorsten Laurin (1875-1954), sensitive modern art collector, patron of the arts, important architectural client and close friend of Carl Larsson.⁵¹

The growing interest of the Italian establishment for the Swedish architect – introduced by Thovez and celebrated by Pica– was also signed by a second famous trip to the North in 1910, from another Italian critic: Ugo Ojetti (1871-1946), the journalist already mentioned for his reportage of the Duke of Abruzzi's expedition to the North Pole in 1900.⁵²

In occasion of his Russian trip, Ojetti eventually arrived in Finland where he met Saarinen, Gesellius and Lindgren. At the end of August, he finally traveled to

⁵⁰ Vittorio Pica, *Letter from Vittorio Pica to August Brunius, February 2, 1910*, Box L 105, Folder 5, KBHA, Stockholm. **Appendix 'Letter 1.1'**

⁵¹ Thorsten Laurin was certainly another central protagonist of the mutual relationships between Italy and Sweden, especially in his close collaboration with the Italian critic Vittorio Pica. His role was not only as a patron of the arts but also as an important architectural client, since he commissioned his home –today is known as Villa Ekarne– to Ragnar Östberg in 1907. Other references to Laurin are in the letter to Bergh on March 20, 1912 (**Appendix 'Letters 1.6'**) and in the answer by Lindberg on November 15, 1913 (**Appendix 'Letters 1.7'**). His name appeared also in the Swedish commission for the first Italian Exhibition of Decorative Arts in Stockholm in 1920. See par. 3.2.

⁵² See par.2.2, cfr. 60.

Sweden, where he visited the Royal Palace with the guide of Ferdinand Boberg himself.⁵³ (Fig.5)

After 1910, another occasion for a general gathering of Nordic artists in Italy was the International Exhibition in Rome in 1911, when the Neapolitan critic was nominated the head of the Foreign Sections, invited to the Artistic Exhibition. His great fame as an endless globetrotter and curious discoverer, had finally given him a position in national attention and he favored the diffusion of the Swedish artists that he mostly preferred like Zorn, Larsson, Björck, Ström and Fjaested, all already mentioned because all present in Pica's private collection.⁵⁴

Moreover, according to the available correspondences, at the moment of the roman exhibition Pica was already working on his monography *Arte ed Artisti della Svezia dei giorni nostri*, published a few years later.⁵⁵

The book was a collage of his previous articles on Nordic artists as well as a chance to master other less known artists that he had met along the way.

He also continued his involvement with other Nordic countries, for example Finland, when in 1914 he supported, along with Anders Zorn, the first personal exhibition of Gallen Kallela at the Venetian Biennale, with a room designed by his friend Eliel Saarinen.⁵⁶

The show confirmed the Italian interest for the North, and followed the Swedish personal exhibition in 1909 of Anders Zorn and the 1912 exhibition of Anna Boberg's paintings.

The book, finally published in 1915, comprehended several sections for Art, Architecture and Decorative Art and, even if Ferdinand Boberg closed his office in that same 1915, in this Italian publishing he was still presented as the most innovative, relevant and 'modernist' architect and designer in Sweden.⁵⁷

⁵³ A brief description of Ojetti's trips to the North is included in Margherita D'Ayala Valva, "Carl Larsson, «seminatore di gioia»,» 446–451.

⁵⁴ See par. 2.2.1, note 63. For the general catalogue of the exhibition directed by Pica see: Vittorio Pica, *L'Arte Mondiale a Roma nel 1911. I pittori stranieri* (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano di Arti grafiche, 1911).

⁵⁵ See *Letter from Vittorio Pica to Erik Lindberg, January 6, 1911*, Box E1, Folder 10, Riksantikvarieämbetet, Stockholm, Erik Lindberg's Archive. (**Appendix 'Letters 1.2'**).

⁵⁶ At this 1914 exhibition, a model of the cupola for the 1900 Finnish pavilion was also shown for the first time in Italy. The model and the exhibition arrangements were both made by Eliel Saarinen. See M. S. Bottai, "Perchè vai in Italia?," 114–115.

⁵⁷ Vittorio Pica, *Arte e Artisti della Svezia*, 235.

The chapter was followed by a quick description of the other protagonists of this ‘innovative generation’ born in Sweden between 1855 and 1870.⁵⁸ For the first time Pica presented to his country selected works by Lars Israel Wahlman (1870-1952), Isac Gustaf Clason (already known on *Emporium* for his Nordiska Museet), Erik Lallerstedt (1864-1955), Carl Bergsten (1879-1935), Ivar Tengbom (1878-1968), Torben Grut (1871-1945), Carl Westman and Ragnar Östberg (these two introduced in Pica’s review of the 1909 Stockholm exhibition).

The rather different projects were not explained, but briefly presented as a fine example of National-romantic Architecture, based on an ‘honest presentation of the natural materials’ and the refusal of the positivist ‘rettifilo’⁵⁹ in the planning practice, in favor of more picturesque arrangements.⁶⁰

While Pica had noted the novelty of this younger architects, he did not quite understand their polemical vein, in regard, for example, to the preponderant role of decoration in Boberg’s style, which initially had constituted an avant-garde element of the first Swedish modernist generation.

Above all, though speaking of ‘honest material’, Pica did not include the search by authors like Östberg and Tengbom towards a progressive simplification of architecture, which would eventually lead to the progressive isolation of the role of Ferdinand Boberg in his homecountry.

The last article on his Swedish friend was published in 1919, after the end of the First World War, on his work as a sketcher.⁶¹ The city of Stockholm and his traditional architecture inspired Pica’s definition of a ‘Venice of the North’: a tribute to their common meeting in the Italian city and an anticipation of Boberg’s latest interest for vernacular architecture, published throughout the years in the so-called ‘Svenska Bilder’.

Finally, Pica closed the article with his sincere regrets in understanding Boberg’s retirement as an architect: ‘It is possible’ –he remarked- ‘that the yesterday revolutionary feels today to be shamelessly designated as reactionary?’⁶²

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 260.

⁵⁹ The ‘rettifilo’ was the Italian word explaining the tendency to design straight avenue and roads in the planning practice, destroying the previous landscape, in opposition to the new arousing idea expressed by Camillo Sitte in his *City Planning According to Artistic Principles*, published in Austria in 1889 and translated in French in 1902.

⁶⁰ Vittorio Pica, *Arte e Artisti delle Svezia*, 254.

⁶¹ Vittorio Pica, “Stoccolma nei disegni di un architetto svedese,” *Emporium* 299 (November 1919): 226–242.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 237.

In the following year, in 1920, Pica was also nominated the General Secretary of the Venice International Art Exhibition, until 1926,⁶³ but never again, would he have the chance to meet his friend in an official role.

On the other hand, Pica's effort in spreading Boberg's architecture in Italy would have been the beginning of a long-lasting interest towards the North, which progressively increased in the 1930s, also with the help of an old Boberg.⁶⁴

⁶³ Lacagnina, "Pica, Vittorio," 123.

⁶⁴ See par. 4.1.

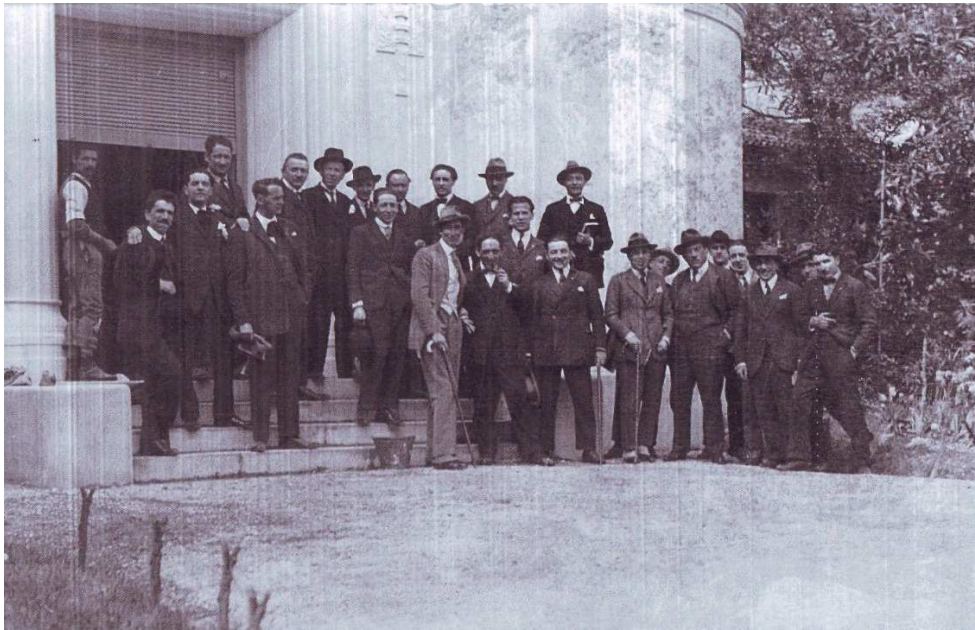


Fig.3 – A group of people in front of the Swedish Pavilion at its inauguration in 1912. From the left, we can recognize Domenico Varagnolo, Romolo Bazzoni and Vittorio Pica.
Source: Box 11, ASAC Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, Venice, Inventario Fototeca – Attualità e Allestimenti.

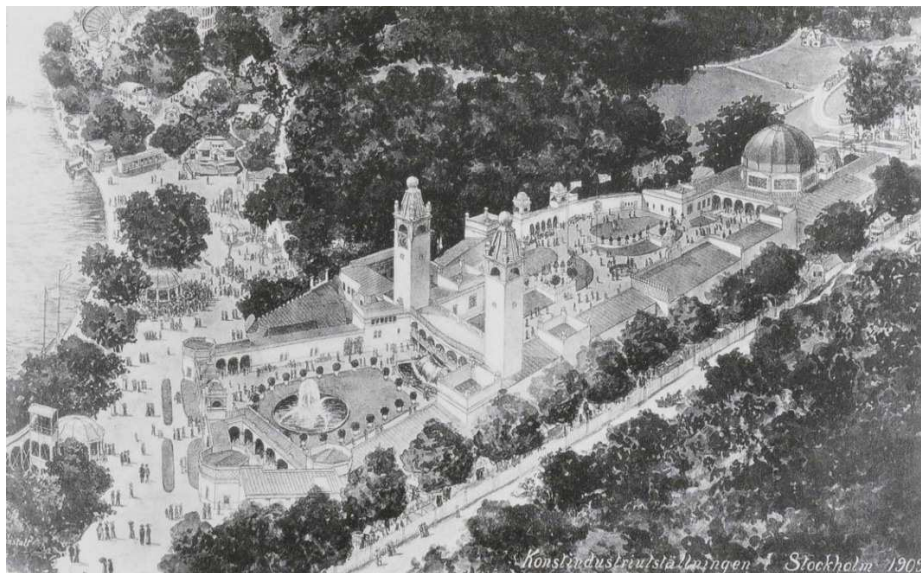


Fig.4 – An axonometric view of the 1909 Stockholm Exhibition of the Industrial Art in Stockholm, Djurgården.
Source: Arkitekturmuseet, Stockholm.



Ugo con Ferd. Boberg.

Fig.5 – Ugo Ojetti and Ferdinand Boberg, 1910.

Source: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Florence, Fondo Ojetti, Album foto 17.

2.3 Ferdinand Boberg and his critical reception at the 1902 Exhibition in Turin

Ferdinand Boberg had been a longtime friend of the Swedish painter Anders Zorn⁶⁵ since their student days, as well as a devoted Italian traveler with the company of his beloved wife, the artist Anna Scholander (1864-1935). In accord with the Nordic Grand Tour tradition, their initial visit to Italy occurred a decade before the first Biennale, in fall 1885, as an unavoidable completion of Boberg's training as an architect.⁶⁶ After that—and until his retirement in 1915—a series of International Exhibitions in Italy became not only important social occasions but also relevant experiences for his work as an architect.⁶⁷ For the first time in 1899—thanks to the great fame of the Stockholm exposition two years before—he was called to participate as a committee member and a juror at the third International Art Exhibition in Venice.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Anders Zorn and Ferdinand Boberg met each other during their student years. Besides, the two artists both came from the same region in Dalecarlia. Zorn studied at the Royal Swedish Academy of Fine Arts between 1875 and 1881, while Boberg was a student in mechanical engineering at the nearby Tekniska högskolan (today the Royal Institute of Technology) between 1878 and 1881. A proof of their close friendship is the 1880 portrait of Boberg by Anders Zorn showing him singing and playing guitar. See Ann Thorson Walton, *Ferdinand Boberg*, 17–19.

⁶⁶ After his degree at the Tekniska högskolan and an additional two years at Royal Swedish Academy of fine Arts, in 1884 Boberg won the Royal Medal for the annual competition project with a 'Harbour building for a mayor seaport'. With the prize money, he could finally afford to travel to Europe. In Italy, he visited Venice, Bologna, Rome and Florence. The watercolors of his 1885 journey are available at the Archive of the Royal Academy of Fine Arts. See Fabio Mangone, *Viaggi a Sud. Gli architetti nordici e l'Italia* (Naples: Electa, 2002), 40–41. In December of the same year Anna Scholander, her mother and her sister Ellen met Ferdinand in Venice and from there they traveled to various places during the holiday season. See Ann Thorson Walton, *Ferdinand Boberg*, 17–21, 296–298. After a period in France where Anna became a close friend of the French architect Charles Garnier (1825-1898), in March 1886 the couple was at the Italian border, since Anna was taking part in the annual Bordighera Carnival as reported on "Il carnevale di Bordighera", *Liste des Etrangers de Bordighera. Journal Hebdomadaire*, March 8, 1886, 2. Since 1899 the Bobergs never stopped travelling in Italy, until 1932, the year of two exhibitions in Rome dedicated to a series of sketches by Ferdinand Boberg himself.

⁶⁷ Between 1889 and 1915 he was in charge of twelve expositions, both national and International, and three of them were hosted in Italy, in particular in Turin and Venice, in 1902, 1905 and 1912.

⁶⁸ Marco Mulazzani, *I Padiglioni della Biennale. Venezia 1887-1988* (Venice: La Biennale di Venezia-Electa, 1988), 55.

This first Italian experience, together with a personal love for the lagoon city, influenced the contemporary project for the Rosenbad multi-purpose building (1899-1903) on the Stockholm channel, opposite to the Royal Palace (**Fig.6-7**): decades before Ragnar Östberg's City Hall, Boberg used the attraction of the late Gothic Venetian palaces and the Grand Canal as a reference for a Nordic project. However, his interest for Venetian architecture was not unique in his artistic circle: for example, the Hallwylska Palatset's court and façade by Isak Gustaf Clason and the Konstnärshuset by Ludvig Peterson, both finished in 1898 clearly stated their fascination for the Italian city (**Fig.8-9**).

However, compared to these previous examples, Rosenbad showed a more mature use of a foreign reference: not merely as an ornament, but as an elegant reflection of the plan on its context, exactly as it happened long after with Östberg's City Hall.⁶⁹

The Rosenbad building was finished in 1902, the year of another great opportunity for Ferdinand Boberg to meet with Italian artists and critics (and probably the same Vittorio Pica): the First International Exhibition of Modern Decorative Arts in Turin.⁷⁰

The central aim of this International event –the first completely dedicated to decorative arts– was to give a cosmopolitan view of the topic; a hope for an awakening of Italian artists and architects, living in a country where the construction of a national high-quality artisanship was still a far horizon.

A common idea for all participants –specifically declared in the general guidelines by the curators– was a shared fate in the future, a rejection of ancient styles imitations and a tight connection of Art, Architecture and Decorative Arts, indispensable for the construction of a truly modern life.⁷¹

The states invited were Italy, France, Holland, Hungary, Germany, Japan, United States, England, Belgium, Scotland, Austria and, for the first time,

⁶⁹ The personal differences between Boberg and Östberg are well known, since the young architect's critics led to Boberg's retirement in 1915. However, it is impossible not to see a certain resemblance in the conception of the two buildings.

⁷⁰ The Exhibition opened on April 1902 inside the Parco del Valentino, and closed in November of the same year. Raimondo D'Aronco was the architect in chief of the exhibition in collaboration with Annibale Rigotti (1870-1968), both focusing their efforts on spreading the new ideas of the *Art Nouveau* in Italy. On the work of the two architects see Manfredi Nicoletti, *D'Aronco e l'Architettura liberty* (Rome: Laterza, 1982), 100-137; Giorgio Rigotti, *80 anni di Architettura e di arte. Annibale Rigotti architetto 1870-1968. Maria Rigotti calvi pittrice 1874-1938* (Turin: Tip. Torinese, 1980).

⁷¹ "Prima Esposizione Internazionale di Arte Decorativa Moderna Torino – aprile-novembre 1902, *L'Edilizia Moderna* vol.X, 1 (January 1901), 4.

Sweden, Norway and Denmark. Not all the states participated at the same level, and while Denmark and Norway presented themselves with only a few ceramics and textiles,⁷² the bigger Nordic pavilion was certainly the Swedish section, between the American and the German one, coordinated by the architect Ferdinand Boberg.⁷³

The architect conceived a rather simple design: a white stucco floral decoration for the portal, surmounted by a Swedish escutcheon and a garland motif; a high white molding throughout the room divided the lower part of the walls, meticulously arranged with tapestries and decorative elements, from the upper part, completely unadorned. The light colors of the partitions enlarged the salon and focused their attention on the art pieces, most of them already present in the 1900 Exposition Universelle at Paris.⁷⁴ (**Fig.10-11**)

The salon had been funded –not without difficulty– by Boberg himself in collaboration with the entrepreneur Josef Sachs (1872-1949), a supporter of the applied arts and the founder, in that same 1902, of the first Swedish department store: the Nordiska Kompaniet.⁷⁵

Once the money issue was solved, their intention was to expose the best selection of the Swedish decorative arts, which had had a significant growth since the second half of the Ninetieth century. Together with the foundation of the mentioned Nordiska Museet in 1873 and the Skansen museum in 1891, a series of Swedish art societies were born in order to support decorative arts and to educate the new generations in accordance with old traditions.

It was the case of the *Svenska Slöjdföreningen* (Swedish Society for Arts and Crafts) born in 1845, the *Handarbetets Vänner* (Friends of the Textile Art Association, known also as HV) in 1874 and the *Föreningen Svensk Hemslöjd* (Handicraft Swedish Society) in 1899.

After several international exhibitions, in 1902 Sweden was finally ready to show the high level of his production, based on a close relationship between artisans

⁷² Gilda Cefariello Grosso, "La Danimarca all'Esposizione Internazionale d'arte decorative di Torino del 1902" and Anniken Thue, "La Norvegia", in *Torino 1902. Le arti decorative internazionali del nuovo secolo*, eds. Rossana Bossaglia, Ezio Godoli and Marco Rosci (Milan: Fabbri editore, 1994), 257–8, 483–4, Exhibition catalogue.

⁷³ Ann Thorson Walton in her 1993 monography on Ferdinand Boberg, stated his participation was suggested by the designer Walter Crane (1845-1915), head of the English pavilion and his close friend, after admiring his work for the 1897 and 1900 exhibitions. Ann Thorson Walton, *Ferdinand Boberg*, 56.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 57.

⁷⁵ Joseph Sachs, *Mitt Livs Saldo. Resenär och organisatör* (Stockholm: Norstedt och Söners, 1949), 95. Joseph Sachs was president of the Nordiska Kompaniet between 1902 and 1937.

and designers (always artists or architects) and a profound affection for Nordic traditions.

In Turin they finally exposed textiles from the HV, and especially a series of tapestries with winter landscapes by Anna Boberg; the Gustavsberg and Röststrand porcelains (also with a section drawn by Anna); some textile drawings by the Almgren Silk factory and finally the emergent glass industries Kosta and Reijmyre, again with pieces designed by Boberg's wife. The chief architect also had the chance to present several furniture by his design: an *ex libris*, several silver elements, the Von Rosen skåp (a famous wardrobe designed for the Royal family), a writing desk and three chandeliers.⁷⁶

The section was, by different voices, defined as one of the best ones of the entire exhibitions, showing an elegant and original approach in the designs, and it signed the beginning of a long series of Italian experiences for the Nordic architect.⁷⁷

The artistic pieces were also followed by a small exhibition of architectures,⁷⁸ in the case of Sweden by the same Ferdinand Boberg.

Even if today there is no trace left of the list of the exposed projects, it is possible they matched the examples discussed in the 1902 article in *L'Arte Decorativa Moderna* (1902-1907) by Enrico Thovez (1869-1925), general secretary of the exhibition.⁷⁹ In this enthusiastic report –the first in Italy dedicated to a Nordic architect– Boberg was painted as one of the most talented ones: Thovez underlined, in particular, his 'simplicity', 'a certain naturalism' and a lack of imitation of the classical forms, resembling in many ways the artistic opinions on the Scandinavian painters expressed since 1895 by Vittorio Pica.

⁷⁶ A precise and enthusiastic report of the Swedish pavilion was published by Enrico Thovez, "Arte decorativa scandinava," *L'Arte Decorativa Moderna* II, 2 (1902): 40–45 and in Vittorio Pica, "La sezione scandinava," *L'arte decorativa all'Esposizione di Torino del 1902* (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano di Arti grafiche, 1903): 92–102.

⁷⁷ Positive comments came from the Italians Vittorio Pica and Enrico Thovez, prominent critics of the exhibitions, as well as from foreign critics, like Dr. H. Pudor, in the German newspaper *Kölnische Zeitung*, on 19 June 1902.

⁷⁸ The best list of the exposed architecture in the 1902 Exhibition is published in Ezio Godoli, "«...uno stile uniforme, che non è altro che lo stile austro-tedesco». Polemiche sull'architettura dell'esposizione," in *Torino 1902*, 73, note 4.

⁷⁹ Enrico Thovez, "un architetto svedese: Ferdinand Boberg," *L'Arte Decorativa Moderna* II, 2 (1902), 33–40. In this occasion, he illustrated the entrance of the Nordiska Kredit Bank on Drottningatan (1899-1904), the Electricity works (1889-1892), the Rosenbad and the buildings for the 1897 exposition in Stockholm.

At the same time, Pica himself had been nominated official journalist, of the Italian newspaper *La Stampa*, for the exhibition, in substitution of Enrico Thovez. In his 1903 book (a collection of articles published in the previous year), he bluntly defined Boberg –together with the Finnish Eliel Saarinen– the most representative architect of the entire modern movement, particularly meaningful for his use of the new materials and unique decorations.⁸⁰

Even if these two critics could be considered part of the positive or negative comments given in the review process of the event, their almost too flattering position on Boberg's behalf induces to look for further interpretations.

Moreover, it is important to recall that –with small exceptions⁸¹– Pica's article was one of the first ever published in Italy on the characteristics of modern Architecture.

On the other hand, *L'Arte Decorativa Moderna* was not merely an art magazine, but it was the voice specifically founded by Thovez for the exhibition, with the intention of representing 'the most significant Italian theoretical critic to all the novelties the exhibition was proposing' and, because of his voice not always appreciative, 'the intellectual messenger of the event'.⁸²

On balance, the two essays can be also considered a thoughtful response to the more general debate on the state of the modern architecture in Italy, raised by the Exhibition itself.

In particular, D'Aronco and Rigotti's main pavilions had caused a great stir in their public, because they were considered –by Thovez and Pica at first– almost too imitative of the Austrian Joseph Maria Olbrich and his proposals for the 1901 Darmstadt exposition.⁸³

Cynically, the first reason that can be found to explain Boberg's sudden fortune in a foreign panorama was the neutrality of the Swedish politics from the difficult situation between Italy with Austria, few years before the beginning of the First World War.

⁸⁰ Vittorio Pica, "Gli Edifici dell'Esposizione," *L'Arte Decorativa*, 13. Original title of the article was "Il problema dell'architettura moderna".

⁸¹ Alfredo Melani, "L'architettura del secolo XX", *Arte e Storia* XX, 8 (April 1901), 45–47. Alfredo Melani was an architect as well as an art critic and an Art History teacher in Florence and Milan. See Maria Giovanna Maestrelli, *Alfredo Melani. Architetto, storico e critico dell'architettura* (Florence: Pontecorboli, 2001).

⁸² Rossana Bossaglia, "L'esposizione secondo la stampa contemporanea," in *Torino 1902*, 43.

⁸³ On a deep analysis of the debate in occasion of the 1902 Exhibition in Turin see Ezio Godoli, "«...uno stile uniforme," 63–72.

On the other hand, the accusation of a direct imitation⁸⁴ of foreigners and extraneous architectural elements in D'Aronco was almost unanimous within the Italian critics, and they naturally found the conservative position of Boberg's architecture sufficiently innovative and reassuringly conservative.

At this point, these examples of Nordic architecture represented an intermediate –and therefore winning– position for Italian critics. It was in fact still possible for Pica and Thovez to understand the classical references behind the general compositions, and at the same time to praise the original decorations as well as a competent use of the new materials (still hidden behind more traditional ones). The debate also highlighted the general training of the Italian critics as Art historians, and their ignorance towards most of the spatial and constructive questions. The problem was clearly enclosed in the two-dimensional analysis of the architectural elements, often made only through photographs, at the expenses of an understanding of the spatial innovations.

Although Pica and Thovez both showed themselves to be more than well aware of the contemporary international trends (from Voysey to Richardson, and from Olbrich to D'Aronco), the debate inevitably terminated with an ambiguous re-affirmation of a traditional concept of 'style'. We can say that 'without taking into account the revolutionary conception of the indissoluble unity of structure and decoration, Pica analyzes the new architecture [...] within the dichotomy of organism / ornamentation [...] and therefore involuntarily supporting the thesis of "the enemy of the Arte Nova"'.⁸⁵

At the end, instead of focusing on the strength of the Swedish collaborative system between architects, artists and artisan, Italian critics chose to praise Boberg's section for his safe theoretical position, midway between traditionalism and innovation.

⁸⁴ Of course D'Aronco and Rigotti's imitation of Olbrich's elements was a mere simplification of a more complex series of elements: for example a common interest, in D'Aronco and Olbrich, for Mediterranean architecture, because of a long period spent by the Italian architect in Turkey, as well as a personal interest for essentiality and a rational use of the construction.

⁸⁵ Quattrocchi, "L'equivoco dello stile", 667.



Fig.6 – Ferdinand Boberg’s Rosenbad on Strömgatan, photo by Okänd, 1903.
Source: Stockholms Stad, ID. n.C 1751.



Fig.7 –Rosenbad’s detail of the corner tower, photo by Anton Blomberg, 1898-1910.
Source: Stockholms Stad, ID. n.C 3406.



Fig.8 – Hallwylska Palatset's façade by Isak Gustaf Clason built in 1898 on Hamngatan 4. Photo by Kasper Salin between 1898 and 1918. *Source:* Stockholms Stad, ID. n.Fg 35016.

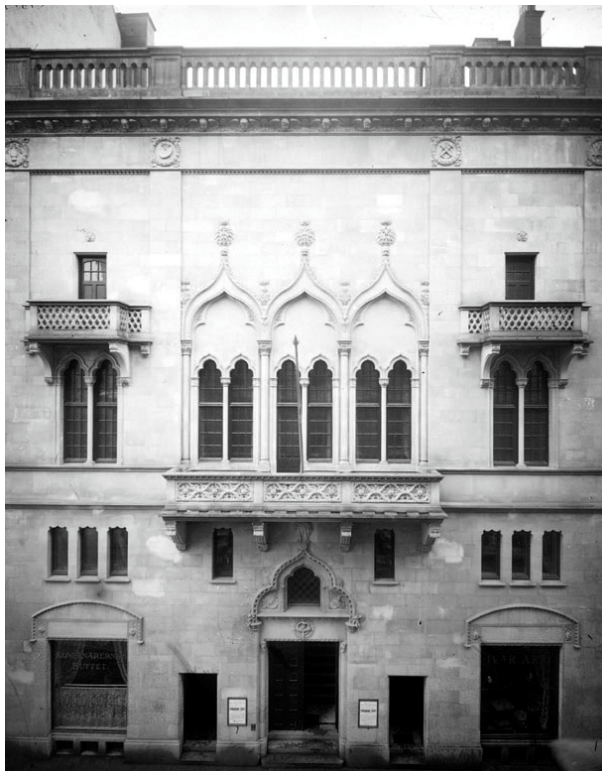


Fig.9 – Front of the Konsthögskolan by Ludvig Peterson built in 1898 on Smålandsgatan 7. Photo by Okänd, 1909. *Source:* Stockholms Stad, ID. n.C 1874.



Fig.10-11 – the Swedish section designed by Ferdinand Boberg at the First International Exhibition of Modern Decorative Arts in Turin, 1902.
Source: *L'Arte Decorativa Moderna* II, 2 (1902), 40-41.

2.4 Ferdinand Boberg at the *Biennali d'arte* in Venice

The 1902 Turin exposition could be considered a solitary voice in the Italian panorama and eventually a lost chance to reform (or, even better, to create) the national decorative arts system, definitely worsened by the beginning of the First World War.

On the other end, Ferdinand Boberg continued his fruitful collaboration with the Italian Biennale, after the first experience as a juror in 1899.⁸⁶ The Biennale was particularly known for its International interest towards the new form of arts, and it soon became one of the great moments for Italian artists and architects to cope with foreign examples. In particular, Sweden showed a continuous participation at the exposition, since its first edition in 1895 and especially from 1905 until 1914, when Ferdinand Boberg was always in charge of the Swedish salon and where, in 1912, he finally built the first national Pavilion. In 1914, the Swedish government refused to buy the building and it was purchased instead by Holland until its demolition in 1954, in order to be substituted with a new project by Gerrit Thomas Rietveld (1888-1964).

It is important to underline how, in this period, Boberg was continuously applauded by the press (and by Vittorio Pica on the front line) as one of the most significant architects of that time. Unfortunately, his early retirement in 1915 and the beginning of the World War, signed a new phase of abandonment by the Swedish Institution of this Italian Exhibitions.

A comparable moment of exchange with the city of Venice would only arrive many decades later, after the construction of the 'Nordic countries Pavillion' by the Norwegian architect Sverre Fehn in 1963, with Sweden definitely losing its leading position in the Venetian panorama.⁸⁷

2.4.1 Venice 1905

In 1905 at the 'Biennale d'arte' in Venice, Boberg was in charge of the Swedish saloon, situated in the room IX inside the 'Palazzo Centrale dell'Esposizione'. For the first time since the foundation of the exposition in 1895, Sweden was chosen along with other five countries (France, England, German, Italy and Hungary) to decorate an entire room, not just as an art section but as a total work of art.

⁸⁶ See par.2.3.

⁸⁷ Marco Mulazzani, *I Padiglioni*, 113-114.

The general design of the space highly resembled the choices made for the 1902 exhibition in Turin: the division walls into a lower part, covered with a woven wall-fabric in blue, yellow and green, and an upper part, signed by a floral continuous molding, covered in white plaster.

The chosen pattern gracefully used the scientific principle of pointillism, and, at a certain distance, it created the illusion of a grey-blue-purple fabric, as reported by the contemporary press.⁸⁸

Among the estimates –besides the usual enthusiastic review by Vittorio Pica– we can also remember the positive impressions of a young Margherita Grassini Sarfatti (1880-1961),⁸⁹ writer and an intelligent art critic, which in 1931 would be in charge of the first Italian Modern Art Exhibition in Stockholm.⁹⁰

The white bas-relief stucco decorations on the two facing doorways, designed by Ferdinand Boberg, were also similar the 1902 portal for Turin, and they constituted the focal points of the room, in contrast with the simplicity of the rest.

⁸⁸ Vittorio Pica, “L’arte decorativa all’Esposizione di Venezia. II. Le sale straniere,” *Arte Italiana Decorativa e Industriale* XIV, 9 (September 1905), 70. The influential Italian critic Camillo Boito directed the magazine and he invited Vittorio Pica to review the Venitian exhibition. In this occasion he wrote: ‘*An impression of true relief is felt passing from the gloomy and sumptuous French room in the subsequent Swedish room, of such luminous playfulness and so exquisite harmony of lines and colors, starting from the velarium and the thick tapestry of the walls, whose polychrome threads give to the pupils of visitors, thanks to their complementarian colors, the sensation of a happy and lethargic light, to the violet embroidered elements, to the carpet of a vivid color to the stuccos with amiable and original ornaments, thanks in the union of heraldic and floral motifs, from hooves to pedestals and furniture covered with a light patina of a very delicate greenish gray*’ (Translation by the author).

⁸⁹ Margherita Grassini Sarfatti, “La Biennale di Venezia,” *Gazzetta Veneta*, April 22, 1905. In the 1920s she became the leader of an artistic group from Milan called ‘Novecento’ but her international reputation was for decades related to being the author of Benito Mussolini’s first official biography, initially published in English in 1925. A letter, dated 18 April 1935 from Margherita to Boberg attested their close relationship until late times. In the letter, Margherita sent their condolences to Ferdinand, after his wife’s death which occurred in January of that same year. See Ferdinand Boberg, Archive, Box L57, Folder 3, KBHA, Stockholm. Margherita Sarfatti was coming from an important Venitian Jewish family and her first teachers were influent art critics like Antonio Fradeletto and Pompeo Molmenti: the first future director of the Venice Biennale and the second among the organizer of the 1920 Italian Exhibition in Stockholm. On Margherita Sarfatti’s education and her first writings see: Ilaria Cimonetti, *Alle radici di novecento italiano. Un ritratto giovanile di Margherita Sarfatti* (Verona: Scripta, 2016). For her biographical profile and her complex relationship with fascism see: Angela Frattolillo, *Margherita Grassini-Sarfatti. Protagonista culturale del primo Novecento* (Fano: Aras edizioni, 2017); Sergio Marzorati, *Margherita Sarfatti: saggio autobiografico* (Como: Nodo libri, 1990).

⁹⁰ See par. 4.1.

The portals, composed with a symbolic combination of Swedish and Venetian elements, were surmounted by a tent-like projection that followed the cloister vault. Moreover, the salon was illuminated by a wide skylight which flooded the unadorned room with light. **(Fig. 12)**

The Swedish architect had also designed the few exhibited pieces of furniture: two round tables, four arm chairs, a series of stool and a richly decorated cabinet, engraved as the doorways with the double shields of Venice and Sweden. **(Fig. 13)**

Even the colors of the room were meticulously chosen to create a rarefied atmosphere, from the pavement to the ceiling: from the dark skirting, to the grey-green patina of the furniture, to the iridescent wall-fabric, to the white vault and, finally, the natural light.

The exhibition was made by few selected pieces by the already well-known Anders Zorn and Carl Larsson and, for the first time, it showed the work of Bruno Liljefors (1860-1939), and his large wildlife landscapes.⁹¹

The room was completed by Gustav Fjæstad (1868-1948) woven tapestries and the sculptures by Christian Eriksson (1858-1935) and Carl Milles (1875-1955).⁹²

Compared to the gold, ‘shiny and somewhat barbaric luxury’ of the Hungarian section, or the graphic elegance of the French salon,⁹³ Boberg used a simple combination of neutral colors and materials, with the exception of the rich white stucco floral decorations, placed only on the main entrances.

The Nordic section was highly lauded by the committee and finally it was awarded with the gold medal, with great pride of Ferdinand himself.⁹⁴

Not long after the closure of this exposition, in April 1906, Vittorio Pica published the second Italian article (after the one by Thovez in 1902, but the first in *Emporium*), entirely dedicated to Ferdinand Boberg and his latest works. After the 1902 magnification of the architect’s originality (always in relation to his decorative elements), Pica started to highlight the role of the Swedish collective experimental research:

⁹¹ Vittorio Pica, “I Pittori della Spagna e della Scandinavia,” in *L’Arte Mondiale alla VI Esposizione di Venezia* (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano di Arti Grafiche, 1905), 16–22.

⁹² Ann Thorson Walton, *Ferdinand Boberg*, 65.

⁹³ Vittorio Pica, “L’arte decorativa all’Esposizione di Venezia,” 69–70.

⁹⁴ See Ferdinand Boberg, *Letter from Ferdinand Boberg to Antonio Fradeletto, January 11, 1907*, Box 23, Folder ‘Sala Svedese’, ASAC Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, Venice, Attività 1894-1944 (serie cosiddetta Scatole nere).

*'Architecture, because is the art where the collective soul of a given population in a given time manifests itself, requires a slow and complex elaboration to eliminate the individual conceptions from the collective feeling, taste and needs.'*⁹⁵

In the end, a personal interpretation of modern architecture was only a necessary step towards its overcoming, in the direction of a 'collective', or better 'universal' movement.

Besides the initial statements, the article was partially re-editing Pica's 1902 ideas and the decision of its publishing followed the missing participation of his Sweden to the 1906 International Exhibition in Milan, with deep regrets of the Neapolitan critic.⁹⁶

2.4.2 Venice 1907 and 1909

The same room, with rather small changes, continued to be used as a Swedish section in the following Biennale, in 1907 and in 1909.

However, the extensive exchange of correspondence present in the Biennale Archives between Boberg and Antonio Fradeletto (general secretary of the exhibition), showed the profound interest of the Swedish architect for the perfect organization of each event and his prominent role in organizing and choosing all the art pieces.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Vittorio Pica, "Ferdinand Boberg," *Emporium* 136 (April 1906), 242–243 (Translation by the author).

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 258. On the other hand, Boberg's absence was also due to his coordination of the Arts and Industrial Fair in Norrköping, held in that same year. For the Milan exhibition Sweden did not participate with a dedicated pavilion but instead the archaeologist Pompeo Castelfranco (1843-1921) invited his friend Oscar Montelius (1843-1921) to show some historical pieces, related to the mythic Viking age, in the Ethnographic section of the exposition. See *Letters from Castelfranco Pompeo to Oscar Montelius, December 14, 1905 and February 4, 1906*, Box E1C, Folder 65, Riksantikvarieämbetet, Stockholm, Oscar Montelius' Archive.

⁹⁷ The letters shows a continuous correspondence in order to decide the perfect pavement material, its color and its design, as well as other minor changes inside the exhibition room. See Ferdinand Boberg, *Letter from Ferdinand Boberg to Antonio Fradeletto*, Box 23, Folder 'Sala Svedese', ASAC Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, Venice, Attività 1894-1944 (serie cosiddetta Scatole nere).

The main problem, demonstrated and transportation of the new furniture for the 1907 salon, designed by Boberg for the 'Nordiska Möblerings-Aktiebolaget'.⁹⁸

As shown in the historical pictures (**Fig.14**), the major change was the new floor, designed with an oak herringbone parquet, as accurately required by Boberg's precise indications in the correspondence.⁹⁹

Ferdinand also exhibited one of his design for a large tapestry –a combination of geometric and floral elements– realized by the Handarbetets Vänner in Stockholm, presenting his competence in the different branch of the decorative arts. A Carl Milles' expressive sculptor of his head closed the architect's personal celebration.¹⁰⁰

Besides the usual Zorn and Larsson, the 1907 exhibition also included a series of new artists and, among them, seven paintings by Anna Boberg on the Lofoten Islands' landscapes.

The simplicity of the room was once again in contrast with the others, and especially with the Norwegian room –for the first time present at an international Exhibition as an independent country– designed by the painter Gerhard Munthe (1849-1929) on nationalistic motifs.¹⁰¹ (**Fig.15**)

Finally, the 1909 arrangement of the Swedish section, left all the space to the painting exhibition, signed by the first Anders Zorn's Italian personal show, combined with a single round table in the middle and a few armchairs around. The small participation was probably related to Boberg's efforts for the organization of the 1909 Konstindustriutställningen in Stockholm,¹⁰² almost contemporary to the Venetian exposition.¹⁰³

It is not difficult to imagine that Vittorio Pica's close interest for Nordic artists, led him to finally travel to Sweden in order to visit Boberg's luxurious exhibition,

⁹⁸ Vittorio Pica, "La saletta olandese e le due sale scandinave," in *L'Arte Mondiale alla VII Esposizione di Venezia* (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano di Arti grafiche, 1907), 76–86.

⁹⁹ See Ferdinand Boberg, *Letter from Ferdinand Boberg to Antonio Fradeletto, December 11, 1906*, Box 23, Folder 'Sala Svedese', ASAC Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, Venice, Attività 1894-1944 (also called 'Scatole nere').

¹⁰⁰ Vittorio Pica, "La saletta olandese," 81, 105.

¹⁰¹ Norway formally became a Swedish possession in 1814, after that Denmark –the previous owner of the land– was defeated in the Napoleonic Wars. The political control pacifically ended in 1905, when the Swedish Parliament recognized Norway as an independent country.

¹⁰² See paragraph 2.2.3

¹⁰³ The Biennale in Venice usually opened in the second half of April, and closed on October 31 of the same year. The Stockholm exhibition opened June 4 until September 15.

which anticipated the final chapter of his Italian fame: the construction of the 1912 national pavilion inside the ‘Giardini della Biennale’.

2.4.3 Venice 1912

The decision to build a Swedish pavilion inside the ‘Giardini della Biennale’ was taken by the Administrative section of the event by the end of January 1912, as a natural anticipation of a future purchase by the Nordic country.¹⁰⁴ The choice of Ferdinand Boberg as the most suitable option was of course a natural consequence of his fame during the previous editions and his long-lasting confidence with Antonio Fradeletto.

Sweden was the fifth country to build its own ‘artistic home’, after Belgium, in 1907 with a project by Léon Sneyers (1877-1948) and Hungary, Germany and Great Britain in 1909.¹⁰⁵

Compared to the safe neoclassical tradition of the French and English houses, and the nationalistic interpretation of Hungary, Boberg shared an interest with Sneyers towards an essential simplicity.¹⁰⁶

The chosen position for the site was one of the best of the entire area (**Fig. 16**): right on the left of the main entrance of the Italian building, showing the prominent position of this state in the Venetian panorama.

On the other hand, the biggest issues were related to the short period available, since the building needed to be ready for the inauguration of the IX International Art Exhibition in April of that same year.

The outcome was a simple and modern construction, partially inspired –for the decoration and its classical proportions– by the 1906 proposal by Boberg for the Marine Museum and –for the use of white and stereometric volumes– by the

¹⁰⁴ *Padiglione dell’Olanda*, Box 8, Folder ‘Padiglione dell’Olanda’, ACAS Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, Venice, Lavori e gestioni delle sedi (serie cosiddetta ‘Padiglioni’); see also John Nihlén, Ragnar Josephson, *Bobergiana. Anteckningar av och om Anna och Ferdinand Boberg* (Stockholm: Nord. Rotogravyr, 1958), 172.

¹⁰⁵ Marco Mulazzani, *I Padiglioni*, 37–54.

¹⁰⁶ Margherita Sarfatti, “Ferdinando Boberg,” *Giornale d’Italia*, April 26, 1932. She wrote: “[the Swedish pavilion is] adorned only by its well proportioned rhythmic nudity and smooth milky plaster, which, many years ago, Boberg had the courage to put on four straight and loyal walls, next to the so-called “monumental facade” of the Venice Biennale, without any purpurin, any fake stucco-use-marble paint and useless pillars. And next to the sumptuous Hungarian Pavilion with much gold and a lot of Secession’ (Translation by the author).

construction of the famous Thiel Villa (1904-1905), both in the natural landscape of Djugården.¹⁰⁷

The central symmetry of the building and its simple internal distribution (a main central room and five other smaller spaces in *enfilade*), were mitigated by the round corners of the main façade, the deep splay of the portal and by a curved shaped tympanum. **(Fig.17-18)**

Looking at the historical pictures, it was interesting to see how the building appeared different from the various distances: to a certain length, it was impossible to distinguish the delicate quality of the decoration; on the contrary, at a closer look, the main front was designed with a series of geometrical and floral elements. The symbolic components were completed by four masks on the main pillars of the entrance, two high-relief of the city of Venice and of the Swedish escutcheon and, finally, a central coat of arms.

The internal main room had many of the features already present in the 1905 Swedish salon inside the ‘Palazzo dell’Esposizione’: the high moulding and the vaulted ceiling for a vertical illumination.

The building was –as the other times– praised by the Italian press, and it left a positive impression on the local audience. Margherita Sarfatti wrote, many years after, on occasion of a 1932 exhibition in Rome by Boberg:

‘Boberg is a pioneer. To his Venice Pavilion he probably does not give any attention, considering it, rightfully, one of his minor work. Here in Italy however, it was one of the first, perhaps the first statement of a new style, with a fresh simplicity, maybe harsh to our taste of that time, which swayed between a roaring Classic and a shy Art Nouveau. [...] Then, how many Italians looked with understanding at that little building, which seemed so vast for how much to visit to the 1914 it was naked?’¹⁰⁸

Very different from the enthusiastic Sarfatti’s words was the institutional position of Sweden that decided not to purchase the building, which passed to Holland in 1914.

¹⁰⁷ See also Anne Thorson Walton, *Ferdinand Boberg*, 78; 203-204. Ernest Thiel (1859-1947) was a Swedish banker and the first to translate the works by Nietzsche. He was also an important patron of the arts and commissioned the villa to Boberg in 1902. The house is today an important museum, displaying Thiel’s private collection, which contained several works by the artists exhibited in Venice.

¹⁰⁸ Margherita Sarfatti, “Ferdinando Boberg” (Translation by the author).

The pavilion was first modified between 1926 and 1934, with the elimination of the round corner on the façade, and it was finally destroyed in 1953, in order to make room for the new project by the Dutch Gerrit Thomas Rietveld.¹⁰⁹

Boberg came back to Venice one last time in 1914, before his early retirement in 1915, the same year of the publication of the monography by Pica on Sweden, where Boberg was still introduced as the most prominent Nordic architect of that moment.

Beside the mentioned proposal to visit the 1914 Malmö Exhibition,¹¹⁰ another change of meeting before the beginning of the War for Italy was the 1915 International Exhibition in San Francisco, where Boberg's Swedish pavilion was located close to the Italian one, designed by Marcello Piacentini (1881-1960), for the first time present overseas.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ *Padiglione dell'Olanda*, Box 8, Folder 'Padiglione dell'Olanda', ACAS Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, Venice, Lavori e gestioni delle sedi (serie cosiddetta 'Padiglioni').

¹¹⁰ See paragraph 2.2.2. Unfortunately it was not possible to establish if Pica or Fradeletto accepted the proposal, since in the archive only the letters from Boberg were preserved and not the related answers.

¹¹¹ The Swedish and Italian pavilions were both located on the 'Avenue of the Nations'. Attached to Piacentini's building was also placed the Denmark pavilion and, further on 'Cortez way', Norway. On the Swedish pavilion see: Anne Thorson Walton, *Ferdinand Boberg*, 85-86. On the Piacentini Italian pavilion see: Rosa Sessa, "Marcello Piacentini e il mito della città italiana in America," in S. Aldini, C. Benocci, S. Ricci, E. Sessa (eds.), *Il segno delle esposizioni Nazionali e Internazionali nella memoria storica delle città* (Rome: Kappa, 2015), 493-511.

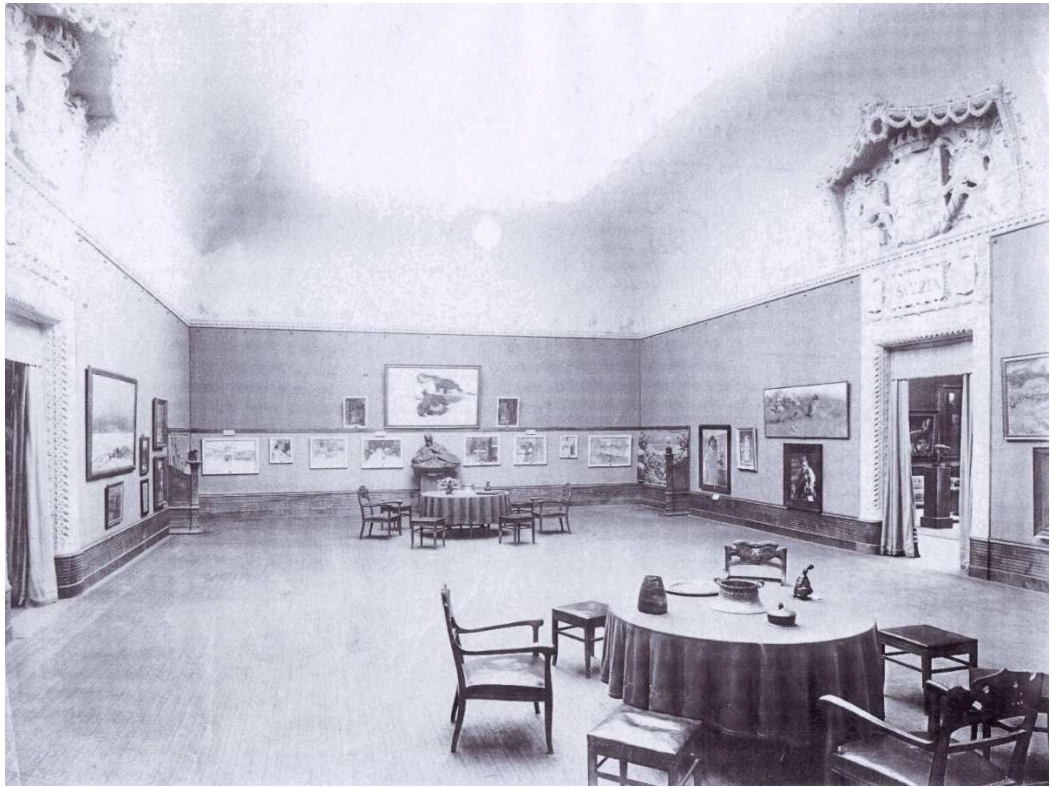


Fig.12 –Boberg’s Swedish Section at the International Art Exhibition in Venice, 1905.
Source: ASAC Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, Venice, Fototeca, Box 7.



Fig.13 –Boberg’s engraved cabinet at the International Art Exhibition in Venice, 1905.
Source: ASAC Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, Venice, Fototeca Artisti, Box B110, Folder Ferdinand Boberg.



Fig.14 –Boberg’s Swedish Section at the International Art Exhibition in Venice, 1907.
Source: ASAC Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, Venice, Fototeca, Box 8.



Fig.15 –Munthe’s Norway Section at the International Art Exhibition in Venice, 1907.
Source: *L’Arte Mondiale alla VII Esposizione di Venezia* (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano di Arti grafiche, 1907), 86.

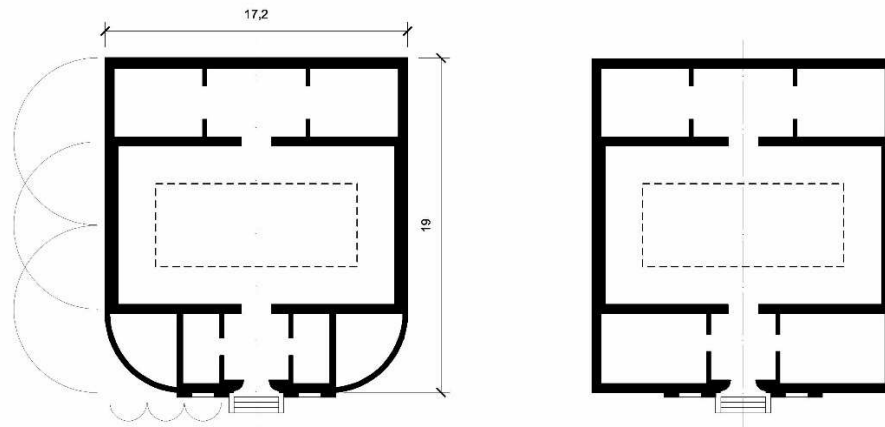
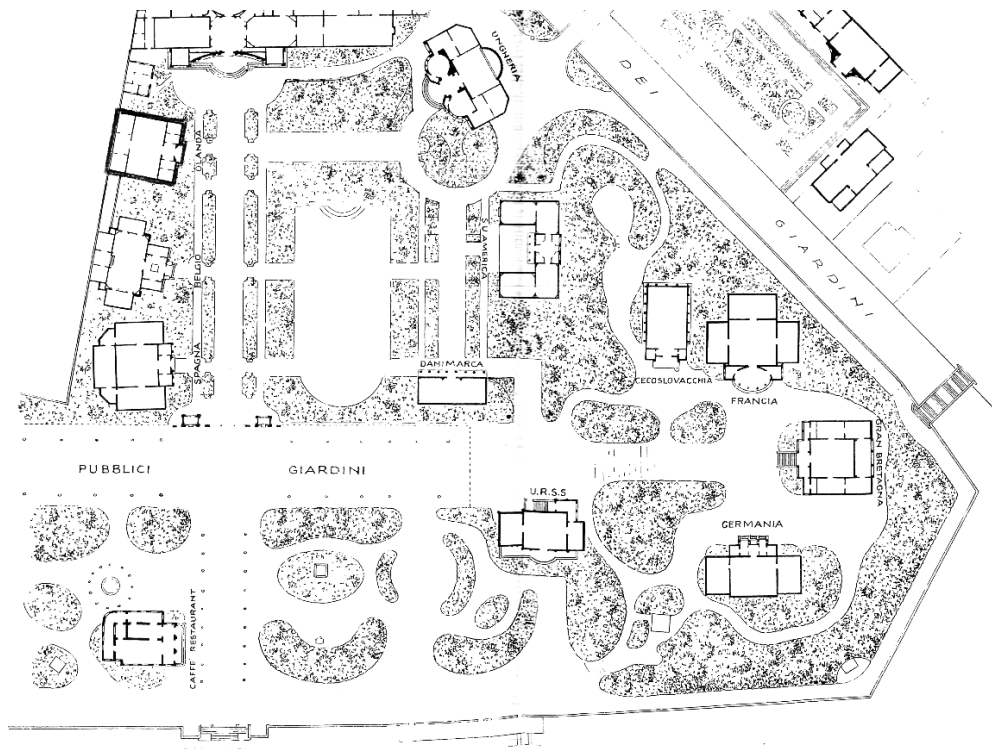


Fig.16 –Plan of the ‘Giardini della Biennale’, 1934. The Swedish pavilion by Boberg was built in 1912, at the left side of the main entrance of the Italian section, after the Belgian house.

Fig.17 – The original plan of the Swedish Pavilion and the following modification made by Holland, which bought the site in 1914. Drawing by the author on a 1934 survey.

Sources: ASAC Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, Venice, Padiglioni, Box 7, Folder ‘Padiglione dell’Olanda’.



Fig.18 – Historical picture of the original Swedish pavilion's front.
Source: ASAC Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, Venice, Padiglioni, Box 7, Folder 'Padiglione dell'Olanda'.

PART III (1915-1924)

Italian artists abroad. Exhibitions in Sweden between avant-garde and tradition

The Italian exhibitions in Sweden which occurred after 1915, were direct consequences of the artistic ‘diaspora’ during the First World War, and not just the result of the established relationships with the city of Venice.

A first effect arrived in 1920, on the heels of the 1902 Italian Exposition in Turin, with the Exhibition of Decorative Italian Arts in Stockholm.¹

On the other end of this troubled period, it was the Italian participation in the first *International Federation Housing and Town Planning (IFHTP)* Congress, held in Göteborg in 1923, and then again in Stockholm in 1939.

A significant enhancement to these Italian travels was Swedish economic growth, ensured by several declarations of neutrality, since July 1914.

Divided between a cultural fondness for the German cause and the economic interest towards the Allies,² the Swedish government –led by the conservative Hjalmar Hammarskjöld with the banker Knut Wallenberg, Ministry of Foreign Affairs– managed to keep Sweden in the best possible position: nonaligned, with the opportunity to enter the conflict in a second moment.³

¹ The title of the exhibition was simply *Italienska Utställing*, held at the Liljevachs Kunsthall between November and December 1920.

² Not long before the beginning of the war, in 1881, King Gustav V had married in Karlsruhe Victoria of Baden, a German princess. Moreover, during the conflict, even if considered neutral, Sweden experienced several international scandals –in 1914 and then again in 1917– related to a misuse of the Swedish Communications systems (telegraphs and post), favoring the delivery of German messages, free from British censorship. On the other hand, in Sweden the majority of foreign trades (60%) was destined to Great Britain and its overseas territories, while only the 22% of its international commerce was towards the Central Powers. Marion C. Siney, “Swedish neutrality and the economic warfare in World War I,” *Conspectus of history* I, 2 (1975), 13–16.

³ The only possible threat to Swedish territories was coming from Russia: in 1809, at the end of the Napoleonic Wars, Sweden was forced to leave Finland to the Russian empire and, still a century later, a common fear was that Russia could attack northern Sweden in order to arrive at the Norwegian Sea. However, given its weak navy, the Baltic Sea became ‘almost a German lake across which Swedish-German trade could flow unmolested’. Siney, “Swedish neutrality,” 16. On August 8, both Norway and Sweden jointly declared their non-involvement in the World War.

Later on, large Swedish resources of iron, still and timber became a necessity, not only for the Central Powers, but also for all the states at war.

Therefore, the country experienced an unusual period of development, as well as the crucial passage to an industrialized economy, which in the second half of the nineteenth century was still mainly agricultural.⁴

These double elements –the growing economy and the political neutrality– made the North of Europe increasingly desirable in the eyes of Italian artists at the beginning of the conflict, like for example Arturo Ciacelli (1883-1966) and Guido Balsamo Stella (1882-1941), who emigrated to Sweden during the 1910s and both married with Swedish artists: Elsa Ström (1876-1952) and Anna Åkerdahl (1879-1957), respectively.⁵

Arturo Ciacelli was a painter, known for his work with the Futurist Italian group since 1905, and the cubist Robert Delaunay in France (1911), while Guido Balsamo Stella was an engraver and a painter educated in Italy, Germany and Austria, with a general interest in decorative arts.

Before this moment, Italian knowledge about northern art was related to the work of Vittorio Pica and Ugo Ojetti, who visited Stockholm and some other cities only for a short period at the beginning of the century.

Of course, there were previous cases of famous travelers from Italy to Sweden: Francesco Negri (1623-1698)⁶ and Giuseppe Acerbi (1773-1846)⁷ and other less known explorers, who, at the end of the nineteenth century, published a series of books on their personal travels.⁸

⁴ Hans Erich Lampl, “Socialdemocrazia e socialismo in Svezia,” *Comunità* 100 (1962), 72.

⁵ A previous case of emigration from Italy to Sweden was, as already mentioned, the father of the Swedish painter Artur Bianchini (1869-1955), exiled in Sweden after the 1848 political uprisings. See par. 1.2.

⁶ Francesco Negri, exploratory and naturalist, is considered the first Italian to have reached Cape North in 1666, according to his posthumous memoir: Francesco Negri, *Viaggio settentrionale fatto, e descritto dal molto rev.do sig.r d. Francesco Negri da Ravenna. Opera postuma data alla luce da gli heredi del sudetto* (Padova: Stamperia del seminario, 1700).

⁷ The exuberant Giovanni Acerbi, close to the Jacobins ideals, after his degree in law in Pavia started to travel throughout Europe between 1798 and 1799, reaching Cape North. Giuseppe Acerbi, *Travel through Sweden, Finland and Lapland to the North Cap in the years 1798 and 1799. In two volumes. Illustrated with seventeen elegant engravings* (London: printed for Joseph Mawman, in the Poultry, 1802). The first Italian edition was published in 1832. See Luigi de Anna, “Giuseppe acerbi, il Capo Nord e la tradizione del viaggio settentrionale,” in Eero Jarva, Markku Mäki vuoti, Timo Sironen (eds.), *Tutkimusmatkalla Pohjoiseen. Giuseppe Acerbin Nordkapin matkan 200-vuotisymposiumi* (Oulu: Oulun Yliopisto, 2001), 16–29.

⁸ See for example the books by Francesco Podreider, Leopoldo Bizio Gradenigo, Elisa Cappelli and Gino Bertolini. Francesco Podreider, *Danimarca, Svezia e Norvegia: note di viaggio*, agosto

Nevertheless, even if his relationships with Italy remained mainly biographical, the most important artistic representative in this part of the planet remained Carlo Francesco Bassi (1772-1840): first architect, educated between Stockholm and Rome, to work in Finland with an academic preparation.⁹

The World War instead, forced artists like Ciacelli and Balsamo Stella to a closer engagement with this distant culture and, when they both returned to Italy after the end of the conflict, they reported the echoes of their experiences into the Italian artistic establishment.

Arturo Ciacelli was an artist-provocateur, closely related to the avant-garde world and he played a non-secondary role in the spread of the new modern principles in the Swedish world. Balsamo Stella, on the other hand, heir and frequenter at the Venice Biennali, became the main channel for the spread of Swedish culture in Italian schools and vice versa.

His contribution was fundamental once he returned to Italy, after 1920: thanks to his constant effort to combine 'minor' and 'major' arts, on the model of Swedish schools and associations, he became in 1929 the director of ISIA, the first Higher School for Applied Arts on the European models for Arts and Crafts.

1887 (Milan: Stab. Tipografico P.B. Bellini, 1887); Francesco Podreider, *Da Cristiania a capo Nord: note di viaggio luglio-agosto 1888* (Milan: Stab. Tipografico P.B. Bellini, 1888); Leopoldo Bizio Gradenigo, *Ricordi di Svezia e di Norvegia* (Milan: Galli di Baldini, Castoldi & C., 1898); Elisa Cappelli, *In Svezia. Impressioni di viaggio: libro per la gioventù* (Florence: R. Bemporad, Firenze 1902); Gino Bertolini, *L'anima del Nord: studi e viaggi attraverso Norvegia, Svezia e Danimarca* (Milan: Treves, Milano). Finally in 1912, Giuseppe De Michelis, president of the General Commission for Emigration, published: *Avvertenze per l'emigrante italiano in Danimarca, Svezia, Norvegia* (Rome: Coop. Tip. Manunzio, 1912) as a general guide for Italian emigrants on Nordic countries.

⁹ Carlo Francesco Bassi was the younger brother of Giovanna Bassi, the first dancer at the Royal Theatre in Stockholm. He studied at the Konstakademien in the same city under the direction of the French Jean Louis Deprez (1743-1804). After a *Grand Tour* lasting eight years in Rome, he came back to Stockholm where he started to work as an architect. In 1802 he moved to Turku, at that time named Åbo (capital of Finland under the control of Sweden), where he worked for the rest of his life. A deepening of the role of Bassi is currently a PhD research, at the Università di Firenze, by Anna Pichetto Fratin. On his work see: Gardberg Carl Jacob, "Den nyantika stadsbyggnadskosten i Åbo. Bilder ur Åbo stads kulturhistoria under 1800-talet," in *Historiska Samfundet i Åbo*, III (1952), 9-29; 62-72; Piovaneli Gian Carlo, "Carlo Francesco Bassi architetto torinese in Finlandia," in *Commentari dell'Ateneo di Brescia* (Brescia: Tipografia Fratelli Geroldi, 1963), 3-14. For a general synthesis of the Italian artists since the late Middleage in Sweden, see Harald Brising, "Le relazioni artistiche della Svezia coll'Italia," *Nuova Antologia di lettere scienze e arti* 166 (July-August 1913): 231-249; Salvatore Sabilia, *Italiani nella Svezia (1000-1800)* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1943), 145-168.

Finally, the case of Giovanni Broglio –sent in 1923 as the Italian representative of the IACP (Autonomous Institute for Public Housing) in Milan– was certainly more extemporaneous, but it contributed to casting the seed of a dissemination of Nordic ideas on planning in Milan.

But, on the contrary, what was happening to the new generations of Swedish artists? Were they still interested in Italian culture and its classical roots?

In the XIX century, particularly significant was, the foundation in Rome of the *Scandinaviska Föreningen* (“the Scandinavian Society”, born in 1860) inside Palazzo Correa, a reference point for artists and Nordic intellectuals, like Henrik Ibsen (in Rome in 1866), and August Strindberg, who visited the Swedish society in 1885.¹⁰

The 1910s signed a relevant turning point for Swedish Architecture: for example in 1915 Ferdinand Boberg (1860-1946) had decided to close his studio and dedicate the next thirty years of work to his wife, his art and his travels.¹¹

Boberg’s friend Claes Grundström (1844-1925) had headed the Stockholm *Konstakademiens byggnadsskola* (Architecture course at the Academy of Fine Arts) since 1883, but in 1916 the prestigious direction passed to a younger group: first to Ivar Tengbom (1878-1968) and later on, in 1922, to Ragnar Östberg.¹²

However, a common trait of the different generations remained the traditional ‘Travel South’, signed by a progressive rediscovery of the role of landscape and of the so-called ‘architecture without architects’.¹³

For Grundström and Boberg’s generation,¹⁴ which had visited Italy in the 1880s and 1890s, the Roman and Greek lesson –originally the main core of the *Grand*

¹⁰ Ann Katrin Pihl Atmer, Brita Carlens, Fredrik Lång (eds.), *Till Rom. Nordiska Konstnärer I Rom under 150 år* (Stockholm: Calsson, 2010), 96; 199. The very first play Strindberg had written in 1870 was *I Rom* (in Rome), an imaginary dialogue between the sculptor Thorvaldsen and his friend Pedersen and an homage to the art of the ‘eternal city’.

¹¹ Once more, in Italy it was Vittorio Pica to give the news of Boberg’s early retirement between 1915 and 1916, with his deepest regrets for his friend. Vittorio Pica, “Stoccolma nei disegni di un architetto svedese,” *Emporium* 299 (1919), 235.

¹² Hakon Ahlberg, *Swedish Architecture of the Twentieth-century* (London: Ernest Benn Ltd., 1925), 33; 38. On the academic education in Architecture in Sweden at the beginning of the twentieth-century, see: *Sweden at the International Congress on architectural education. The Royal Technical high school and the High school of arts, Stockholm. London, July 28th-August 2nd 1924* (Stockholm: Kungl. boktryckeriet, 1924), 18–27.

¹³ Cesare de Seta, “Prefazione,” in Fabio Mangone, *Viaggi a Sud*, 7.

¹⁴ This generation operating in between the nineteenth and twentieth-century, was inaugurated in 1878 by Claes Grundström’s Italian *Grand Tour*. Some years after, in 1880-81, it was the chance of Carl Möller (1857-1933) and in 1883-4 of Erik Lallerstedt (1864-1955), while Isak Gustaf Clason, already mentioned in par. 1.1 for his Nordiska Museet masterpiece, visited Italy

Tour— had been momentarily obscured by Viollet-le-Duc and Ruskin's publications, with their preference for the Middle age and less traveled cities.¹⁵ The results were often sketches underlining the constructive and colorful details of Italian 'minor' architecture, rather than celebrating the greatness of antique civilizations.

However, at the beginning of the twentieth-century, younger architects, like Sigurd Lewerentz (1885-1975), Erik Gunnar Asplund (1885-1940) and Hakon Ahlberg (1891-1984) started to analyze once again the archaeological remains in their travels, though now 'disconnected from any claim of erudition'.¹⁶

This renovated interest in ancient ages, was a result of a wider rediscovery by Swedish intellectuals: for example, by Oscar Montelius (1843-1921), considered one of the founder of the archaeological discipline in Sweden and a pioneer on Italian primitive civilizations¹⁷, or the studies on Italian Renaissance by the art historians Osvald Sirén (1879-1966).¹⁸

Montelius, thanks to his excavations in the northern and central Italy, became a reference point for scholars and archaeology-related institutions in the southern country,¹⁹ while Osvald Sirén, a generation younger than Montelius, remained

the first time between 1883 and 1886. During this period, Clason was reached by his younger friend Ferdinand Boberg, who arrived in Italy in the second half of 1885. A little later, around 1897, the peregrinations of the restless Östberg in Italy started. See Fabio Mangone, *Viaggi a Sud*, 38–42.

¹⁵ Ruskin's *The Stones of Venice* (1851), *Val D'Arno* (1874) and *Morning in Florence* (1875-7) were also written as a guided tour to these Italian locations, contributing to their fame among artists and travelers.

¹⁶ Fabio Mangone, *Viaggi a Sud*, 45.

¹⁷ In 1895, Oscar Montelius had published in French the seminal *La civilisation primitive en Italie depuis l'introduction des métaux* (Stockholm: Imprimerie royale, 1895), still today considered a fundamental book for first Italian civilizations.

¹⁸ In French it was also Osvald Sirén, *Dessins et tableaux de la Renaissance italienne dans les collections de Suède* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1902). In Swedish: *Leonardo da Vinci: hans lefnadsöden, bildverk, personlighet och målarbok* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1911), also translated into English in 1916.

¹⁹ Montelius' archive with his personal letters at the Riksantikvarieämbetet (Oscar Montelius 1859-1921, E 1C Utomnordiska brevskrivare, vol.62-88) counts 116 Italian different correspondents. Among them, besides distinguished Italian palaeontologist like Giuseppe Angelo Colini (1857-1918), Arsenio Crespellani (1828-1900) and Pompeo Castelfranco (1843-1921), we can recall other important names like Arduino Colasanti (1877-1935) art historian and Director General of Italian Fine Arts Ministry and Lamberto Loria (1855-1913), naturalist and explorer and one of the founder of the Museum of Italian Ethnography in Florence in 1906. Finally, Montelius was in contact with the Italian art historian Roberto Papini (1883-1857), also

in touch until the 1930s with important critics like Lionello Venturi (1885-1961) and Carlo Ludovico Ragghianti (1910-1987).²⁰

Quite relevant turned out to be also the course of the Göteborg University on 'Latin philology and Roman antiques', organized between 1908 and 1909 by Professor Vilhelm Lundström (1869-1940) in the Italian capital, applauded with great success by his students.²¹ Success, which contributed, decades later, to the foundation of the Swedish Institute of Classical Studies in Rome and the '*Svensk-Italienska Föreningen*' in Göteborg (the Swedish-Italian society), this one led by Lundström himself.²²

This new sensitivity towards ancient ruins, coupled with an everlasting interest in minor architecture, was the beginning of a certain influence 'in return': Italy, thanks to the Stockholm Exposition of 1920 and the passage of many foreign artists (Swedish first), progressively developed a certain awareness for traditional architecture, bringing local architects to finally reflect on the possibilities of these models.

The long debate between foreign influences and the necessity of a nationalist restoration of traditions were not necessarily contradictory in this case, since it was the foreigners' interest at first that brought Italian public opinion to the awareness of Peasant Art.

The question would then be shifted to the School reform: it was no longer a matter of copying modern forms or 'styles' from abroad, but rather learning from their educational system, based on the recovery of their traditions and on a complete synergy between Art, Applied Arts and Architecture.

a founder of the magazine *Architettura e arti decorative*, as well as a fruitful journalist on contemporary art and urbanism for numerous papers like *Conciliatore*, *Corriere della Sera*, *Il Mondo*, *Rassegna italiana*, *Dedalo*, and *Emporium*.

²⁰ Osvald Sirén's correspondence with Italian intellectuals is kept in Osvald Sirén's brevsamling, Box AB1, Nationalmuseum Arkivet. Lionello Venturi and Ludovico Ragghianti were art historians and well-known professors. They both influenced future protagonists like Bruno Zevi; the first in his early education, the second as a close friend. Roberto Dulio, *Introduzione a Bruno Zevi* (Rome: Laterza, 2008), 3-8. Nevertheless, Bruno Zevi was the first architectural historian to include a Nordic master –Alvar Aalto– in his *History of Modern Architecture* (1950).

²¹ Harry Armini, "Med Vilhelm Lundström i Rom 1909," *Sverige-Italien: tidskrift utgiven av Svensk-italienska föreningen* (1944), 16. Lundström was a 'latin philology' professor at the Göteborg University.

²² Through the pages of the *Sverige-Italien. Tidskrift*, published between 1927 and 1945 it is possible to recall these connections, which led to the foundation of the Swedish Institute in Rome in 1925, deepened in Part IV. Lundström and his wife founded the Swedish-Italian Society in Göteborg in 1929.

Peasant Art constituted a new dimension of unexplored possibilities, impossible within the classical canon. Freedom that, since the first reviews by Vittorio Pica on Nordic art, represented for Italy a reason of envy, subjugated by the weight of tradition.²³

A progressive emancipation from Classicism in favor of 'minor' models would also represent the seed of a new modern architecture, characterized by its simplicity, essentiality and coherent functionality.²⁴

Finally, everyone seemed to agree on the belief that a mature reform of Architecture should have passed, at first, through the renovation of the 'house': in Stockholm 1920 the exhibition focused on furniture and on decorative objects of the house, while, in the case of Göteborg 1923, the problem shifted instead towards the need of emergency housing and its large-scale planning.

Certainly, the recovery of popular traditions had also been the natural consequence of the First World War and of the first large Italian industrialization, which had irremediably laid down some traditional forms of living.

Therefore, it was necessary to provide for their protection, as proposed by two important governmental interventions, both presented by two protagonists of the Stockholm exhibition: the 1920 *Circular No.13* by Arduino Colasanti on Peasant Art and the 1922 *Rosadi Law* for the 'Protection of Natural Landscapes and properties of particular historical interest'.²⁵

²³ See for example the review of the 1921 exhibition on Peasant Art and Architecture in Rome, opened a few months after the end of the Stockholm exhibition: Antonio Maraini, "L'architettura rustica alla cinquantennale romana," *Architettura e Arti Decorative* 4 (1921): 379–385.

²⁴ 'Many rural buildings in their rural beauty, built without effort and approaching each other without fixed rules and without traditions, but only guided by the natural intuition, have such frank, suggestive, simple and logical lines that, in relation to current needs, can give great results of comfort and well-being, while maintaining the ethnographic and architectural characteristics that characterize their origins.' Giulio Ulisse Arata, "Arte rustica sarda. Gioielli e utensili intagliati," *Dedalo* a.1, 3 (1921), 698.

²⁵ *Law No.778, June 11, 1922* by Giovanni Rosadi with the collaboration of the philosopher Benedetto Croce. Both Rosadi and Colasanti were included in the Italian commission for the 1920 *Italienska Utställningen* in Stockholm.

3.1 Arturo Ciacelli. An Italian Futurist in Sweden

The short introduction to Arturo Ciacelli's work in Stockholm is important to explain the 'failure' of Italian Avant-garde in Sweden between 1910s and 1920s, where the audience turned out to be far more interested in traditional arts and in the rediscovery of the past.

Ciacelli (1883-1966), born in a small town near Rome, had started to work in the capital city since 1904, as help-scenographer at the 'Teatro Argentina'. The following year he began a fruitful artistic engagement with the futurist group, exhibiting five paintings at the 'Salone dei Rifiutati', organized by Umberto Boccioni and Gino Severini.²⁶

He eventually moved to Sweden in 1910 for almost twenty years, after he had met his wife Elsa Emilia Fredrika Ström (1876-1952) at the free courses at the Academy of Fine Arts in Rome.²⁷

Following Ciacelli's solo-exhibition at the Salong Joël in Stockholm,²⁸ he started to show his involvement with the local establishment: he participated, with two engravings, to the 1914 Baltic Exhibition in Malmö²⁹ (directed by Ferdinand Boberg) and he had lectures on Italian Futurism in Copenhagen, Stockholm, Göteborg and Oslo.³⁰

²⁶ Stefania Frezzotti (ed.), *Secessione e avanguardia. L'arte in Italia prima della Grande Guerra 1905-1915* (Milan: Electa, 2014), 7.

²⁷ Margit Fant, Maria Pisa D'Orazio, "Arturo Ciacelli," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol.25 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1981), 89. See also its related bibliography; see also Enrico Crispolti (ed.), *Arturo Ciacelli. 1883-1966* (Bergamo: galleria d'arte Bergamo, 1991), 33-37.

²⁸ The exhibition was held between 28 March and 15 April 1913, in Hamngatan 16. The catalogue contained the first Swedish translation of the 'Manifesto of Futurist Painters', originally published by the Italian magazine *Poesia* in February 1910. For the occasion, Ciacelli added his signature to the manifesto, close to Boccioni, Carrà, Russolo, Balla and Severini. Arturo Ciacelli, *Futurist Utställning Arturo Ciacelli* (Stockholm: Salong Joël, 1913), 12.

²⁹ *Katalog öfver baltiska utställningens i Malmö 1914 konstafdelningen*, (Malmö, 1914).

³⁰ Margit Fant, *Arturo Ciacelli. En Futuristisk konstnär och hans insats på konstmarknaden i Sverige* (Stockholm: Stockholms universitet, 1981), 53. The research is an unpublished manuscript and today the best reference on Arturo Ciacelli's work in Sweden. According to Fant, he had his first lecture in Copenhagen in 1912, while in 1913 Ciacelli had three different conferences in Stockholm (during his exhibition at the Salong Joël, on 12 April 1913), in Göteborg (at the Gamla Högsolan) and in Oslo. This was the first chance for Nordic artists to be in touch with the most progressive Italian culture. The following occasion would arrive only in 1939, with a

In 1915, the Italian painter decided to open in central Stockholm³¹ the first Nordic gallery exclusively dedicated to modern art –the *Nya Konstgalleriet*– followed by the avant-garde magazine *Nykonst*.³²

Ciacelli and his wife, fascinated by a Nordic audience, were interested in exhibiting the cosmopolitan and experimental traits of contemporary avant-gardes, declined in its different forms.

The short expositions were generally devoted to a specific movement, but sometimes the chosen pieces created interesting parallels among different countries (at that time in the middle of a troubled war): in January 1917 for example, at the *Nya Konstgalleriet*, the French Amédée Ozenfant (1886-1966)³³ was exhibited close to the Austrian Oskar Kokoschka (1886-1980) and the Norwegian Edvard Munch (1863-1944).³⁴ Between April and May of that same year, the gallery's exhibition was dedicated to the 'Modernaste konstsamling i Skandinavien', with the paintings by the Swede Georg Pauli (1855-1935)³⁵ and the same Ciacelli, presenting a Nordic version of dynamism and cubist fragmentation. Thanks to Pauli, Ciacelli's disappointing experience with the

series of conference in Copenhagen, Stockholm and Helsinki by Giuseppe Pagano Pogatschnig (1896-1945) and Ignazio Gardella (1905-1999). See par. 4.3.

³¹ The gallery was at located in Strandvagen 9 until 1920, when he moved in Grevmagnigatan 6. *Ibid.*, 28.

³² Arturo Ciacelli and his friend Gustaf Uddgren (1865-1927) published the first number of *Nykonst* in October 1915, but unfortunately, the magazine did not go beyond the first issue.

³³ Amédée Ozenfant at that time was the chief editor of the progressive magazine *L'Elan*. Shortly after the exhibition, in May 1918, Auguste Perret presented the young Charles-Edouard Jeanneret (later known as Le Corbusier) to the painter Ozenfant. In September of the same year, the two published the pamphlet *Après le cubisme*. Stanislaus von Moos, *Le Corbusier, elements of a synthesis* (Cambridge, London: the MIT Press, 1985), 53–54.

³⁴ Margit Fant, *Arturo Ciacelli*, 19, 56. The gallery was also sensitive to the farthest declinations of modernity, like the Mexican Diego Rivera, exposed in Stockholm in 1919. Other relevant names presented at the *Nya Konstgalleriet* were, for example, the French Robert Delaunay, Fernand Léger, Pablo Picasso, but also the Italian Gino Severini and Guido Balsamo Stella, or the Swedish Anders Zorn.

³⁵ George Pauli was a Swedish painter educated at the Konstakademien in Stockholm during the last decades of the nineteenth century. In 1907, Ragnar Östberg inaugurated his private villa in Strandvagen 19, Djursholm. He was a friend of Richard Bergh and Östberg, a protagonist of the older generation, in 1913 he became the head of the Sveriges Allmänna Konstförening (Swedish Association for the Arts, founded in 1832), where he used his influence to introduce the new artistic forms, like cubism and futurism, in his country. Hans Henrik Brummer, *Konstnärsparet Hanna och Georg Pauli* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 1997); Elisbeth Lidén, *Sveriges Konst 1900-talet. Del.1 1900-1947* (Stockholm: Sveriges allmänna konstfören., 1999), 21–35.

magazine *Nykonst* became an important precedence for the experimental *Flamman* (1917-1921),³⁶ directed by Pauli himself with the collaboration of the roman artist. Besides the exhibitions, books on international art and postcards with modern pieces were sold at the gallery and spaces was given to contemporary musicians and experimental ‘color concerts’ created by Ciacelli himself.

However, even if sometimes embraced with negative attitude by the contemporaneous critic,³⁷ the ‘*Nya konstgalleriet* was –especially during the war years– a meeting place and a reference point for refugees of all nationalities’.³⁸

The gallery closed definitively in 1920, with a final exhibition in November for which the art critic Erik Blomberg (1894-1965) ruled: ‘Futurism seems no longer to have any future’. The general impression was more of an ‘unclear confusion rather than intensity and truthfulness’ and only some interiors were judged to be the most interesting pieces.³⁹

However, this last exposition constituted a deliberate provocation to the highly welcomed Italian Decorative Arts exhibition, held in that same moment at the Liljevalchs konsthall and organized by his Italian friend Guido Balsamo Stella.

This second exposition was in fact an artistic acquis of modern Italian everyday objects near to a selection of Peasant Art (textiles, ceramics, glass etc..).⁴⁰

The reminiscences of older traditions certainly produced an evident contradiction with the Futurists’ paintings and sculptors exposed and the result was a complete success of Balsamo Stella’s exhibition and the definite closure of the *Nya Konstgalleriet*.⁴¹

For the restless Ciacelli, this was only the beginning of a new record: in 1923 he renovated, at the same address of his old gallery but two steps below street level,

³⁶ On both the experience of *Flamman* and *Ny Konst* see: Claes-Göran Holmberg, "Flamman," in Tania Ørum, Ping Huang, et al. (eds.), *A Cultural History of the Avant-Garde in the Nordic Countries 1900-1925* (Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi, 2012): 379–389.

³⁷ ‘Come pittore Ciacelli non ottenne un successo straordinario in Svezia. I critici d’arte tacquero o furono piuttosto negativi. Da parte sua i giudizi di Ciacelli sull’arte moderna scandinava furono anche poco lusinghieri: “Decadenza ed influenza in grande scala senza distinzione fra i movimenti del periodo e senza amore dell’arte”, possiamo leggere in *Flamman*, edizione speciale 1919’. Margit Fant, *Arturo Ciacelli*, 47.

³⁸ Margit Fant, Maria Pisa D’Orazio, “Arturo Ciacelli,” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol.25 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia italiana, 1981), 90.

³⁹ Erik Blomberg, "Ny Konst," *Stockholms Tidningen*, November 22, 1920. Unfortunately, it was not possible to find any catalogue of this exhibition.

⁴⁰ See par. 3.2.

⁴¹ See par. 3.2.2.

the first nightclub in Stockholm, with the exotic name of ‘*La Grotta Azzurra*’, often protagonist of police raids.⁴² (Fig.19-21)

The place, named after Capri’s natural wonder, hosted also the *Internationella Konstnärscirkeln* (International Artistic Club), officially inaugurated on March 1, 1923, with a rather eclectic group of Italian emigrates and Swedish intellectuals.⁴³ Among them, we can remember Per Gustav Thulin (1876-1961), Italian consul in Sweden and Nils Wikström, both included in the Italian commission for the 1920 exhibition at Liljevalchs.

Only four years after this exhibition, in November 1924, Ciacelli was commissioned to paint the basement of Liljevalchs, used, for the second time after the 1920 *Italienska Utställningen*, as a small restaurant named *Mårtenskällaren*, during the short exhibition (6-11 November) on Swedish Farming and Agriculture.⁴⁴ (Fig.22-23)

The result was a vivid and ‘tribal’ space, very far from the first 1920 restaurant *Al Grappolo d’oro*. His unconventional interior decoration, finally brought him to participate, in 1936, to the first Italian Congress on ‘Applied Arts and Architecture’, where one of the speakers was the Swedish master Ragnar Östberg⁴⁵.

Finally, we can say that Arturo Ciacelli’s progressist legacy had certainly a small echo in Italy as well as in Sweden, but it had important elements: first of all, the series of conferences that he had hold between 1912 and 1913 on Italian Futurism, that would have a second follow only in 1939, with the speech by Giuseppe Pagano on modern Italian Architecture; and in second place, the link of the North with the Italian Futurists, which will be rediscovered by other protagonists like Ivo Pannaggi in Sweden and Norway.⁴⁶

⁴² The address of the nightclub, commonly named *Grotta Azurra*, was at Grevmagnigatan 5, the gallery was at number 6. Kristina Lejdström, *Grotta Azurra* (Norsborg: Recito, 2010), 1.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 20. The original composition of the group was: Arturo Ciacelli, president; Per Gustaf Thulin, Nils Wikström, Armando Conti, Axel Carlson, Tulli Voghera, G. Ivar Mossing, Hans Östrom, Ragnar Josephson, Jocke Dahl, Edvin Lindberg, Wilhelm Petersson-Berger, Edvin Berggren, Ottarino Frati, Ezio Fogheri, Enrico Ferri, Ezio Ferri, Gigi Zanni, Raniero G. Vardiero, R. Longo, G. B. Passarelli, Malare...Georg Pauli artista.

⁴⁴ “Mårtensmessa 6-11 Nov i Liljevachs Konsthall,” in *Svenska Dagbladet*, November 1. This was not an art exhibition, but it was arranged by a Swedish agricultural organization. In that same moment, Ciacelli was also decorating the restaurant inside the ‘Rosenbad’, built by Ferdinand Boberg at the beginning of the century.

⁴⁵ Margit Fant, *Arturo Ciacelli*, 54.

⁴⁶ See par. 4.1.3.



Fig.19-20 – Pictures of 'La Grotta Azzurra' interiors, by Arturo Ciacelli (1923).

Source (above): "Documenti di Storia d'arte contemporanea. Arturo Ciacelli. Un grande artista ignorato dagli italiani," in *Arte figurativa* XIV, 1-4 (1966), 113.

Source (below): ArBiQ Archivio Biblioteca Fondazione Quadriennale, Folder 'Arturo Ciacelli', Roma.



Fig.21 – Evert Taube, *Grotta Azurra*, 1931
Source: Moderna Museet Archive.



Fig.22 – A detail of the decorations at Liljevalchs by Arturo Ciacelli (1924).
Source: "Mårtenskällaren" – den nyaste restaurangen," in *Dagens Nyheter*, November 2, 1924.



Fig.23 – Interior of the *Mårtenskällaren* restaurant in the basement of Liljevalchs Konsthall (1924)
Source: ArBiQ Archivio Biblioteca Fondazione Quadriennale, Folder 'Arturo Ciacelli', Roma.

3.2 Guido Balsamo Stella and the 1920 *Italienska Utställningen* in Stockholm

Besides the progressive experience of Arturo Ciacelli, Stockholm had also been the haven of other Italian artists, including Guido Balsamo Stella.

Balsamo Stella, born in Torino in 1882, studied at first at the Munich Academy of Fine Arts, and then in 1908 he married the Swedish artist Anna Åkerdahl in Venice. They both moved to Stockholm in 1914,⁴⁷ where he was introduced, as a graphic artist, into this foreign establishment thanks to his wife.⁴⁸

In Sweden, he found several employments, at first as a teacher at the Tallberg Konstakademien and eventually as a designer for Nyhammars foundry and Skurubron's construction and as a painter for various private commissions, while in 1917 he was already invited to expose his paintings in the Allmänna Konstföreningen Utställningen in Stockholm, organized by the Swedish Society of Artists.⁴⁹

The 1920 *Italienska Utställningen* –in which Stella was main protagonist– was a long-awaited event by the Swedish community, which had the merit of having it fully funded as well.

⁴⁷ Mario Pepe, "Guido Balsamo Stella," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol.5 (Rome: Treccani, 1963), 626; Philippe Daverio, Paolo Baldacci (eds.), *Guido Balsamo Stella. Opera grafica e vetraria* (Milan: Galleria Philippe Daverio, 1977), 15–19. In Sweden, his main activity was as painter, fresco decorator and engraver (engravings relating to the iron industry in Stockholm, frescoes for Cornelius firm offices in Stockholm, twelve large oil paintings with the Orpheus Legend for the Winter Garden in the villa of the Dutch publisher Sijthoff in Feldafing, Stamberger See, etc.). Always in Sweden, Orrefors saw the famous production of engraved glasses, a technique he could study thanks to his friendship with Edward Hald (1883-1980), one of the leading promoters of Swedish manufacturing, and deepened during his visit to bohemian factories.

⁴⁸ Anna Fredrika Karolina Åkerdahl was an artist too, especially involved with graphics, textile design and even architecture. She studied at the Konstakademien between 1899-1905 and she was carrying out a course in Venice when she met her future husband in Venice in 1908. Since the 1920s they both came back to Italy and, for a short period, she served as a teacher at the ISIA institute, directed by his husband. In 1929 she was published in one of the first issues of *Domus* (10), for her villa in Florence, known as Villa Orsetta. "Anna Åkerdahl Stella," in Johnny Roosval, Lilja Gösta (ed.), *Svenskt Konstnärlexicon, vol. V* (Malmö: Allhem, 1967), 247.

⁴⁹ "Guido Balsamo Stella" in Johnny Roosval, Lilja Gösta (ed.), *Svenskt Konstnärlexicon, vol. V* (Malmö: Allhem, 1967), 247; Richard Braungart, "Balsamo Stella," *Die Kunst* XVIII (9 June 1914): 401–8.

From the annual report of *Svenska Slöjdföreningen's* activities (the Swedish Society for the Arts and Crafts)⁵⁰ –yearly published on *Tidskrift*– since 1918 the association had planned to show a non-better specified Italian exhibition⁵¹ to be held at the Liljevalchs Konsthall, recently located in a new dedicated building designed by Carl Bergsten (1879-1935).⁵²

This ended up as being the first Italian presentation organized outside national boundaries since the end of the First World War and it was the first –of national interest– entirely dedicated to folk art as well as a good commercial opportunity for the represented companies.⁵³

Despite the good possibilities for the ‘Belpaese’, the organization remained almost entirely in the hands of a Swedish group, headed by Balsamo Stella himself.

Long before the definition of a proper commission, the exhibition struggle to obtain the necessary financing, finally in the hands not only of large Swedish distribution companies (like the Nordiska Kompaniet), but also to private individuals who personally contributed to the initiative, showing the general public interest for the topic.

All names were linked to the most diverse areas of production, from industrial to financial as well as to the artistic sectors: Jane Geber was for example banker Philip Geber’s wife of and a commissioner at ‘Villa Geber’ by Ragnar Östberg (1911-1913).⁵⁴ Another recurring name in Italian events in Sweden was Liljevalchs’ treasurer for the occasion and Italian diplomat in Sweden Per Gustaf Thulin, also head of the *Internationella Konstnärscirkeln* founded by Ciacelli. Other industrial benefactors were Carl Wicander (1885-1952), future director of the Linoleum AB Forshaga company; the AB Svenska Lloyd ship-owner Herbert Metcalfe (1875-1930); Gustaf Tamm (1842-1921), large foundry

⁵⁰ The *Svenska Slöjdföreningen* (Swedish Association of Arts and Crafts), was founded on October 6, 1845.

⁵¹ Hakon Ahlberg, “Årsberättelse. Avgiven av Svenska Slöjdföreningens styrelse över föreningens verksamhet år 1919,” *Svenska Slöjdföreningens tidskrift*, XVI (1920), 51.

⁵² The Liljevachs Art gallery opened in 1916 with an exhibition on Carl Larsson, Bruno Liljefors and Anders Zorn, already well known also outside the Swedish borders. In 1919, Carl Bergsten inaugurated the new building of the Konsthall: Hakon Ahlberg, “Liljevachs Konsthall och blå porten. Arkitekt: Carl Bergsten,” *Arkitektur* (1919): 123–132.

⁵³ Guido Balsamo Stella, “Esposizione Italiana d’arte industriale e decorativa a Stoccolma,” *Architettura e Arti Decorative* 1 (May-June 1921), 93.

⁵⁴ On the Villa and its relationships with the Italian culture see: Chiara Monterumisi, *Ragnar Östberg. Villa Geber, una casa nell’arcipelago* (Vicenza: In Edibus, 2017).

proprietor and politician together with his son Nils Tamm (1876-1957) and finally Axel Wallenberg (1898-1996), Swedish sculptor and close friend of Carl Milles.⁵⁵

3.2.1 *The Swedish and Italian Committees*

Besides the diverse interests of the people involved, the Italian exhibition arose the general interest thanks to the wide work of the Swedish Society for the Arts and Crafts –headed from the end of 1919 by Gregor Paulsson (1889-1977)⁵⁶– which wanted to focus on peasant art in order to contribute to a deep renewal of the field.⁵⁷ A characteristic trait of the association was its close connection with the built architecture, since most of its members were both architects and designers, as it was for Ferdinand Boberg in the previous decades.

A double commission, both Swedish and Italian, was in charge of the selection of the elements and the composition of the two juries communicates a lot about

⁵⁵ The complete list of benefactors, published in Hakon Ahlberg, “Årsberättelse”, 51-52 is: Automobilcentralen Corporation, Nordiska Kompaniet, Separator Corporation, The Swedish Trading Co., Vin-och Spritcentralen Company, G. & L. Beijer, Axel Robt Bildt A. B., Joh. Sam Billing & Son, J & C. G. Bolinders Mek. Verkstads A.-B., Gustaf Cornelius, Johan Ekmans estate, Oscar Falkman, Jane Geber, Nils Gellerstedt, Carl Kindström, H. Key, G. Kyhlberger, Herbert Metcalf, Casper Tamm, Nils Tamm, P. G. Thulin, Axel Wallenberg, Marc. Wallenberg, Carl Wicander, Östberg & Diedrichs, Klas Östlund.

⁵⁶ Gregor Paulsson was an art historian, graduated at Lund University in 1915 with a thesis on Italian Renaissance. He was one of the organizers of the 1917 Hemutställningen and in 1919 he became *Svenska Slöjdföreningen*'s president. In the same year, he published several seminal articles on the association magazine on the modern aesthetic of industrial objects and on the necessary relationship between Arts and Industry, on the example of the Deutscher Werkbund. In 1930 he was among the writer of *Acceptera* and, after the war, he kept contact with the Italian Institute of Culture in Stockholm (See 'Letters to Paulsson' by Bruno Bassi and Sergio Polzanelli, between 1947 and 1961, Uppsala University Arkivet, Uppsala). See Kenneth Frampton (ed.), *Modern Swedish design: three founding texts* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2008).

⁵⁷ In the article for the 75th anniversary of the association, Gregor Paulsson, wrote: ‘The aim of the association is to ensure a national expression of the domestic aspirations in the artistic field. We can agree that the 19th century can be regarded as a decay time of craftsmanship. [...] Therefore, the immediate goal is to increase the everyday life's objects to a higher artistic standard without sacrificing its economy. “Svenska Slöjdföreningen 75 årsjubileum,” *Svenska Slöjdföreningens tidskrift*, XVII (February 1921), 25.

the different level of involvement on architecture and decorative arts in these two countries.⁵⁸

The northern state was in fact represented by the most influent names of its time, first from the head of the *Svenska Slöjdföreningen*: like Gregor Paulsson, Erik Wettergren (1883-1961)⁵⁹ and Hakon Ahlberg (1891-1984);⁶⁰ president, general secretary and former president of the society, respectively.

The industrial sector was instead represented by Joseph Sachs (already mentioned for his involvement with Ferdinand Boberg and the Venice Biennale)⁶¹ and Agnes Hellner, owner of the Orrefors Glass Company and mentor of Edward Hald (1883-1980),⁶² artistic director of the factory and close friend of Guido Balsamo Stella.

Elsa Gullberg (1886-1984) was also introduced to the commission. She was a textile artist of the *Slöjdföreningen* and organizer of the 1917 Hemutställningen,

⁵⁸ The two commissions are published in the official catalogue of the exhibition: *Italienska Utställningen. November - december 1920. Katalog n°27* (Stockholm: Liljevachs Konsthall, 1920), 2–3.

⁵⁹ Erik Wettergren was an art historian working for the Nationalmuseum and he significantly contributed to the *Svenska Slöjdföreningen* as secretary of the association since 1913. In 1925, for the Exposition Internationale des Arts decoratifs in Paris, he published the official catalogue of the exhibition, *L'art décoratif moderne en Suède* (Malmö : Malmö museum, 1925), in 1926 translated in English. Between 1942 and 1950, he became the head of the Nationalmuseum and he started a long correspondence with the Biennale of Venice, in order to rebuild a Swedish Pavilion. ASAC Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, Venice, 'Padiglioni, atti 1938-68', Box 28, Folder 49–53.

⁶⁰ Hakon Ahlberg was an architect, already mentioned for his travel in Italy shortly before the 1920 Italian Exhibition, in 1917, where he was particularly impressed by the Italian landscape, rather than by its rich decorative elements. From 1920 to 1924, Ahlberg was also the director of the magazine *Arkitektur* (in 1922 renominated *Byggmastaren*), the most important magazine on Swedish Architecture. After, he continued to disseminate Nordic Architecture abroad, starting from Great Britain, where he published, in 1925, the first monography (and a preface by Frank R. Yerbury) on the latest generation of Swedish architects: Hakon Ahlberg, *Swedish Architecture of the Twentieth-century* (London: Ernest Benn, 1925). See: Eva Rudberg, Eva Paulsson, *Hakon Ahlberg: arkitekt & humanist* (Stockholm : Statens råd för byggnadsforskning, 1994).

⁶¹ See par. 2.3.

⁶² On the role of Agner Hellner and her relationship with Hald (was also an eminent member of the *Svenska Slöjdföreningen*) see: Nina Weillbull (ed.), *Kärlek till glas: Agnes Hellners samling av Orreforsglas / A love of glass: Agner Hellner's collection of Orrefors glass* (Stockholm: Raster, 1998), 21–87.

one of the most relevant exhibitions at Liljevalchs on modern Swedish design,⁶³ which included several examples evidently influenced by peasant art.⁶⁴

(Fig. 24-25)

Another prominent patron was Ragnar Östberg, a fine scholar both of Italian culture during his long peregrinations at the end of the XIX century and of folk arts.⁶⁵

Another two additional architects in the committee were also Carl Möller (1857-1933), Liljevalchs Konsthall general director⁶⁶ and Thor Thorén (1863-1937), at that time president of the Art industry department at Kungliga Tekniska Högskolan (1910-1936).

A list of other individuals, all known for their studies on Italian culture were finally got on the jury, like the already mentioned Per Gustav Thulin and Thorsten Laurin –art collector and close correspondent of Vittorio Pica– but also Ellen Lundberg, Swedish teacher and first translator of Giosuè Carducci in the Nordic countries⁶⁷ and Nils Wikström, already included in Ciacelli *Konstnärscirkeln*.

⁶³ In the catalogue of the so-called ‘Hemutställningen’, titled *Svenska Slöjdföreningens Utställningen af inreddning för smålägenheter* (Stockholm: Liljevachs Konsthall, 1917), 11–13, we can see how, besides Elsa Gullberg, many of the names involved in the 1920 Italian exhibition were also included in this previous one, like Paulsson, Thorén, Wettergren, all linked to the Swedish Society of Arts and Crafts. Elsa Gullberg in 1940 would be nominated by Ivar Tengbom (1878-1968) for the textile designs of the Swedish Institute of Classical studies in Rome, with the other two Swedish artists Märta Måås-Fjetterström and Maja Sjöström, who had moved to Rome in 1924. See par. 4.2.

⁶⁴ Kerstin Wickman, “Hemutställningen på Liljevalchs 1917: typer, modeller, förebilder för industrin,” in *Formens rörelse: Svensk form genom 150 år* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 1995), 62–73.

⁶⁵ In these years, Östberg was busy with the construction of the Stockholm City Hall, where the correlation between Architecture, artisanship and folk art was a fundamental part of the identity of the building as a ‘national monument’. Moreover, in 1906, he had published the small pamphlet *Ett Hem. Dess byggnad och inredning* (Uppsala: Verdandis småskrifter, 1905). The title –‘A house. His construction and furnishings’– suggested his interest for a simple and rational construction, learned from the experience of everyday constructions and objects.

⁶⁶ Carl Möller during his training was a *Grand Tour* student, in Italy between 1880 and 1881, shortly before Clason and Boberg. Fabio Mangone, *Viaggi a Sud*, 39.

⁶⁷ In 1907, Ellen Lundberg-Nyblom published two books on her Italian travels and friendships: *Några intryck af Giosuè Carduccis person* (Stockholm, 1907) and also *Bland italienare: intryck och upplevelser* (Stockholm: Wahlström & Widstrand, 1907). In 1932, she continued with *Från Fyrisån till Capris klippor* (Stockholm: Geber, 1932), on her personal experience on the Italian island, with the company of the Swedish doctor Axel Munthe, who in 1929 had published *The story of San Michele*, on his villa in Anacapri.

Even if the Liljevalchs Konsthall's work was mainly dedicated to 'traditional' art exhibitions (sculptures and paintings), since the 1917 Hemutställningen, the *Slöjdföreningen* had been focusing on the design for everyday objects.

The Italian exhibition was therefore included as an important moment of this renewal: not only, it was the fourth exposition of the society but also the first entirely dedicated to the Peasant Art of a distant country.

Besides a small show on textile works in that same 1920, the only relevant one, after the 1917 Hemutställningen, was in fact the Danish Exhibition of decorative arts in 1918, showing an elegant interpretation of simplified elements, rather than an evident correlation with folk art.⁶⁸ (Fig. 27)

On the other hand, the Italian jury was mainly made by various art historians, official politicians and aristocratic females with a paternalistic interest in traditional crafts.⁶⁹

Among the art historians were selected names like the Venetian art critic Eugenio Barbantini (1884-1952),⁷⁰ Lionello Venturi (1885-1961)⁷¹ with his collaborator Luigi Serra and, finally, the folklorist Raffaele Corso (1883-1965).⁷²

⁶⁸ *Dansk Utställning. Dekorativ Konst, Arkitektur och Konsthantverk. February – March 1918. Katalog n°10* (Stockholm: Liljevachs Konsthall, 1918); *Textile Konsthantverk och Hemslöjd. May - June 1920. Katalog n°24* (Stockholm: Liljevachs Konsthall, 1920). Differently from the 1920 Italian exhibition, the Danish exhibition also had an architectural section, showing works by protagonist like Carl Petersen, Martin Nyrop, Peder Vilhelm Jensen-Klint and his son Kaare Klint.

⁶⁹ It was the case Lavinia Taverna, a noble from Milan; Carolina Maraini-Sommaruga, wife of the politician Emilio Maraini and Bice Tittoni, wife of Tommaso Tittoni, Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1894 and ambassador of the Reign in France.

⁷⁰ Since 1907, Barbantini was the head of Art gallery Ca' Pesaro and friend of Vittorio Pica, who, in that same 1920, was nominated the General Secretary of the Venice Biennale.

⁷¹ After his degree in 1907, in 1914 Lionello Venturi became an art history teacher at the Politecnico of Turin, where he published the seminal *Il gusto dei primitivi* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1926). He taught in Turin until 1931, when he refused to enter the Fascist party. During his exile in Paris between 1931 and 1939, he joined the Anti-fascist group of 'Giustizia e Libertà', and he started a correspondence with his friend Oscar Siréns: 'Letters from Lionello Venturi to Osvald Siréns,' (1933-1935), Osvald Siréns brevsamling, Box AB1, Nationalmuseum Arkivet. See Giulio Carlo Argan, *Lionello Venturi* (Rome: Tip. Della Pace, 1961).

⁷² His name is known for one of the first Italian book on peasant Art, first published in that same 1920: Raffaele Corso, *L'Arte dei pastori* (Rome: La Fionda, 1920). The editorial series was founded by Ugo Ojetti in 1920, and followed by another book: Adolo De Carolis, *L'arte popolare italiana* (Rome: la Fionda, 1920) on the same topic, showing how the Stockholm exhibition was progressively influencing the Italian debate.

The name of Count Girolamo Marcello and Giovanni Rosadi (1862-1925), selected as the political representative of the exhibition, strengthened the impression of a rather official commission, without a practical interest on the topic.

The only exception was a section of small industrialists, made up of Lina Cavazza, noble from Bologna and patron of the *Aemilia Ars*⁷³ since 1898; Flavia Cantagalli Farina, representing the homonym Florentine ceramic industry; Ernesto and Aldo Jesurum, secretaries of a Lace factory and Richard Ginori-Venturi, head of one of the most important modern ceramic industries, later known for his cooperation with Gio Ponti after 1923.

However, the most important Italian name was Arduino Colasanti (1877-1935),⁷⁴ art historian and at that time General Director of Fine Arts for the Italian government, with the help of his secretary Pompeo Gherardo Molmenti (1852-1928).

For this ministry, the exhibition had a rather crucial role, since at the beginning of 1920 Colasanti had published –evidently under the influence of the Stockholm Exposition preparations– *the the Ministerial Circular n.13: Collection of Italian decorative elements of Peasant art*: the earliest Italian public recognition of the value of these elements, exhibited for the first time in a dedicated space for the arts.

Although it was not the first-time folk art had been exhibited in Italy (at the 1911 International Exposition in Rome, for example, there was an entire area dedicated to the reconstruction of peasant shelters and popular artisanship),⁷⁵

⁷³ ‘Aemilia ars’ had been founded by count Francesco and his wife Lina Cavazza in 1898, with the purpose of renovating the field of Applied Arts, bringing together artists and craftsmanship. It had been already one of the most appreciated Italian society at the 1902 Turin Exhibition. Rossana Bossaglia, Ezio Godoli, Marco Rosci (eds.), *Torino 1902. Le arti decorative internazionali del nuovo secolo* (Milan: Fabbri, 1994), 611.

⁷⁴ An interview of Colasanti is published for the occasion: “Comm. A. Colasanti I Stockholm,” in *Svenska Dagbladet*, November 17, 1920.

⁷⁵ The bibliography on the 1911 exhibition is quite large, but for a specific description of the Ethnographic exhibition and the role of Lamberto Loria, head of the section, see: Michelangelo Sabatino, *Orgoglio della modestia* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2011), 57-88. Lamberto Loria had been already quoted also for his correspondence with the Swedish archaeologist Oscar Montelius. He had also tried in 1906 to create the first ‘Italian Ethnographic Museum’ in Florence and the wake Hezelius’ Nordiska Museet in Stockholm, but he did not succeed until 1956, with the foundation of the ‘National Museum of peasant art and tradition’ located in the EUR neighborhood in Rome.

this occasion, for the very first time, constituted a starting point for modern decorative arts, instead of being relegated to a mere ethnographic interest.⁷⁶

Particularly significant was in fact the different level of the two commissions, in the case of Sweden related to the most advanced experiences on design and architecture –considered two sides of the same quest for modernity– and for Italy still related to small isolated industrialist and art historians.

Therefore, behind Guido Balsamo Stella and Arduino Colasanti's struggles, the exhibition meant more than an expanded business horizon for the country; it was instead a refined operation to raise awareness in Italy on the value of Decorative Arts, related to its own past traditions, also in relation to modern architecture.

3.2.2 The exhibition and its critical response

Besides the double commissions, the practical selection of the objects was lead by six people, all included in the Swedish as well as in the Italian jury: Guido Balsamo Stella, his wife Anna, the writer Amelie Posse-Brázdová (1884-1957),⁷⁷ the textile artist Maja Sjöstrom (1868-1961), close collaborator of Ragnar Östberg in more than one occasion,⁷⁸ and Eugenio Barbantini with the supervision of Arduino Colasanti.⁷⁹

Between the winter 1919 and the spring of 1920, the first four traveled throughout Italy in order to choose the materials for the exhibition, both related

⁷⁶ This purpose was confirmed in the introduction of the short Italian catalogue: 'The Italian Industrial Decorative Art Exhibition, to be held in Stockholm from November 1st to December 25th, 1920, tends to favor, as much as it can, the rebirth of our work, to reaffirm the prestige of our name, to open new ways to Italian commerce.' *Esposizione d'arte decorativa industriale moderna a Stoccolma 1920* (Rome: Cartotecnica Romana, 1920), 2.

⁷⁷ Amelie Posse-Brázdová, coming from the aristocratic Swedish milieu, had married in 1915 in Rome the Czech artist Oskar Brázda (1887-1977).

⁷⁸ Maja Sjöstrom, at the end of XIX century among the leading artists of the Handarbetets Vänner ("The Friends of Handicrafts", already mentioned for their participation to the 1902 Exhibition in Turin), had start a collaboration with the architect Ragnar Östberg since 1916, for the tapestries of the Stockholm City Hall, partially made in Italy by the Bevilacqua industry. At the beginning of WWI she was in Sicily, and, due to the difficult connections with Nordic countries, she was forced to stay in Palermo for several months. See Åsa Rausing-Roos, *Textilkonstnären Maja Sjöstrom. Ett skånskt-romerskt konstnärsliv* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 2012), 369. She definitely moved to Rome in 1924, once her commissions for Östberg's Stadhuset were done. From this moment and until the beginning of WWII, she was a constant reference point for Swedish artists (and diplomats in general) visiting Italy. See par. 4.2.

⁷⁹ *Italienska Utställningen*, 4.

to traditional artisanship and modern items. Maja in particular was in charge of Lombardia, Piemonte, Emilia and Sardinia; Amelie for Latium and the Balsamo Stella couple for the South of Italy. The total sales had reached the relevant amount of 233.000 Italian lire and, while the modern decorative elements were for sales, the folk artisanship was paid in advance.⁸⁰

However, which were the direct sources of this pioneering work in order to overcome the well-known difficulties of communications with the different local communities and since in 1919 there was still no list of items from the Italian government?

After a look at the published material on the topic, it is rather evident how the main source for the 1920 exhibition was the 1913 volume *Peasant Art in Italy*, also published by a foreigner: the English Charles Holme.⁸¹

The carved wedding-coffer from Sardinia and several items, for example from Pescocostanzo (Abruzzi),⁸² had already been published in this edition.

In this book, for the first time, pictures of peasant houses were also presented to a foreign audience, like Sant'Agata in Campania, the traditional 'trulli' from Alberobello (Puglia), the shepherd's hut at Latium and the mixed wooden and stone constructions in the North, close to Biella or Venetia.⁸³

However, in the Stockholm exhibition we are not sure of which kind pictures were included, since the catalogue only mentioned one room (number 13), dedicated to generic 'photographs', from the Roman shop 'Bragaglia'.⁸⁴

In the middle of August, the first load was shipped from Genova with Loyds Company, headed by Metcalfe, among the leaders of the exhibition.

At the beginning of October the objects arrived at their destination in Stockholm, with great interest of the press: Venetian glasses, brocades, silks, folk fabrics, toys, traditional ceramics and work baskets.

⁸⁰ *Elenco degli oggetti dell'Esposizione Italiana a Stoccolma*, Stadarkivet, Stockholm, Maja Sjöström samling, Box 'Diverse Handlingar (1920-1953)', Folder 'Italienska Utställningen, Liljevachs, 1920'. The total amount of the modern elements was instead 142.000 lire, for a total cost of almost 375.000 lire.

⁸¹ Charles Holme, *Peasant Art in Italy* (London: The Studio, 1913), as a special number of the magazine, edited in autumn 1913.

⁸² One of the most celebrated items of the exhibition was a tapestry, with an abstract geometrical design, from Pescocostanzo, a small village in the Abruzzi, before 1913 quite unknown by foreigners as well as Italians. On the tapestry see: Erika D'Arcangelo, "Trama e ordito in Svezia. L'illustre storia del tappeto pescolano conservato dal 1920 a Göteborg," in *D'Abruzzo. Turismo Cultura Ambiente* 116 (2016), 39–41.

⁸³ Charles Holme, *Peasant Art*, 9–16, 31.

⁸⁴ *Italienska Utställningen*, 6.

After the inauguration on November 14 however, the exhibition was still not complete since two cargos –expected for the end of October– did not arrive until the last days of December, few days before the closure of the event.⁸⁵

Among them probably were also included the silk manufactures Bevilacqua from Venice, which Maja Sjöstrom had specifically invited to show the realized tapestries, on her design, for the Stockholm Town Hall by Ragnar Östberg, inaugurated in 1923.⁸⁶

However, the positive results of sales encouraged the commission to extend the exhibition further than expected and, after a brief closure on December 14, the show re-opened two days after with the missing elements.⁸⁷

An evident missing piece was modern art, because of a general presumption of Italian artists towards both decorative and popular arts, not suitable for graduates of Fine Arts schools. The only exceptions were artists like Duilio Cambellotti (1876-1960) and Libero Andreotti (1875-1933), this last close friend of Ugo Ojetti and known for his sculptures of peasant figures, portrayed with a simplified and classic *pathos*, not very far from the contemporary experimentations of the Swedish Carl Milles.⁸⁸

Finally, a rather unexpected name included in this various exposition was a young Giovanni Ponti (1891-1979) –later known as Gio– with a group of puppets and a model of a small theater, a chest and pots of wooden jars.⁸⁹

Moreover, in occasion of the Exhibition, the Stockholm Opera Theater contributed with an Italian performance while at Liljevalchs were given additional conferences on the Italian industries, included in the exhibition, as well as small projections on their natural and artistic beauties.⁹⁰

⁸⁵ Åsa Rausing-Roos, *Maja Sjöstrom*, 173.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 140–168.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 173.

⁸⁸ Ugo Ojetti, “Lo scultore Libero Andreotti,” *Dedalo* I, vol.II (1921), 395–417. Many of the sculptures pictured in the article were also part of the 1920 Exhibition in Stockholm.

⁸⁹ *Italienska Utställningen*, 14-15. Unfortunately, there are no pictures left of these objects, which could be attributed to the early works of Ponti when he was still an architect student in Milan. These elements, never mentioned in any other history, could be among the earliest designs of his career and certainly the first to be a part of a foreign exhibition. For a peculiar coincidence, in the Italian commission was also included Richard-Ginori Venturi, which in 1923 would have invited Gio Ponti as the artistic director of his collection, awarded with the *Grand Prix* at the 1925 Exposition in Paris. Loris Manna, *Gio Ponti: le maioliche* (Milan: Biblioteca di via Senato, 2000).

⁹⁰ *Esposizione d'arte decorativa industriale*, 10.

Finally, an Italian tavern was also arranged inside Liljevalchs' basement, with a renowned chef who had arrived with of a group of Neapolitan musicians.

The prosaic aspect of the exposition largely influenced the positive response of the Swedish critics and public, for the first time undergoing to a full-experience of a so-called '*italianità*', from artisanship to food.⁹¹

In charge of the general arrangements of the elements was Edward Hald,⁹² who chose to exhibit the materials in a clean environment, taking advantage of the scenery effects of folk items.

Compared with the section of the 1917 Hemutställningen dedicated to decorative elements (**Fig. 26**), the 1920 Exposition had an interesting concept: for example, the room organized around a traditional cradle played with the idea of a kids 'dreamcatcher', hung on the ceiling and made with toys, puppets, pots and wicker baskets (**Fig. 26**).

Focal points of the rooms were the impressive tapestries, all chosen by Maja Sjöstrom, arranged as 'natural sceneries' for particular items (**Fig. 28-32**), both modern as well as traditional.

As well as was for the folkloristic tavern, or the room full of Sicilian carriages, the main purpose of the arrangements was the transmission of an atmosphere, where the spaces were organized as everyday living rooms and not as a list of items typologically organized.

At the opening vernissage on November 14, the Italian delegation was composed by Arduino Colasanti, for the first time in Sweden, Guido Balsamo Stella and his wife, the industrial Giuseppe Volpi and the Italian correspondents from the newspapers *Corriere della Sera* and *La Tribuna*,⁹³ accompanied by Ferdinand Boberg, as one of the honor guests of the evening, thanks to his long history of cooperation with Italy.⁹⁴

The two newspapers had a special interest in this exhibition: the *Corriere della Sera* on one side had a historical relationship with Sweden since 1899,⁹⁵ when Ugo Ojetti was sent as correspondent of the Duke of Abruzzi expedition to the

⁹¹ "Italienskt osteria-lif på Djurgården," *Nya Dagbladet*, November 10, 1920.

⁹² Gwen, "Den Italienska Konstindustrien på Liljevachs," *Dagens Nyheter*, October 26, 1920.

⁹³ The names are not specified but –probably– the correspondents were Ugo Ojetti and Antonio Maraini, protagonists of the contemporary debate on peasant art in Italy and its role for a renewal of the fields of Architecture and Decorative Arts in Italy.

⁹⁴ "Italiensk vernissage a Konsthallen," *Dagens Tidskrift*, November 15, 1920. See chapter 2 for the relationships between Italy and Boberg at the beginning of the century.

⁹⁵ See par. 2.2.1.

North Pole; on the other hand, *La Tribuna* was the main opponent to Ojetti's ideas on popular art, expressed in March 1920, in the *Corriere*.⁹⁶

Ojetti's warm support of peasant art, in favor of the timeless values of Classicism, was quite far from his opponent Antonio Maraini –journalist for *La Tribuna*– for whom Folk expressions were considered a rich basin in order to renew Italian Decorative Arts as well as modern architecture.⁹⁷

The debate had been momentarily ended by the entry of the prominent architect Marcello Piacentini (1881-1960), on Maraini's journal in April, with the necessity of a mediation of the two positions.⁹⁸

Therefore the exposition, was more than a commercial operation: it was a proper 'testing ground' for Italian Peasant Art and Colasanti governmental guidelines, depending on the foreign critics.

The result was rather positive⁹⁹ and the doubtful Swedish evaluation was quite impressed by this version of Italian Decorative Arts. Since the 1902 Turin Exhibition, the general impression was that the Italian system for the arts was far from the northern countries, still too attached to Eclectic styles and Classical forms.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁶ Ugo Ojetti, "L'arte in campagna," *Corriere della Sera*, March 5, 1920. However, the debate had been started by the Italian architect Gustavo Giovannoni almost fifteen years before, in 1904, where he pointed out, after the 1902 Turin Exhibition, the necessity of a peasant art section, inside the Modern decorative arts exhibitions. Gustavo Giovannoni, "Arte nuova e arte popolare," *Bollettino della società degli ingegneri e degli architetti italiani* 12-20 (15 May 1904), 585-89.

⁹⁷ By Antonio Maraini on *La Tribuna* see: "L'arte popolare," April 3, 1918; "Arte popolare e stile decorativo nazionale", February 28, 1920.

⁹⁸ Marcello Piacentini, "Arte aristocratica e arte paesana," *La Tribuna*, Aprile 3, 1920. He 1915 he had also published on Italian peasant art, "Influssi d'arte italiana nel Nord America," in *Architettura e arti decorative* 2 (March-April 1922), 536-555 and between 1916 and 1918 he realized Villa Nobile in Rome, one of the first examples in Italy of a modern architecture influenced by traditional buildings. See Antonio Maraini, "L'architettura rustica alla cinquantennale romana," *Architettura e Arti Decorative* 4 (1921), 385.

⁹⁹ Famous purchases were the Pescocostanzo tapestry, by the Röhsska Museum in Göteborg (Erika D'Arcangelo, "Trama e ordito in Svezia," 39) and a Sicilian cart by the Stockholm Opera House (Åsa Rausing-Roos, *Maja Sjöström*, 184–185).

¹⁰⁰ 'Among Swedish intellectuals, who are the real manipulators of public opinion, it is widespread belief that we, in regards to decorative art, are only able to repeat ourselves, invariably recalling the footsteps of our golden age' in Remigio Strinati, "L'Esposizione italiana di arte decorativa a Stoccolma," *Rassegna d'arte antica e moderna* 4 (April 1921), 135.

August Brunius, journalist for the *Göteborgs Handels* and correspondent for Vittorio Pica,¹⁰¹ after his visit to the exhibition described Italy not just as the cradle of the Renaissance but also of ‘naive creatures, happily not contaminated by Academies and Museums.’ The wooden inlays, the lines and colorful schemes, the passion and naturalness of the decorative apparatus represented certainly a positive starting point for the development of Italian industrial work.¹⁰²

The designer Carl Malmsten (1888-1972),¹⁰³ in charge of the exhibition review for the *Svenska Slöjdföreningens tidskrift*, underlined the ‘natural and healthy *joie de vivre* of Italian peasants’, its simplicity and its ‘natural bond to the people’s living conditions’.¹⁰⁴

Ragnar Hoppe, whose words were reported by the Italian journalist Strinati, in the magazine *Rassegna d’arte* directed by Corrado Ricci, expressed a similar opinion: ‘Italy, coming into contact with various cultures beyond the Alps, suddenly woke up and wanted to get rid of the yoke of tradition, proven by the Liljevalchs Exposition’. Strinati ended the article with the renovated interest for Colasanti and Balsamo Stella ideas, to renovate the Italian Decorative Art Schools ‘in preparation for a limited number of Academies, based on traces of primitive and popular arts’.¹⁰⁵

The worst review came from the Swedish *Figaro*, describing –not without a point– the exhibition as a ‘big open-air market’ and that, more than anything, the exposition represents the testimony of an urgent need of a Swedish Design Exhibition in Italy’.¹⁰⁶

3.2.3 Further developments in Italy after the Stockholm exhibition

The 1920 Stockholm exhibition represented one of the most important events of the first Post-war period, not only for Swedish design but also for Italy, since

¹⁰¹ January 6

¹⁰² August Brunius, “Italiensk folkkonst,” *Göteborgs Handels* November 13, 1920.

¹⁰³ In 1916, Malmsten had won the first and second prize for the interiors of the Stockholm City Hall. See Anna Greta Wahlberg, *Carl Malmsten* (Lund: Signum, 1988). In 1940 he would be nominated by Ivar Tengbom (1878-1968) in charge for the design of the Swedish Institute of Classical studies’ furniture in Rome. See par. 4.2.

¹⁰⁴ Carl Malmsten, “Italienska Utställningen,” *Svenska Slöjdföreningens tidskrift*, XVIII, 2 (February 1921), 13.

¹⁰⁵ Remigio Strinati, “L’Esposizione italiana,” 135. The original article is published as Ragnar Hoppe, *Svenska Dagbladet*, December 12, 1920.

¹⁰⁶ *Figaro*, November 20, 1920.

it had the significant outcome of pointing out the ‘complete ignorance concerning Peasant art’ in the southern country.¹⁰⁷

Truly, the only real interest on the topic was coming from foreigners: besides the mentioned 1913 *Peasant Art in Italy*, another important series was *Smaller Italian Villas & farmhouses* in 1916, followed by the second volume in 1920, edited by the American architect Guy Lowell (1870-1927).¹⁰⁸

In 1929, it was also the Swedish doctor Axel Munthe (1857-1949) to publish the best-seller *The History of San Michele*, on his autobiographical experiences and the constant dream to self-build a house in Anacapri, on the ruins of Tiberio’s roman ancient palace.¹⁰⁹

After Lowell’s volumes, it would have been necessary to wait another fifteen years for an equally relevant volume on the subject, this time drawn up by a couple of Italians: the *Architettura Rurale Italiana* (1936) by Giuseppe Pagano and Guarniero Daniel, following the homonymous Exhibition at the VI Triennale.¹¹⁰ The connection between the 1920 Stockholm exhibition and the Triennale in Milan, on the other hand, was not random.

Sweden was in fact already present in 1923 at the First Triennale –at that time still called ‘International Exposition of decorative arts in Monza– with a committee, composed by Gregor Paulsson and Anna Åkerdahl¹¹¹ and it would miss only the 1925 appointment (II Triennale), due to the concurrent International exhibition in Paris.

Besides inaugurating the Swedish participation to the Italian Triennale, the 1920 Exhibition in Stockholm –along with other foreign publications on the topic– also had the privilege to have triggered Italian debate on Peasant art, since it constituted the starting point for Arduino Colasanti’s governmental guidelines.

¹⁰⁷ “L’arte decorativa italiana a Stoccolma,” *L’idea nazionale* 306 (December, 23, 1920).

¹⁰⁸ Guy Lowell, *Smaller Italian Villas & Farmhouses* (New York: Architectural Book publishing, 1916); Guy Lowell, *More small Italian Villas & Farmhouses* (New York: Architectural Book publishing, 1920).

¹⁰⁹ Axel Munthe was a writer and a famous doctor in France, Italy and Sweden, where he became Queen Victoria’s personal counselor. His most famous book *The story of San Michele*, first published in English in 1929, was inspired by his personal experiences, that would have arisen in the construction of the Villa San Michele in Anacapri, with the help of the local workers. Axel Munthe, *The story of San Michele* (London: John Murray, 1929); Josef Oliv, *San Michele di Axel Munthe. Una guida per i visitatori* (Malmö: Allhems Förlag, 1954); Bengt Jangfeldt, *Axel Munthe. The road to San Michele* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2008).

¹¹⁰ Giuseppe Pagano, Guarniero Daniel, *Architettura rurale Italiana* (Milan: Quaderni della Triennale, Hoepli, 1936).

¹¹¹ Agnoldomenico Pica, *Storia della Triennale* (Milan: Edizioni del Milione, 1957), 55.

He also showed further interest in deepening the relationships with Northern scholars, like with the archaeologist Oscar Montelius, invited in May 1921, to write for his magazine *Bollettino d'arte del Ministero della pubblica istruzione*.¹¹² Moreover, an immediate outcome of the exposition was a long article by Guido Balsamo Stella dedicated to the event, in the first number of *Architettura e Arti Decorative*, published in Rome by the 'Associazione Artistica fra i Cultori d'Architettura'.¹¹³

That same number was also opened by a long article by Marcello Piacentini on the state of modern architecture abroad, with a section dedicated to Sweden.

It was the first time –after Vittorio Pica's 1915 monography– that Nordic Architecture was taken as a positive example by the Italian press.

In particular, after a short reminder the pioneering work of Ferdinand Boberg, Piacentini highlighted the nationalistic aim of Swedish designers, based on its past traditions and what he described to be a 'nel-traditionalist school', like the Engelbrektskyrkan by Lars Israel Wahlman (1906-1914), already published on the Swedish magazine *Arkitektur*.¹¹⁴

The article was also a big anticipation of his 1930 book *Architettura d'oggi* (Architecture of today),¹¹⁵ at that moment the widest publication on foreign modern architecture in Italy, where he confirmed his 1921 positions and he proposed many of the examples published in Ahlberg's 1925 *Swedish Architecture of the Twentieth-century*.¹¹⁶

From another point of view, the 1920 exposition in Stockholm had also been a chance to learn about Nordic architecture and decorative arts, as shown by Gio Ponti, both as editor since 1928 of the pioneer magazine *Domus* and as leading designer for Richard-Ginori's Ceramic Industry between 1923 and 1930, influenced by Edward Hald's glasses for Orrefors.¹¹⁷

¹¹² "Letters from Arduino Colasanti to Oscar Montelius," (December 11, 1920; May 7, 1921), Riksantikvarieämbetet, Stockholm, Oscar Montelius 1859-1921, E 1C Utomnordiska brevskrivare, vol.65.

¹¹³ Guido Balsamo Stella, "Esposizione Italiana d'arte industriale e decorativa a Stoccolma," *Architettura e Arti Decorative* 1 (May-June 1921), 93–99.

¹¹⁴ Marcello Piacentini, "Il momento architettonico all'estero," *Architettura e arti decorative* 1 (May-June 1921), 43.

¹¹⁵ Marcello Piacentini, *Architettura d'oggi* (Rome: ed. Cremonese, 1930). In this edition, Piacentini defined Boberg as the founder of the Swedish school (page 21), followed by Ragnar Östberg, Tengbom, Bergsten, Lallerstedt and Asplund's library (page 52–55).

¹¹⁶ Hakon Ahlberg, *Swedish architecture of the twentieth-century*, (London : Benn, 1925).

¹¹⁷ In order to encourage the Italian Decorative Art system, Guido Balsamo Stella published in 1921 on *Dedalo*, directed by Ugo Ojetti, an article dedicated to Edward Hald's work for

A second contemporary outcome of the *Italienska Utställningen*, was another exposition –the ‘Mostra di arte Rustica’ at the First ‘Biennale Romana’ at Palazzo delle Esposizioni– leded by Marcello Piacentini, Gustavo Giovannoni (1873-1947) and Vittorio Morpurgo (1890-1940), not only with folk items but also with a series of drawings by Italian architects on traditional architecture.¹¹⁸

In a review of the exhibition, by Antonio Maraini on *Architettura e Arti Decorative*,¹¹⁹ he specifically mentioned the example of northern countries which had been renovating their models using traditional architecture, as already mentioned in the 1902 article by Vittorio Pica on modern architecture.¹²⁰

(Fig.33)

Moreover, in this same occasion, peasant architecture was seen as a positive model, especially for modern housing, because of their ‘simplicity, logic and adherence to its functions’, as already highlighted by Swedish critics for Italian Folk design.

Guido Balsamo Stella on the other hand, back in Italy after the Stockholm exhibition, started to work for several Italian applied schools and, before 1929, his wife Anna built their private Villa on the Florentine hills.¹²¹

Orrefors: Guido Balsamo Stella, “Cristalli di Svezia,” in *Dedalo* a.1, III (1921), 822-830. Since 1928, Ponti would have also published several articles for *Domus*, dedicated to Orrefors glass, Guido Balsamo Stella and his wife Anna Åkerdahl: “Un vetro inciso di G. Balsamo Stella,” I, 2 (1928); C. A. Felice, “I vetri incisi di Orrefors” I, 3 (1928); C. A. Felice, “Le arti decorative,” I, 7 (1928); G. Ponti, “I vetri incise di Guido Balsamo Stella,” II, 5 (1929); “Grande vaso di cristallo inciso per le nozze di Arrivabene-Visconti” II, 9 (1929); G. Ponti, “I vetri incisi di Guido Balsamo Stella,” IV, 11 (1931). In 1941, when Ponti was director of *Stile* he also published: C. A. Felice, “Ricordo di Guido Balsamo Stella,” *Stile* 10 (1941).

¹¹⁸ *Catalogo illustrato – Prima biennale romana – Esposizione nazionale di belle arti nel cinquantenario della capitale Roma* (Milan: Casa d’arte Bestetti & Tumminelli, 1921). After this experience, the Roman Associazione Artistica fra i cultori d’Architettura published three volumes on the topic: *Architettura minore in Italia. Vol.I-II-III* (Turin: Società Italiana di edizioni artistiche) in 1926, 1927 and in 1940. For a deepening of Pesant Art in Italy and its influence on contemporary architecture see: Michelangelo Sabatino, *Orgoglio della modestia*, 89–124.

¹¹⁹ Antonio Maraini, “L’architettura rustica alla cinquantennale romana,” 379-385.

¹²⁰ Vittorio Pica, “Gli edifici dell’Esposizione,” in *L’arte decorativa all’Esposizione di Torino del 1902* (Bergamo: Istituto Italiano di Arti Grafiche, 1903), 5–24.

¹²¹ After Anna Åkerdahl’s death in 1957, ‘Villa Orsetta’ was left to the Svenska Akademien, in order to use it as a study house for Swedish students and intellectuals in Italy. However, the academy refused to accept the gift and the house is today private property. The testament is in: ‘Åkerdahl-Balsamo Stella’, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, ‘Handling Rörande’, F3, Vol.6.

The project, one of the first realization ever published by a female designer in an Italian magazine in 1929, was considered a fine example of Italian Architecture, interpreted through the eyes of a foreigner.¹²²

Once again, the model was peasant art, and especially the 1916 Lowell's volume *Smaller Villas*. The façade was probably a direct interpretation of the close Villa Bombicci (**Fig. 34**), while the functional and simple plan of the rooms around the central stair, expressed the new needs of a modern house. (**Fig.35-37**)

However, in the long run, the 1920 Exhibition especially wanted to raise questions on the Italian School system for Decorative Arts in Italy.

The main result was the opening, on November 1922, of the first University for Applied Arts, the 'Istituto Superiore per le Industrie Artistiche' (I.S.I.A.) in Monza, with an official ceremony led by Ugo Ojetti. The aim of the school appealed, at the same time, to the Arts and Crafts tradition ('give beauty to everything') and to a raising nationalism ('the geniality of our people').¹²³

The school was located in the same building as the 'International Exhibition of Decorative Arts', located in Monza between 1923 and 1930, and then moved to Milan where they became 'Triennali'.

In 1929, Guido Balsamo Stella was elected director of ISIA, with a large possibility of influencing the Italian artistic panorama and a constant opening towards foreign influences.¹²⁴ Under Balsamo Stella's control of the school, the 'Architecture' section was finally reorganized and, after 1932, the direction passed to Elio Palazzo, who called the best future generation with names like Giuseppe Pagano (1896-1945), for the 'Art critic' chair, and Edoardo Persico (1900-1936) –together with Marcello Nizzoli– to teach 'Graphics and Advertising'.¹²⁵

¹²² Emilio Lancia, "Villa Orsetta in Firenze disegnata da Anna Balsamo-Stella," II, 10 (1929): 5–11. The house was one of the first realization ever published by a female designer on an Italian magazine. See Caterina Franchini, "From the Embroidery to the Construction. Women in Design and Architecture: Domus 1928-1950," in Ana Maria Fernández García, Caterina Franchini, Emilia Garda, Helena Seražin (eds.), *MoMoWo. 100 works in 100 years. European women in architecture and design 1918-2018* (Ljubljana, Turin: MoMoWo, 2016), 248–255.

¹²³ Rossana Bossaglia (ed.), *L'ISIA a Monza. Una scuola d'arte europea* (Monza: Associazione Pro Monza, 1986), 21; Vittorio Gregotti, "Manufactured Product Design 1900-1945," in Pontus Hultén, Germano Celant (eds.), *Italian Art 1900-1945* (Milan: Fabbri Bompiani, 1989), 238–240.

¹²⁴ He kept the nominee until 1932. Rossana Bossaglia (ed.), *L'ISIA a Monza*, 84. On Balsamo Stella's work after his return to Italy see: *Guido Balsamo Stella. Opera grafica e vetraria* (Milan: Galleria Philippe Daverio, 1977), 17–19; Irene de Guttry, Maria Paola Maino, Mario Quesada, *Le arti minori d'autore in Italia dal 1900 al 1930* (Milan: Laterza, 1985), 78–83.

¹²⁵ Rossana Bossaglia (ed.), *L'ISIA a Monza*, 170–171.



Fig.24-25 – Two rooms of the 1917 Hemutställningen by Carl Malmsted (above) and Erik Gunnar Asplund (bottom).
Source: Liljevalchs Konsthall Arkivet, photoalbum “1917 Svenska Slöjdföreningen Exhibition”.



Fig.26 – The main Hall at Liljevalchs, 1917 Hemutställningen
Source: Liljevalchs Konsthall Arkivet, photobook “1917 Svenska Slöjdföreningen Exhibition”.



Fig.27 –An interior at the 1918 Dansk Exhibition.
Source: Liljevalchs Konsthall Arkivet, photoalbum “1918 Dansk Exhibition”.



Fig.28 – Interiors of the 1920 *Italienska Utställningen*.
Source: Nordiska Museet Arkivet.



Fig.29 – Interiors of the 1920 *Italienska Utställningen*.
Source: Nordiska Museet Arkivet.



Fig.30 – Interiors of the 1920 *Italienska Utställningen*.
Source: Nordiska Museet Arkivet.

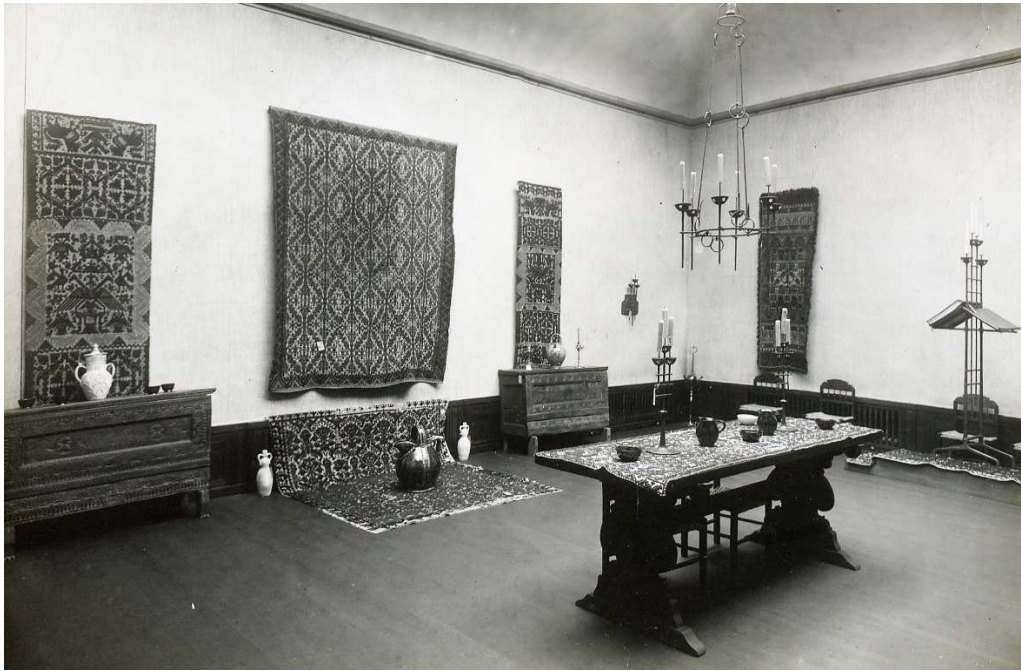
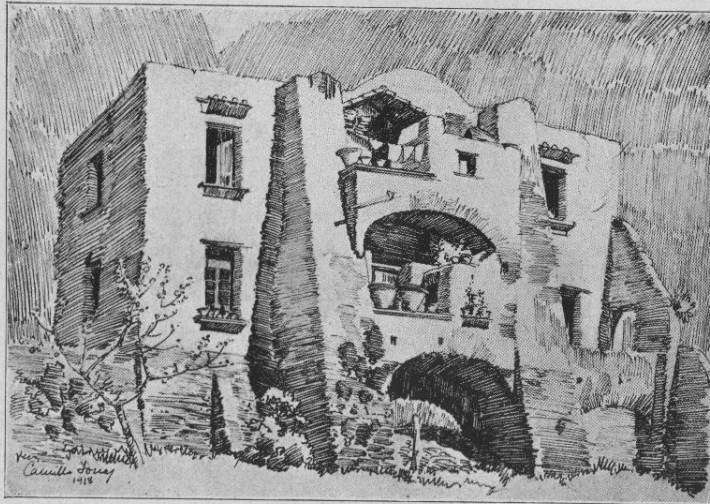


Fig.31-32 – Interiors of the 1920 *Italienska Utställningen*.
Source: Nordiska Museet Arkivet.



CAMILLO JONA - AMALFI.

L'ARCHITETTURA RUSTICA ALLA CINQUANTENALE ROMANA.

Nel risveglio d'interesse che si va verificando in Italia per l'arte paesana considerata non solo sotto il punto di vista etnografico, ma sotto il punto di vista artistico, anche l'architettura rustica comincia a diventare oggetto di studio. E ben a ragione. Chè quei casolari bianchi con il rosso dei tegoli impalliditi dal sole e il verde delle imposte lavato dalle piogge, quei casolari ad angoli, a pendenze, a superfici varie e irregolari, sono qualche cosa di più di una nota pittoresca nel paesaggio, sono una architettura vera e propria. Nè esclude ciò il fatto che tale architettura non abbia l'etichetta formalistica degli ordini, che sia alla buona, di materiali poveri, senz'altra regola fuori di quella del caso per il caso. L'importante è che risponda agli scopi suoi propri, che entro i suoi limiti sia un tutto completo e perfetto. L'assoluto in arte non esiste. Ogni opera va considerata in rapporto alle leggi che condizionano il problema particolare in essa implicito. E l'architettura rustica, nella semplicità elementare delle sue soluzioni, possiede una estetica logica ed esauriente.

Che cosa le si domanda infatti? Di offrire con la massima economia di mezzi una abitazione che soddisfi ai bisogni determinati dalle condizioni del clima, dalle abitudini

della vita e dalle necessità del lavoro in una data regione. Niente di diverso in sostanza da quello che sono le norme generali di ogni dimora civile. Soltanto che da essa esulano le preoccupazioni speculative di un impiego di capitale, o le ambizioni artistiche di una personalità d'autore. La casa rustica è un annesso del fondo sul quale sorge, destinata a ospitare una famiglia intesa nel lato senso patriarcale, ed è una anonima costruzione foggiate secondo tradizioni secolari tramandate di generazione in generazione. Sicchè quando con opportuni sfoghi d'aria, di luce e di movimento, contenga la cantina, la stalla, la cucina, il tinello, il granaio, le stanze per gli arnesi e le camere da letto, essa risponde pienamente alla propria destinazione.

E come fa ad assurgere nella esplicazione d'un tema così umile e così ripetuto ad una forma di bellezza? Nello stesso modo che allo stesso genere di bellezza perviene l'arte paesana tutta quanta. Cioè per il suo carattere di umanità domestica e familiare. Quanto le si richiede è palese nel suo aspetto, che le irregolarità del terreno ove sorge individua e differenzia entro l'ambito d'ogni tipo regionale. Le aperture grandi o piccine, i diversi livelli nelle altezze, le sporgenze a solatio, la rientranze a bacio, tutto ha un si-

Fig.33 – Review of the 1921 Exhibition in Rome on 'Rural Architecture'.

Source: Antonio Maraini, "L'architettura rustica alla cinquantennale romana," in *Architettura e Arti Decorative* 4 (1921), 379.



Fig.34 – Villa Bombicci's facade (Florence) published in 1916.
Source: Guy Lowell, *Smaller Italian Villas & Farmhouses* (New York: Architectural Book publishing, 1916), 34.

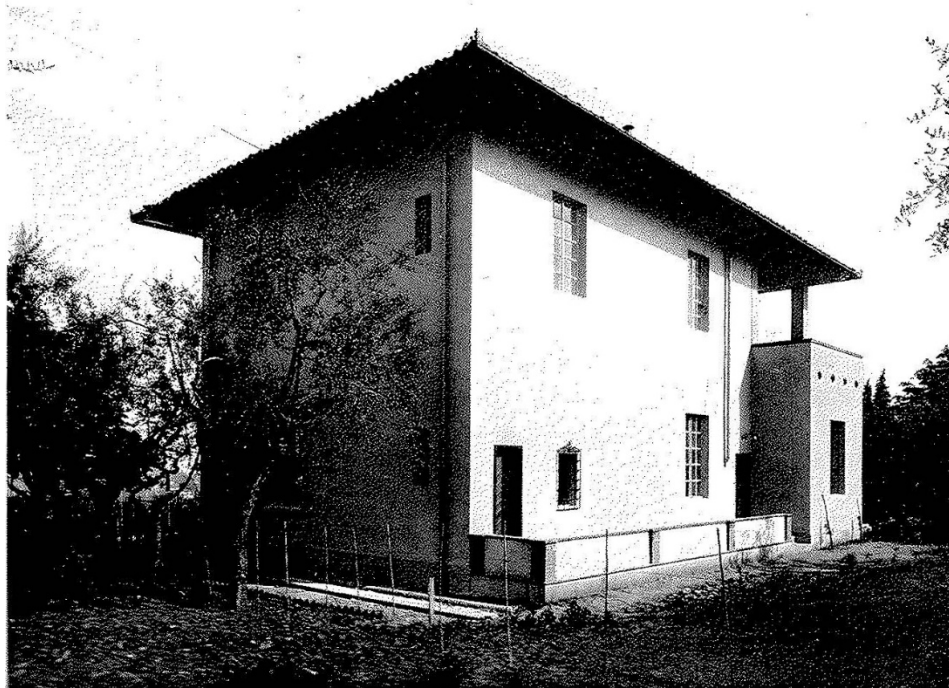
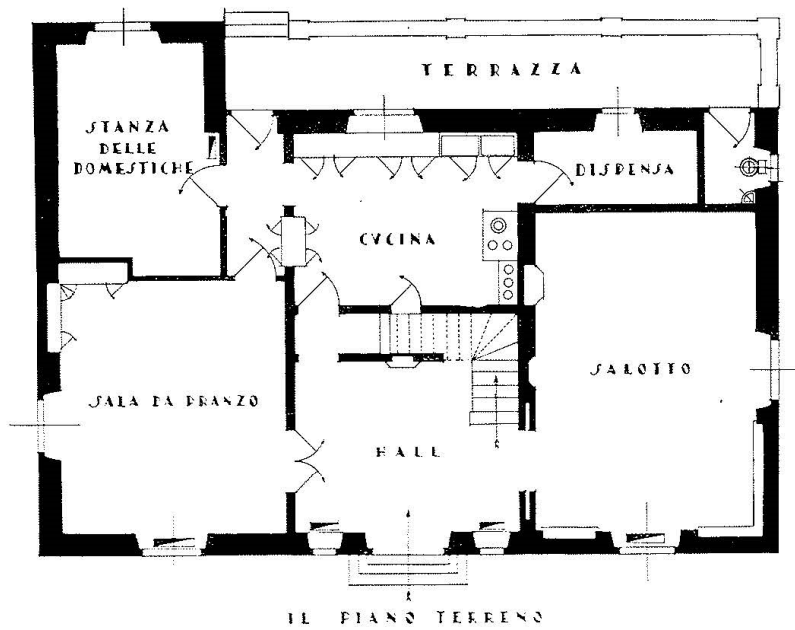


Fig.35-36 – Villa Orsetta (Florence) by Anna Åkerdahl.

Source: Emilio Lancia, “Villa Orsetta in Firenze disegnata da Anna Balsamo-Stella,” II, 10 (1929), 12–13.



VILLA ORSETTA IN FIRENZE
LE PIANTE

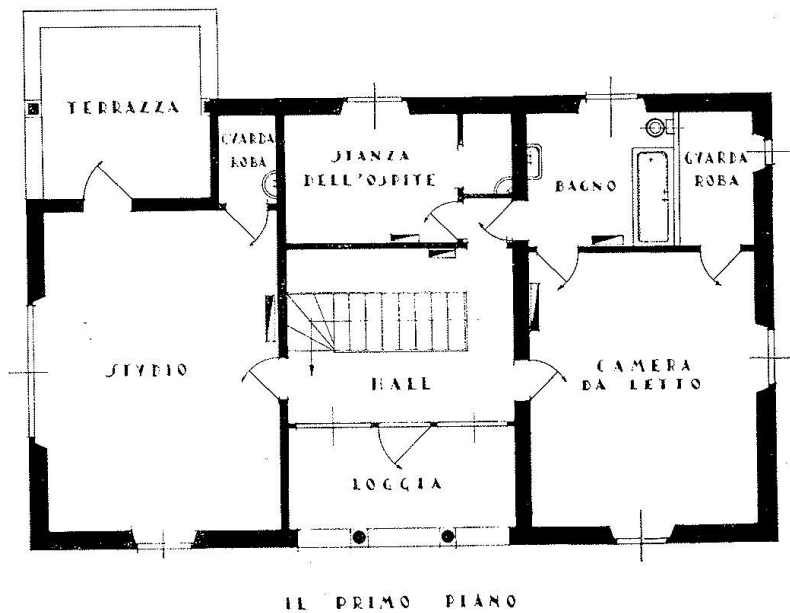


Fig.37 – Plans of Villa Orsetta (Florence) by Anna Åkerdahl.
Source: Emilio Lancia, "Villa Orsetta in Firenze disegnata da Anna Balsamo-Stella," II, 10 (1929), 14.

3.3. Giovanni Broglio and the 1923 IFHTP Congress in Göteborg

In the first decades of the twentieth-century, common issues of many States was the large movements of populations from the countryside to towns; the overcrowded cities with limited hygienic conditions; the increasing movements of men and goods, thanks to new transportations (trains and steamboat), and, finally, a new urban aesthetic. The latter, raised in the second half of the nineteenth century as the main concern by Hausmann's policies for Paris, would have gradually decreased its role in favor of a more severe 'quantitative' control of the urban project.

However, at the beginning of the twentieth-century, the contact point of these different questions was the utopia of the Garden city, first published in 1898 as a provocative pamphlet by Ebenezer Howard (1850-1928) and soon followed by the foundation of a dedicated association, directed by Howard himself until his death.

The 'Garden Cities and Town Planning Association' (GCTPA) was already born in 1902, but only after the 1909 Town Planning Act by the English Parliament, the organization faced a major development, not only in Great Britain but also in other countries, with the main goal to promote Howard's ideas on planning practice and its correct applications in real life, beginning a long form of 'British paternalism' on foreign planning élites.¹²⁶

In 1913 the GCTPA decided to form a second organization: the 'International Federation of Housing and Town Planning' (IFHTP), born to promote English principles globally, thanks to international meetings (1923-1939) and the dissemination of the dedicated magazine *Garden Cities and Town Planning*.

Although highly considered by the contemporary planners, historiography had overlooked the IFHTP Congresses in favor to the more familiar Congrès International d'Architecture modern (CIAM), which in the interwar period were, if compared to the first, only a marginal player in the transnational

¹²⁶ Edward G. Culpin, *The Garden City movement up-to-date* (London: The Garden cities and Town Planning Association, 1913), 9-14.

diffusion of planning ideas¹²⁷ and their agendas were initially based on the IFHTP experiences.¹²⁸

Surprisingly, in the 1913 GCTPA publication, Italy had been already included –even if with many doubts by the English commission¹²⁹– while the only Nordic Country included was Norway, for its expansions of the city of Kristiania.¹³⁰

In 1923 however, in order to celebrate the first ten years of the Association, Sweden proposed to host the first official IFHTP Congress, accompanying it with a large exhibition, organized by nations.

The arranged sections were coming from three different continents: Europe and America, but also, for the first time, Asia, with two sectors dedicated to Japan and China (this one curated by the Danish Kay Fisker).¹³¹

¹²⁷ Michel Geertse: “The International Garden City Campaign: Transnational Negotiations on Town Planning Methods 1913-1926,” *Journal of Urban History* 42 (July 2016), 734. The work is based on his Phd thesis: “Defining the universal city. The International Federation for Housing and Town Planning and transnational planning dialogue 1913-1945” (PhD diss., VU University, Amsterdam, 2012). A little earlier it is the Italian study: Renzo Riboldazzi, *Un'altra modernità. L'IFHTP e la cultura urbanistica tra le due guerre 1923-1939* (Rome: Gangemi, 2009).

¹²⁸ Erik Mumford, *The CIAM discourse on Urbanisme 1928-1960* (Cambridge, London: MIT Press, 2002), 30; Konstance Domhardt, “The Garden City Idea in the CIAM Discourse on Urbanisme: A Path to Comprehensive Planning,” *Planning Perspectives* 27 (2012): 173–97.

¹²⁹ Edward G. Culpin, *The Garden City*, 66. The author expressed his doubts clearly, probably referring to the experimental neighborhood ‘Milanino’ in Milan: ‘Several efforts at reformed housing have been made in Italy, but these have been made chiefly upon the old lines of tenement dwellings. Near Milan a trial has been made with cottages, and this is said to be upon Garden City lines. Repeated application, however, has failed to elicit any information as to whether the scheme is on genuine lines, or is another of the pseudo-garden cities which can be found in practically every European country.’ On the other hand, an Italian representative was always included in the CIAM Congresses from 1928 ongoing, starting with Alberto Sartoris (1901-1998) and Gino Maggioni (1898-1955). The Swedish delegation instead, was initially represented at the first CIRPAC meeting (and not the first CIAM) by Sven Markelius (1889-1972) and, in 1937, by Uno Århén (1897-1977). Erik Mumford, *The CIAM discourse*, 17, 26, 111.

¹³⁰ Edward G. Culpin, *The Garden City*, 72. The appointed correspondent for Norway was T. Schlytter, the only representative of Nordic countries. The city expansion plans and the role of green parks in the urban centers were also included in the Norwegian section of the 1923 exhibition in Göteborg, as shown in the official catalogue: Werner Hegemann, *International Cities and Town Planning Exhibition. English catalogue. Jubilee Exhibition Gothenburg* (Göteborg: Wezäta, 1923), 213–225.

¹³¹ The section, included in the official catalogue, were: Austria, Belgium, Great Britain, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Holland, Italy, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland and United States. Editor of the English catalogue was the German planner Werner Hegemann, already in charge of the 1911 Planning exhibition in Berlin: Werner Hegemann, *Der Städtebau nach der Ergebnisse der allgemeinen Städtebau-Ausstellung in Berlin nebst einem*

The setting of the exhibition and its related congress, was the Swedish *Jubileumsutställningen i Göteborg* (Gothenburg Tercentennial Jubilee Exposition), marking three-hundred years since the city was founded.¹³² (Fig.38-39)

The idea of hosting the Congress was related to the political will of the city, in order to evoke the relevance of the event even outside national borders, and also to celebrate the work of Göteborg's Planning Office, at that moment directed by Albert Lilienberg (1879-1967).¹³³

3.3.1. Sweden, Austria, Germany and England at the 1923 IFHPT Congress

The largest section was certainly the Swedish one: together with a historical retrospective of the urban development of its major cities, it also showed the contemporary work of municipal offices. Göteborg in particular was the first city to ban in 1862 a public competition for an expansion plan, dealing with its final version – edited from 1864 to 1866 - through the designation of a dedicated working group. The result was the planning of low-volume neighborhoods, airy streets and widespread linear green parks and paths.¹³⁴ (Fig.40)

Anhang. Die Internationale Städtebau-Ausstellung in Düsseldorf. 600 Wiedergaben der Bilder- und Planmaterials der beiden Ausstellungen (Berlin: Wasmuth, 1911). On Hegemann see: Caroline Flick, *Werner Hegemann (1881-1936) Stadtplanung, Architektur, Politik. Ein arbeitsleben in Europa und den USA* (Berlin: Saur, 2005).

¹³² The Göteborg Exposition was well documented by the magazine *Byggmastaren*, directed from 1920 by Hakon Ahlberg, the architect of the Arts and Crafts pavilion of the event. See Hakon Ahlberg, "Jubileumsutställningen i Göteborg. En orientering" and the following "Jubileumsutställningens arkitektur," *Byggmastaren* 1923, 125-136; a report of the IFHPT was also published by Osvald Almqvist, "Internationella Stadbyggnadsutställningen ISBU", *Byggmastaren* 1923, 213–224. For a review on the architecture of the pavilions see also in *Byggmastaren* 1923: Axel Eriksson, "Byggnadstekniskt på utställningen," 134–136; John Lindberg, "Göteborgsutställningens Byggnadskonstruktioner," 189–196; Erik Gunnar Asplund, "Bilder med randanteckningar från konstindustribyggnaderna på Göteborgsutställningen," 277–287.

¹³³ Albert Lilienberg was director of Göteborg's Planning Office from 1907 to 1927. In 1928 he moved to Stockholm where he became Stadsplandirektör until 1944. In 1911 he founded, with Osvald Almqvist (1884-1950), his studio. In 1923 he was the chairman of the executive committee of the exhibition, while the Swedish section was organized by Osvald Almqvist, Nils Herlitz, Ragnar Josephson, Gustaf Linden e Harald Wadsjö. Werner Hegemann, *International Cities*, 8-9. On Albert Lilienberg: Bjur Hans, "Albert Lilienberg," *Arkitektur* 1 (1986): 27–31.

¹³⁴ Werner Hegemann, *International Cities*, 250. For a deepening of Swedish planning practice between XIX and XX century see the 1923 report by Albert Lilienberg, *The planning and the development of Gothenburg. History and prospects of the future* (Göteborg: Aktiebolaget Götatryckeriet, 1923) and Thomas Hall, "Urban Planning in Sweden," in Thomas Hall (ed.),

In contrast, Stockholm's plan had had a more tortuous journey: its most monumental part, visible in the 1866 version by Albert Lindhagen (1823-1887) was the result of the adoption of King Gustaf III's (1746-1792) grandiose idea of laying a broad avenue from Gustav Adolf Square to Brunnsviken, near the Haga Park.

However, the final version approved between 1875 and 1881, had already mitigated many of the most impacting proposals.¹³⁵

Alongside with several other plans, in 1923 Sweden promoted a picture of a country where the culture of urban planning was widespread, thanks in particular to a 1874 law, which made a general project mandatory, not only as a fire prevention tool,¹³⁶ but also in order to define common criteria of spaciousness, aesthetics, comfort, variety and order. Some examples were the regulation to draw wide and straight roads –between 12 and 18 metres– tree-lined parks, blocks of certain dimensions and a building activity subject to a local commission's approval. Finally, to homologate the performances, all the planning offices of the country were provided with a carnet of sixteen urban ideal projects, designed between 1850 and 1860 by Albert Lindhagen, with a regular grid scheme and construction details (proportions of building height in relation to road width, grid alignment, etc.) without thinking about the many differences between small and large towns, their different economical disposals or the various topographic conditions.¹³⁷

Finally, in 1889, the publication in Sweden of *Der Städtebau nach seinen Künstlerischen Grundsätzen* ('City Planning according to Artistic Principles') by Camillo Sitte (1843-1903) progressively changed the neoclassical approach to planning practice.

Once again it was Göteborg to be a trailblazer, perhaps because of its distance from the royal power and its demands of monumental representations: in 1901, the extension project to the South-East area of the city was won by Per Olof

Planning and Urban growth in Nordic countries (London: E & FN Spon, 1991), 177–246 (and its related bibliography).

¹³⁵ Gustav Linden, "Town planning in Sweden after 1850," in Werner Hegemann, *International Cities*, 252–254.

¹³⁶ An important precedent was the Great Fire of Turku, which destroyed the old capital of Finland in 1827. The reconstruction plan by Carl Ludwig Engel (1778-1840), head of the commissariat, was based on a regular grid and neoclassical principles. See Mikael Sundman, "Urban planning in Finland after 1850," in Thomas Hall (ed.), *Planning and Urban growth*, 65–68.

¹³⁷ Gustav Linden, "Town planning in Sweden after 1850," 255.

Hallman (1860-1914) and Fredrik Sundbärg (1860-1913) with a project influenced by the 'picturesque' dictates expressed by Sitte, then taken up by a second proposal for the city of Kalmar in 1906, based on curved roads and the valorization of urban topography.¹³⁸ (Fig.41)

Then, in 1907—two years ahead of the English Town Planning Act— a Swedish law had finally put an end to several system weaknesses, giving legal value to the plans, also defining some principles of dispute resolution between public and private.¹³⁹

Finally, alongside to the municipal offices' regulatory plans, Sweden proposed a section devoted to another pressing issue in Europe: the condition of the modern home. The Royal Social Board (the *Kungliga Socialstyrelsen*) showed a series of detailed statistics, analyzing the average population per flat and the conditions of the apartment in relation to the inhabitants' rent and income.¹⁴⁰

Moreover, the Royal Institute of Scientific-Industrial research (*Ingenjörsvetenskapsakademi*) in Stockholm, directed by Axel Enström (1875-1948),¹⁴¹ decided to present a series of 'minimum' wooden dwelling based on the peasant tradition together with the plan of Gamla Enskede: one of Stockholm's first districts designed according to 'picturesque' principles and a particular attention to a certain aesthetics of architecture.¹⁴²

Finland, Norway —already mentioned in Kristiania's plan— and Denmark demonstrated the same effort by the central government to organize national planning, even in smaller centers, shaping Nordic countries' strong point, at least in this early stage of the practice: a constant attention to balance practical (such as mobility and hygiene) and aesthetic issues.¹⁴³

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 258. Per Olof Hallman was, with Albert Lilienberg, Stockholm's Stadsplanedirektör between 1922 and 1927. Anna-Lisa Löfquist, *Riksbyggmästaren. Per Olof Hallman 1869-1941. En biografisk studie med utgångspunkt från Hallman-arkivet i Stockholms stadsarkiv* (Stockholm : Konstvetenskapliga Institute, Stockholms University, 1991).

¹³⁹ Gustav Linden, "Town planning in Sweden after 1850," in Werner Hegemann, *International Cities*, 260.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 267–8.

¹⁴¹ Werner Hegemann, *International Cities*, 267; Axel F. Enström, *Swedish research work relating to housing and building* (Göteborg: Aktiebolaget Götatryckeriet, 1923).

¹⁴² Werner Hegemann, *International Cities*, 293. The plan of Gamla Enskede —ons of the first South expansion of Swedish capital— was designed between 1907 and 1908 by Per Olof Hallman. see Sven Wallander, "Om Kristidens Bostadsbyggen," *Byggmastaren* 3 (1920), 42–43; Siv Bernhardsson, *Stockholm outside the Inner city. Ninety-seven suburban districts* (Stockholm: Stockholmia Förlag, 2006), 14–19.

¹⁴³ Renzo Riboldazzi, *Un'altra modernità*, 25.

Germany on the other hand, presented itself with the work of Gustav Langen (1879-1963), founding architect in 1915 of the *Deutsches Reich-Archiv für Städtebau Wohnungs und Siedlungswesen* in Münster, an advanced Institute in the field of theoretical urban design.¹⁴⁴

The studies brought to the 1923 exhibition, highlighted the necessary relationship between urban typology and urban morphology, in order to solve a second problem: a home for all.

In this country in fact, the worsening of the general conditions of living had already occurred before the First World War, with the exponential increase of the prices for areas available for construction and the building of high blocks lacking the most elementary services.

Then, the Post-war economic crisis saw the size of urban centers and industrial areas such as the Ruhr Mining District, which faced the emergence of housing for new settlers.

In these last years, the ‘curse of the German cities’ had been sanctioned by the design of several *Siedlung*: low one-story or two-story buildings with an area intended for gardening. At the basis of the German proposals, there was of course Langen’s political position, that an anti-urban and semirural community could be the only possibility of modern living.¹⁴⁵

Likewise, Austria presented a series of models for real estate developments in Vienna. In 1921, the country had provided areas for the construction of single-family homes of no more than 65 meters square, through the help of a public utility company and cooperatives, providing the necessary for the construction of low-cost homes, from building materials to interior furnishings.¹⁴⁶

The interest in these new type of solution was so high that the organizing committee had decided to use the two gardens of the exhibition building to accommodate the real-world models of these houses. (Fig. 42-43)

The effects of this presentation would be soon noticed in Sweden, where, between the 1920s and 1930s, several areas of Stockholm accommodated new neighborhoods, planned according to similar principles: like the areas of Norra Ängby and Tallgroken, both designed by Edvin Engström (1890-1971).¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ Gustav Langen, “Germany,” in Werner Hegemann, *International Cities*, 123-125; Renzo Riboldazzi, *Un'altra modernità*, 37.

¹⁴⁵ Renzo Riboldazzi, *Un'altra modernità*, 38.

¹⁴⁶ “Austria,” in Werner Hegemann, *International Cities*, 11-13.

¹⁴⁷ Eva Eriksson, *Den moderna staden tar form : arkitektur och debatt 1910-1935* (Stockholm: Ordfront, 2001); Per Kallstenius, Laila Reppen and Cecilia Björck, *Norra Ängby. Ett program för din närmiljö* (Stockholm : Stockholms byggnadsnämnd, 1978). The projects for Norra Ängby and Tallgroken were published even in Italy in 1938: Francesco Fariello, “L’espansione della

In these last planning experiments, the areas were designed to accommodate the poor section of society, the price of the plots was maintained low and each family was provided with the necessary materials to build its own home. (Fig.44-47) Finally, a focal section of the 1923 exhibition was certainly the English group, founder of the International Federation of Housing and Town Planning. Its most representative delegate was Raymond Unwin (1863-1940), designer of the city of Letchworth –still considered in 1923, by the Association, the best application of the ‘garden city principles– and Hampstead (a suburb of London with a less strict presentation of the same ideas) and future president of IFHTP after Howard's death in 1928.

Besides these realizations, already in 1909, in conjunction with the new English Town Planning Act, Unwin had also published the seminal *Town Planning in Practice* on the correct application of Garden City principles, deepening the urban design culture as inseparable from urban legislation.¹⁴⁸

According to his campaign, basic characters of the Garden city were: economic self-sufficiency, complete planning, and a community-controlled land arrangement. However, the urban monotony of Letchworth ‘compared to the pleasant architectural variety of Hampstead,’ had made the second quite most popular abroad.¹⁴⁹

3.3.2. *The Italian delegation: Alessandro Schiavi and Giovanni Broglio*

The British examples of Hampstead and Letchworth had already been visited several times –at least twice, first in 1907 and then in 1909– by one of the organizer of the Italian section: Alessandro Schiavi (1872-1965) and subsequently published in Milan, from 1909 to 1910, in the monthly magazine *Le case popolari e le città giardino*.¹⁵⁰

città di Stoccolma verso la periferia,” *Architettura* 7 (July 1938), 436-452. Moreover, when the Italian architect Piero Bottoni was invited in 1949 to visit Sweden, in order to gather ideas for Post-war reconstruction, he was taken to Norra Ängby. See par. 5.2.

¹⁴⁸ Renzo Riboldazzi, *Un'altra modernità*, 32.

¹⁴⁹ Alessandro Schiavi, *Le case a buon mercato e le città giardino* (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1911), 239-241. For a study on the Garden Cities in Milan and its relations with English examples see: Ornella Selvafolta, “Temi e Luoghi della città-giardino in Italia nei primi decenni del Novecento,” in *Ciudades* 6 (2000-2001), 75–97.

¹⁵⁰ The magazine *Le case popolari e le città giardino* was the Italian interpretation of the English journal *Garden Cities and Town Planning*, edited by the same association. The Italian section however, edited by Alessandro Schiavi and others, wanted to create a direct relationship between the popular housing and the Garden City. A limitation on the other hand, of this publication, was the focus on only Italian examples, claiming the national specificity of the subject.

Alessandro Schiavi was not a designer or an engineer, but a journalist and an activist with a precocious curiosity in newborn sociology. Thanks to a Law degree and a deep interest in the social survey, he naturally arrived to address the housing problem for the poor on the press, especially considering the high number of immigrants, both coming from the countryside and from the South, that Milan was welcoming since the beginning of the century.

Besides the journalistic career, Schiavi had the chance to be actively involved in social projects when he became an officer –and then the director (1904-910)– of the *Umanitaria* in Milan.¹⁵¹

The *Umanitaria* was an institution born by the will of Prospero Moisè Loria (1814-1892)¹⁵² in 1893 with the precise aim of overcoming the paternalism of the other nineteenth-century organizations, active on the territory of Milan, like *opere pie*, shelters for poor, dormitories, reformers, economic canteens, etc. mostly with a religious origin.

The highest aim of the association was to provide tools to finally get out of poverty, starting with the motto ‘work and education’. The institution immediately distinguished itself thanks to the foundation, throughout the city of Milan, of ‘Applied Schools’ and a peculiar attention to Art and Culture.¹⁵³

Among their many initiatives, it is important to recall the foundation of another important school, already mentioned in the previous chapter: the School of

Redazione, "Il nostro programma," *Le case popolari e le città-giardino* I, 1 (1909), 1. An important exception was constituted by Alessandro Schiavi's text: "Come si costruiscono le nuove città", *Le case popolari e le città-giardino* I, 1 (1909), 2–9 where he highlighted the relationship between Italian and English examples of Garden cities.

¹⁵¹ On Schiavi see: Maurizio Ridolfi (ed.), *Alessandro Schiavi. Indagine sociale, culture politiche e tradizione socialista nel primo '900* (Cesena: Il ponte Vecchio, 1994); Silvia Bianciardi, *Alessandro Schiavi. La casa e la città* (Manduria: Lacaia, 2005). In 1926, Schiavi published also the first article on Denmark's policies for the poor: "Ciò che si fa in Danimarca," *La coltura popolare* 7-8 (July-August 1926), 30–34 and the second part in 9-10 (September-October 1926), 22–28.

¹⁵² Paolo Valera, *Vita intima e aneddotica di Prospero Moisè Loria, fondatore dell'Umanitaria*, (Milan: Libreria sociale, 1906); Bruno Pellegrino, *Il filantropo. Prospero Moisè Loria e la Società Umanitaria* (Bologna: Minerva Edizioni, 2014).

¹⁵³ Claudio A. Colombo, "Sapere, fare e saper fare: Umanitaria, un modello laico per la formazione e l'orientamento al lavoro," in Bovo Amilcare (ed.), *L'alchimia del lavoro: i generosi che primi in Milano fecondarono le arti e le scienze* (Milan: Raccolto, 2008), 92–145; Massimo della Campa, *Il Modello Umanitaria* (Milan: Raccolto 2003).

Applied Arts in Monza, then converted into the first ‘Applied Arts University’ (I.S.I.A.) in 1922.¹⁵⁴

Along with schools, another direct intervention of the association was, in 1905, the construction of two ‘neighborhood for workers’: in Via Solari (249 dwellings) and in an area called Rottole (today Viale Lombardia), with 214 lodgings, both under the direction of the engineer Giovanni Broglio (1874-1965).¹⁵⁵

Unlike the *Garden City Association*'s battles, Broglio was in the foreground to solve the problems of the less fortunate. According to his recollections, his personal history had been quite significant, since his dedication to the cause was derived from his own personal experience: son of a poor family, he had been forced to spend the studies sharing a room with many others.¹⁵⁶

After the realization in Via Solari and Rottole, both Alessandro Schiavi and Giovanni Broglio started to collaborate –and then entered– the ICP (Institute for Public Housing), born in 1909 and mostly financed by the City of Milan.¹⁵⁷

In particular, Broglio had overseen the construction of one of the first ICP district in Milan, the ‘Lulli’ neighborhood (1908-1912), similar to Broglio’s first solutions for Via Solari and Rottole: a series of rectangular blocks with green inner courts and connected by tree-lined avenues, only slightly inspired by

¹⁵⁴ See par. 3.2.2. Rossana Bossaglia (ed.), *L'ISIA a Monza. Una scuola d'arte europea* (Monza: Associazione Pro Monza, 1986).

¹⁵⁵ The interventions followed the 1903 Legge Luzzatti on Public housing, which stimulated Public and private Institutions to directly build their homes. Raffaele Pugliese (ed.), *La casa popolare in Lombardia 1903-2003* (Milan: Unicopli, 2005), 33. On these two projects see also: **Claudio A. Colombo**, Marco Andreula and Anna Maria Liggeri, *Aria di Umanitaria alle Rottole. 1909: nasce il secondo Quartiere operaio* (Milan: Raccolto, 2009); Claudio A. Colombo, *Quando l'Umanitaria era in via Solari. 1906, il primo quartiere operaio* (Milan: **Raccolto, 2006**); Giovanni Broglio, “Memorie originali. Le case popolari della Società Umanitaria alle Rottole”, *Il Politecnico. Giornale dell'ingegnere, architetto civile e industriale* 58 (1910), 65–73. The projects included three-story buildings with wide inner green courts, all equipped with the necessary facilities (bathroom, drinking water, double fireplace for gas and wood, dirt channells and aeration gutters).

¹⁵⁶ Giovanni Broglio, *L'istituto per le case popolari di Milano e la sua opera tecnica dal 1909 al 1929* (Milan: Bertieri, 1929), XVI. For a biographical note on Giovanni Broglio see: Ornella Selvafolta, “100.000 locali di abitazione’: profilo biografico di Giovanni Broglio architetto delle case popolari,” in Raffaele Pugliese (ed.), *La casa popolare*, 41–45.

¹⁵⁷ The Milan ICP was born in February 1909, with a capital of more than 13 millions, with 10 of them given by the Municipality of Milan. Giovanni Broglio, *L'istituto per le case popolari*, XVIII.

garden city principles in relation to the role of green spaces, combined with the necessity of high-density.¹⁵⁸ (Fig.48-49)

A second plan for neighborhood Mac-Mahon, realized between 1908 and 1909, clearly shown the different possibilities connected with the garden-city movement in Italy: the ‘*casernes*’ (collective houses with an inner court) for the poorest groups and the ‘*pavillons*’ (one or two-storey isolated villas) for one or more wealthier families.¹⁵⁹

With these past experiences, the Italian delegation –made by Alessandro Schiavi and Giovanni Broglio– sent a rather limited number of examples to the 1923 IFHTP Exhibition, all related to the Milan.

Larger space was instead given to a selection of old plans of Italian cities, like Rome, Milan, Venice, Florence, Naples, Turin, Genoa, Pisa, Palermo, Verona and others. However, the collection was not organized by Broglio or Schiavi, but from the Town Planning Office of Göteborg and the city planning architect by Nils Gellerstedt (1875-1961), showing the general interest for Italian ancient past rather than its contemporary experimentations.¹⁶⁰

The best project related to Garden City's dictates was probably the ‘Milanino’ neighborhood, promoted by the *Unione Cooperativa* –another consumer association born in 1886 and similar to the mentioned *Umanitaria*– which had included among its programs several construction activities.¹⁶¹

In 1907, its president Luigi Buffoli, after his travels to England with the company of Alessandro Schiavi, had written enthusiastic articles on Letchworth, but he had also noticed the related difficulties to apply a similar experiment in Italy. Therefore he started to promote his own version of ‘garden city’ with the proposal for the ‘Milanino’.

Extending over an area of over one million square meters, located between the municipalities of Cusano and Cinisello, Milanino represented an application of a decalogue of “old and new concepts” expressed by Schiavi: ‘a mix of “Nordic patterns and classicity”, of the English picturesque curved line and the straight line of “Italian taste”’.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 18-21.

¹⁵⁹ Raffaele Pugliese (ed.), *La casa popolare*, 33.

¹⁶⁰ Werner Hegemann, *International Cities*, 197.

¹⁶¹ Maurizio Boriani, Susanna Bortolotto, *Origini e sviluppo di una città giardino. L'esperienza del Milanino* (Milan: Guerini, 1991); Unione Cooperativa, *Milanino* (Milan: Tip. Dell'Unione cooperativa, 1911).

¹⁶² Ornella Selvafolta, “Temi e Luoghi della città-giardino,” 86.

At the end of the First World War, a further adaptation of the garden city was marked by the need of the City of Milan to build a large number of popular housing quickly, as the mentioned cases of Germany and Austria.¹⁶³

The ICP Institute, headed by Alessandro Schiavi and Giovanni Broglio as chief architect, had decided to extend the privilege of living in a single house to the lowest section of the population.

Between 1919 and 1920, 'villages' such as Baravalle, Campo dei Fiori, Tiepolo, Gran Sasso, were set up to control the quality of expansion, 'approaching the "garden city" to the "historical city" and guaranteeing its functionality within the boundaries of the municipal territory and inside the jets of his regulation plan.'¹⁶⁴ (Fig.50-51)

Although with a small selection of these constructions,¹⁶⁵ the 1923 Congress in Stockholm was certainly an important chance, for Giovanni Broglio and Alessandro Schiavi, to show the different needs and results of an Italian 'Garden city movement', strictly linked with the popular housing.

For both ICP officers it was also a chance to personally visit the Swedish realizations outside Göteborg. While Schiavi was known for his travels to France and England in order to study the Garden Cities, for Giovanni Broglio instead, it was the first occasion to travel abroad and study the popular housing, not only

¹⁶³ In 1918, there was a need of 13,000 new homes, to be completed in a short time. Ezio Bonfanti and Massimo Scolari, *La vicenda urbanistica e edilizia dell'Istituto Case Popolari di Milano dagli esordi alla seconda guerra mondiale* (Milan: Clup, 1982), 54–62.

¹⁶⁴ Ornella Selvafolta, "Temi e Luoghi della città-giardino," 88.

¹⁶⁵ The complete list of the Italian section was, as reported by the official catalogue, made up of four parts: the historical plans of Italian cities, modern Plans for Milan, tables from the Milan ICP and the 'Co-operative society of Post and Telegraphs employees' in Milan. In the first section, the city of Milan included: Plans of the modern cities; statistics of inexpensive dwellings' construction from 1918 to 1923; statistics of density and increase of population from 1911-1921; two drawings of the garden village 'Milanino' Ltd. and other garden suburbs of the society; two drawings of projects by the 'State employees Society for inexpensive Housing' (INCIS); houses for the Cooperative society of Railway employees, of Province employees, of War Veterans and for the employees of the 'Società italiana de Angeli'. The Milan ICP, directed by Alessandro Schiavi included 39 foto and 7 drawings and the Milan 'Cooperative Society of Post and Telegraph employees', included 12 photos of three groups of houses; the plan of the Monforte district, where each home included a little garden. In "Italy," in Werner Hegemann, *International Cities*, 197-8. Significant, however, was the lack of a Roman representation, with the new garden settlements that were born at Garbatella and Aniene from 1920, respectively on the hills of San Paolo and beyond Monte Sacro, to welcome part of the expelled population from the places in the center subject to urban renewals.

in Göteborg, but also in Stockholm, Berlin, Darmstadt, Nuremberg and Munich, as he wrote in his detailed report on this experience.¹⁶⁶

The purpose of his trip was not only to represent Italy in an international meeting, but also to visit as much popular housing as possible, in order to 'compare and learn the best practical, technical and economical solutions'.¹⁶⁷

In his conclusions, after the description of the national differences, he tried to summarize all the relevant issues and to propose further developments: at first it appeared clear that the modern popular housing had to be studied approaching it - in a compatible way - to the civilian home: common effort of all countries was in fact to maximize the necessary spaces and the minimum facilities, showing a clear anticipation of what at the 1929 CIAM would be called 'Existenzminimum'.

In his 1923 report however, Broglio analyzed how the Milan ICP realizations could be considered, from a technical point of view, at the same level as the other nations. Instead, he remained quite impressed by what he defined a Nordic 'way to live the home': a need to always improve the inner spaces of everyday life.¹⁶⁸

Finally, he analyzed the practical doubts behind the German and English refusals to use high-rise buildings for low-cost housing:

I was always a fervent admirer of the houses [the garden city, ed], and now I am even more, after having seen the examples that they build in the North. But I do not think that in Milan - a city of great and progressive development - the problem of housing can be solved by adopting a unique type of house, either as the small independent house or the skyscraper [...]; so I think that houses should be of all types to meet all the different needs.

He also included a new possibility for the Milan ICP, a third 'popular house' based on Nordic neighborhoods, made by low-cost wooden houses:

¹⁶⁶ Giovanni Broglio, *Congresso per le case popolari ed i Piani regolatori di Göteborg* (Svezia). Agosto 1923 (Milan: Cesare Tamburini, 1923), 1. The visits to the built examples were made by Giovanni Broglio in July 1923, but unfortunately, the report did not include any images.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁶⁸ 'The love for the home is certainly more alive there than it is for us, and this depends on the better education of the people and on the harshness of the climate, which obliges them to live for most of the year inside the house, and this makes you feel more the need to improve it.' *Ibid.*, 14 (Translation by the author).

Public housing, destined to be a lasting part of the city, should continue to be built with criteria of decorum and stability, however simple on the outside. But at the same time it seems that our Institute should provide –in addition to the houses that, although they are workers, are destined to the most fortunate workers and to the petty bourgeoisie– a type more economic home for the poorest, adopting types of construction which are small, light (though made with tested and resistant material), to be amortized in about thirty years. These buildings should be grouped in various points inside the new part of Milan, so as to constitute small agricultural colonies: they should be built on land purchased by the City, at their effective price, without artificial increase, and sold to the Institute for rent for 40-50 years, after which the municipality would be in possession of the land, which, properly planted and previously arranged, could be entirely or partially destined to park.¹⁶⁹

This solution was not interpreted as a far possibility for extremely poor families, but as a practical chance to quickly solve the housing shortages –starting from the site of ‘Campo dei fiori’ at that moment under construction– and to experiment for the first time the question of its interior design:

I thought about a similar solution for Milan, visiting the workers’ gardens in Göteborg and Stockholm, which arise between the city and the garden villages. [...] The type of house, could be experimented in a plot of free land in the village district ‘Campo dei fiori’. It would also be the intention of the director [Alessandro Schiavi, ed] and mine to make in this cottage, an experiment of interior design, and to realize a model of a kitchen, a dining room and the sanitary facilities, to be handed over to the tenant who will rent the house.¹⁷⁰

Unfortunately, the proposals were not included in the ICP agenda, but it anyway it represented the earliest approach to questions that would be considered crucial by the planning *élités* in the following decades, and even more after the Second World War.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 15 (Translation by the author).

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 15-16 (Translation by the author).

¹⁷¹ For example, Broglio’s latest publication on the ‘minimum dwelling’ and his analysis of the possibilities, connected with different building typologies (high-buildings, isolated villas and even light prefabricated housing) were known even among younger architects of the CIAM, like Piero Bottoni (1903-1973). Giovanni Broglio, *La casa minima e l’architettura razionale* (Milan:

3.3.3. *The last IFHTP Congress: Stockholm (1939)*

In the end, the 1923 IFHTP Congress was linked to Sweden's effort to enter the international planning debate, played at that time by the Garden City Association.

Likewise, the Milan delegation was seeking to fill the absence of a truly national representative, starting from the practical needs of the 'Popular housing' and not from a utopian will to reform an entire society, as expressed by the English and German groups.

In the following decade however, due to the political changes and the affirmation of other international congresses (like the CIAM), the garden city utopia started to shrink, especially in countries far from English culture, and the planning *élités élités* began to resume the possibilities connected with high-buildings for a large number of inhabitants.

Later on, in 1937, the IFHTP Congress was held in Paris, at the same moment as the fifth CIAM. In this occasion, the two most important institutions in the world of Housing and Planning –the German *Internationaler Verbund für Wohnungswesen* (International Housing Association) and the English IFHTP– had decided to join their efforts in order to rethink the modern city.¹⁷²

From this moment on, the following appointment was supposed to constitute the first of a new series, presenting the results of this new important union.

On the other hand, due to the difficult political situation and the beginning of the war, in July 1939 –only fifteen years after the first Göteborg meeting– it the last IFHTP Congress opened, once again in Sweden (Stockholm).¹⁷³

If in 1923 the Italian delegation was represented by a rather 'progressive' group, in this last occasion, Italy was still represented by the Milan ICP –with its director and Fascist politician Giuseppe Gorla (1895-1970)– but this time far from the most advanced contemporary architectural experiences.¹⁷⁴

la grafica sociale, 1931); Giovanni Broglio, "Case ed alloggi singoli-case minime. Loro aspetti tecnici, igienici, estetici, sociali ed economici. Case tipo per il migliore incremento demografico," in *Reale Società italiana di igiene, Convegno lombardo per la casa popolare nei suoi vari aspetti igienico-sociali, Milano 11-12 gennaio 1936, Tema 2. comma b* (Milan: Arti Grafiche Gelmini & Barbieri, 1936). This second publication for example –available only in few copies in the Italian libraries– was found in Piero Bottoni's archive in Milan.

¹⁷² Renzo Riboldazzi, *Un'altra modernità*, 149.

¹⁷³ Alberto Gut, "Il Congresso Internazionale di Urbanistica e dell'abitazione a Stoccolma," in *Urbanistica* 6 (1939), 322. According to the article, the Congress has held between 8 and 15 July 1939.

¹⁷⁴ Giuseppe Gorla was an engineer and a friend of Benito Mussolini from an early age. In 1922 he became municipal councilor of Milan, and soon became Managing Director of the Milan

Suffice it is to say that the event opened in Stockholm only a few months after the well-known ‘trip to the North’ by Giuseppe Pagano Pogatschnig (1896-1945) and Ignazio Gardella (1905-1999), both invited by the Nordic associations, to present Italian Modern Architecture abroad.¹⁷⁵

What could be observed, comparing the first and the last edition of the IFHTP Congresses, was a general loss of interest in the role of urban design, in favor of ‘strong’ legislation. Just as its governments, states seemed to express through their architectural production the general tendency to order and organization.

The topic, chosen for the 1939 event, was particularly relevant for European geopolitics: ‘Housing for special groups of people’ (including elderly retired people, unmarried wage-earners of both sexes, large poor families, war veterans and people with disabilities).¹⁷⁶

The theme was not only a social and economic issue for the thirteen countries involved, but also an open question to all governments, sympathetic with Fascist and Nazist policies, in 1939 openly involved with racial laws.¹⁷⁷

The Italian report by Gorla had an enthusiastic presentation of Mussolini’s ideas: large part was in fact dedicated to the dwellings for agricultural workers in the Pontinia Marshes and in Lybia.¹⁷⁸

On the other hand, while elderly and unmarried people were considered a minor concern, because of strong family ties, War Veterans Cooperative were largely supported by the State.

ICP. From 1926, he participated as Italian delegate to the other IFHTP Congresses and, between 1937 and 1938, he became general secretary of the ‘National Association of Fascist Engineers’ (Sindacato Nazionale Fascista Ingegneri, SNFI). Simona Urso, “Giuseppe Gorla,” in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* vol. 58 (2002), 77–79.

¹⁷⁵ See par. 4.1

¹⁷⁶ Paula Schäfer, *Habitations pour Catégories Spéciales* (Bruxelles: Fédération internationale de l’habitation et de l’urbanisme, 1939).

¹⁷⁷ The ‘Nuremberg laws’ against Jewish were introduced in Nazi German starting on 15 September 1935 and soon extended to other ‘special groups’, like Romani and black people. Wolfgang Wippermann, *The Racial State: Germany 1933–1945* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991). Mussolini presented for the first time the Italian Racial Laws in 1938, on 18 September. Alberto Cavaglioni, Gian Paolo Romagnani, *Le interdizioni del duce: le leggi razziali in Italia* (Turin: Claudiana, 2002). However, these were not the only countries involved, during the 1930s, with racial policies: only to mention, the Swedish compulsory sterilization policies from 1934. Mattias Tydén, *Från politik till praktik: de svenska steriliseringslagarna 1935-1975* (Stockholm: Fritzes offentliga publikationer, 2000).

¹⁷⁸ Giuseppe Gorla, “Italy,” in Paula Schäfer, *Habitations*, 5–6, 11–12. Pontinia was inaugurated in 1935.

Large families (with at least seven children) and people with disabilities (called in the report ‘abnormal tenants’) were certainly a major problem in Italy.

For example, to these group was addressed the project for ‘Minimum dwellings’ at Vialba, in Milan (1937-1939): a simple modernist construction, without any decorative trapping that could have driven away from ideas of essence, economy and equality. The building was destined to educate two thousand families considered problematic for their social behaviors, and therefore confined to the margins of the city; all this –wrote Gorla– ‘with satisfactory results from the moral and social point of view [...], as well as economical.’¹⁷⁹ (Fig.52)

Perfectly opposite to Italian tendencies was Sweden, which was focusing all its efforts towards elderly and unmarried people.

Particular attention was given for example to single females’ building, like the *Kvinnornas hus* by Sven Backström (1903-1992) et Leif Reinius (1907-1995), recently inaugurated in Stockholm.¹⁸⁰ With common facilities and a modern design, the building was not a way to segregate a certain group from the rest, but, on the contrary, a way to ‘liberate’ them through a modern way of living. (Fig.53-54)

¹⁷⁹ Giuseppe Gorla, “Italy,” in Paula Schäfer, *Habitations*, 7; also quoted in Renzo Riboldazzi, *Un'altra modernità*, 179.

¹⁸⁰ Axel Dahlberg, “Sweden,” in Paula Schäfer, *Habitations*, 1-4. A bigger selection of housing for single females, including the one presented at the IFHTP Congress, was also published in January 1939: Sven Backström, “Kvinnornas hus,” *Byggmastaren* 1 (1939): 1-8.

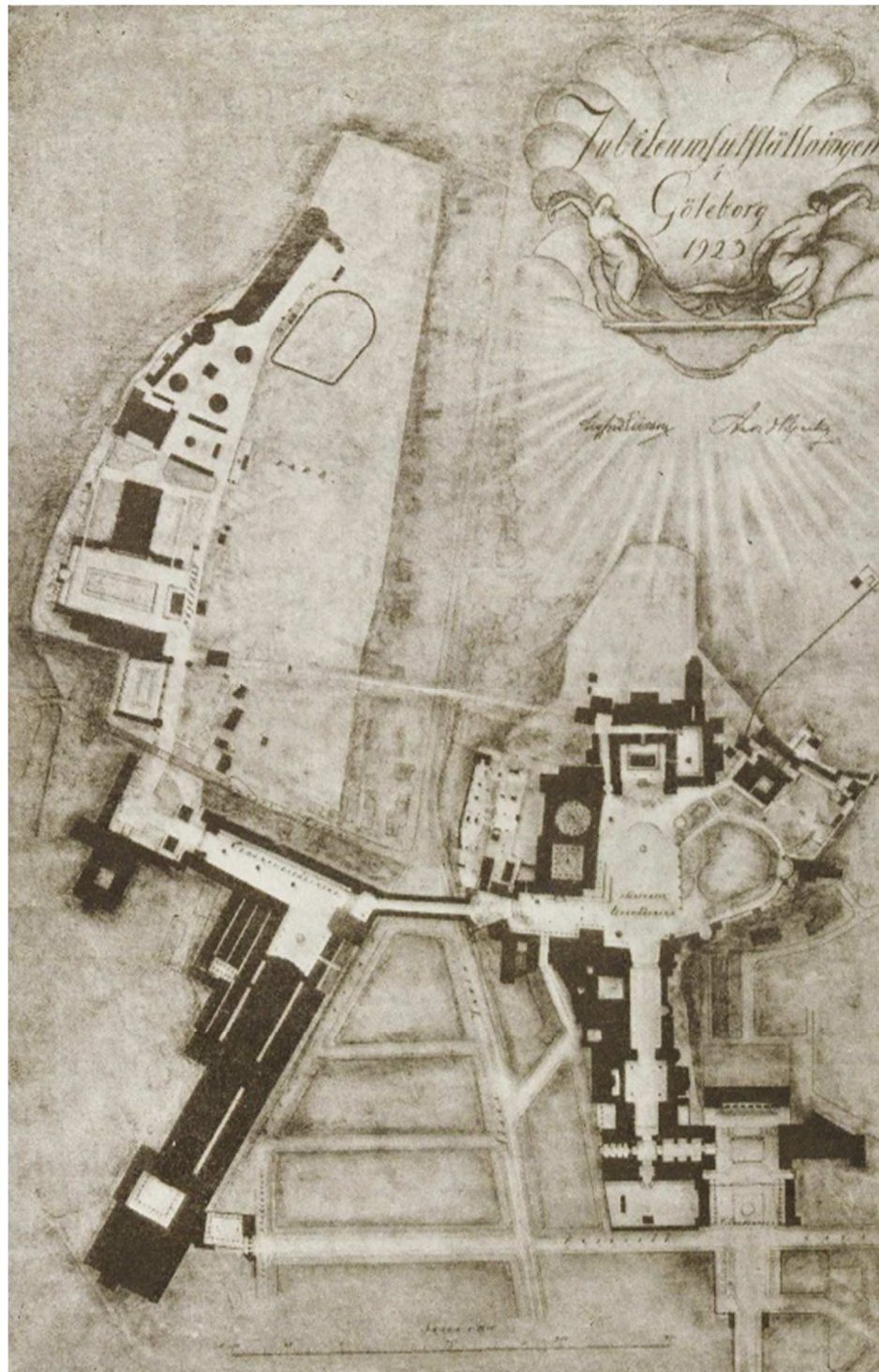
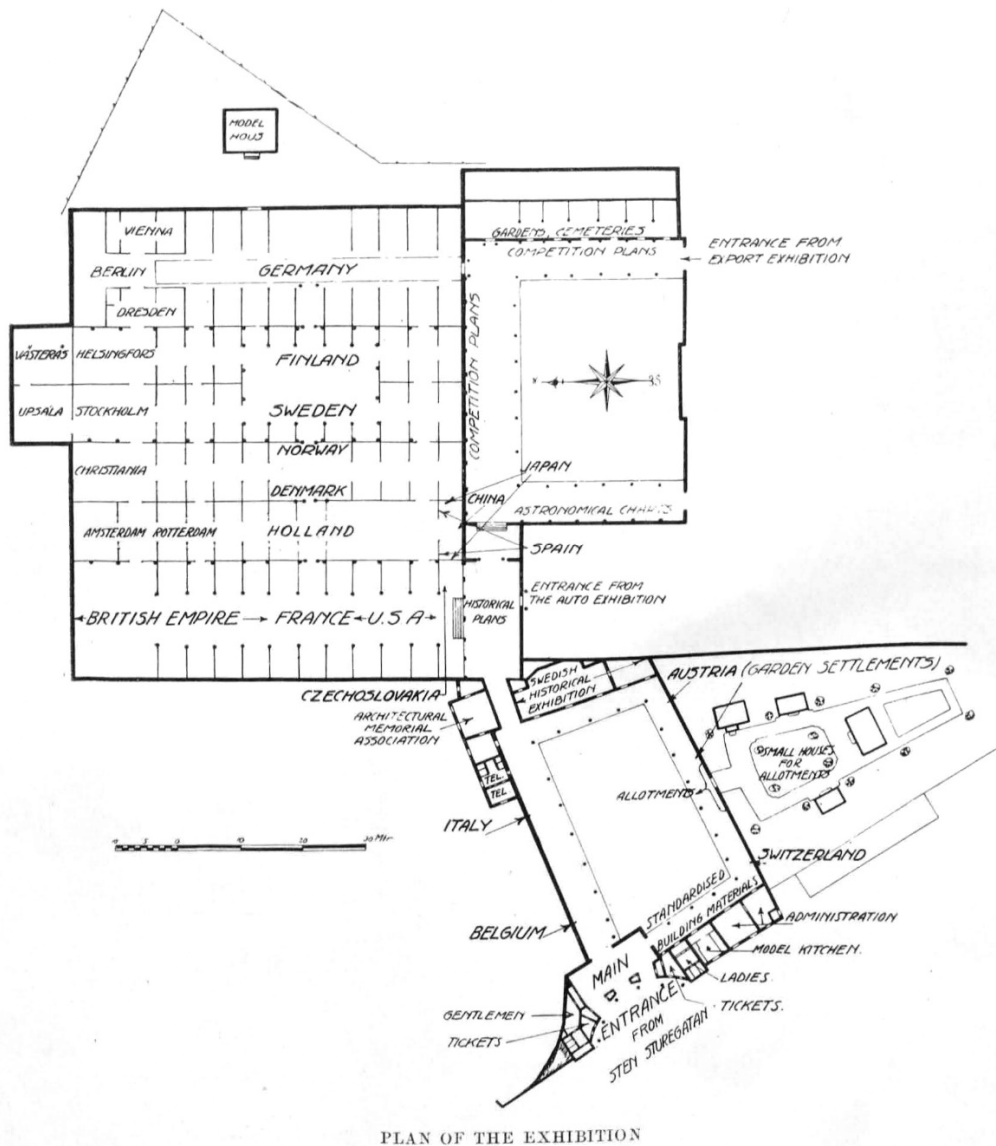


Fig.38 – Plan of *Jubileumsutställningen i Göteborg* (1923). The IFHPT Exhibition is located in the first building on the bottom-left of the plan. *Source:* Hakon Ahlberg, “Jubileumsutställningen i Göteborg. En orientering,” *Byggmastaren* 1923, 127.



PLAN OF THE EXHIBITION

Fig.39 – Plan of IFHTP Exhibition (1923).

Source: Werner Hegemann, *International Cities and Town Planning Exhibition. English catalogue. Jubilee Exhibition Gothenburg* (Göteborg: Wezäta, 1923), 1.



Fig.40 – Plan of Göteborg (1864).
 Source: Werner Hegemann, *International Cities and Town Planning Exhibition. English catalogue. Jubilee Exhibition Gothenburg* (Göteborg: Wezäta, 1923), 251.

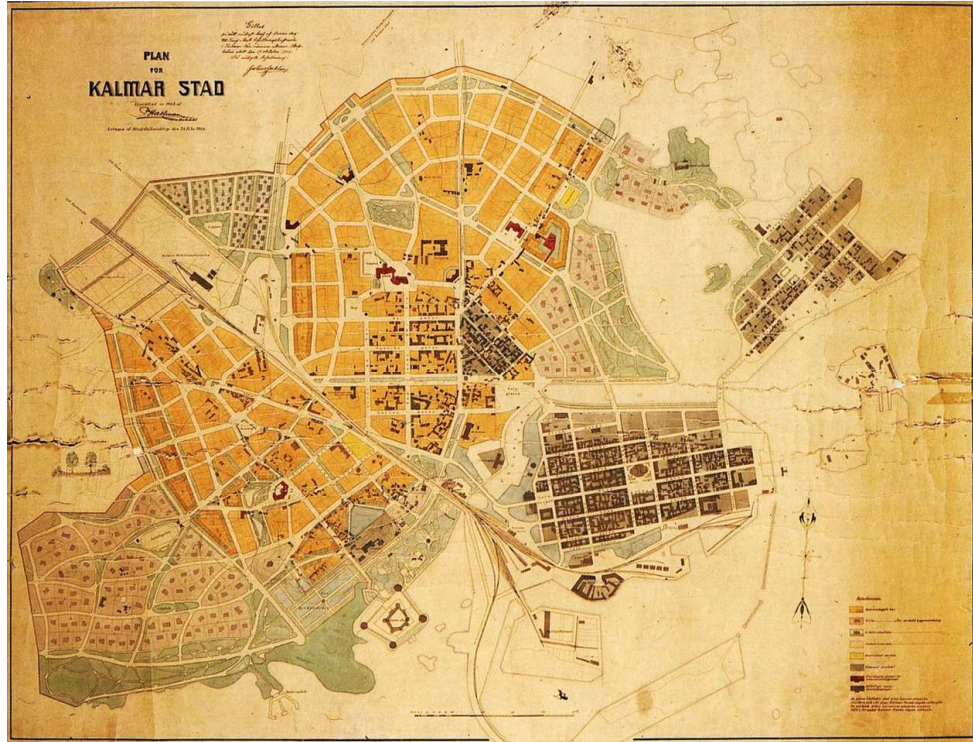


Fig.41 – Extension Plan of Kalmar (1906).
 Source: Werner Hegemann, *International Cities and Town Planning Exhibition. English catalogue. Jubilee Exhibition Gothenburg* (Göteborg: Wezäta, 1923), 259.

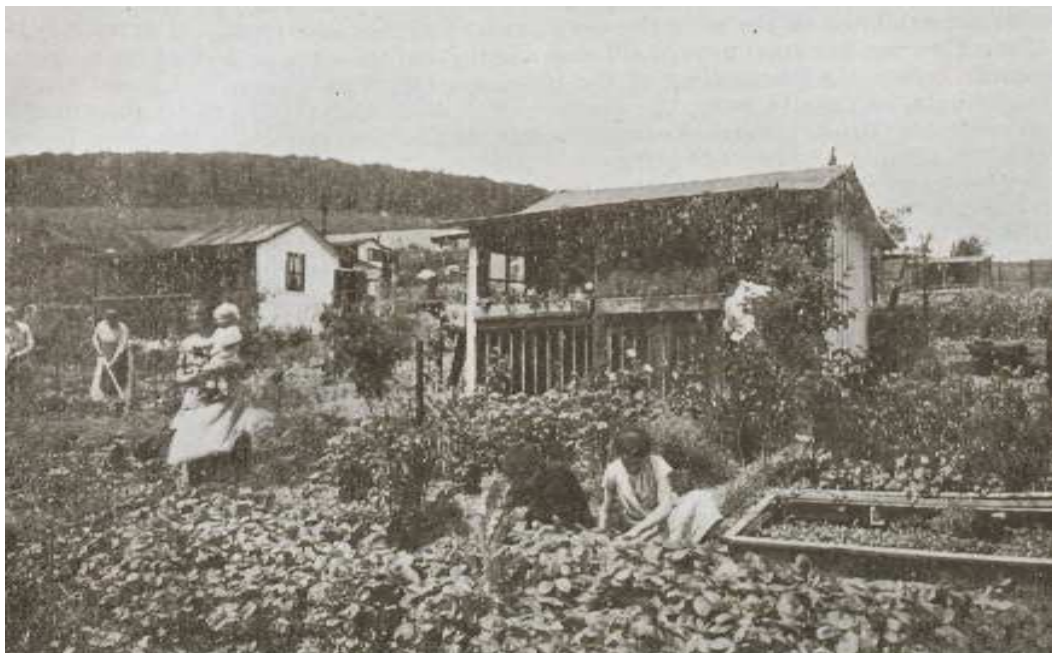


Fig.42-43 –Settlers building the first small houses in Vienna and taking care of their small gardens.
Source: Werner Hegemann, International Cities and Town Planning Exhibition. English catalogue. Jubilee Exhibition Gothenburg (Göteborg: Wezäta, 1923), 12-13.



Fig.44-45 – Images of the neighborhood of Norra Ängby (1930-1940), planned by (1890-1971). *Source (above):* Stockholms Stad Archive, photo by Oscar Bladh 1933, ID. Fa 51082; *(below):* Stockholms Stad Archive, photo by Carl Gustav Rosenberg 1933, ID. Fa 44525.



Fig.46-47 – Images of the neighborhood of Tallkrogen (1933-1943), planned by Edvin Engström. *Source (above):* Stockholms Stad Archive, photo by Oscar Bladh 1934, ID. Fa 51042; *(below):* Stockholms Stad Archive, photo by Stockholms stads småstugebyrå (SMÅA), ID. SM 365.

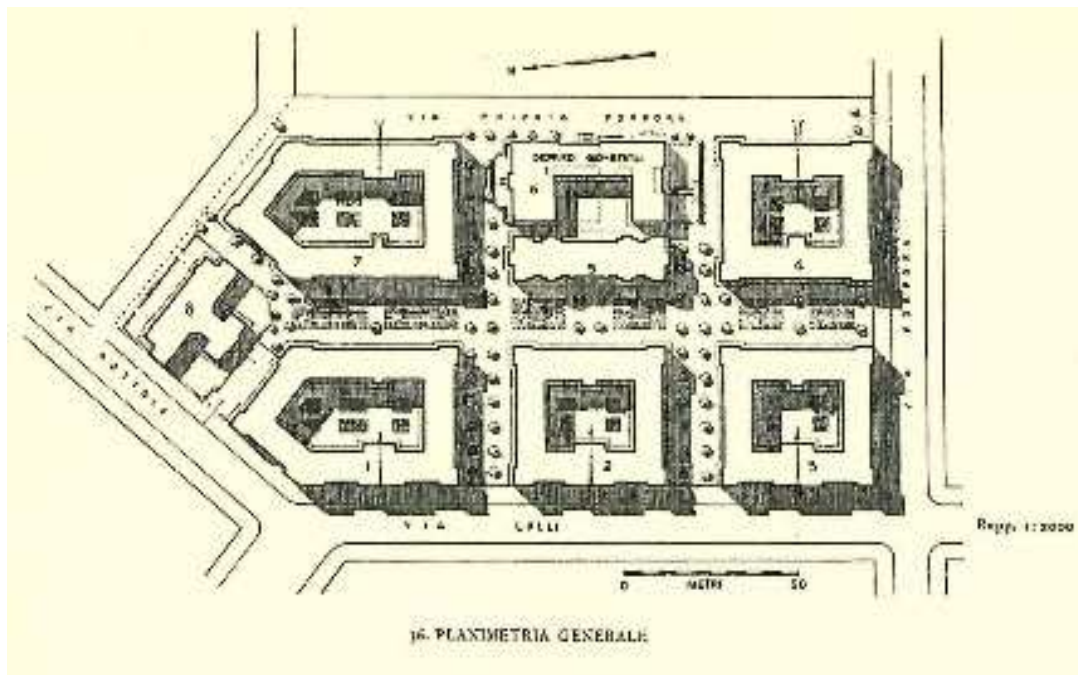


Fig.48-49 – Neighborhood Lulli in Milan (1913), planned by Giovanni Broglio.
 Source:: Giovanni Broglio, *L'istituto per le case popolari di Milano e la sua opera tecnica dal 1909 al 1929* (Milan: Bertieri, 1929), 18-19.

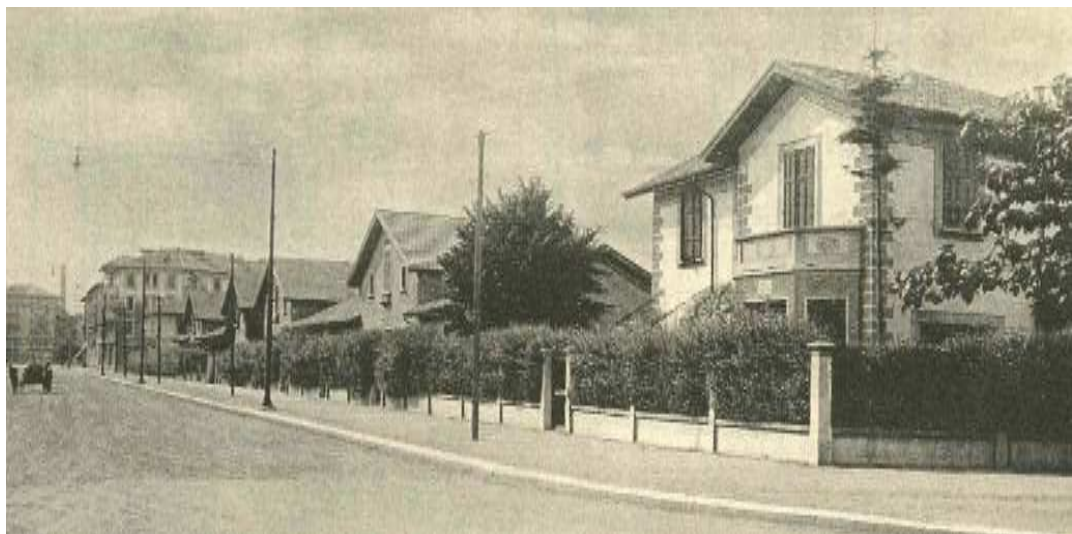
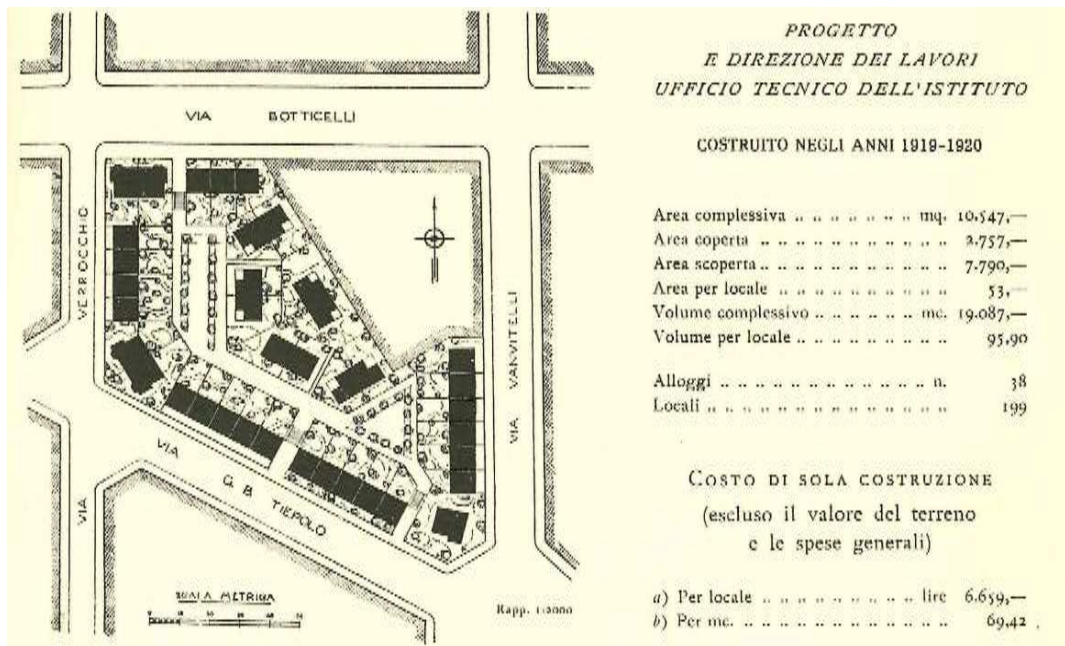
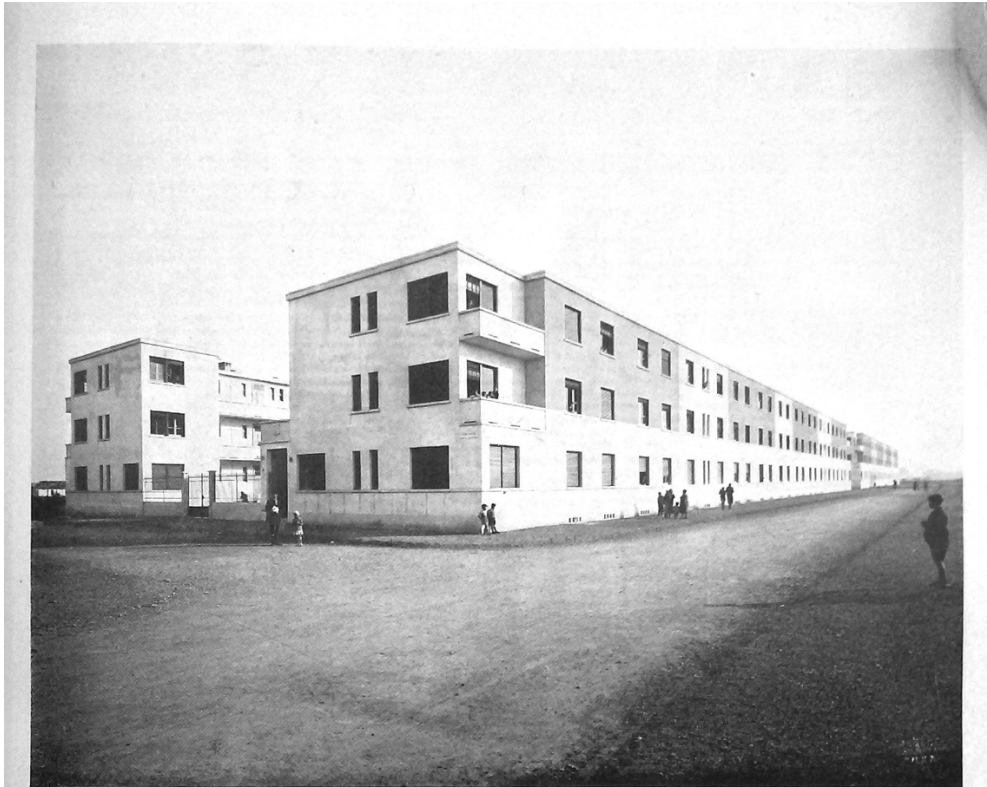
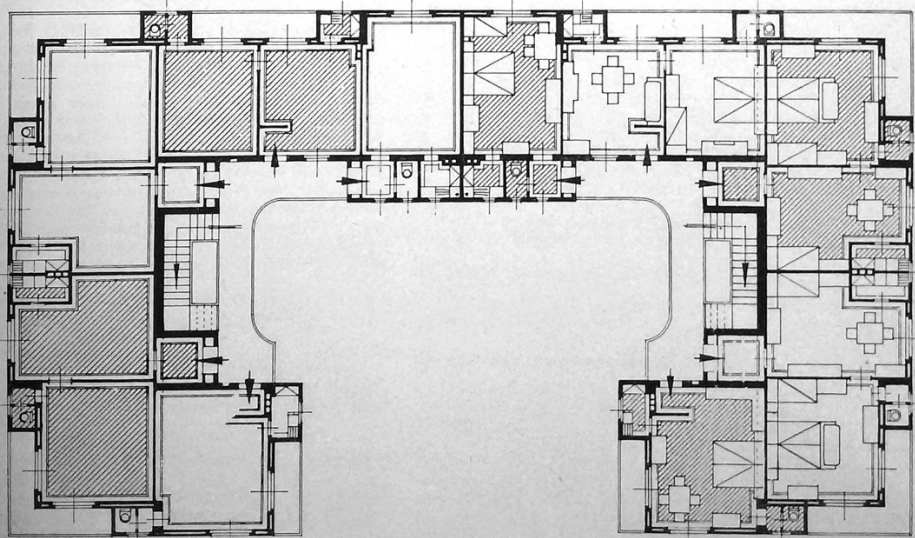


Fig.50-51 – Neighborhood ‘Villaggio giardino, via Tiepolo’ in Milan (1919-20).
Source: Giovanni Broglio, *L’istituto per le case popolari di Milano e la sua opera tecnica dal 1909 al 1929* (Milan: Bertieri, 1929), 53.



14. Milan. / Mailand.

Maisons minima. / Minimum dwellings / Mindesthäusern



15. Milan. / Mailand.

Maisons minima, plan. / Minimum dwellings, plan. / Mindesthäuser, Grundriss.

Fig.52 – Minum dwellings in Milan.

Source: Giuseppe Gorla, "Italy," in Paula Schäfer, *Habitations pour Catégories Spéciales* (Bruxelles: Fédération internationale de l'habitation et de l'urbanisme, 1939), 17.

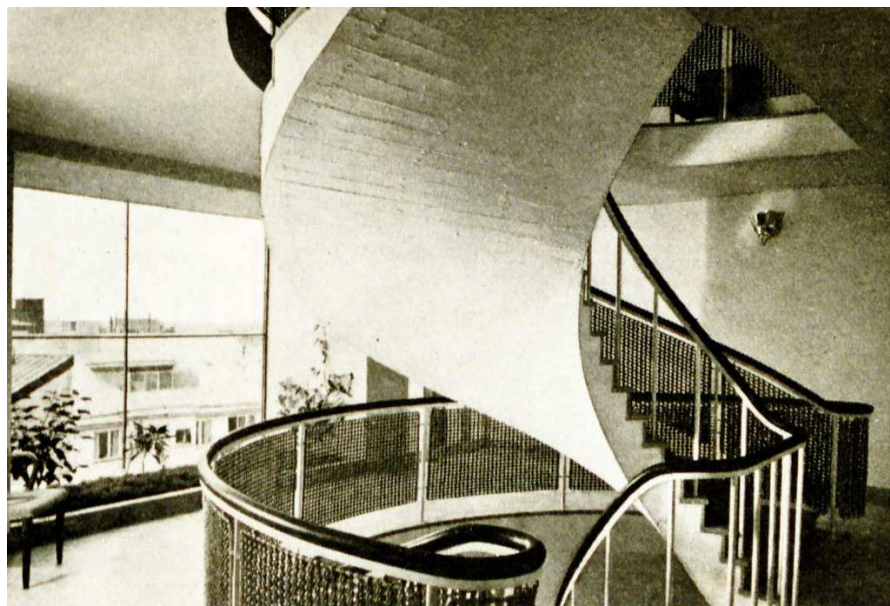
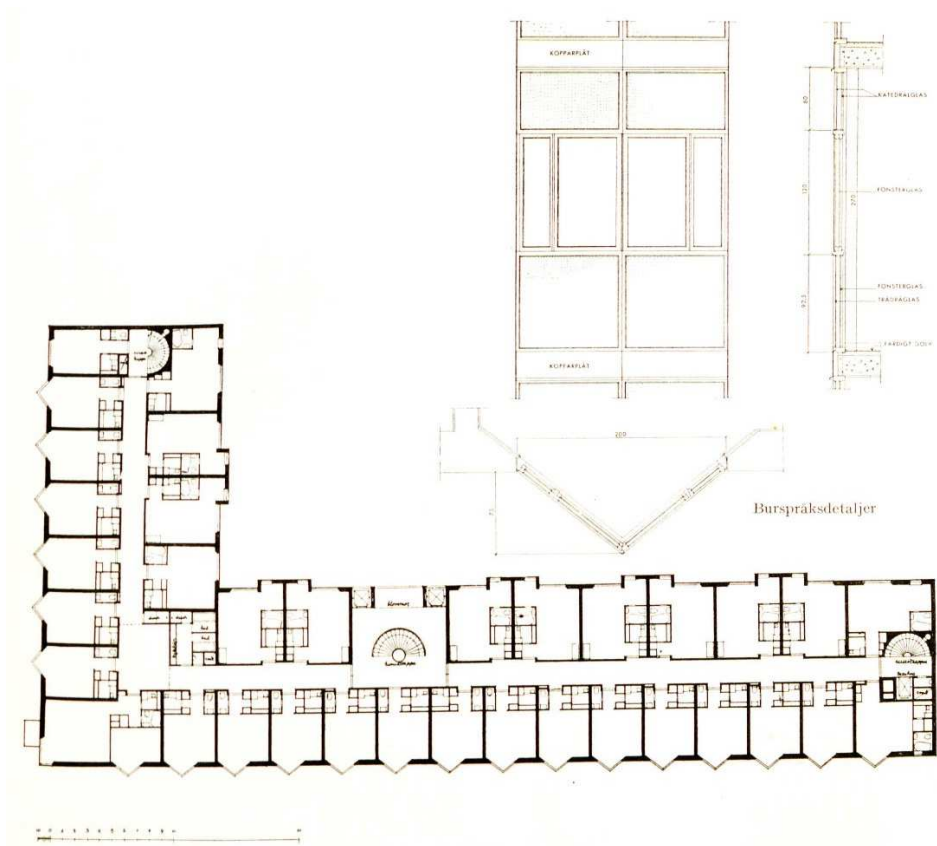


Fig.53-54 – Plan and interior of the *Kvinnornas hus* by Sven Backström et Leif Reinius.
 Source:: Sven Backström, “Kvinnornas hus,” in *Byggmastaren* 1 (1939), 5; 7.

PART IV (1925-1944)

Swedish exchanges and the battle for Modernism between Rome and Milan

For the Italian audience, the interwar period opened with two important exhibitions in Sweden: the first in Stockholm in 1920 on Peasant art and the second in Göteborg in 1923 on housing and planning practice.

Both were strictly linked to the city of Milan and to the work of the Institution called *Umanitaria*. This organization had also founded one of the most important Italian Schools of Applied Arts –the I.S.I.A, directed by Guido Balsamo Stella from 1929 to 1932– and it had also addressed the Popular Housing policy in the city of Milan, thanks to the work of Giuseppe Broglio and Alessandro Schiavi.

On the other hand, since 1923, Sweden had been closely involved in the so-called Monza ‘Biennali’ (then from 1930 known as ‘Triennali’).¹ The official name was ‘International Decorative Art Expositions’, organized in the Villa Reale in Monza, where the *I.S.I.A* was also located.

However, after the Fascist ‘March on Rome’ in October 1922 and its related political changes, the two countries’ reciprocal interest slowly shifted towards the Roman capital.

As previously mentioned, in the first decades of the twentieth-century, Swedish artists were involved in a new rediscovery of Italian ancient culture, its landscapes as well as its peasant traditions.²

Although Milan was undoubtedly the most progressive city, willing to join the international debate, it was still Rome which represented the privileged center of study in Italy for Swedish –and Nordic in general– architects, artists and archaeologists.

In this sense, the foundation of the Swedish Institute of Classical Studies, in Rome in March 1925, represented the natural continuation of a process, begun

¹ The only exception was the second Biennale in 1925, when a Swedish section was not included due to the contemporary event in Paris. Vedi par 3.2.3.

² See Introduction Part III.

in 1908 with the first course in Rome, organized by the Göteborg University on 'Latin philology and Roman antiques', by Professor Vilhelm Lundström.³

Likewise, after the end of First World War, Italian artistic debate had progressively focused on the rediscovery of its heritage and traditions, fueling a form of nationalism that would have led to another war in the next two decades. In this context, in the second half of the 1920s and in the 1930s, Italy often confronted Sweden in 'opposite' locations: Rome and Milan.

In Milan, the legacy of 1920s cosmopolitanism was continued by the Triennale exhibitions and the group called 'Novecento', directed by protagonists like Giovanni Muzio, Gio Ponti and Margherita Sarfatti.

In particular, Margherita Sarfatti organized in 1931 her last exhibition abroad, in Sweden, Finland and Norway.

Another thrust was provided by the early CIAM Congresses, including many of the architects already involved in the organization of the 'Triennali', such as Giuseppe Pagano and Edoardo Persico, directors of the progressist magazine *Casabella*. They were also interested in creating, as it was the IFHTP, an international climate of exchange.

Within this purpose, there was included the 1939 travel to the North by architects Pagano and Gardella, one of the few still remembered by the critics.

In contrast to Milan, it was the classical environment of Rome, still an inevitable destination for Swedish artists and architects.

Rome in fact, organized around the 'Associazione Artistica dei cultori d'architettura',⁴ the work of Marcello Piacentini (1881-1960) and the more conservative magazine *Architettura*, was deeply involved with the Fascist politics in the rediscovery of Italian classical roots.

However, the Italian government's guidelines explicitly included –at least after 1936– not only the rhetoric of the Roman empire to strengthen the internal consense, but also the propaganda of Italian culture abroad.

The path to the construction of the permanent home of the Swedish Institute of Classical Studies in Rome, close to other similar Institutions born in those years,

³ In the same way, Italy showed first signs of interest for foreign archeology, as the Viking culture, in the wake probably of Wagner's fame and nationalist doctrines. An example was, for example, requested by Colini to Oscar Montelius to set up a section of Viking archeology in the Swedish pavilion (never realized) in the 1911 International Exposition in Rome. See Introduction Part II.

⁴ The association was founded in 1890 with the purpose 'to promote the studies and to raise the prestige of architecture, first among the fine arts'. Among its initiatives, there was the foundation in 1921 of the magazine *Architettura e arti decorative*. Guido Zucconi, *La città contesa: dagli ingegneri sanitari agli urbanisti, 1885-1942* (Milan: Jaca Book, 1999), 116–118.

could therefore be seen not only as a result of the Swedish rediscovery of Classicism, but also a product of Fascist propaganda with foreign governments. The result was that, if the architects from Milan confronted the Swedish 'modernist' group of Sven Markelius, Uno Åhrén and Erik Gunnar Asplund, the most reactionary Ivar Tengbom, Ragnar Östberg and –once again–Ferdinand Boberg arrived in Rome to affirm Piacentini's idea of a 'purified classicism'. Finally, an important help in the construction of long-lasting relationships between Italian and Swedish artists was played by less-known protagonists, like Maja Sjöstrom (1868-1961) –a textile artist already mentioned as one of the organizers of the 1920 Stockholm Exhibition– who moved permanently to Rome in 1924, shortly before the foundation of the Swedish Institute of Classical Studies.

The importance of an artist such as Maja Sjöstrom–nowadays almost completely forgotten in both Italy and Sweden– was also signed by her political support of the Fascist regime: in 1935 she participated, as invited journalist, to the inauguration of Pontinia, in the Agro Pontino Marshes, by Mussolini and in 1938 she was part of the organizing committee of Hitler's official visit to the Italian capital.

Moreover, the 1930s signed a new moment of fame for older protagonists, like Ferdinand Boberg. According to his letters, between 1928 and 1932, Boberg (now retired as an architect but still very much required for his impressive sketches) had been returning more frequently to Rome.

Last but not least, a series of international meetings in 1935 and 1936, had led first Ivar Tengbom (1878-1968) and then Ragnar Östberg (1866-1945) to Rome.

Tengbom's first visit was preceded by little the final agreement between Italy and Sweden for the construction of an Institute in Rome, in Valle Giulia, in exchange for the same public concession by the Nordic government.⁵

However, from 1936 the director of the Swedish Institute Einar Gjerstad (1897-1988) –although favored by the regime expansionist policies abroad– begun a more cautious policy towards Italian authorities, managing the construction of the Swedish building, under the supervision of the well-known architect Ivar Tengbom,⁶ before 1941, in a rather delicate moment for international politics.

⁵ The agreement was honored only more than a decade later, in 1953 with the granting of the area for the construction of the Italian Institute of Culture in Stockholm.

⁶ Ivar Tengbom was appointed in 1927 as part of the jury for the 'Palace of Nations' competitions, openly supporting the design of Le Corbusier. In Italy he was already included in the 1915 monography by Vittorio Pica on Swedish artists. In 1947, he was also nominated an honor member of the prestigious 'Accademia di San Luca' in Rome.

This complex network of relationships –not only artistic, but also human and political– had brought Sweden to establish, under the favorable auspices of Mussolini, the Institute of Classical Studies, and, on the other, to remain distant from any direct political involvement.

Helped by its absence in the first world conflict (as well as by his enormous iron reserves, which made Sweden a necessary ally for every nation in war), this Nordic state was the only European country to have remained neutral in both conflicts.⁷

Likewise, the 1930s in Rome were a delicate moment for both Swedish and Italian artists, in the midst of opposite feelings, between fascist sympathies, classical studies and a profound need of cultural renewal.

And precisely because of this need to renew not only the classical tradition, but also the mechanicism of functionalism, that part of the young Roman generation, decided in the 1930s, to study –and apply in a different context– the new possibilities expressed by Asplund and his 1930 Stockholm Exposition, in accord to a critical line of thoughts partly reinterpreted by Bruno Zevi (which not by chance was educated in Rome) in his early writings about Asplund.

Although it is well known the 1930 event was a catalyst for the international attention on Swedish architecture, the aim of the research is to emphasize the interest that the event had inspired in Italy among the members of the various positions: from modernists such as Sartoris and Pagano, to the most conservative Plinio Marconi, Saverio Muratori, Francesco Fariello, or towards the ‘group Novecento’ led by Margherita Sarfatti and Giovanni Muzio.

⁷ However, this did not prevent some ambiguous attitudes during the Second World War by the Swedish government which, if on the one hand kept supplying the allies, on the other side, allowed German troops to pass on Swedish soil to invade Denmark and Norway.

4.1 Milan and Sweden in the interwar period: from the ‘Novecento’ group to Pagano’s militancy for the Modern Movement

4.1.1. Sweden at the early ‘Triennali’ in Monza and Milan

In 1923, after the celebrated 1920 Stockholm Exhibition, Balsamo Stella’s wife Anna Åkerdahl and Gregor Paulsson were both invited to organize the Swedish section at the first Biennale of Monza,⁸ at that time still titled ‘International Biennial of Decorative Arts’, like the first 1902 meeting in Turin, and later known as *Triennali*.⁹

This small section included several Orrefors’ works, designed by Edward Hald, the former organizer of the 1920 exhibition and a close friend of Guido Balsamo Stella.

However, the most representative International encounter of the 1920s occurred in Paris in 1925: the *Exposition Internationale des Arts Décoratifs et industriels modernes*, in which the Swedish pavilion, designed by Carl Bergsten was positively welcomed. (Fig.55)

Many years later, in 1955, Gio Ponti remembered this event and the refined quality of Swedish Industrial design on display:

‘The Swedish productions were revealed to me by the Swedish Section of the Exposition des arts decoratif of Paris in 1925 [1925],¹⁰ and I was very pleased to know that many of these artists had been in Italy, and that they spoke our sweet language. That first meeting was an important episode of my life.¹¹

⁸ Agnoldomenico Pica, *Storia della Triennale* (Milan: Edizioni del Milione, 1957), 55.

⁹ See par. 2.3.

¹⁰ There is a mistake in the original version of the text, and it is clear that Ponti was referring to the 1925 Exhibition in Paris.

¹¹ Gio Ponti, “Italia e Svezia,” in Fondazione C. M. Lericci (ed.), *Rassegna annuale di scambi culturali italo-svedesi. ITALIA SVEZIA*, anno I (Stockholm: Istituto Italiano, Stoccolma 1955, 43 (Translation by the author).

The 1925 Swedish decorative section was also introduced by Erik Wettergren's *The decorative arts in Sweden*,¹² which, with the other 1925 book by Hakon Ahlberg *Swedish Architecture of the Twentieth-century*¹³ launched the Swedish 'brand' beyond its national borders, starting from France and England.

The promotion policy of the *Svenska Slöjdföreningen* (Swedish Society for Arts and Crafts, from 1976 called *Svensk Form*) had already started in the 1910s and it would culminate in the second Post-war period, thanks to the cooperation with the Swedish Institute, a national organization born after the end of the second World War, with the specific purpose of 'promoting Swedish culture abroad'.¹⁴

In the same 1955 text, Gio Ponti also recalled the role of the Italian *Triennali*:

Meanwhile in Italy the magazine 'Dedalo' by Ugo Ojetti¹⁵ made famous the glasses of Orrefors, by Gate and Hald, and with the Triennali of Milan that unbroken series of stupendous statements made up of exemplary and triumphal Swedish sections began, which gave so much resonance and esteem in all of us to the art productions of Sweden, and have made us know and love from those times long gone and until today, many artists, many masters of ceramics and glass, beyond the first names like Gate and Hald, from Wilhelm Kage, to Percy, to Tyra Lundgren, to Stig Lindberg to say only some of them, and the famous factories of Orrefors, of Gustavsberg, of Rostrand, of Kosta (and you should forgive me for eventual omissions), and the great women artists, like Gahn, Marta Maas Fjetterstrom, Elsa Gullberg, Ann-Mary Forsberg, Astrid Sampe, who created admirable carpets and textiles, and the silversmith masters (from the early Gehlin, to Ekeburg, to Skawonius, to those of today), and the interior designers as well as refined architects (Asplund and Markelius at first, but also Ribbing and Hald) to modern furniture makers such as Mathsson'.¹⁶

¹² The original version was: Erik Wettergren, *L'art décoratif moderne en Suède* (Malmö: Museet, 1925), as official catalogue of the 1925 exhibition. A second version (*The modern decorative arts of Sweden*) was also published in English in 1926.

¹³ Hakon Ahlberg, *Swedish architecture of the twentieth-century*, (London: Benn, 1925). The book has also a famous introduction by Frank R. Yerbury.

¹⁴ See par. 5.1.

¹⁵ For the relationships between Ugo Ojetti and the Nordic artists see par. 2.2.4.

¹⁶ Gio Ponti, "Italia e Svezia," 43–45.

In 1933, within the *Triennale* (the first in Milan located inside Giovanni Muzio's new building *Palazzo dell'Arte*), Sweden was already at its fourth participation, after 1923,¹⁷ 1927¹⁸ and 1930,¹⁹ always represented –as recalled by Ponti– with the Orrefors' glassworks by Simon Gate and Edward Hald.

In 1933, this fifth edition comprehended a photographic exhibition, which was one of the first retrospectives on 'International Modern Architecture' with works from several countries, including Sweden, Finland and Norway.²⁰ The opening of the Italian event to new perspectives on other Nordic nations was also signed by the first organization of a Finnish section, with works by Alvar and Aino Aalto.²¹ (Fig.56)

According to the architect and art critic Agnoldomenico Pica (1907-1990),²² it was at this V Triennale that, in the field of decorative arts, Nordic countries

¹⁷ *Prima esposizione Internazionale delle Arti Decorative. Catalogo* (Milan: Bestetti & Tumminelli, 1923), 22, 153–155.

¹⁸ *Terza Mostra Internazionale delle Arti Decorative. Catalogo* (Milan: Ceschina, 1927), 56–57, 72. On 31 May 1923, the 'Third International Exhibition of Decorative Arts' opened in Monza, headed by Margherita Sarfatti.

¹⁹ The IV Triennale of Monza opened on May 11, 1927. Sweden was mentioned for its Orrefors glassware and the Nordiska Kompaniet furniture.

²⁰ *Triennale di Milano. Catalogo Ufficiale 1933* (Milan: Triennale, 1933), 103–107 (Finland), 132–137 (Norway), 154–155 (Sweden). In this edition, among the journalist called to review the exhibition, there was the Swede Maja Sjöstrom, mentioned for her participation at the executive committee of the 1920 Stockholm exhibition. In 1924 she moved to Rome, where she became a reference point for her Swedish friend. The review of the V Triennale in Åsa Rausing-Roos, *Maja Sjöstrom*, 251–252.

²¹ *Triennale di Milano. Catalogo Ufficiale 1933* (Milan: Triennale, 1933), 425–431. As already mentioned in the second chapter (par. 2.2.1), it was actually Vittorio Pica who first published in 1902, on an Italian magazine, the Finnish pavilion at the 1900 Paris International Exhibition. Pica had visited and reviewed the pavilion two years earlier and in 1902 he praised once again his modernity, based on the recovery of national traditions as a common feature of architects like Ferdinand Boberg and Eliel Saarinen. At the same time, thanks to Pica's support, Akseli Gallen-Kallela obtained an exhibition in 1914 at the Venice 'Biennali', including the dome model of the 1900 pavilion by Saarinen. The Nordic architect, a close friend of Kallela, was also the organizer of this Venice exhibition. On the other hand, if we look to the most important Italian magazines exclusively dedicated to Architecture, like *Casabella*, their first article on Finland would be published only several decades later, in 1935 (number 91), with a long article by Edoardo Persico, on the Paimio Sanatorium by Alvar Aalto.

²² After his degree in Architecture in 1931, Agnoldomenico Pica taught 'Art History' at the I.S.I.A in Monza (1934-39) and 'Decorative Composition' (interior design) at the Umanitaria School in Milan (1935-38). In the 1930s he cooperated with the most important Italian magazines like *Casabella*, *Domus*, *Le Arti* and *Spazio*, founded with Luigi Moretti in 1950. In the

‘established their craftsmanship tradition, which had always been validly defended in the later editions.’²³ (Fig.57-58)

No wonder that, already in June 1933, Gio Ponti –part of the Triennali ‘Directorate’ from 1930– wrote directly to Erik Gunnar Asplund (1885-1940), offering him a free subscription to *Domus* –the magazine that he was directing at that moment– in order to spread the Italian publication among the other Swedish intellectuals.²⁴

After the collaboration of Pica and Boberg in the early twentieth-century, only Ugo Ojetti’s magazines *Dedalo* and *Vita d’arte* had devoted several articles to Orrefors and Swedish design, arousing the interest of the new Ponti’s magazine, born in 1928.²⁵

But Ponti was not the only editor concerned in the new modern developments in Nordic Architecture: as we can recall from Asplund’s personal archive, the first Italian (that we have knowledge of) who wrote him in October 1930, was the Roman Architect Plinio Marconi (1893-1974), friend of Marcello Piacentini (1881-1960)²⁶ and director of the more conservative magazine *Architettura e arti decorative*. In his letter, Marconi was asking for pictures of Asplund’s Stockholm Library and of the modernist 1930 Exhibition, about which he had seen a few

1940s and early 1950s, he published *Architettura Moderna in Italia* (1941) and the first studies on artists of the ‘Novecento’ group, like Giorgio De Chirico (1944-47), Umberto Milani (1945), Marcello Mascherini (1946) and Mario Sironi (1954). Maria Vittoria Capitanucci, *Agnoldomenico Pica, 1907-1990. La critica dell’architettura come mestiere* (Benevento: Hevelius, 2002), 99–102.

²³ Agnoldomenico Pica, *Storia della Triennale*, 35. The book was published in 1957, in occasione of the XI Triennale.

²⁴ Gio Ponti, *Letter of Gio Ponti to Erik Gunnar Asplund, June 7, 1933*, Box AM8802-06, Ark Des, Stockholm, Erik Gunnar Asplund papers. In the letter, Ponti explained he received Asplund’s address by Tyra Lundgren, a Swedish artist who worked for the Venitian Venini glass in the 1930s and also mentioned by Ponti in his 1955 text. **Appendix ‘Letters 3.6’.**

²⁵ Carlo A. Felice, “I vetri incisi di Orrefors” in *Domus* I, 3 (1928): 32-33; Emilio Lancia, “Villa Orsetta in Firenze disegmata da Anna Balsamo-Stella,” in *Domus* II, 10 (1929): 11–15. The latter in particular seized the link between the reinterpretation of the peasant tradition and classical monumentality.

²⁶ Marcello Piacentini has already been mentioned for his publication on foreign architecture in Italy (see par.3.2.3.), like the 1921 article “Il momento architettonico all’estero,” *Architettura e arti decorative* 1 (May-June 1921): 32–76; with a positive comment on what he described a Swedish ‘neo-traditional school’, with buildings by Ferdinand Boberg, Ivar Tengbom and Lars Israel Wahlman.

weeks earlier the images at the XII International Congress of Architects in Budapest.²⁷

A rather progressive request if we consider that in 1930, Marcello Piacentini had just published the book *Architettura d'oggi*, in which he pleased the Swedish 'neo-classical school' with examples like Asplund's library, Bergsten 1925 Pavillion in Paris and Ragnar Östberg's city hall.²⁸

Besides this one time contact, between 1931 and 1934, all Asplund's Italian correspondents were coming from Milan and were related to journals like *Casabella* and *Domus*.

It was the case of the influent architect and CIAM group member Alberto Sartoris (1901-1998), involved from the beginning in the propaganda of the Modern Movement and, from 1931, in the publishing of his seminal book *Gli elementi dell'architettura funzionale*, which included for the first time examples coming from all Nordic countries: Denmark (Karl Lönberg-Holm), Finland (Alvar Aalto and Erik Bryggman), Norway (Gudolf Blakstad and Herman Munthe-Kaas) and Sweden (Sven Markelius, Uno Åhrén, Erik Gunnar Asplund, Paul Hedqvist and Sigurd Lewerentz).²⁹

In a letter dated 5 June 1931, Sartoris asked his friend and CIAM companion, Sven Markelius (1889-1972) to put him into contact with the other Swedish protagonists who were 'working in the modern sphere', like Sven Wallander (1890-1968), Eskil Sundhal (1890-1974), Erik Gunnar Asplund and Uno Åhrén (1897-1977).³⁰

²⁷ Plinio Marconi, *Letter of Plinio Marconi to Erik Gunnar Asplund, October 23, 1930*, Box AM8802-06, Ark Des, Stockholm, Erik Gunnar Asplund papers. A positive answer from Asplund is dated 4 November 1930 (**Appendix 'Letters 3.1'**). The Congress was held in Budapest between 7 and 14 September 1930, in which the Swedish representative was Ivar Tengbom. The review of the Swedish section at this exhibition was published in Francesco Fichera, "L'Esposizione Internazionale di Architettura Moderna in Budapest," *Architettura e arti decorative* 5-6 (January 1931): 254-262. However, only in 1938 (with an article written by Saverio Muratori) and then again in 1942 (with an essay signed by Francesco Fariello), the magazine *Architettura* wrote about Asplund's architecture. See par. 4.2.3.

²⁸ Marcello Piacentini, *Architettura d'oggi* (Rome: ed. Cremonese, 1930), 70. The book was, at that point, the widest publication on foreign modern architecture in Italy, where he substantially confirmed most of the ideas already expressed in his 1921 article for *Architettura e Arti decorative*.

²⁹ Alberto Sartoris, *Gli elementi dell'architettura funzionale* (Milan: Hoepli, 1932), 149-160, 383-388, 467-486.

³⁰ Alberto Sartoris, *Letter of Alberto Sartoris to Sven Markelius, June 5, 1930*, Box AM8802-06, Ark Des, Stockholm, Erik Gunnar Asplund papers. In the same box is also included the related answer, signed by Asplund, where he expressed his gratitude for being chosen and he confirmed to have sent photographs of the restaurant of the 1930 Exhibition. Erik Gunnar Asplund, *Letter*

On the heels of Sartoris' book on Modern Architecture, the same publishing house *Hoepli* (and others like *Domus*), started a series of books on Modern Design, decorative arts and Architecture divided by topic.

And to these type of projects were for example related the several requests of photographic materials, between 1932 and 1941, to Erik Gunnar Asplund by journalists like Richard Rothschild³¹ and Roberto Aloi (1897-1981).³²

The echos of the Milan *Triennali* and of the CIAM congresses, which included from 1929 the Swede Sven Markelius,³³ arrived in Italy also thanks to the work of *Casabella*, newly directed by Giuseppe Pagano Pogatschnig (1896-1945) and Edoardo Persico (1900-1936):³⁴ several months before the opening of the V

of Erik Gunnar Asplund to Alberto Sartoris, June 18, 1931. A third and final letter, in the same folder, from Alberto Sartoris to Asplund is dated 4 September 1939, in which he asked pictures about Asplund's latest realizations, since he was working at a third and revised edition of the *Gli elementi dell'architettura funzionale*. **Appendix 'Letters 3.2 - 3.3 - 3.8'**

³¹ Richard Rothschild was a German architect with a studio in Berlin. From September 1930 to July of the following year, he was of a section of *La Casa Bella* (from 1933 *Casabella*), dedicated to publishing the 'best selection of fifty and more international magazines'. Maria Luisa Neri, *L'altra modernità nella cultura architettonica del XX secolo. Dibattito internazionale e realtà locali* (Rome: Gangemi, 2011), 46. He also worked for other magazines like *Rassegna di Architettura* and *Edilizia moderna*. For this last title, in 1937 he signed the first Italian article on Danish Modern architecture: "Architettura in Danimarca," *Edilizia Moderna* 24 (January 1937): 14–21. In Asplund's archives are kept two letters by Rothschild: the first dated 24 October 1932, asking for material for his publication "Il mobile moderno razionale in Italia ed all'estero" and the second, dated 15 October 1934, for his Hoepli book "Edifizi di ritrovo". The first book mentioned by Rothschild was finally published in 1933, but only dedicated to Italian furniture: Gio Ponti, *Il mobile moderno in Italia* (Milan: Domus, 1933). **Appendix 'Letters 3.4 - 3.7'**

³² Roberto Aloi was an Italian painter and a sculptor, close to the group 'Novecento', Abstractism and Futurism. Between the 1930s and 1940s, for Hoepli, he edited the volumes like *L'arredamento moderno* on international examples of interior design (first edition in 1934, then improved in further versions in 1939, 1945, 1949, 1952, 1955 and 1964) and *L'architettura funeraria moderna* on funerary architecture in 1941 (re-edited in 1959). This second edition in particular, included Vanni Scheiwiller, *Roberto Aloi 1897-1981* (Milan: Edizioni Scheiwiller, 1987). In Asplund's archive are kept five letters from Aloi: the first dated 6 June 1933, during the V Triennale and where he asked for materials for the first edition of *L'arredamento moderno*, and the others dated between 1939 and 1941, related to Asplund's funerary architecture, to include in his 1941 book. **Appendix 'Letters 3.5 - 3.9 - 3.10 - 3.11 - 3.12 - 3.13 - 3.14'**

³³ Eric Mumford, *The CIAM discourse on Urbanisme 1928-60* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2002), 26.

³⁴ Starting from issue number 61, in January 1933, Pagano and Persico, took the direction of *Casabella*, the most important Italian magazine on Architecture with *Domus*, founded in 1928 with the name *La casa bella*. On the history of the magazine see: Mario Universo, "Introduzione;" in Mario Universo (ed.), *Casabella. Per l'evoluzione dell'architettura dall'arte alla scienza 1928-*

Triennale in May 1933, the Milan journal published the first article devoted to Sweden and in particular to a modern realization by Sven Markelius, the Helsingborg Concert Hall.³⁵

Before an accurate technical and functional description, Pagano introduced the building with the usual impetus, of what he considered to be –in 1933– one of the most exemplary architectures of recent years, thanks to Markelius' ability 'to move the Latin, remembering the classic volumes of Mediterranean architecture, as well as the Anglo-Saxon who tastes with his brain the clear logic of simple and perfect things.'³⁶

If we take a wider look on *Casabella's* early publications on Nordic countries, we have to wait other two years in order to have a second article: in June and August 1935 Edoardo Persico published two reviews, the first on the Paimio Sanatorium by Alvar Aalto and second on the Foerbundet Cooperative directed by Eskil Sundahl (1890-1974) in Stockholm.³⁷

The Italian critic clearly declared that the Italian 'new movement' had a lot in common with Nordic Classicism, which he described with words in strong opposition to Marcello Piacentini 'neo-traditionalist school':

*'For Sweden, the relationship between "those stylistic forms of the Empire" and current forms can be considered much more intimate and justifiable. [...] the Swedish neoclassicism, at this point, in not an academy, it's an art; a severe discipline, not a simple way of doing.'*³⁸

In the same article he also added a new perspective on Swedish Functionalism, as expressed after the 1930 Stockholm Exhibition:

1943 (Treviso: Canova, 1978): 3-59; Chiara Baglione (ed.), *Casabella 1928-2008* (Milan: Electa, 2008). If we look to Pagano and Persico's contemporary activities, 1933 is also the year when both became –thanks to the help of Elio Palazzo– professors at I.S.I.A: the first on 'Art Critic' and the second on 'Graphic and advertising design' in collaboration with Marcello Nizzoli (1887-1969). Rossana Bossaglia (ed.), *L'ISIA a Monza. Una scuola d'arte europea* (Monza: Associazione Pro Monza, 1986), 170–171.

³⁵ Giuseppe Pagano Pogatschnig, "Un palazzo per concerti a Helsingborg," *Casabella* 63 (March 1933): 6–15.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 6.

³⁷ The two articles ended with a small black rectangle, Edoardo Persico's distinctive signature.

³⁸ Edoardo Persico, "Cooperativa Foerbundet," *Casabella* 92 (August 1935), 18.

*'In this Olympic climate the rationalism, «funkis» as they say in Sweden, it is not a polemic address or a new dogma, but otherwise the constant aspiration of an entire population to the ideal beauty, almost to an intellectual beauty.*³⁹

For the first time, Persico recognized the difference between the Swedish context and the rest of Europe and he also rooted the modern declinations of Swedish architecture to their peasant tradition.⁴⁰

In June of that same year, speaking about Aalto's project in Paimio, Persico even apologized with his audience for not having more technical information, due to the fact that the building was only described in a very limited number of international magazines, like the Finnish *Arkkitehti* (June 1933), the Danish *Byggmästeren* (May 1932) and the English *Architectural Forum*.⁴¹

In the early 1930s, differently from Nordic Decorative Art, most of the information on Swedish Architecture seemed to come from other international magazines, which started to have a bigger circulation abroad, as it happened for *Casabella* itself.

Later on, in 1936, the Triennale's direction included Giuseppe Pagano, in charge, among other things, of the First Italian 'Rural Architecture Exhibition', which ideally continued the work began in 1920 in Stockholm by Guido Balsamo Stella.⁴²

³⁹ *Ibid.* 18-19. The section was also quoted in Leonardo Benevolo, *Storia dell'Architettura moderna* (Bari: Laterza, 1960), 616.

⁴⁰ Truly, towards the same direction was going the Swedish propaganda by the Modernist architect. See for example the seminal Gustaf Näsström, *Svensk Funktionalism* (Stockholm: Natur och Kultur, 1930). On this topic see also Helena Mattsson, Sven-Olov Wallenstein, "Tactics and strategies in Acceptera," in *Swedish modernism: architecture, consumption and the welfare state* (London: Black dog, 2010): 18–21.

⁴¹ Edoardo Persico, "Sanatorio di Paimio," *Casabella* 90 (June 1935), 12.

⁴² Giuseppe Pagano, Guarniero Daniel, *Architettura rurale Italiana* (Milan: Quaderni della Triennale, Hoepli, 1936). Thanks to a large photographic campaign by Pagano, the exhibition was considered one of the most important events on Rural Italian Architecture, building a metaphorical bridge between Peasant tradition and Modern Architecture. Cesare De Seta (ed.), *Giuseppe Pagano fotografo* (Milan: Electa, 1979).

4.1.2. *The group 'Novecento italiano' at Liljevalchs Konsthall (Stockholm) in September 1931*

If we can observe that, from 1933, Swedish architects and artists started to have more and more chances to appear on Italian magazines, was this interest only one-sided (from an Italian perspective) and only related to the CIAM Congresses and the 'Triennali' in Milan? Or were there other chances for Italian artist to visit and exhibit in Sweden as counter-altar of these Italian Exhibitions?

Only a few years before 1933, we can recall the personal interest in Swedish Architecture expressed by Giovanni Muzio (1893-1982) –the architect of the mentioned *Palazzo dell'Arte* and organizer of the Triennali– in one of his conferences, on January 1931, at the Fascist Institute of Culture in Florence, entitled 'Modern Architecture'.⁴³

During this occasion, Giovanni Muzio showed 44 images of modern realizations, in which the first five are all related to Swedish architects: Ivar Tengbom (Konserthuset), Ragnar Östberg (Crematorium in Helsingborg), Carl Bergsten (Swedish Pavilion at the Paris Exposition 1925) and Erik Gunnar Asplund (Stockholm Library and the Pavilions of the 1930 Stockholm Exposition), excluding for example the name of Ferdinand Boberg, the first known nordic architect in Italy.⁴⁴

If we ignore the 1921 article by Marcello Piacentini on the Roman magazine *Architettura e arti decorative* (which however did not include these same projects), this was the first public occasion in which contemporary Swedish examples were projected.⁴⁵

But what was the source of his information on foreign architecture besides the Triennali, which, at that point, did not include built architecture? In addition to his personal acquaintance with Guido Balsamo Stella and his wife –who at the time were engaged in the direction of the I.S.I.A– other notions on modern

⁴³ According to Muzio's biography, he participated to International Congress of Architects in 1927 in L'Aja, as representative of the 'Associazione fra i Cultori di Architettura di Milano' and in 1928 he invited the Dutch architect Petrus Berlage to hold a conference in Milan. Fulvio Irace, *Giovanni Muzio (1893-1982): opera* (Milan: Electa, 1996). A review of the exhibition was also published the following day on the newspaper: "La conferenza dell'architetto Muzio all'Ente Fascista di Cultura," *La Nazione*, January 22, 1931, 1.

⁴⁴ Giovanni Muzio, *List of Images for the Conference in Florence on 21 January 1931*, Giovanni Muzio private Archive, Milan.

⁴⁵ Marcello Piacentini, "Il momento architettonico all'estero," *Architettura e arti decorative* 1 (May-June 1921): 32–76. On the 1921 article by Piacentini see par. 3.2.3.

Sweden were probably coming from her friend and art critic Margherita Sarfatti (1880-1961).⁴⁶

She was born in an important Venetian Jewish family and educated by influent names like Antonio Fradeletto (1858-1930), head of the Venice Biennale and close friend of Vittorio Pica. Her personal education perfectly explained Sarfatti's confidence with Ferdinand Boberg's sections at the Venice Biennali and her enthusiastic responses to his pavilion in 1912.⁴⁷

From 1910, she opened one of the most relevant cultural circles in Milan in Corso Venezia, where she became a talent scout for young artistic groups like the Futurists, and from 1922, she turned out to be the leader of the group 'Novecento', after 1926 renamed 'Novecento italiano'.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Margherita Grassini in 1899 married the lawyer and socialist militant Cesare Sarfatti. In 1902 they moved to Milan where Casare became close collaborator of Filippo Turati, leader of the Italian socialist party, while Margherita worked as art critic for several socialist newspapers as *Avanti!* and *Il Tempo*. Thanks to her political connections, she became friend and counselor of Benito Mussolini. In 1925 she published the first official biography of the Duce in English, as a symbol of a new and modern Italy, under his Fascist guidance. In 1938, after the Racial Laws she moved to South America and she expressed all her disappointment for the failure of Fascism. Because of her involvement with the regime, she went through a long *damnatio memoriae*. Since 1990s however, her figure has been rediscovered, with a large bibliography. For a general biography see: Angela Frattolillo, *Margherita Grassini-Sarfatti. Protagonista culturale del primo Novecento* (Fano: Aras edizioni, 2017); Martina Bini, *Sull'ondivaga prora. Margherita Sarfatti: arte, passione e politica* (Florence: Centro editoriale toscano, 2009); Sergio Marzorati, *Margherita Sarfatti: saggio autobiografico* (Como: Nodo libri, 1990). On her relationships with Fascism: Rachele Ferrerio, *Margherita Sarfatti. La regina dell'arte nell'Italia fascista* (Milan: Mondadori, 2015); Brian Sullivan (ed.), Margherita Sarfatti (author), *My fault – Mussolini as I knew him* (London: Enigma Books, 2015); Roberto Festorazzi, *Margherita Sarfatti. La donna che inventò Mussolini* (Costabissara: Colla, 2010); Karien Wieland, *Margherita Sarfatti: l'amante del Duce* (Turin: UTET, 2006); Simona Urso, *Margherita Sarfatti. Dal mito del Dux al mito Americano* (Bologna: Marsilio, 2003); Philip Cannistraro and Brian Sullivan, *Margherita Sarfatti: l'altra donna del Duce* (Milan: mondadori, 1993).

⁴⁷ See par. 2.4 and 2.4.3. On Margherita Sarfatti's education and early works see: Ilaria Cimonetti, *Alle radici di novecento italiano. Un ritratto giovanile di Margherita Sarfatti* (Verona: Scripta, 2016); Simona Urso, *La formazione di Margherita Sarfatti e l'adesione al fascismo* (Rome: Dedalo, 1994).

⁴⁸ On Margherita Sarfatti's relationship with artists and her role as talent scout, see: Jeffrey T. Schapp (ed.), *In cima. Giuseppe Terragni per Margherita Sarfatti* (Venice: Marsilio, 2004); Elena Pontiggia (ed.), *Da Boccioni a Sironi. Il mondo di Margherita Sarfatti* (Milan: Skira, 1997); Goffredo Capone, *Tre circoli milanesi: Clara Maffei - Anna Kuliscioff - Margherita Sarfatti. Tre storie diverse con lo stesso comune denominatore: la ricerca di una nuova società* (Salerno: dottrinari, 1995); Antonella Basilico Pisatura, *Margherita Grassini Sarfatti tra futurismo e metafisica* (Ercolano: La buona stampa, 1990).

In Sarfatti's idea, purpose of this movement –which was born from a rune of 'moderate futurism'– was the refounding of Art on a more compact, bare and monumental classicism, close to the Italian paintings of the fifteenth century; more precisely, the Classicism, found through a process of subtraction (driven from the futurist *tabula rasa*) would have been an excellent starting point for a 'Fascist Art'. With this recall, the movement also anticipated the instrumental use of Classicism and of the Roman empire by the political propaganda.⁴⁹

In 1926, the group included others names and it stopped from being rigidly connotated. Sarfatti's intention became to gather the best talents and promote a general tendency of combining Classicism and modernity, as an alternative to extremisms like Futurism and Abstractionism.⁵⁰

In the same year, Sarfatti decided to finally move to Rome, making her relationship with Mussolini even more suspicious but also to extend the 'Novecento group' in Rome.⁵¹

In 1927, she had also taken the lead of the Third Triennial defining a new and precise line of action: the final overcoming of regional traditions and the liberation from every architectural style. Peasant Art, which was the main focus of the 1920s exhibition in Stockholm, had in fact given the initial thrust on the first 'Triennali', organized on a regional criterion and only from this edition divided by topic.

The general outcome of this Triennale was the affirmation of Margherita Sarfatti's artistic group on a more International level, which included artists like Mario Sironi (1885-1961), Carlo Carrà (1881-1966) and Achille Funi (1890-1972), as well as architects and designers.

On the other hand, the Duce's favor on Sarfatti's initiatives was progressively decreasing, and at the beginning of 1929, she was finally invited by Mussolini to avoid any connections between her group 'Novecento' and Fascism.⁵²

⁴⁹ The group initially included seven artists: Achille Funi, Piero Marussig (1879-1937), Leonardo Dudreville (1886-1976), Gian Emilio Malerba (1880-1926), Mario Sironi, Ubaldo Oppi (1889-1942) and Anselmo Bucci (1887-1955).

⁵⁰ Simona Urso, "Margherita Grassini," in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol.58 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2002), 703–707.

⁵¹ Philip Cannistraro and Brian Sullivan, *Margherita Sarfatti* 1993, 364–367.

⁵² 'Dear Lady, I've read an article in which you once again weave the defense of the so-called '900 group, with the alibis of Fascism and myself. I disapprove it in the most energetic way, and my sentiment will arrive today to the directors of the two newspapers. This attempt to make believe that the artistic position of Fascism is your '900, is now useless and it is a trick. [...] Then quite unpleasant is the obvious attack towards a minister in charge, an attack that precedes the usual flattery on my regard, witch you, and especially you, should strictly prohibit yourself. Since you do not possess the

This rather heterogeneous group, responded to what Agnoldomenico Pica defined a

*'generic need for renewal of Italian culture, in which the most diverse artists and the farthest temperaments were brought together. At the same time, in the field of architecture and decorative arts, the "Gruppo degli architetti Urbanisti" and the "Labirinto" with Giovanni Muzio, Giuseppe de Finetti, Gio Ponti, Emilio Lancia, Tomaso Buzzi, Michele Marelli, Alessandro Minali animated that short season of a so-called 'Lombard neoclassicism', which, like the Swedish architects, already had faith in resolving the needs of modernity in the safe haven of an illustrious grammar, appropriately revised and refreshed.'*⁵³

The interest that Margherita Sarfatti had already demonstrated in 1912 in Boberg's 'simplicity of form' as well as her proximity to authors such as Ugo Ojetti and Vittorio Pica,⁵⁴ had naturally brought closer the group 'Novecento italiano' closer to Swedish contemporary authors, like Ivar Tengbom, Carl Bergsten and Erik Gunnar Asplund, who, in 1918, had inaugurated his Library in the Nordic capital.

From a political perspective, Sarfatti's disappointment for Mussolini's indifference on her initiatives did not prevent her from organizing exhibitions abroad and to present her work under the chairman of the Duce.⁵⁵

elementary modesty of not mixing my name as a politician with your artistic inventions yet, do not be surprised, if at the first opportunity and I will explicitly specify my position, and the one of the Fascism, in front of you and of the so-called '900, or of what remains of the' 900 era. Deferent greetings, Mussolini '. The letter was published in Sileno Salvagnini, "Sarfatti e il Novecento-3. E Mussolini disse: 'Signora, la smetta," Arte 223 (November 1991): 72-81; Elena Pontiggia (ed.), Da Boccioni a Sironi 1997, 193-194 (Translation by the author).

⁵³ Agnoldomenico Pica, *Storia della Triennale*, 19 (Translation by the author).

⁵⁴ Ugo Ojetti and Cesare Sarfatti knew each other thanks to their political involvement with the Italian Socialist party from the end of the nineteenth century. Moreover, both Ojetti and Margherita were art critics of the Venice Biennali for different newspapers.

⁵⁵ The special protection of the event under Mussolini's favor was reported by several newspapers: "Italiensk konst i Liljevalchs", *Svenska Dagbladet*, September 6, 1931; Col,"Från italienskt nittonhundratals", *Dagens Nyheter*, September 9, 1931; "Fascistisk konst inleder säsongen I Konsthallen", *Stockholms Dagbladet*, September 9, 1931; "Nutida Italiensk Konst o Liljevalchs", *Svenska Dagbladet*, September 9, 1931.

Nevertheless, the last exposition that she was able to arrange abroad started from Stockholm –and then moved to Helsingfors, Åbo and Oslo⁵⁶– a few years before the V Triennale (1933), at the Liljevalchs Konsthall, in September 1931: »*Il Novecento Italiano*». *Nutida Italiensk Konst* (New Italian Art). (Fig.59-62)

The executive committee was led by Margherita Sarfatti, with the help of other artists like Achille Funi, Mario Sironi, Piero Marussig and Arturo Tosi,⁵⁷ but leaving in total unawareness even the Italian Ambassador in Sweden, thus attracting on her the negative eyes of the regime.⁵⁸

In the introduction of the catalogue, was Margherita herself to describe the events which led to the organization of the exhibition:

'Invited by the Swedish government to visit the Stockholm Exhibition, I saw the Nordic region for the first time. The lights, the flags, the shiny metals, the simple and distinct lines of the buildings, their reflections in the water and their silhouettes against the sky, with a dreamlike green air, were for me an amazing experience. The Crown Prince and Princess, Prince Carl and Triennale, who were our hosts at the exhibition, gave me the best taste of Swedish hospitality. On Valdemarsudde, at the entrance to Stockholm, where the painter Prince built the ideal home that every artist dreams of, and which he has been able to realize, it was there that he first expressed to me a desire to get acquainted with modern Italian art and make it famous in Sweden. This invitation by Prince Eugen as chairman of the Liljevalchs Art Gallery was received by the 'Novecento Italiano' with the greatest gratitude. The Duke of Genoa was kindly pleased with Prince Eugen's shelter for the exhibition. To the Swedes, who succeeded in a great way in giving to their longing art new and noble expressions in painting, sculpture, modern decorative art and architecture, in return we Italians

⁵⁶ Lindy, "Il novecento på rundtur i Skandinavien," *Stockholmstidningen*, September 9, 1931.

⁵⁷ Liljevalchs Konsthall, »*Il Novecento Italiano*». *Nutida Italiensk Konst*. 9 sept.-4 okt. 1931 (Stockholm: Liljevalchs konsthall n°94, 1931), 4-5. The Exhibition was open between 9 September and 4 October 1931. A larger group of members included several influent fascist representatives like the art critics Giuseppe Bottai, Ugo Ojetti, Ascanio Colonna and Filippo Caffarelli.

⁵⁸ The letters on Margherita Sarfatti's exhibition in Stockholm, with a comment of the events, are published in Sileno Salvagnini, "Margherita Sarfatti, critico irriducibile. Dalla Biennale del 1928 alle mostre in Scandinavia del 1931-32," *Donazione Eugenio Da Venezia 4* (Venice: Fondazione Scientifica Querini Stampalia, 1998): 49-55.

want now to show some new products of our thousand-year artistic tradition.

Among honest working people like the Swedes, we want to show as honestly as possible how our country has turned into a new life after the suffering of the war and the stress of the fascist disorder, characterized by the will of firmness and independence. An endeavor to reconcile different and often unclear religions, which occurred in the late nineteenth century, appeared in the decade before the war. The war and other factors which set their mark on this entire existence, broke off these endeavors, just when the spiritual unrest was highest. The work of history is going to be taken back and burned with burning energy, not least in the artistic area, and especially in Italy, the homeland of classical art.’⁵⁹

The reception by the Swedish public was generally positive, and the journalists underlined the lack of knowledge of modern Italian Art, compared to its ancient history. The group Novecento was therefore associated with the Swedish group ‘Falengen’, also founded in 1922, with similar purposes of combining the classical and the modern tradition.⁶⁰

The most notable lack of this second occasion abroad, was –once again after 1920– the absence of a section devoted to Italian modern architecture, even if, according to the press, among the honorary guests at Liljevalchs vernissage were included the Swedish architect Ferdinand Boberg with his wife Anna,⁶¹ while Margherita Sarfatti herself resulted absent at the official inauguration of the exhibition, due to health problems.⁶²

However, as shown by archival evidence, this absence did not prevent Sarfatti’s friend –Giovanni Muzio– from visiting Stockholm shortly before the opening of

⁵⁹ In Margherita Sarfatti, “Förord,” in Liljevalchs Konsthall, *»Il Novecento Italiano»*, 7 (Translation by the author).

⁶⁰ Col, ”Från italienskt nittonhundratå,” *Dagens Nyheter*, September 9, 1931.

⁶¹ “Premiär på Liljevalchs,” *Dagens Nyheter*, October 9, 1931. In 1935, as Italian representatives, in Stockholm were present Ascanio Colonna and Filippo Caffarelli. Sarfatti was also one of the first Italians, to send a long letter of condolence to Boberg for the loss of his beloved Anna (Margherita Sarfatti, *Letter of Sarfatti to Ferdinand Boberg, April 18, 1935*, Ferdinand Boberg Archive, Box L57, Folder 3 ‘Letters to Boberg’, KBHA, Stockholm. The following year, on 27 August 1936, also Filippo Caffarelli sent Boberg a letter to thank him for sending a small portrait of Anna to them. **Appendix ‘Letters 2.2 – 2.5’**

⁶² “Italiensk konst i Liljevalchs,” *Svenska Dagbladet*, September 6, 1931.

the exhibition, in August 1931, in order to admire the same Asplund library he had spoken about a few months earlier in Florence.⁶³ (Fig.63-64)

4.1.3. *From the travels to the North to the dissemination of Nordic Architecture in the Italian magazines*

Sarfatti's experience in Stockholm, helped to seal the relationships between Swedish and Italian artists and architects of the group 'Novecento', leading for example at the beginning of the 1930s to Muzio's conferences on modern architecture and Ponti's request to include Asplund in his list of *Domus* subscribers.

At the same time, the Triennali's 'Directorate', headed from 1927 by members of the group Novecento, progressively included other more progressive names like Giuseppe Pagano, director of *Casabella* and a CIAM member, during which he had met names like Markelius at Uno Åhrén.

Shortly before the beginning of the Second World War (1938-1939), these vital exchanges between Milan and Nordic architects was sealed by Giuseppe Pagano and Ignazio Gardella (1905-1999)'s trip to the North.⁶⁴ (Fig.65)

It was the first time one of the most representative architects was expressly called to speak about Italian modern architecture in the *Norden*, and the second on modern art, if we consider the speeches held by the Futurist Arturo Ciacelli in 1912 and 1913 in the Nordic capitals.⁶⁵

As reported in *Casabella* of February 1939 –thanks to Pagano's work for the Triennale and the Italian magazine– the Architects' Unions of Norway, Sweden, Finland and Denmark had invited Pagano to visit their countries and to present a conference on the Italian situation.

[Giuseppe Pagano] *has held conferences at the Academy of Fine Arts in Copenhagen, in the Chamber of Architects and Engineers in Stockholm, at the House of Architects of Oslo, the Finnish Architects' Association and in the Conference Hall of Helsinki Politecnico. Welcomed with*

⁶³ Giovanni Muzio, *Postcard from Giovanni Muzio to Plinio Marconi, August 1, 1931*, Archivio Nazionale, Rome, Plinio Marconi papers, Box 17, folder 'Stoccolma'. The postcard, sent to Plinio Marconi (at that time journalist for the Roman magazine *Architettura e Arti Decorative*), pictured the new Stockholm Library by Erik Gunnar Asplund, inaugurated in 1918.

⁶⁴ A few months later, in Stockholm opened the XVII International Housing and Town Planning Congress opened, dedicated to the *Housing for special groups*. The only Italian representative was, on this occasion, the engineer Giuseppe Gorla, from Milan ICP. See par. 3.3.3.

⁶⁵ See par. 3.1.

great interest and sympathy by the local press and hosted with great cordiality by the colleagues of the North, Pagano has illustrated with numerous pictures the most characteristic works of contemporary Italian architecture, trying to give them an objective picture. After presenting some examples of that cultural architecture that is well-liked by the bourgeoisie around the world - such as the Post Office of Forlì, the Casa madre dei Mutilati in Rome, and the Piazza della Vittoria in Genoa - he introduced some of the best Italian works. From the Florence Station to Sabaudia, from the Casa del fascio in Como to the Milan Airport, from the Physics' Institute in Rome to the Elioterapic Colony in Legnano, from the urban complex of Piazza alla Foce di Genoa, to the Berta Stadium in Florence, from the Aeronautical exhibition of Milan to the most recent ones in Rome at Circo Massimo, from the urban plans for Val d'Aosta to the recent project for "Milano Verde", architects of northern Europe have been able to know the names of the most fervid Italian colleagues and to see what is the architectural climate in our country is. With the usual frankness and the responsibility of those who, not from today, pursue a primarily social and moral mission through the criticism of contemporary architecture, Pagano's architect focuses on the building situation in Italy.⁶⁶

Pagano's words⁶⁷ lucidly expressed the latest and best Italian Architecture, as a result of two contradictory trends: the first, more conservative and rhetoric, bond to its classical traditions, and the second –son of the Futurist avant-garde– revolutionary and ‘almost reckless’.⁶⁸ After a long debate ‘sometimes not related to artistic issues’, for the Italian architects and his foreign friend it was necessary to stand, without any doubt, with the second group, supported by Mussolini himself. In conclusion, he underlined that ‘there is only one formula: pride in moderation, and a deep conviction and intense desire for simplicity, honesty, and clarity. These are the true traditions of Italian architecture.[...] In this sense, we are working with colleagues throughout the world’.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ *Casabella-Costruzioni* 134 (February 1939), 2-3 (Translation by the author).

⁶⁷ The complete speech was published in Giuseppe Pagano, “Discorso sull'Architettura Italiana di oggi,” *Circoli* (February 1939): 164-173. In Pagano's opinion, the rise of this ‘International movement’ in his country was coming from Antonio Sant'Elia (1888-1916), described as the only modern architect in Italy before the first world war.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 165.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 173. The quotation is also included in Antonello Alici, “From Pagano to Rogers. Continuità in Italian architecture between 1930s and 1950s,” in Nils Erik Wickberg (ed.), *Quo*

Many years later, in 1995, Gardella remembered his first experience in the North with Pagano, the Nordic lights and the important encounters with Sven Markelius and Alvar Aalto:

I recall Pagano as a nice traveling companion, who could see and help see things with a critical eye, and always with a humorous vein. After a short stay in Stockholm (Markelius) we left for one night with a direct ship to Helsinki. At midnight, as we slept in the cabin, we were awakened by a strong pounding noise. Upon the deck of the ship we were faced with a spectacle for us extraordinary. Around the ship, the sea was completely frozen, white in the light of a full moon. One of those magical moments that, lived together, creates between two people a mutually-meaning relationship that is unexplainable in words.

In Helsinki, Alvar Aalto welcomed us with great cordiality. He then lived with his first wife Aino, a lady of regal grandeur, in a house with an attached studio; a great but not enormous studio of European dimension more than American. Alvar Aalto's architecture was very different from Pagano. Pagano's architecture was more rigid and programmed; Aalto's more free and congenial to the sinuous forms of the many Finnish lakes. But on the human plane they had many common features. Aalto was also extroverted, lover of architecture, but also of life, beautiful women, and wine.

Moreover, Aalto claimed to the Finns a passionate character, so to say Mediterranean, very different from the Swedes and considered Finland the last outpost of European civilization of Greek-Latin root; against – to say it with Buzzati's words– the Tartar desert.

Pagano had come to Sweden and Finland, as well as for the conferences, also to find material for Casabella. He therefore had many meetings, and I with him, with many architects of different tendencies. After one of these meetings, I do not remember well for which specific reason, he told me: you see, among us rationalistic architects there are discussions, ideas comparisons, clashes of different ideas while the "pompiers" [the conservative] architects are always in agreement.⁷⁰

Vadis Architectura? (Helsinki: Helsinki University of Technology, Department of Architecture, 2007), 165.

⁷⁰ Ignazio Gardella, "Un viaggio in Finlandia da Alvar Aalto," (paper presented at the Conference *In ricordo di Pagano*, Milan, Italy, January 31, 1995), translation by the author (**Appendix 'Conferences'**). After this travel, Gardella continued to study and to be in touch with Alvar Aalto and Finnish architecture, and traces of these references can be found especially in his

One of the results of this trip was –as already mentioned by Gardella– that, only between 1939 and 1943, *Casabella* published fourteen articles on modern architecture in Nordic countries, with a special attention to masters like Asplund and Alvar Aalto. In this way, Edoardo Persico’s legacy, prematurely departed in 1936, was collected not only by Giuseppe Pagano but also by the art critic Attilio Podestà, who made most of the writings about Sweden.⁷¹

Podestà’s writing followed Pagano’s admiration for his Nordic modernist companions, which he had already expressed many years before his travel:

‘Step by step, the way of the new architecture, moving from the foggy Northern regions, has reached Italy too. It is natural that it has stopped in the first relevant city crossing the boundaries, Como [...] a big scandal. Foreigners? Nordic? [...] Modern forms of Novocomum come from the Mediterranean culture’, they emigrated to the North and came back in the form of exotic patterns.’⁷²

interior designs. Another evidence of his link with Aalto’s architecture was found in Bruno Zevi’s archive, in a 1951 letter by Giulio Einaudi to the roman critic, in which he mentioned a new book on Alvar Aalto edited by Ignazio Gardella, unfortunately never published. Giulio Einaudi, *Letter of Giulio Einaudi to Bruno Zevi, November 8, 1951*, Serie 6.04.01 ‘Editor correspondence – Italian editors’, Folder 58, Bruno Zevi Archive, Rome. **Appendix ‘Letters 4.3’**

⁷¹ Attilio Podestà was born in 1903 in Zoagli, a small town close to Genova. After a degree in law, he showed an early interest for art critic and in 1925 he joined the modernist group “Gruppo d’azione d’Arte”, with artists Emanuele Rambaldi, Francesco Falcone and the architect Enrico Pierazzi. From 1932 he directed the cultural page “La specola delle arti”, in the newspaper *Il Secolo XIX*, where he published several articles on modern architecture by Pietro Maria Bardi, Alberto Sartoris, Walter Gropius, Sigfried Giedion, Filippo Tommaso Marinetti, Giuseppe Terragni and Edoardo Persico. From 1939, Podestà worked as an art critic for journals like *Casabella*, *Emporium* and *Sapere*. In January 1943 he became director of *Emporium*. Caterina Olcese Spingardi, “Attilio Podestà critico militante: pluridisciplinarietà ed europeismo de «La specola delle arti»,” *Studi di storia delle arti IX* (1997-1999): 257-266. Podestà’s articles for *Casabella* on Swedish modern architecture were: “Un palazzo per concerti a Göteborg,” *Casabella-costruzioni* 137 (May 1939): 4–5; “Un palazzo per concerti a Göteborg,” *Casabella-costruzioni* 137 (May 1939): 4–5; “Nuovi edifici della cooperativa Foerbundet,” *Casabella-costruzioni* 142 (October 1939): 24–27; “Case popolari a Stoccolma e a Praga,” *Costruzioni-Casabella* 147 (March 1940): 4–11; “Per gli architetti E.G. Asplund, O.R. Salvisberg,” in *Costruzioni-Casabella* 158 (February 1941): 2–6; “L’ultima opera di Asplund,” *Costruzioni-Casabella* 165 (September 1941): 32–33; “Ancora su Asplund,” *Costruzioni-Casabella* 167 (November 1941): 36–37; “Scuole a Stoccolma,” *Costruzioni-Casabella* 181 (January 1943): 14–28.

⁷² Giuseppe Pagano, “I benefici dell’architettura moderna (a proposito di una nuova costruzione a Como), *La Casa Bella* 27 (March 1930): 11-14. The quotation is also included in Antonello Alici, “Architects Travel. A research programme,” *EdA* vol.3, 1 (2016): 7–9.

Many years later, in March 1943, just before Pagano's death in Mathausen and the sudden closure of the magazine in December, *Casabella* editor in chief used an article by Aalto to open the biggest question of the moment: the tragedy of the war and the reconstruction of a country, if not of a continent.⁷³

In this context, Aalto's words were at the same time a synthesis of the debate on the 'minimum dwelling' and prefabrication as well as a clever prefiguration of a new horizon for the future architecture: the introduction of 'humanity' in the functionalist equation.

However, Giuseppe Pagano was not the only one to have visited the Nordic countries in the second half of the 1930s. A last, but not least, '*Casabella's* companion' that needs to be mentioned for his long travels was certainly Ivo Pannaggi (1901-1981): Futurist painter, designer, architect and, between 1927 and 1933, a student at the Bauhaus in Berlin.

Endowed with a natural 'ultra-modern and international spirit',⁷⁴ once he arrived in Germany he became, between 1932 and 1933, the official correspondent for *Casabella* on the latest modern realization by Walter Gropius, Eric Mendelshon, Emil Fahrenkamp and Otto Haesler.⁷⁵ After the closure of the school he decided to travel north with his Norwegian friends he had met at the Bauhaus. Between 1936 and 1939 he visited Lapland, Antarctica and Greenland, and his journey was published in Italy in 1947 by the Turin newspaper *Gazzetta del popolo*.⁷⁶

Between these travels –and before moving to Norway, where in the 1950s was even nominated 'First Architect of the Ministry of State Architecture'⁷⁷– he visited at first Sweden, as shown by several articles in *Edilizia Moderna* and *L'architettura italiana* on Swedish Architecture, in which he presented to an Italian audience the modernist school in Sveavägen by Nils Ahrbom (1905-

⁷³ Alvar Aalto, "La ricostruzione dell'Europa. Capitale problema di attualità nel campo edilizio," *Costruzioni-Casabella* 183 (March 1943): 3-9. Curiously, to use Aalto's ideas as Pagano's final statement, became a recurring choice for another Italian director: Ernesto Nathan Rogers (1909-1969), who, in the early Post-war years was building his editorial work for *Domus* on Pagano's ideas. See Alvar Aalto, "Architettura e arte concreta," in *Domus* 223/224/225 (October-December 1947): 3-15.

⁷⁴ Ivo Pannaggi, *Pannaggi* (Oslo: Reclamo trykkeri, 1962), 70.

⁷⁵ Maria Luisa Neri, *L'altra modernità*, 46-47.

⁷⁶ The complete list of his articles was re-edited recently in: Mario Pianesi and Luigi Ricci (ed.), Ivo Pannaggi (author), *Dall'Artide all'Antartide* (Tolentino: Un lupo, 2015).

⁷⁷ Enzo Lamioni, "Ritorna Ivo Pannaggi, fiero futurista di un tempo," *Il Resto del Carlino*, August 25, 1956. Pannaggi moved to Norway in 1942 and then he came back to Italy in the mid-1970s.

1997) and Helge Zimdahl (1903-2001) and Paul Hedqvist's *Globala gymnasiet* in Södermalm.⁷⁸

As we can see, it is possible to trace a fine line, coming from the first Exhibition in 1920 in Stockholm, to the Triennali in Milan, to the massive appearance of Nordic architecture on the pages of magazines like *Domus*, *Casabella*, *Edilizia Moderna* and *L'Architettura Italiana*.

The Group 'Novecento' in this sense led by Margherita Sarfatti, showed an early interest for Swedish Classicism and it actively looked for foreign approval with the 1931 Exhibition in Stockholm.

A second important channel –whose purpose was to move the audience towards more progressive positions– was certainly the CIAM Congresses, which strengthened the relationships already present between the Swede and Italian representatives from Milan.

Major outcomes of these years, where the travels to the North of Giuseppe Pagano, Ignazio Gardella and Ivo Pannaggi, which would leave a significant track in their latest works and also a significant presence into the Italian magazines about Swedish modern architecture.

However, if until the 1930s, Italian journalists like Vittorio Pica, Marcello Piacentini, Ugo Ojetti, Margherita Sarfatti and Gio Ponti showed Swedish examples as high-educated experimentations of a 'renewed classicism', after 1933 the militant work of Giuseppe Pagano through the pages of *Casabella*, started to show only the result accepted by the modern movement, represented at that moment by names like Erik Gunnar Asplund, Sven Markelius, Uno Åhrén and Paul Hedqvist, which in their earlier realizations shared most of their ideas with Classicism.

This process of 'epuration' and the instrumental use of foreign examples, in order to celebrate the freedom and the 'democracy' of the Modern Movement, culminated in 1948, with the publication of the first Italian monography on Erik Gunnar Asplund, written by Bruno Zevi.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Pannaggi's articles on Swedish Architecture were: "Edifici a Stoccolma. L'istituto Eastman: Arch. Waldemar Johnson," *Edilizia Moderna* 23 (October-December 1936): 50–53; "La nuova scuola superiore femminile di Stoccolma. Architetti Ahrbom e Zimdahl," *L'Architettura italiana* 127 (May 1937): 127–136; "Un albergo al circolo polare artico: arch. P. e M. Blomstedt," *Edilizia Moderna* 27-28 (April-June 1938): 20–23; "Una scuola media comunale a Stoccolma: arch. Prof. Paul Hedqvist," *L'Architettura italiana* (December 1940): 323–329.

⁷⁹ Bruno Zevi, *Erik Gunnar Asplund* (Milan: il Balcone, 1948). Only several years after, in 1954 he would have also written, for the same series, about Frank Lloyd Wright and Richard Neutra.

In his short book –published for the series ‘Il Balcone’ directed by BBPR and dedicated to the ‘masters of the Modern Movement’,⁸⁰ Zevi perpetuated Pagano, Persico and Sartoris’ architectural visions, and consciously left out or negatively commented most of Asplund’s projects before the 1930 Stockholm Exhibition. At a closer look however, in Zevi’s notes on this publication, he thanked a roman architect for some of the provided material: Francesco Fariello,⁸¹ in the 1930s editor of the more conservative magazine *Architettura*, suggesting that not only the progressist architects from Milan were interested in Swedish architecture. A second complex set of relationships between Italy and Sweden, analyzed in the following paragraph, was in fact passing through the Roman capital, in order to favor Swedish classical studies in the Mediterraneo.

⁸⁰ Fiorella Vanini, *La libreria dell'architetto: progetti di collane editoriali 1945-1980* (Milan: Franco angeli, 2012), 65; Silvia Piombo, *Il Balcone: un piccolo editore d'arte a Milano* (1944-1964), in *FdL* 1 (2010): 21-24. Other names included in the series were: William Morris (Giancarlo de Carlo, 1947); Giuseppe Terragni (Mario Labò, 1947), Joseph Maria Olbrich (Giulia Veronesi, 1948), Tony Garnier (Giulia Veronesi, 1948), Alvar Aalto (Giorgio Labò, 1948), Charles Mackintosh (Nikolaus Pevsner, 1950), J.J. Pieter Oud (Giulia Veronesi, 1953), Pier Luigi Nervi (Giulio Carlo Argan, 1954), Giuseppe Pagano (Carlo Melograni, 1955), Auguste Perret (Ernesto Nathan Rogers, 1955), Raimondo d'Aronco (Manfredi Nicoletti, 1955), Mies van der Rohe (Max Bill, 1955), Adolf Loos (Ludwig Münz, 1956), Antonio Sant'Elia (Umbro Apollonio, 1958), Figini e Pollini (Eugenio Gentili Tedeschi, 1959) and Camillo Boito (Liliana Grasso, 1959).

⁸¹ ‘Devo alla cortesia dell'arch. Fariello la possibilità di riprodurre da questo libro alcuni disegni di Asplund’. Bruno Zevi, *Bibliography for the book on Erik Gunnar Asplund*, Serie 6.03.05 ‘Erik Gunnar Asplund - Manuscript’, Folder 25, Bruno Zevi Archive, Rome.



Fig.55 – Swedish Pavillion at the 1925 *Exposition internationale des Arts décoratifs et industriels modernes* in Paris, by Carl Bergsten.

Source: Piero Torriano, “L’arte decorativa contemporanea e l’Esposizione di Parigi,” in *Emporium* LXIII, 373 (gennaio 1926), 40.



Fig.56 – Detail of the Finnish Exhibition at the V Triennale (1933).
Source: Agnoldomenico Pica, *Storia delle Triennale 1918-1957* (Milan. Edizioni del Milione, 1957), LIV.



Fig.57 –Vase by Wike Lindstrand (Stockholm, 1926-7) exhibited in Milan in 1957 for the retrospective “30 years of Triennale”.

Source: Agnoldomenico Pica, *Storia delle Triennale 1918-1957* (Milan. Edizioni del Milione, 1957), XX.

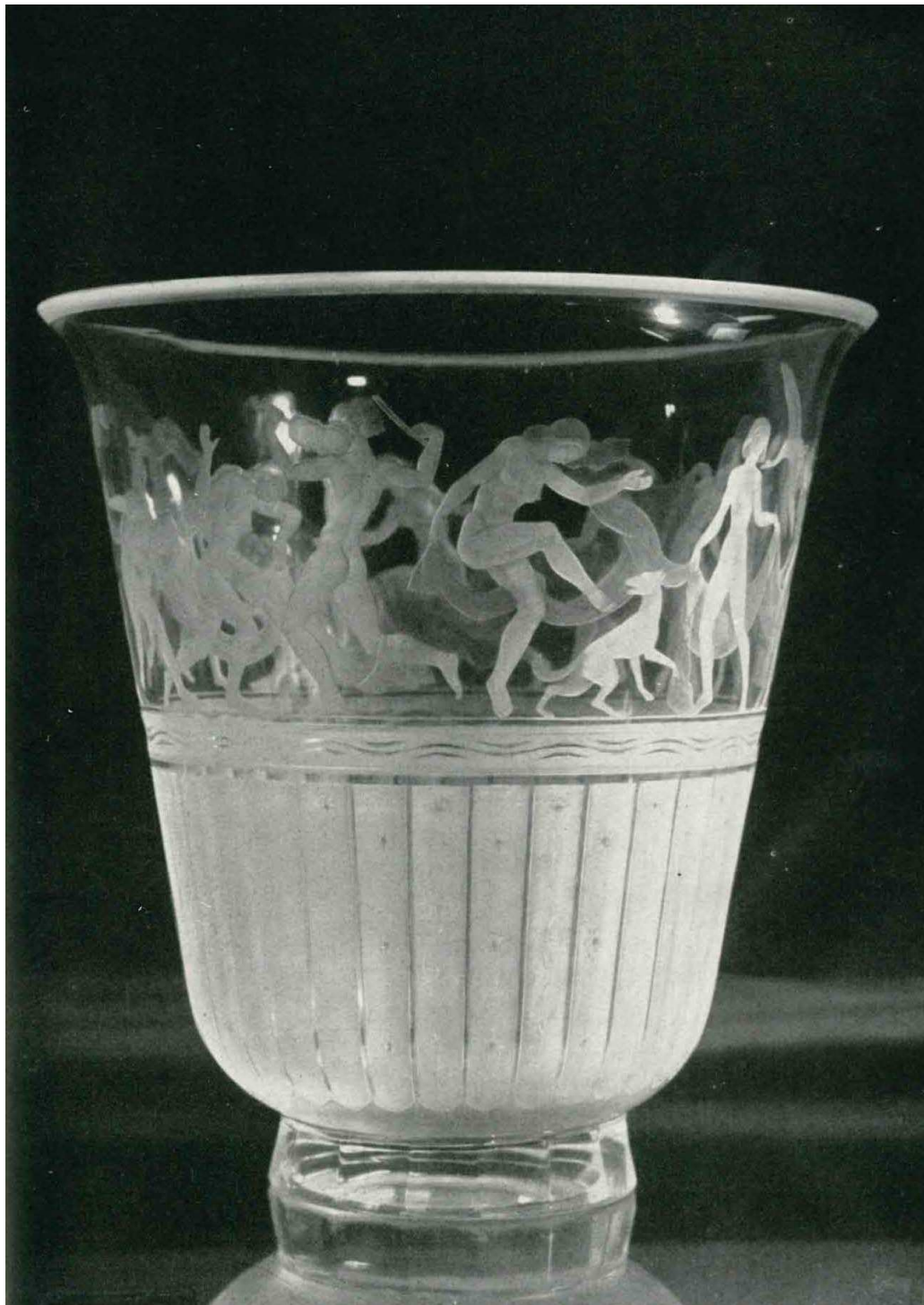


Fig.58 – Vase by Simon Gate exhibited at the Monza IV Triennale (1930).
Source: Agnoldomenico Pica, *Storia delle Triennale 1918-1957* (Milan. Edizioni del Milione, 1957), XXXII.

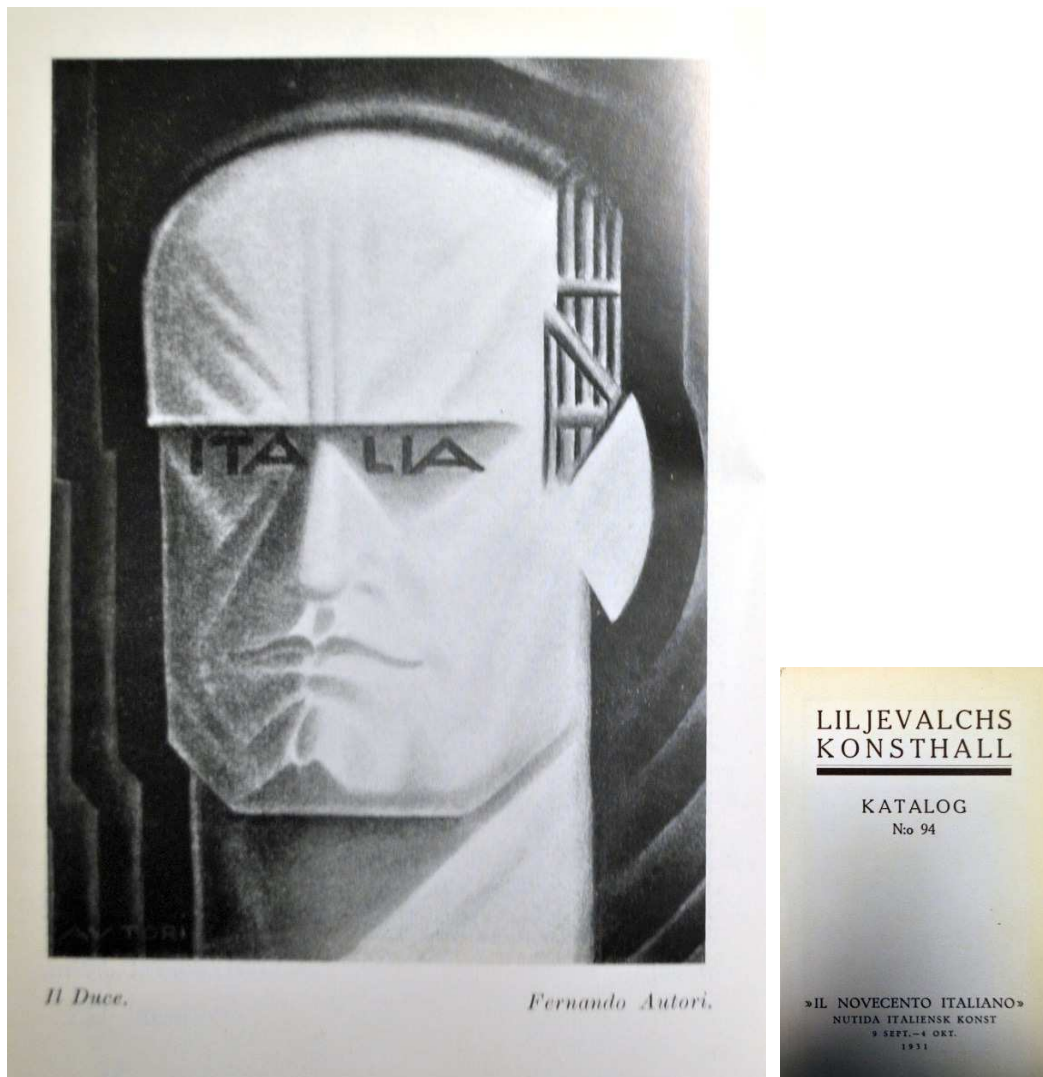


Fig.59-60 – Pages from the Italian Exhibition of the group “Novecento” at Liljevalchs Konsthall in Stockholm in 1931, directed by Margherita Sarfatti.
Source: »Il Novecento Italiano» Nutida Italiensk Konst 9 sept – 4 oct 1931. Katalog n°94 (Stockholm: Liljevachs Konsthall, 1931).



Fig.61-62 – Pages from the 1931 Italian Exhibition of the group “Novecento” at Liljevalchs Konsthall in Stockholm. (above) Achille Funi, *Rom*; (below) Felice Casorati, *Vaxbysterna*.
Source: »Il Novecento Italiano» *Nutida Italiensk Konst 9 sept – 4 oct 1931. Katalog n°94* (Stockholm: Liljevachs Konsthall, 1931).

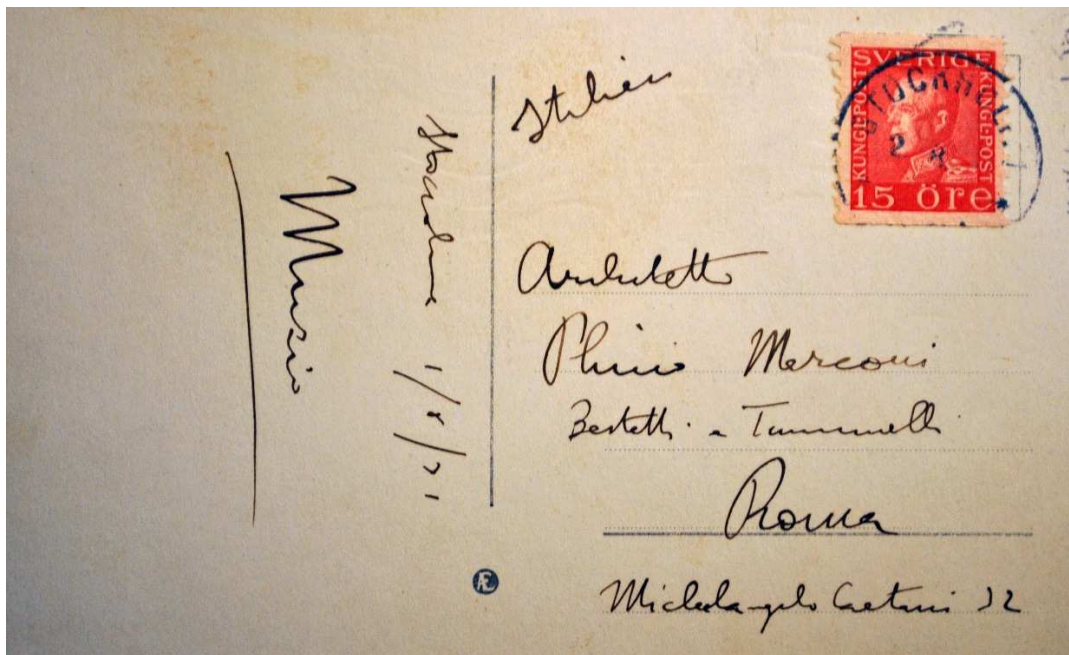


Fig.63-64 – The postcard (front and back) sent by Giovanni Muzio from Stockholm to Plinio Marconi, in Rome on August 1st, 1931.

Source:: Archivio Nazionale, Rome, Plinio Marconi papers, Box 17, folder 'Stoccolma'.



Fig.65 – The Trip to the North by Giuseppe Pagano and Ignazio Gardella in 1939.
Source: Giancarlo Palanti, “Notizie biografiche,” in *Costruzioni-Casabella* 195-198 (1941), 5.
Monographic number dedicated to the work of Giuseppe Pagano, died in Mathausen 1945.

4.2 The birth of the Swedish Institute for Classical Studies and the Nordic exhibitions in Rome

The dense network set up in Rome during the Fascist years, between Swedes and Italians, reflected the complexity of international relations between a country such as Sweden, culturally sympathetic to Austria and Germany,⁸² and its need to remain neutral once it became clear it was not possible to avoid a second world war.

While in Milan the events turned around the Triennale Institution, in Rome other protagonists were the newborn Cultural Institutes, which had been founded in order to organize the relationships with foreign countries in an official form.

From 1936 onwards, after Mussolini's proclamation of the 'Empire' and the stiffening of the autarchic policies, the Swedish institutions in Rome began to distance themselves from the Fascist government.⁸³

The significant result of this policy was the construction of the permanent headquarters of the Swedish Institute of Classical Studies in Rome, designed by architect Ivar Tengbom (1878-1968).

The institution was in itself son of Sweden and Italy's political ambiguity of the moment: made possible by the favor of the Fascist government, which in 1937 granted the soil for the purpose, the Institute, which was concluded early in 1941, would never be officially inaugurated in the presence of any Italian hierarchy.

However, the construction of Tengbom's building was not the only relevant event of the period in Rome: included within the organization's activities there were also a series of conferences and presentations, that enriched the exchange of ideas between Sweden and Italy, during two particularly delicate decades for international politics.

The idea of the Institutes of Culture had been exploited by Minister Galeazzo Ciano, to favor not only the diffusion abroad of Italian culture or the help of

⁸² Henrik O. Andersson, "Il classicismo moderno del Norden," in Henrik O. Andersson, Lisbet Balslev Jørgensen, Simo Paavilainen and Christian Norberg-Schulz, *Classicismo nordico. Architettura nei paesi scandinavi 1910-1930* (Milan: Electa, 1988), 7–24.

⁸³ The proclamation of the Italian Empire occurred on May 9, 1936.

emigrant populations, but also to propagate the work of the Italian dictatorship in a foreign land.⁸⁴

Likewise, a series of events and exhibitions organized during the 1920s and 1930s in Rome, had the specific intention of demonstrating to foreign *élités* the possibilities of the Italian government.

However, we must not forget that other institutions had already been founded from 1860, like the *Scandinaviska Föreningen*, the first reference points for Nordic artists in the Italian capital.⁸⁵

Over half a century after the establishment of this first institution, in March 1925, the Swedish Institute of Classical Studies was founded, on the initiative of the hereditary Prince Gustaf Adolf of Sweden (1884-1973), an archaeologist and an enthusiast scholar of Italian classical studies.⁸⁶

Its provisional headquarters was located in Via del Boschetto 68 and the Prince was also nominated, until his rising to the throne in 1950, chairman of the Directive Board (located instead at the Royal Palace in Stockholm), while at the head of the office in Rome the archaeologist Axel Boëthius (1889-1969) had been appointed.⁸⁷

In addition to a precise focus on the field of classical sciences and literature, the Institute also committed itself to the organization of study trips and to offer a

⁸⁴ In 1936 Galeazzo Ciano was nominated by Mussolini, Ministry of Foreign affairs. In a 1937 Ministerial Circular, Ciano wrote: “*The Institutes of Italian Culture abroad have been affirmed nowadays as an agile and effective instrument of our linguistic and cultural propaganda. They respond, and will respond more and more to that concept of diffusion of the Roman and Latin ideas, which has acquired, in fascist times and in the Empire, a sense of renewed and broader universality.*”, quoted in Francesca Cavarocchi, “Il fascismo italiano e la propaganda culturale all'estero: la ‘Dante Alighieri’ e gli Istituti di cultura,” in *A cultura do poder: a propaganda nos estados autoritários* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade de Coimbra, 2016), 251. Of the same author see also: Francesca Cavarocchi, *Avanguardie dello spirito: il fascismo e la propaganda culturale all'estero* (Rome: Carocci, 2010).

⁸⁵ See introduction Part III.

⁸⁶ “*The purpose of the Institute is to establish, through direct knowledge, a live contact between our culture and the classical, facilitating historical, archaeological and artistic research of antiquity and also targeting the interests of human studies and arts. The activity of the institute takes place in Rome, but its purpose is to favor the studies of antiquity in general and, if the necessary means can be procured, the institute must specially organize study trips also in Greece and it must help those who have scholarships and other scholars to start and organize research in that region*” in Axel Boëthius, “L’Istituto Svedese a Roma,” *Sverige-Italien: tidskrift utgiven av Svensk-italienska föreningen* 2-3 (1927), 2 (Translation by the author).

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 2. Other nominee were: Prof. Nilsson as secretary, Direttore Axel Hallin as treasurer.

range of scholarships for Swedish students (especially philologists, historians, artists and architects) in Italy.

In the same 1925, in the capital city, the *Istituto di Studi Romani* was also founded, with the direction of the philologist Carlo Galassi Paluzzi (1893-1972), born in the same climate of a general rediscovery of classicism, within an Italian Institution.⁸⁸

4.2.1. *The first exhibitions in Rome by Swedish artists and architects (1925-1937)*

Among the first initiatives of the Swedish delegate Axel Boëthius, there was the first 'Skandinavisk Konstutställning i Rom' (Art Exhibition in Rome) at the Dinesen pension.⁸⁹

This was a first attempt to show the work of the Nordic community living in the capital, and even if the result was a heterogeneous collection of sculptures, paintings, sketches and drawings made by artists brought together by chance, it was also a given opportunity to show their works and find new buyers.

Among the exhibitors, the most authoritative was the textile artist Maja Sjöström, who had been already mentioned for his friendship with Guido Balsamo Stella and for her work of selection of traditional artifacts for the 1920s Italian exhibition.

Immediately after the end this exhibition and as soon as she had completed the work for the Stockholm Stadhuset (made in collaboration with her close friend Ragnar Östberg), Maja had decided to move definitively to the Italian capital.

From 1924, she also became a reference point for artists and architects passing through Rome. Thanks to her letters and photographs we can notice a whole series of Swedish travelers visiting her Italian home, including Erik Gunnar

⁸⁸ Passionate about Rome's art and history, in 1923 he founded the magazine *Roma* and he started the lucky series of short monographs *Le chiese di Roma Illustrate*. In 1925 he founded the "Istituto di Studi Romani", in which he was, at the beginning, director and secretary general and, from 1933, president. Benedetto Coccia (ed.), *Carlo Galassi Paluzzi: bibliografia e appunti biografici* (Rome: Istituto nazionale di studi romani, 2000): 9–25. See also Jan Nelis, *From Ancient to modern: the myth of romanità during the ventennio fascista. The written imprint of Mussolini's cult of the 'Third Rome'* (Rome: Institut Historique Belge de Rome, 2011); R. Mangiameli, "Regime fascista e mito di Roma: il ruolo dell'istituto di Studi Romani (1923-1945)" (PhD diss., Università degli Studi di Catania, 2010).

⁸⁹ Åsa Rausing-Roos, *Maja Sjöström*, 216-218. It was also the first exhibition for the twenty-one years old artist Bo Beskow (1906-1989). The exhibition was also mentioned in: Axel Boëthius, "Vår Svenska Italiendtradition just nu," *Sverige-Italien: tidskrift utgiven av Svensk-italienska föreningen* (1944), 4.

Asplund, pictures in 1926, together with Maja at Villa Aldobrandini, in Frascati.⁹⁰ (**Fig. 66**)

In 1934 it was the turn of the textile artist Märta Måås-Fjetterström (1873-1941), who asked for a meeting with Maja while she was visiting Rome.⁹¹

Last but not least, Ragnar Östberg usually met Maja in Italy almost every year, between the 1920s and 1930s.⁹²

On the other hand, Maja, though resident in Italy from the age of fifty-five, was still active in her artistic field and continued working for Swedish commissions. In addition, thanks to her presence in Italy, she became a requested consultant for the interiors of many institutional figures, spending their winter residences in Italy.

One of her most important commissions, between 1927 and 1928, were the interiors of Villa Svezia in Rome and Casa Caprile in Anacapri, both winter residences of Queen Victoria in Italy and the latter located a few steps from the famous Villa San Michele by Axel Munthe.⁹³ (**Fig. 67-70**)

At the same time, Maja was involved in the interior design of the mentioned *Scandinaviska Föreningen* in Rome, the first nordic institution established in the capital in 1860.

The project recalled a simplified classicism, as already expressed by the most representative buildings of these years in Sweden: the Stockholm City Hall, completed in 1923 and the Asplund Library, inaugurated in 1928. (**Fig. 71**)

In the same year, the Swedish Institute of Classical Studies moved to a second office, in Via Merulana 247, on the last floor of the Brancaccio Palace, not far from Santa Maria Maggiore.

⁹⁰ Photographs n.31-32, *Arkitekt E. G. Asplund, Maja Sjöstrom, Anna, Nini Kohnberger, Frascati, Villa Aldobrandini*, Stadarkivet, Stockholm, Maja Sjöstrom samling, Box 'B:2. Fotografier'.

⁹¹ Åsa Rausing-Roos, *Maja Sjöstrom*, 223.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 230.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 239. According to Rausing-Roos' study, in this occasion Maja helped Prince Wilhelm, son of Queen Victoria, to arrange most of the furniture, which came from the Stockholms Slott. This was not the only Royal home, inspired by the picturesque and peasant traditions. See for example Villa Solliden by Torben Grut, built in 1903 with references to Mediterranean architecture. Maja also worked for the German mistress Toinon von Essen (1876-1964), to the interiors of her house in Rome 'Villetta delle rose' (pages: 288–291).

Even for this new location, Maja Sjöstrom was asked for a consultation, but she was not able to follow the project closely, due to her commitments with the *Scandinaviska Föreningen*.⁹⁴

Another important figure in Rome was the already mentioned Margherita Sarfatti, who moved to Rome in 1926 and that in 1931 had the opportunity to show the work of the heterogeneous group 'Novecento' at Liljevalchs in Stockholm.⁹⁵

After this date in fact, the Swedish Institute of Classical Studies directed by Böethius, decided to organize, besides the archeological expeditions,⁹⁶ several meetings in Rome, starting with the architect who, in the previous decades, had the most significant influence upon the Italian audience: Ferdinand Boberg.

Retiring from his architecture studio after 1915, he had dedicated himself to traveling, promoting his wife's career (that exhibited several times in Italy) and to the work of his famous *Svenska Bilder*. This was a massive, ever-growing collection of sketches of Sweden's vernacular architecture, which were slowly disappearing, due to the quick industrialization of the country.⁹⁷

His long-lasting confidence in traditional heritage was in fact a topic towards which Italy itself was progressively familiarizing after the 1920 Stockholm Exhibition.

Boberg's initiative was partially known and admired even in Italy, as confirmed by some letters found in Boberg's archive, sent by the Roman architect Ghino

⁹⁴ "Notiser," *Sverige-Italien: tidskrift utgiven av Svensk-italienska föreningen* 3-4 (1928), 62. A picture of Maja's project for the interior is also published in Åsa Rausing-Roos, *Maja Sjöstrom*, 219.

⁹⁵ See par. 4.1.2.

⁹⁶ On the early activities of the Swedish Institute in Rome see: Martin Nilsson, "Svenska Institutet i Rom," *Sverige-Italien: tidskrift* (1945): 7–22.

⁹⁷ For 'Svenska Bilder' we intend a large group of pencil sketches, made by Anna and Ferdinand Boberg between 1915 and 1946, and now kept at the Nordiska Museet. Boberg had managed to provide funding for drawing from older settlements in cities and rural areas around Sweden throughout the years 1915-1924. Boberg's wife Anna followed the journeys and brought a diary with detailed descriptions of the places the couple visited. The result became a plot with thousands of drawings. The drawings were reproduced in 2003 as part of the project published in Louise Nyström, *Svenska bilder: i Anna och Ferdinand Bobergs fotspår efter hundra år* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 2011). On Boberg's sketches see also Ann Thorson Walton (ed.), *Voyage pittoresque: 1881 till 1941: reseskisser och måleri av Anna och Ferdinand Boberg* (Stockholm: Konstakad, 1992).

Venturi (1884-1970) and his wife, who, in 1940, applauded Boberg's valid initiative.⁹⁸

After a long time in Venice, Boberg had never ceased to come to Italy for pleasure and especially after 1928, when he started to draw –with the help of Axel Boëthius and the Swedish Institute– the series 'Vedute romane svelate dagli scavi Mussolini', picturing the archeological excavations in Rome, Ostia and Pompei, with the help of senator Corrado Ricci.⁹⁹

Later on, in the spring of 1932, Boëthius organized two meetings that showed Boberg's latest work: the first in April was an exhibition of 85 watercolors on Swedish monuments picked from his *Svenska Bilder*, organized in via Margutta at the 'Circolo degli artisti', with the 'Associazione Artistica dei Cultori d'Architettura'.¹⁰⁰

The second Exposition –who still has few left evidences– was instead part of a larger event at the Museum of Rome, titled 'Roman Life in the 19th Century': the catalog and exhibition included works by Boberg and others who had visited Italy in the previous century, provided by the Swedish Nationalmuseum's collection, like Gustav Wilhelm Palm (1810-1890), Egron Lundgren (1815-

⁹⁸ Jole Venturi, *Letter from Jole Venturi to Ferdinand Boberg, July 27, 1940*, Ferdinand Boberg Archive, Box L57, Folder 3 'Letters to Boberg', KBHA, Stockholm. The two had met in Rome at the beginning of the 1930s, before Anna Boberg's death in January 1935, through her husband, the architect Ghino Venturi (1884-1970). In this occasion, Jole wrote: "*To know that you started that colossal job of the characteristic aspects of the Swedish provinces, fills me with admiration and I think you have at your disposal an inexhaustible source of joy and comfort.*" (Translation by the author). It was not the first time they talked about Boberg's sketches, and, between the letters at the KBHA and at the Nationalarkivet, we can count 25 letters from Jole to Boberg between 1935 and 1942. **Appendix 'Letters 2.3-2.4; 2.6 to 2.26; 2.28 – 2.29'**

⁹⁹ "Notiser," *Sverige-Italien: tidskrift* 3-4 (1928), 62; Axel Boëthius, "En akverell av Ferdinand Boberg från Tomba degli Auguri i Tarquinia," *Sverige-Italien: tidskrift* (1945), 6. Some information on this travel is also included in the book, collecting Bobergs' private letters: Marianne Nyström, *Bobergs: Anna Scholander och Ferdinand Boberg* (Stockholm: Carlsson, 1992), 238-239, 240-241. Finally, a brief note on this travel, as well as on the 1932 exhibitions in Rome by Boberg, is included in Ann Thorson Walton, *Ferdinand Boberg*, 327.

¹⁰⁰ The place of Via Margutta is reported in: Margherita Sarfatti, "Ferdinando Boberg," *Giornale d'Italia*, April 26, 1932; Axel Böethius, *Letter of Böethius to Boberg, February 2, 1932*, Ferdinand Boberg brevsamling, Box 1, Nationalmuseum Arkivet. The catalogue of the exhibition *Svenska Bilder i Rom*, held between April 20 and May 4, was introduced by Margherita Sarfatti, on Boëthius' invitation. However, her 'Boberg's apotheosis' was considered even too flattering –if not ridiculous– by Anna. Marianne Nyström, *Bobergs*, 262–263.

1875), Carl Johan Billmark (1804-1870) and Fredrik Scholander (1816-1881).¹⁰¹

These initiatives eventually found the interest of the Duce himself, and he arranged a meeting with Ferdinand twice, between 1933 and 1934, to admire the sketches celebrating his excavations.¹⁰²

The friendship between Mussolini and Boberg would be definitely sealed, first by the publication in 1937 titled *Italienska Studier*¹⁰³ –a collection of one-hundred drawings mainly about the Roman excavations, as well as on other cities of the peninsula visited during the years¹⁰⁴– and then in 1939 with the presentation of new Boberg's sketches for the Tarquinia Tombs,¹⁰⁵ which had a great impact on the Roman audience. (Fig. 72-77)

¹⁰¹ Ann Thorson Walton, *Ferdinand Boberg*, 327. It was not possible to find other evidence of the event, which could be in the Swedish Institute Archive in Rome.

¹⁰² The first visit occurred in 1933, in which Mussolini asked Ferdinand twenty drawings on the excavations. In the second occasion in 1934, Ferdinand finally gave Mussolini twenty plates as a personal gift. Marianne Nyström, *Bobergs*, 267; 272–274.

¹⁰³ Ferdinand Boberg and Axel Boëthius, *Italienska studier* (Stockholm: Nordick Rotogravyr, 1937). As mentioned by Boberg's introduction (page 12), part of the published watercolors was donated to the Swedish Institute in Rome. However, it was not possible to check this information since the Swedish Archive in Rome is not open to the public yet. In his introduction (pages 15-20), Boëthius spent highly positive words for Mussolini's effort towards modernization of Rome, as well as his attention and pride for Italian ancient past.

¹⁰⁴ The one-hundred series of pictures included both pencil sketches and watercolors. Of these, there were only a few available, which caused Ferdinand to extend his stay in Rome in 1937. The result was twelve new watercolors (for a total of nineteen), all dated 1937 in the publishing. Marianne Nyström, *Bobergs*, 303. Other cities included in the *Italienska Studier*, besides Rome were: small towns close to Rome (Tivoli, Viterbo, Bosco Tre Case), Venice, Milan, Como, Verona, Florence, Montepulciano, San Gimignano, Perugia, Ravenna, Naples, Sorrento and finally Sicily, with Palermo, Segesta and Monreale.

¹⁰⁵ According to his letters, Boberg had already visited Tarquinia and his Etruscan Tombs in 1933 (Marianne Nyström, *Bobergs*, 268). In 1939 then –according to Jole Venturi's letter to Boberg– he was expected in May and then again in September, but unfortunately, due to the difficult international situation, he was not able to come to Italy to present his sketches of the Tarquinia tombs. Jole Venturi, *Letter from Jole Venturi to Ferdinand Boberg, April 7, 1939, and November 26, 1939*, Ferdinand Boberg Archive, Box L57, Folder 3 'Letters to Boberg', KBHA, Stockholm. This work was part of a larger initiative of the Swedish Institute for a complete reproduction of the Tarquinia tombs (unfortunately left unfinished by Boberg's death in 1946), with 'the purpose not to copy single paintings but to reproduce the interiors in their integrity.' Axel Boëthius, "En akverell," 6.

On the other hand, the Fascist regime was preparing itself to propagate the Duce's initiatives abroad. Therefore, the foreign cultural policy became central in the government agenda from 1926 with the foundation of the first Cultural Institutes abroad.¹⁰⁶

As far as the Nordic countries were concerned, in 1927, a *Svensk-Italienska Foreningen* was born in Göteborg, after the 1908 courses on Latin philology by professor Vilhelm Lundström (1869-1940).¹⁰⁷

According to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs reports, in 1932 the Italian State did not manage to set up a Cultural Institute, but it was able to fund Italian professors' activities in Sweden and Finland.¹⁰⁸

An important turn occurred in 1936 with the new direction of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs by Galeazzo Ciano, who wanted to encourage the emergence of cultural institutions abroad.¹⁰⁹

Finally, the Italian state had decided to invest in the advertisement given by international events to be hosted in the capital. In this sense, we can see at least three international congresses presented in Rome within a few years: in 1929, the VI IFHTTP Congress, well known in Nordic and English countries; in 1935 the XIII International Congress of Architects (ICA) and finally in 1936, an International 'Congresso delle Arti' on the topic of the possible 'Relationships between Architecture and Decorative Arts'.

At the ICA, held between 22 and 28 September 1935, as official representatives of Sweden¹¹⁰ were invited Sven Ivar Lind (1902-1980) and Ivar Tengbom (1878-1968), future designer of the Institute of Classical Studies in Rome.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ Francesca Cavarocchi, "Il fascismo italiano," 249.

¹⁰⁷ See Introduction Part III.

¹⁰⁸ Francesca Cavarocchi, "Il fascismo italiano," 253. From 1932 in Swedish and Norwegian universities.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 251. The Cultural Institutes in North Europe opened later on, far from official government authorities. In Sweden, the Italian Institute was founded in 1941 in Stockholm. Before this date, the nearest Institute was in Tallin (Estonia), founded in 1939.

¹¹⁰ *XIII Congresso Internazionale degli Architetti. Elenco dei congressisti. Liste des Congressistes (manuscript, page 10)*, Box AM1984-11, Ark Des, Stockholm, Ivar Tengbom papers.

¹¹¹ Ivar Justus Tengbom studied between Göteborg and Stockholm and he practiced with Ernst Torulf in these two cities between 1906 and 1911, until he opened his own studio in 1912. He became a professor at the Royal Academy of Arts in 1920 and from 1922 he became the court architect for the Royal Palaces and then General Director of Public Works. He became well-known in Sweden for his Stockholms Konserthus (1924-26), while his international fortune arrived after 1927, when he was invited to be a member of the international jury for the League of Nations' Palace competition. In 1938, he was the second Swedish architect –after

The event was contemporary to the realizations for the agricultural cities in the Agro Pontino area, like Littoria, Sabaudia and Pontinia, recently inaugurated by Mussolini. The congress was an unrepeatable opportunity, for Tengbom and the other foreign delegates, to visit the new fascist sites and to see the enthusiasm of the population for Mussolini.¹¹² (Fig. 78-79)

That same December, the Pontinia settlement, was inaugurated in the presence of a Swedish representative: artist Maja Sjöström, in fact, she had managed to participate –driven by an institutional car– as an official journalist.¹¹³

For Maja, this would not have been the last chance to appear next to Mussolini, and in 1938, during Hitler's visit to Rome, Maja would be included in the organizing committee for the event.¹¹⁴

Finally, in 1936, Ragnar Östberg attended the 'Congresso delle Arti' on 'The relationships between Architecture and Decorative Arts' at the Reale Accademia d'Italia, chaired by Marcello Piacentini.¹¹⁵

Ragnar Östberg in 1926– to receive the RIBA gold medal. Hakon Ahlberg, *Swedish Architecture*, 37-38; Anders Bergström, *Arkitekten Ivar Tengbom: Byggnadskonst på klassisk grund* (Stockholm: Byggförl., 2001).

¹¹² The programme of the event included the following field-trips: on September 26 the visit to Tivoli, on the 27 the visit to 'Littoria and Sabaudia, to the rehabilitation works and the newly built centers'. Plinio Marconi, *XIII Congresso Internazionale Architetti. Roma – 22-28 Settembre 1935-XIII. Atti ufficiali* (Rome: Sindacato Nazionale Fascista Architetti, 1935), 23. In Tengbom's archive are also kept: a pamphlet, *Littoria e l'Agro Pontino*, Box AM1984-11, Ark Des, Stockholm, Ivar Tengbom papers.

¹¹³ *Classe XIII*, Stadarkivet, Stockholm, Maja Sjöström samling, Box 'Diverse Handlingar (1920-1953)', Folder 'Hitlerveckan 1938', which included the name of Maja Sjöström in the Official Jury. As additional juror was included the Swede Axel Munthe, a friend of Maja. The event is also included in Åsa Rausing-Roos, *Maja Sjöström*, 258–260.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 261–267.

¹¹⁵ Accademia d'Italia (ed.), *6 Convegno di arti: 25-31 ottobre 1936-XIV. Tema: Rapporti dell'architettura con le arti figurative* (Rome: Reale Accademia d'Italia, 1937), 7-8. Among the other foreign delegates, the most important were: Willem Dudok, Le Corbusier, Hanri Matisse and Josep Maria Sert. The largest delegation was of course Italian and included all the most important names between the Roman school (Marcello Piacentini, Gustavo Giovannoni, Armando Brasini, Alberto Calza Bini, Enrico Del Debbio, Arnaldo Foschini, Gino Severini, Roberto papini) and the group 'Novecento' (Carlo Carrà, Felice Casorati, Gaetano Moretti, Gio Ponti, Pietro Portaluppi, Mario Sironi). Other names included were Filippo Tommaso Marinetti and Giuseppe Pagano, which, close to Le Corbusier e Sert, constituted the 'Modernist' small minority.

This conference, more than on other previous occasions, was an important opportunity to deal with the central topic of the international as well as Italian debate.

For years, the Triennial exhibitions had tried to work towards a new combination of the two terms, providing concrete examples of syncretism, and trying to overcome Italian backwardness in the field, evident in Turin 1902.

Among all the representatives, however, instead of younger characters such as Asplund and Tengbom, the Italian delegation preferred to invite an almost seventy-year-old Östberg, who, despite his hugging modernity, still saw recent technologies with a certain suspicion, preferring the possibilities of a 'vate-artist' to those of a technical- builder.¹¹⁶

Following the proclamation of the Empire in 1936, Italian foreign policy necessarily became more aggressive and in 1937 it carefully chose to take advantage of all the possibilities, through a process culminating with the assignment, in 1937, of the 1942 Universal Exposition in Rome and the construction of the new EUR neighborhood.¹¹⁷

Finally, according to archival evidence, in 1942 it was also expected another speech by Ferdinand Boberg, as requested by the director of the Istituto di Studi Romani.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 239–240. Östberg was included in the sixth topic: 'Teaching as a preparation for the modern trends of the Decorative Arts' close to Carlo Carrà, faculty member of the ISIA, and Gio Ponti, director of the magazine *Domus* since 1928 and, from 1936, teacher of Interior Design at the Politecnico di Milano. The text with a brief comment is also included in C. Monterumisi, "Ragnar Östberg. Genius loci e memorie urbane. Stockholms Stadshuset-Nämndhuset e villa geber" (PhD diss., Alma Mater Studiorum Università di Bologna, Bologna, 2015), 95–103.

¹¹⁷ *Law n°2174, December 26, 1936*, appointed a 'Universal and international Exhibition' in Roma. See also the special number (December 1938) of the magazine *Architettura*, entirely dedicated to the projects for the E42. The Exhibition never occurred, due to the persistence of the war.

¹¹⁸ In March 1941, Galassi Paluzzi asked to Ferdinand Boberg to have another speech in Rome, at his *Istituto di Studi Romani*. Galassi Paluzzi, *Letter of Paluzzi to Ferdinand Boberg, March 8, 1941*, Ferdinand Boberg Archive, Box L57, Folder 3 'Letters to Boberg', KBHA, Stockholm. **Appendix 'Letters 2.27'**.

4.2.2. *The headquarters of the Swedish Institute of Classical Studies in Rome in Valle Giulia (1937-1941)* ¹¹⁹

From 1936, in Rome, a second district was being established, functional to the diffusion of Italian culture in the world: the area of foreign institutes near Villa Giulia, not far from Piazza del Popolo.

The location was initially built in 1911, for the fiftieth anniversary of the Italian State, celebrated with a Universal Exhibition of Rome, and that, later on it was progressively occupied by new foreign institutes.

One of the goals of the government was to build, with the acquisition of similar areas on foreign soil, Italian Institutes abroad, just as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Galeazzo Ciano had established in 1936.

In these same years, the newly appointed director of the Swedish Institute of Classical Studies in Rome, Einar Gjerstad (1897-1988), was looking for a new venue for his Institute, as the premises in Palazzo Brancaccio –occupied since 1928– was no longer sufficient. In early March 1936, Maja Sjöstrom proposed as possible headquarters, in a completely unofficial way, Villa Svezia, owned by the Royal House.¹²⁰ On the other hand, Gjerstad's interests pointed to the areas at Valla Giulia, where other similar institutes such as the Netherlands, Romania, Belgium and Austria had already been founded.¹²¹

At the beginning of 1937,¹²² the Swedish Government –upon Einar Gjerstad's invitation– made a formal request for the construction of a definite headquarters of the Swedish Institute of Classical Studies in Rome. The area was located in Valle Giulia, at the current Via Omero, on the same lot where the US Pavilion had been built during the International Exhibition of Rome in 1911.¹²³

¹¹⁹ The topic had been included because considered important, in order to understand the situation in Rome between Italian and Swedish delegates. However, as previously mentioned, the Swedish Institute archive in Rome was not accessible during the period of the study. The reconstruction of the phases related to Ivar Tengbom's building are therefore based on bibliographical references and on the archival surveys published in: Börje Magnusson and Jan Ahlklo (ed.), *Svenska Institutet i Rom* (Stockholm: L'Istituto Svedese di studi classici a Roma, 2010): 69-103. Other letters, between Tengbom and the construction company are in Stockholm, at the Ark Des.

¹²⁰ Åsa Rausing-Roos, *Maja Sjöstrom*, 326;

¹²¹ Börje Magnusson, "The institute's localities, Italian and Swedish," in *Svenska Institutet i Rom*, 39–40.

¹²² 22 January 1937. Jan Ahlklo, "Architecture and furnishing," 71.

¹²³ The Swedish Institute was built on the plot of the United States pavilion, designed by J. M Carrere (1858-1911) and T. Hastings (1860-1929), known for the design of New York Public Library: Stefania Massari (ed.), *Il fatale millenovecentoundici. Le esposizioni di Roma, Torino*,

On March 16, the Italian State responded affirmatively to the Swedish proposal, granting exemption from taxes and customs duties for the materials needed for construction and its furnishing. However, the Italian contract imposed several clauses, including the start of construction work by April 1 of the following year and the official grant of the Swedish State of an area to be used for the construction of an Italian Institute of Culture in Sweden.¹²⁴

A few days before this initial deal, the Roman architect Gino Cipriani, who had already worked at the Belgian and Dutch institutes, was asked to write a draft plan with the estimated costs of the new institute.¹²⁵

In October, Ivar Tengbom was finally invited to go to Rome, in order to study the area *in situ*. On this occasion he met his friend Oscar Sitte, who had practiced at Tengbom's studio and who was, in that moment, the right arm of the architect in charge of the Austrian Institute's, under construction just a few hundred meters ahead.¹²⁶

On December 1937 and August 1938, several construction companies wrote to Ivar Tengbom to ask him about being involved in the work of the Swedish institute in Rome.¹²⁷

The first draft sketches of the Swedish Institute in Rome are dated 17 December 1937, were presented and discussed at the meeting of the Board of Directors at the Royal Palace of Stockholm, between Christmas and New Year.¹²⁸

Firenze (Rome: Palombi, 2012), 129. On the exhibition see also: *Roma 1911: Galleria nazionale d'arte moderna, Roma*, ed. Gianna Piantone (Rome: Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, 1980), Exhibition catalogue.

¹²⁴ Jan Ahlklo, "Architecture and furnishing," 71.

¹²⁵ Börje Magnusson, "The institute's localities," 41. The answer by Cipriani is included in: Gino Cipriani, *Letter of Cipriani to Tengbom, September 16, 1938*, Box AM1984-11, Ark Des, Stockholm, Ivar Tengbom papers.

¹²⁶ The importance of Oscar Sitte was also underlined in the short pamphlet: Ivar Tengbom, *Svenska Institutet i Rom* (Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Rom, 1941). The article was also published in *Byggmastaren* 6 (1941): 69-74. A summary of the pamphlet and some of the images included in Tengbom's article were published in Italy in 1942: Francesco Fariello, "L'Istituto svedese in Roma. Architetto Ivar Tengbom," *Architettura* 10 (October 1942): 336-341.

¹²⁷ The involved construction companies – as shown in Box AM1984-11, Ark Des, Stockholm, Ivar Tengbom papers – were: Giuseppe Cozzo (*Letter December 20, 1937*), the engineer Eugenio Miccone (*Letter May 9, 1938*); Impresa Monti (*Letter August 8, 1938*); and finally Pietro Castelli, which took the contract (*Letters August 16 and 28*).

¹²⁸ Jan Ahlklo, "Architecture and furnishing," 73.

The year 1937 was certainly a significant one, not least for the publication of Boberg's *Italienska Studier*, which celebrated the excavations of the Fascist propaganda in collaboration with the Swedish Institute.

Thanks to the favor of the Nordic government, already in February 1938 Tengbom's project for the Swedish Cultural Institute in Rome was presented to the Italian authorities. On this occasion, the architect received a formal assignment for the work, including external the interior decoration.

On June 30, Ivar Tenbom presented the definitive project for the Swedish Institute, approved by the Italian authorities on 26 July of the same year.¹²⁹ (**Fig. 80-81**)

On a sloping ground, it was a three-wing building, arranged as a U around a courtyard facing East, while the courtyard was accessed by a monumental ladder. The main wing of the branch, facing the valley, included a vestibule, a library and a meeting room; the internal wing hosted the Director's residence with representative offices. The middle body included offices on the ground floor, and upstairs the accommodation rooms for students and researchers. The guest kitchen and a common living room were also located on the second floor above the vestibule. Two apartments were built in the corner which joints the central body with the director's residence. A third smaller apartment was then built over the meeting room.¹³⁰

Tengbom's early designs for the institute were a direct reference to the Royal palace of Stockholm, built by Nicodemus Tessin after 1697.

Between 1673 and 1677 Tessin studied in Rome, in the studio of Gianlorenzo Bernini and Carlo Fontana. He had designed the Royal Palace reflecting on Bernini's design for the Louvre's facades in Paris and the Odescalchi Palace, in turn inspiring Tengbom's facade in a classical baroque style.¹³¹

In the various versions, Tengbom transformed the Royal castle into a Roman palace, on the other hand maintaining some typically Baroque traits.

In the main facade of the institute, in Via Omero, we can recognize the inspiration of a Roman Renaissance palaces, modified with a modern attitude: the courtyard was closed on three edges only and it was reachable by a side staircase. Closed on the right by a long wall and on the left by the library, it led the visitors towards the entrance, narrowing upwards: a baroque motif, this one

¹²⁹ Adolf Hitler's official visit to Rome arrived between these two deliveries, from 3 to 9 May. One of the protagonists of the organizing committee was the Swedish artist Maja Sjöström.

¹³⁰ Ivar Tengbom, *Svenska Institutet*, 2–4.

¹³¹ Märten Snickare, *Tessin: Nicodemus Tessin the younger, royal architect and visionary* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum 2002).

already used by Tengbom in the Palazzo dei Fammiferi, but also by Gunnar Asplund in Stockholm's Civic Library.¹³²

Tengbom's classicism, influenced by the Romantic nationalism of the early 1900s, had a great interest in materials (and especially in the use of the Swedish red brick) and in repositing historical national models.

In addition, the interest in ancient architecture was oriented towards models of the so-called 'minor architecture': the reference models were no longer just the classical buildings of the greatest category, but for example, a travertine stone mule track of a Palestrina stairway.¹³³

The different approaches were evident in the characterizations of the facades: while the public side towards Via Omero (**Fig.82-83**) was symmetrical and reposed the tripartite structure of the classical canone (a base with travertine, a main floor with higher dimensions and a small upper floor 'mezzanino'), the back side towards the private garden was less strict and with a domestic dimension. (**Fig. 84**)

Particularly interesting was also the South-West side towards the neighbouring property (**Fig. 85**), in which the long façade was split into three different blocks with different inclinations and the central one –correspondent to the students' rooms– which was also lower than the other two: the result was an 'urban prospetto', recalling the image of a common street found in many Italian historical centers. Finally, in opposition to this façade, the inner court facing West was simple and symmetrical, private but also suitable for official occasions. (**Fig. 86-88**)

What does not immediately catch the eye is that the staircase, from which the street led to the inner court, was slightly oblique: in this way, the staircase appeared longer and more monumental from the outside and also those who entered were able to see the three inner facades at the same moment, with a tri-dimensional view, rather than a frontal perspective. (**Fig. 87**)

Despite the asymmetrical access from the staircase, the fountain in the middle of the inner court –whose sculptor was located later on, in 1953¹³⁴– had been positioned in order to give the impression of being the center of the courtyard, helped also by the travertine floor in large squares, giving the illusion of a square space rather than a trapezium.

¹³² Anders Bergström, *Arkitekten Ivar Tengbom*, 25.

¹³³ Jan Ahlklo, "Architecture and furnishing," 92.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, 91. The sculptor 'Solglitter' was a donation by sculptor Carl Milles, located in 1953. Jan Ahlklo, "Architecture and furnishing," 91.

Finally, Tengbom decided to close the open side of the courtyard with a series of trees, as a natural curtain for the inner space.

Tengbom's intentions were 'to interpret the baroque spirit with a remarkable sense of humor, not to mislead the visitor, but rather, to follow a sort of game inspired by the morphological circumstances.'¹³⁵

Though Tengbom recognized himself as a modernist, it was the more conservative Carl Malmsten to take care of interiors. There were used traditional materials and techniques, discreet colors, without steel-tubes, or shiny, dark-colored shades. An articulated flat roof, almost invisible, articulated around a courtyard.

In May and then again in November 1939, Ivar Tengbom was in Rome to follow the work at Via Omero, while, in the same moment, Pagano and Gardella were visiting the Nordic countries to show the latest Italian achievements abroad.¹³⁶

Between the end of April and the beginning of May 1940, the Swedish Institute moved definitiely from the old building of Palazzo Brancaccio, to the new, not yet fully furnished in Via Omero. **(Fig. 89-93)**

The furnishings of the premises were entrusted to the most important Swedish designers of the time: Carl Malmsten (1888-1972) who was in charge of the representative areas and the offices and of the house; Elsa Gullberg (1886-1894), Märta Måås Fjetterström (1873-1941) and Maja Sjöstrom (1868-1961) who were responsible for the tapestry. The latter was also entrusted with the its supervision, since she was the only one, among the four, who was permanently resident in Rome, in a moment when trips were no longer so safe after the beginning of the war.

In the late spring of 1940, Tengbom went back one last time to Rome, and he found an almost finished Institute, but without furniture. New materials –both built in Italy and in Sweden– started to be delivered only during the summer.

On August 8, a new director of the Swedish Institute of Classical Studies arrived in Rome: Erik Sjöqvist (1903-1975).

At this point, Swedish foreign policy towards the Italian government had definitely changed, due to its declaration of neutrality.

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*, 89.

¹³⁶ See par. 4.1.3. To a greater look, this journey was a sign of the growing relationships between Sweden and the CIAM architects, as well as a conscious action within the foreign policy of the regime, probably interested in financing such initiatives, in order to favor the foundation of Foreign Institute of Culture.

In fact, the conclusion of the Swedish Institute did not escape the fascist authorities, and many proposals for an official inauguration in the presence of Mussolini quickly arrived to Sjöqvist's office.¹³⁷

The new director diplomatically tried to avoid this possibility, replying that the Prince of Sweden –still the Honorary President of the Institute– was unable to travel because of the war and Sjöqvist did not feel able to represent his own country on such an important occasion, as the warming of relations between Italy and Sweden after the beginning of the war.

However, the conflictual positions of the Nordic government did not end all the relationship with each personalities, as shown by Galassi Paluzzi's official invitation in 1941 to Ferdinand Boberg.¹³⁸

Moreover, also in 1941 but this time far from Fascist official authorities, the Italian Institute of Stockholm was founded on the initiative of a group of Italian and Swedish industrialists, led by Alessandro De Masi, to promote courses on Italian language, literature and Art history, as well as to assist the translators' activities and to organize events of public interest.¹³⁹

Already in 1942, the institution included the *Svensk-Italienska Föreningen* in Göteborg, born in 1927, in order to become the unique reference point for Italians abroad and for Swedes interested in Italian studies.¹⁴⁰

On the other hand, the difficulties of the war forced both the Institutes in Stockholm and Rome) to have a momentary break between 1943 and 1944, but with the hope of a new beginning after the end of hostilities, hopefully with new positive perspectives.

As evidenced by the dense series of events occurred during the interwar period, it became clear how the brief occasions, that had characterized the previous decades, had now become an active part of the official propaganda of the regime, which had favored in many ways the reception of foreign institutes in the capital city.

Within this general situation, it is possible to recall a series of personal stories, such Maja Sjöstrom's support to the regime; or the private vicissitudes of Queen Victoria and Axel Munthe, between Rome and Capri. To arrive at the different inclinations of the directors of the Swedish Institute: like Axel Boethius, whose

¹³⁷ Jan Ahlklo, "Architecture and furnishing," 92.

¹³⁸ See par. 4.2.1.

¹³⁹ Alessandro De Masi, "L'Istituto Italiano di Stoccolma," Fondazione C. M. Lericci (ed.), *Rassegna annuale di scambi culturali italo-svedesi. ITALIA SVEZIA*, anno I (Stockholm: Istituto Italiano, Stoccolma 1955, 19.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

interest in the Roman archaeological excavations, had more or less involuntarily supported the regime, while his substitutes (Einar Gjerstad first and Erik Sjöqvist then) had been able to handle the connections with the regime more cautiously.

4.2.3. *Some reflections on the influence of Swedish architects in Rome*

In the general background of the fascist decades, major protagonist was certainly Tengbom's sophisticated classic project, which overcame any regional declination in favor of a peaceful and timeless equilibrium.

As mentioned in the 1986 exhibition on Nordic classicism, the tendency in Sweden was also born from the desire to overcome National Romanticism and therefore to reconnect the Nordic élites to an international language.¹⁴¹

In Italy, it was the end of the first world war to focus on the possibilities of traditional and peasant art and on a new sense of picturesque, while the Swedes, engaged in the recovery of its traditions since the last decades of the nineteenth century, in the interwar period were trying to overcome their nationalist drift towards a new synthesis: a classicism –like the one proposed by Tengbom for the Institute of Rome– solemn but antimonumental, thanks to the re-elaboration of traditional elements such as the staircase from Palestrina.

For this effort to combine modernity and classicism, the comment of Italian architects' for Swedish architecture was generally positive, not only in the group Novecento by also in the conservative Roman élites, and it began to influence some of the proposals of the younger generation.

A first critic, beside the voice of Giuseppe Pagano, Edoardo Persico and the Modern Movement, towards a new possible agreement between the CIAM group 'progressists' and the Roman 'conservative' was published in 1929, a year after the first Exhibition of Rationalist Architecture,¹⁴² by the Italian architect Giuseppe Samonà (1898-1983) showing the two opposing factions of the Italian debate.¹⁴³

¹⁴¹ Henrik O. Andersson, "Il classicismo moderno del Norden," in *Classicismo nordico*, 7.

¹⁴² The Exhibition opened on 29 March 1929 in Rome's Palazzo delle Esposizioni. Its aim was to emphasize the Modernists' growing influence throughout the country. Adalberto Libera and Gaetano Minnucci (ed.), *La Esposizione Italiana di Architettura Razionale. Roma Anno VI. Approvazione e patrocinio dei Sindacati Nazionali fascisti degli architetti e degli artisti. Palazzo delle Esposizioni – Via Nazionale*, (Rome: De Alberti editore, 1928).

¹⁴³ Giuseppe Samonà, "Tradizionalismo ed Internazionalismo architettonico," *Rassegna di Architettura* I, 12 (1929): 459–466.

The article described with precognition and irony –long before the critical writings of the last decades¹⁴⁴– the two spiritual roots of the ‘Modern Movement’: buildings by Le Corbusier, Mies Van der Rohe and Ludwig Hilberseimer represented the ‘International’ architecture while, the best ‘traditionalist tendency’ was exemplified by Nordic architects as Ivar Tengbom and Hack Kampmann, along with the Italian Marcello Piacentini. (Fig. 94)

The binomial ‘modernity-tradition’ had always had a major role in the Italian culture and a definite fracture with the past was most of the times denied as a viable option to innovation. In fact, compared to other European countries, Classicism was not considered as an imposed style from abroad, but a rich internal tradition showing regional differences and personal inclinations.

The writing was an attempt to find a balance within Italian architectural debate, which had started long before, at least at the end of the nineteenth century. In Samonà’s word, the real common feature of these different interpretations was their ‘rationalism’: a ‘necessity, for all modern architectural tendencies that wants to be alive’.¹⁴⁵

Their differences on the other hand, were not even related to an alleged rejection of the past, since –at a closer look– the modernist opposition to the classical ‘canone’ and the constitution of a ‘new monumentality’ was itself one of the possible relations with history.¹⁴⁶

The main difference was therefore somewhere else: probably in a romantic struggle for utopia (Internationalists), against a general ‘sense of moderation’ and a will to maintain the *status quo* (Traditionalist).

This individualist interpretation of modernity suggested the inclination towards these two possibilities relied on the architect’s character, or maybe even on his momentary psychological state, prefiguring how it was possible to agree with both declinations at the same time.

¹⁴⁴ The false unity of the ‘Modern Movement’ and the struggle within the different positions and interpretations of modernity is one of the major fields of investigations in the last decades’ critical historiography. See the writing by Giorgio Ciucci, “The Invention of the Modern Movement,” *Oppositions* 24 (1981): 69–91.

¹⁴⁵ Samonà, “Tradizionalismo ed Internazionalismo architettonico,” 460.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 462. Samonà affirmed the modernists were using a new canone against the classical one. On the other hand, later studies underlined the deep relationships between modern architecture and the use of the classical proportions, like for example in the seminal studies: John Summerson, *The Classical Language of Architecture* (Boston: MIT Press, 1963): 58–67; Colin Rowe, “The mathematics of the Ideal Villa – Palladio and Le Corbusier compared”, *Architectural Review* 101 (March 1947): 101–104.

The same research for a reformed idea of 'Classicism', in order to deal with the modern tasks, was also explored, between 1937 and 1942, by other young names of the Roman area, like Saverio Muratori (1910-1973), Ludovico Quaroni (1911-1987) and Francesco Fariello.

The first to notice this reference was the critic Manfredo Tafuri, when he wrote his first book on Ludovico Quaroni in 1963:

*'The three young architects had turned their attention to the Scandinavian architecture and, more specifically, to the development of Asplund's poetics. What did they seek in a culture so far from the Italian one, both by tradition and social-political order? A method of assimilation of the modern movement –we can answer– by a culture that is certainly different, but which, like the Italian one, was not among the protagonists in the formation of new instances and new values, and that, like Italy, it had to incorporate new instances and new values into the new tradition: but which, unlike the Italian culture, it had demonstrated an extraordinary ability to synthesize and understand its critical values.'*¹⁴⁷

Besides working together on several competitions at the end of the 1930s, the three architects were also young editors of the magazine *Architettura*, which in 1932 had replaced the original title *Architettura e Arti decorative*, to become the official journal of the Fascist Union of Architects, directed by Marcello Piacentini and Plinio Marconi, mentioned for his letter in 1930 to praise Asplund's work.

In 1935 in particular, the three participated in a competition for an Auditorium at Villa Borghese (Rome)¹⁴⁸ and also won the second prize for the competition of the E42 Palace of Congresses, largely inspired by the Stockholm Library.¹⁴⁹
(Fig. 95-96)

In the same year, Asplund received the RIBA official memberships, showing both how England had been interested in following the developments of modern architecture in Sweden since 1925, but also how the young Italian generation was sensitive to international guidelines and to new possibilities within a more

¹⁴⁷ Manfredo Tafuri, *Ludovico Quaroni e lo sviluppo dell'architettura moderna in Italia* (Milan: Edizioni di Comunità, 1963), 40-41 (Translation by the author).

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 41-43.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 60-63.

conservative frame, in opposition to the *tabula rasa* of the Modern Movement as proposed by the CIAM members.¹⁵⁰

At the same time, Muratori, Quaroni and Fariello did not succeed in interpreting the problematic and complex aspects of Asplund's design, re-proposing some of his typological choices in excessively monumental forms, in contradiction to Nordic masters' 'irony', as shown in Tengbom's free syncretism of classicism, baroque and peasants elements.

An example was the 1939 proposal by Saverio Muratori for the City Prison of Rome, thus it openly quoted Asplund's Library, its repetition and monumental dimensions ended up representing the oppression of the individual, rather than a timeless monumentality.¹⁵¹ (Fig. 97-98)

From a critical point of view however, Saverio Muratori's words on the characters of Swedish Architectural Movement –published in February 1938 in *Architettura*– constituted the first in-depth analysis of the topic in Italy.¹⁵²

Already in 1938 –a decade before Zevi's publication on Asplund– he caught the substantial difference between the Swedish socio-economical situation and the rest of Europe, first of all for their neutrality during the First World War.¹⁵³

While the Modern Movement arrived in different parts of the continent after the war and in a period of exhaustion of the academic tradition, in Scandinavia this new classical movement had already been renovating, during the first two decades of the century, their national Architecture.

After this first consideration, Muratori showed his comprehensive knowledge of Swedish Architecture, delineating the characters of three different generations: the first, represented by Clason, defined as an 'eclectic' period, based on a technical renovation; the second, signed by Ragnar Östberg's work, against the academy and based on a profound revision of taste and on the revival of Middle Age and peasant traditions. The third period –introduced by the Danish research on the classical models made by Kampmann, Jacobsen and Rafn and their Copenhagen Police's headquarter– eventually influenced the 'Romantic' Swedish school expressed by Östberg.

¹⁵⁰ In July 1938, it was Francesco Fariello to publish in *Architettura* 1938 a long article on the new developments outside Stockholm. In that same year, in Stockholm was also located the last IFHTP Congress.

¹⁵¹ Giancarlo Cataldi, *Saverio Muratori architetto (Modena 1910-Roma 1973): il pensiero e l'opera* (Florence: Alinea, 1991), 30.

¹⁵² Saverio Muratori, "Il movimento architettonico moderno in Svezia," *Architettura* 2 (February 1938): 95–122.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 95.

*This is a delicate transition moment, which in many aspects draws us to our XV century: architects, who first arrived at a 'style' through the decorative problem, then attracted with new enthusiasm and a sense of renewed youth in the conception of a purer classicism, seem to discover day by day, in their own works, principles of unexpected depth: they find the essential problem of Architecture and for it they abandon the useless superstructures and the superfluous elements one by one. But just like the Italians of the fifteenth century, this Swedish kind is a very personal form of Classicism: as compared to the classical works of the Danish school, these fully reveal the diversity of the two populations.*¹⁵⁴

The section was then closed by Muratori's long comment on Asplund's Library, prefiguring future questions on the 'typologies of Architecture' and the overcoming of functionalist issues:

*It is Asplund's criterion that the search for an abstract and explicit beauty in the plan is essential in the study of the [architectural] organism: in fact beauty does not only correspond to the harmony between all elements of a building, but also to its functional perfection, in an absolute sense, regardless of any particular contingent function: it will give us the best possible functioning for that type of organism.*¹⁵⁵ *To this point arrives the cult for the abstract formal perfection, identified by Asplund as by the classicist, as the only 'true' architecture, to make it useful even from its beauty: exactly the opposite of the functionalist theory that asserted the beauty was born from its utility. Even within a classical scheme, Asplund maintains the power of Romanticism, since close to the architect's mind, there is always his powerful Nordic faculty of imagination, which draws from every starting, provided by the materials, colors, decoration and, above all, the environment, to create around the building, with effective contrasts and wise contrapositions, a warm and vibrant atmosphere full of emotion.*¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁴ On Swedish Classicism and its relationships with the German and Danish movements see: Eva Eriksson, *Mellan tradition och modernitet. Arkitektur och arkitekturdebatt 1900-1930* (Johanneshov: TPB, 2009).

¹⁵⁵ He was not talking about a proper 'Function', announcing his future writings, in the 1960s and 1970s, on the concept of 'Typology'.

¹⁵⁶ Saverio Muratori, "Il movimento architettonico," 104.

Finally, Muratori ended the article with a first impressive reflection on the Swedish Functionalism and the role of the 1930 Stockholm Exhibition:

Functionalism, born from the associating of a technical fact, the application of new materials and processes, and of a psychological fact, the long-needed renewal of architecture, has led to an artistic revolution in Europe.[...] In these [Scandinavian] countries, exactly the opposite of what was true happened in the rest of Europe: the architectural conscience, instead of being subjected to the theoretical principles of functionalism and new technical schemes, dominated them. And while elsewhere it was the new movement to repropose, after the first quick attempts, patterns, and traditional equilibriums, there they shaped new trends.

It is not possible to make a clear distinction in Scandinavian countries between functional school and academic school. First of all, because the battle on principle was lacking; secondly, because those ideals, elsewhere a functionalist prerogative (universality, the logic of the organism, profound vitality, modernity), here the Classic introduced them already selected, organized, intimately fused in a homogeneous and unified stream. [...] Since this coexistence of the classical form and functional form, accepted in full consciousness by architects, responds to the precise intent of satisfying, by different means, diverse needs of our time and of our society.[...]

It was perhaps due to a brilliant insight into the new problems [...], why these architects had been able to avoid the confusion between irreducible systems (we remember the "Novecento" group), and the consequent transposition of the perfect canon of the academic school into new constructive systems, born to express other ideas and other sensations. They thought that these new means did not require solemnity or sublimity of expression, but vivacity, dynamism, a need of freedom and nature, distinctive characteristic to our lifetime, leaving to forms and ancient materials to express what in our soul is embodied with the perennial stability of the principles of our ethical and heroic world. [...]

It is no longer the search for abstract perfection of forms and of the organism, but the free manifestation of inspiration and fantasy. No more symmetry, order, measure, but open contrasts, clearly denounced, the sense of the new, the unreachable, the irrational of life. No more abstract conceptions of real life and natural spectacles, but fusion with the landscape, with the shapes of nature.

And all this has never happened by chance, but with the abandonment of any compositional theory; but with the ever-vigilant control of a balance, to which taste, expressive grace is not sufficient to provide, and which arises from the in-depth consciousness of composition. If we are to look at the realization of the Stockholm Exposition, we must agree that rarely the functional architecture has given us a more complete and more convincing picture than in this work, where style theory had limited the scope of action to the transitional and contingent world, but perhaps that's why it had opened his way to a program of light elegance, ruthless wit, sincerity and freedom of imagination, especially towards a program compatible with the possibilities of the system.¹⁵⁷

The article was thought as the beginning of a series of others,¹⁵⁸ in the pages of *Architettura* on modern Sweden: in July 1938, and then again in October 1942, Francesco Fariello was invited to deepen different aspects of this Nordic state. In 1938, in continuation of Muratori's words, he focused on social housing and he presented the new developments outside the city of Stockholm, showing the projects sent to Fariello by the Town Planning Office of Stockholm. In 1942, *Architettura* finally presented a celebratory number on Erik Gunnar Asplund, two years after his death, followed by the review of the Swedish Institute in Rome by Ivar Tengbom, at that moment newly finished.¹⁵⁹ All articles were based on the materials gathered by Erik Sjöqvist –director of the Swedish Institute at that point in a difficult situation with the Italian authorities– on behalf of the *Architettura*'s editorial staff, as well as on the photographs sent many years before, in 1931, by Asplund's Office to Plinio Marconi.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 110–113.

¹⁵⁸ In this article, Muratori wrote: 'We'll see in a next article, how this improvement in the current production responds to a real technical insight into many of the most serious social housing issues', referring to Fariello's article in July: Francesco Fariello, "Urbanistica. L'espansione della città di Stoccolma verso la periferia," in *Architettura* 8 (July 1938): 436–452.

¹⁵⁹ The article was followed by the first official review of Tengbom's building in Valle Giulia, which, as mentioned above, had not been officially inaugurated in the presence of the Fascist authorities. The complainings of the regime did not prevent the construction from having a great review by Fariello, using photos provided by the same Swedish Institute in Rome in Francesco Fariello, "L'Istituto svedese in Roma."

¹⁶⁰ Erik Gunnar Asplund, Gustav Holmdahl, Hakon Ahlberg and Svenska arkitekters riksförbund, *Gunnar Asplund arkitekt: 1885-1940. Ritningar, skisser och fotografier* (Stockholm : Tidskriften Byggmästaren, 1943).

As mentioned in the previous paragraph, Fariello's materials on Sweden became the base of the first Italian book on Erik Gunnar Asplund, written by the architectural critic Bruno Zevi in 1948 for the series *Il balcone*.¹⁶¹

However, if Fariello's help was included in the draft version of the book, far more hidden were the references to Muratori's words on the Swedish Movement in 1938.

Truly, although Zevi was determinately standing in the forefront of the 'Moderns' and he categorically rejected Muratori's conservative positions, as well as any possible implication with Fascist authorities, they shared the analysis of the characters of Modern Sweden and the idea of its substantial extraneousness from the social, economic and political turmoils, which had shaken other European countries. They both denied any relationship between the Swedish classicism and the group 'Novecento'; but above all, in Zevi's words on the role played by the 1930 Stockholm Exhibition, we cannot fail to see the 'elegance, ruthless wit, sincerity and freedom of imagination' that, already ten years earlier, Muratori had identified as a peculiar feature of Nordic functionalism, as a new possibility for modern architecture:

*We have said that Asplund revealed to the world the secret of his inspiration or, rather, the character of his imagination: that he was free, alert to many formal suggestions, trying to accord the seriousness of the architect's mission with the happy psychology of mankind. Architecture was not a mere mechanism, it was not a rigorous application of figurative «-isms», but it was differentiated life, articulated, enriched by a fully free inventive capacity; they could be functionalistic and joyful, they could stick to modern culture and yet they could maintain their "sense of humor", it was possible to meet all the social, economic and technical needs without forgetting the psychological and human instance. It was in fact a revolution. Since then, the movement of liberation from the first functionalism has been pointed out in Europe, which will later be emphasized in Aalto's "human architecture" and in the movement of organic architecture.*¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ See par. 4.1.3.

¹⁶² Bruno Zevi, *E. Gunnar Asplund* (Milan: Il Balcone, 1948), 27–28.

Zevi was no stranger to the Nordic world, especially since his 1945 pamphlet *Towards an Organic Architecture*,¹⁶³ in which he had indicated the 1930 Exhibition by Asplund, the work of the Swedish Sven Markelius and the Finnish Alvar Aalto, as the European responses to the Modern Movement's cold rationality, in favor of a more 'human' architecture, or –as he called it– 'organic', the same word used by Muratori to describe Asplund's plans.¹⁶⁴

In conclusion of the analysis of the interwar period in Rome, we must re-evaluate how the fascist decades had provided an essential impetus to the exponential growth in the circulation of foreign ideas, although within a precise idea of the Fascist propaganda abroad.

The ambiguity of reciprocal interests – of the Swedish Institute with the Italian Fascist authorities and vice-versa– would be, in the 1950s, the basis of the vivid interchanges between Italian and Nordic design and architecture.

Moreover, if the progressive positions expressed by the group *Casabella* from Milan were strictly connected with the debate inside the CIAM Congresses, the more conservative positions of the *Architettura*'s young group had also expressed the need for renewal, even within the classical tradition.

In this sense, we can finally state how the 1948 book by Zevi on Erik Gunnar Asplund can represent a combination (we do not know how conscious) of both this opposite positions, explaining some of the roots of the Post-war Italian reconstruction debate.

¹⁶³ Bruno Zevi, *Verso un'architettura organica: saggio sullo sviluppo del pensiero architettonico negli ultimi cinquant'anni* (Turin: Einaudi, 1945). The pamphlet would be expanded later on into his *History of Modern Architecture*, first published in 1950.

¹⁶⁴ See the First chapter for the relationships between Bruno Zevi and the Nordic countries.



Fig.66 – Architect E. G. Asplund, Maja Sjöstrom, Anna, Nini Kohnberger, at Frascati, Villa Aldobrandini (March 7, 1926).

Source: Photographs n.31-32, Stadarkivet, Stockholm, Maja Sjöstrom samling, Box 'B:2. Fotografier'.

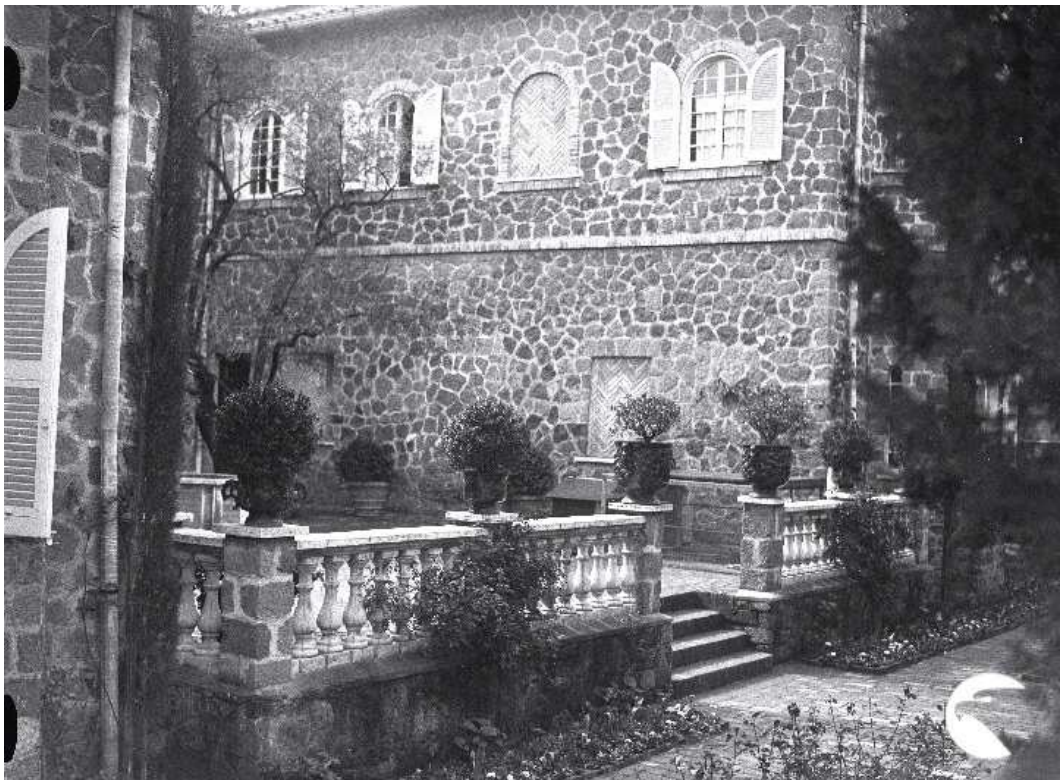


Fig.67-68 – Villa Svezia, home of Queen Victoria in Rome.
Source: Istituto Luce srl, Archivio Storico, Roma, 'Reparto attualità' papers, ID. A00019673 and ID. A00019674.





Fig.69-70 – Casa Caprile (previous page), home of Queen Victoria and Villa San Michele (above), by Axel Munthe, both in Capri.

Source: Josef Oliv, *San Michele di Axel Munthe. Una guida per i visitatori* (Malmö: Allhems Förlag 1954), 13; 38.

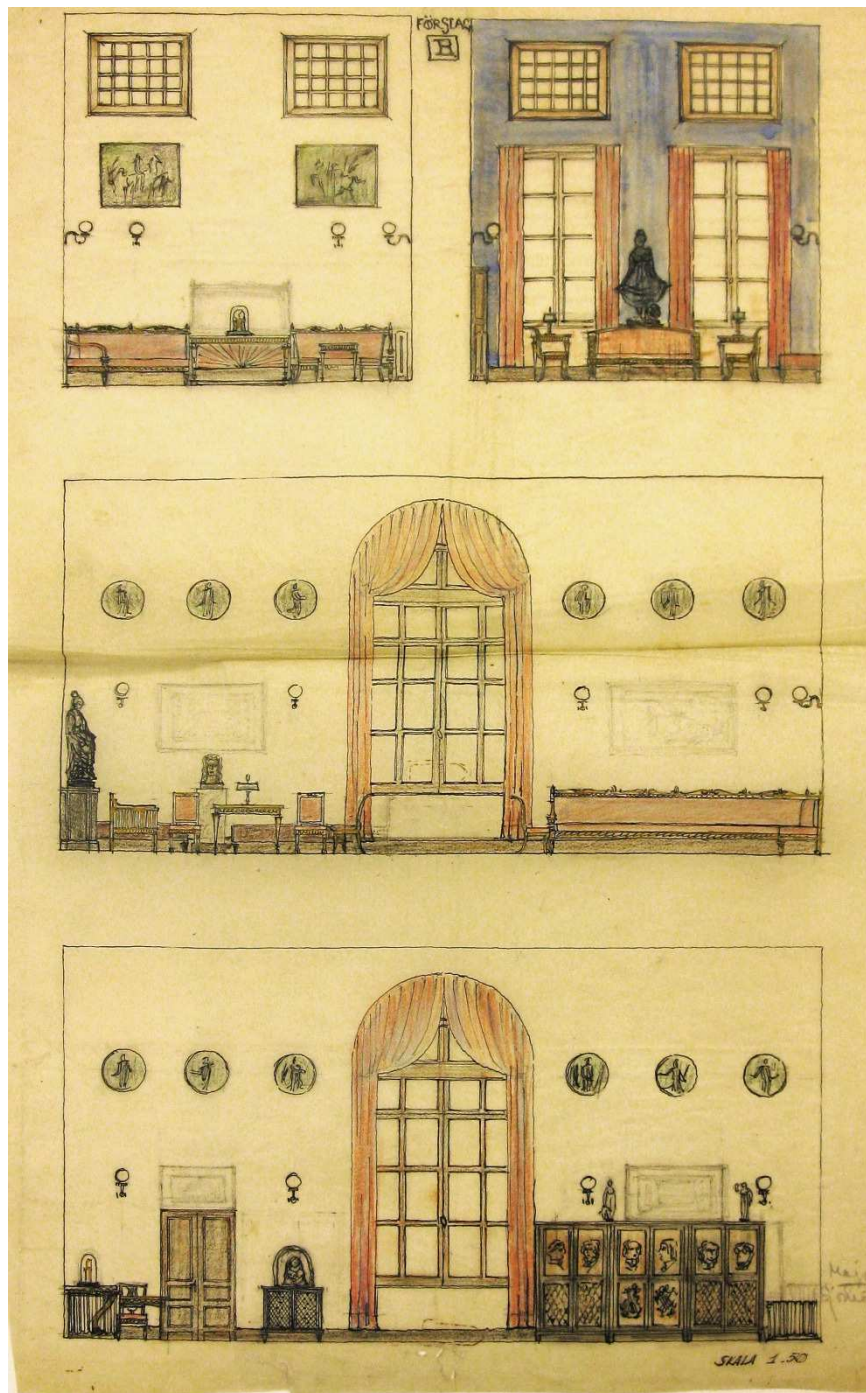


Fig.71 – Interior of the *Scandinaviska Föreningen* in Rome by Maja Sjöström, 1927.
Source: Stadarkivet, Stockholm, Maja Sjöström papers.

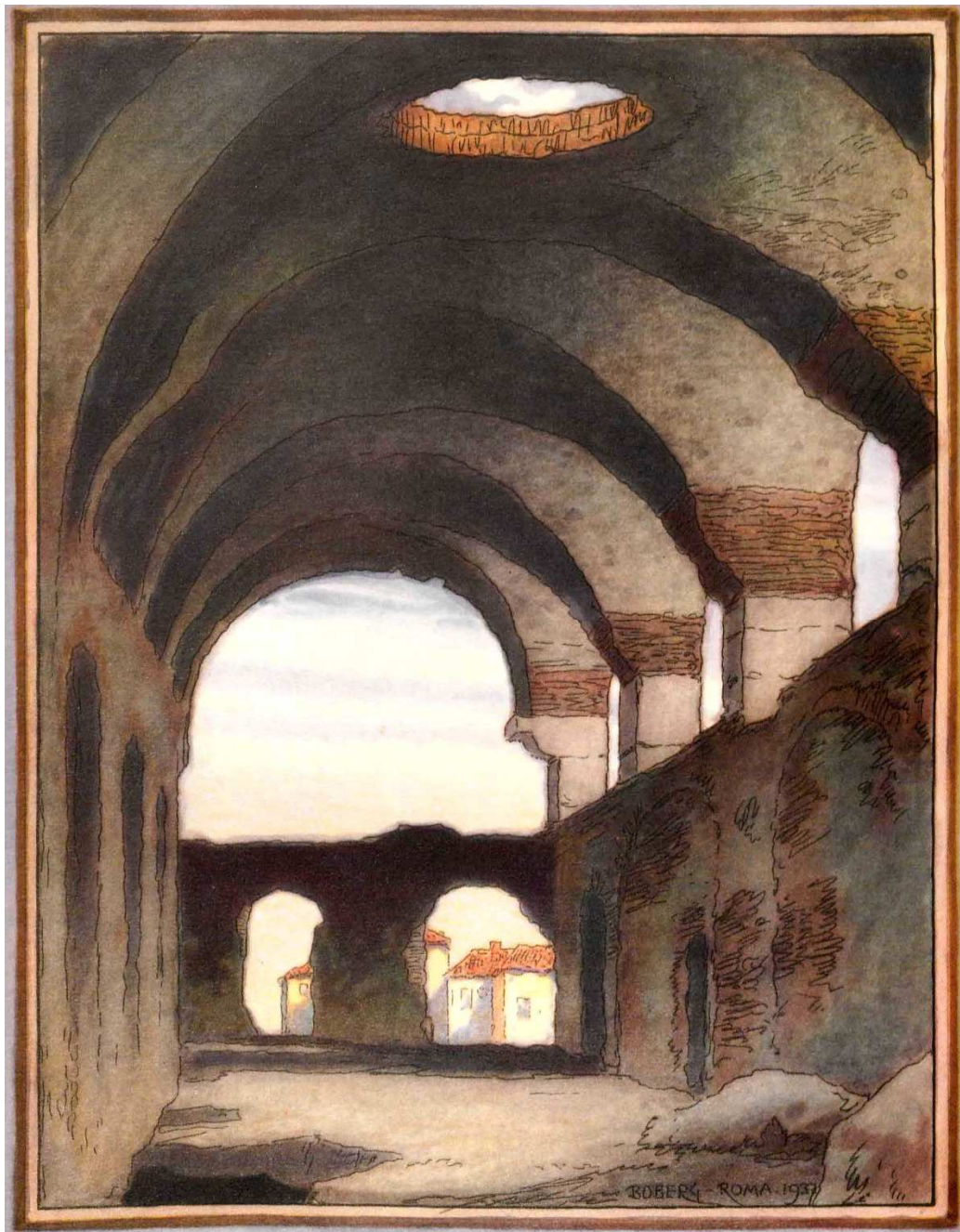


Fig.72 – 'Traianum Markets in 1927' by Ferdinand Boberg.
Source: Ferdinand Boberg and Axel Boëthius, *Italienska studier* (Stockholm: Nordick Rotogravyr, 1937), 27.



Fig.73 – ‘Septimius Severus’ Arch’ by Ferdinand Boberg, 1928.
Source: Ferdinand Boberg and Axel Boëthius, *Italienska studier* (Stockholm: Nordick Rotogravyr, 1937), 47.



Fig.75 – 'Palermo cathedral' by Ferdinand Boberg.
Source: Ferdinand Boberg and Axel Boëthius, *Italienska studier* (Stockholm: Nordick Rotogravyr, 1937), 97.



Fig.74 – 'Ponte dei Sospiri, Venice' by Ferdinand Boberg.
Source: Ferdinand Boberg and Axel Boëthius, *Italienska studier* (Stockholm: Nordick Rotogravyr, 1937), 125.

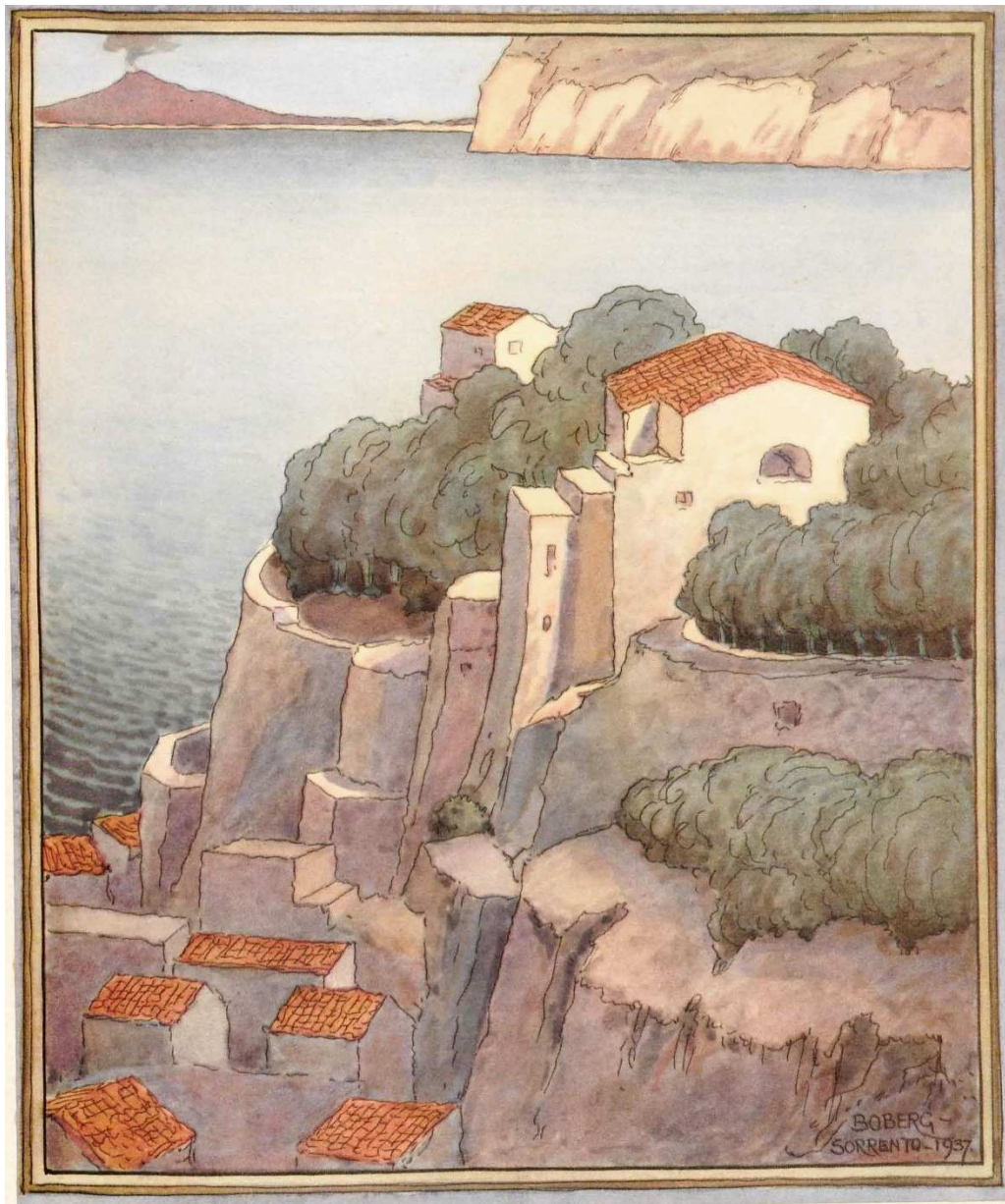


Fig.76 – 'Sorrento with Vesuvius in the back' by Ferdinand Boberg, 1937.
Source: Ferdinand Boberg and Axel Boëthius, *Italienska studier* (Stockholm: Nordick Rotogravyr, 1937), 109.

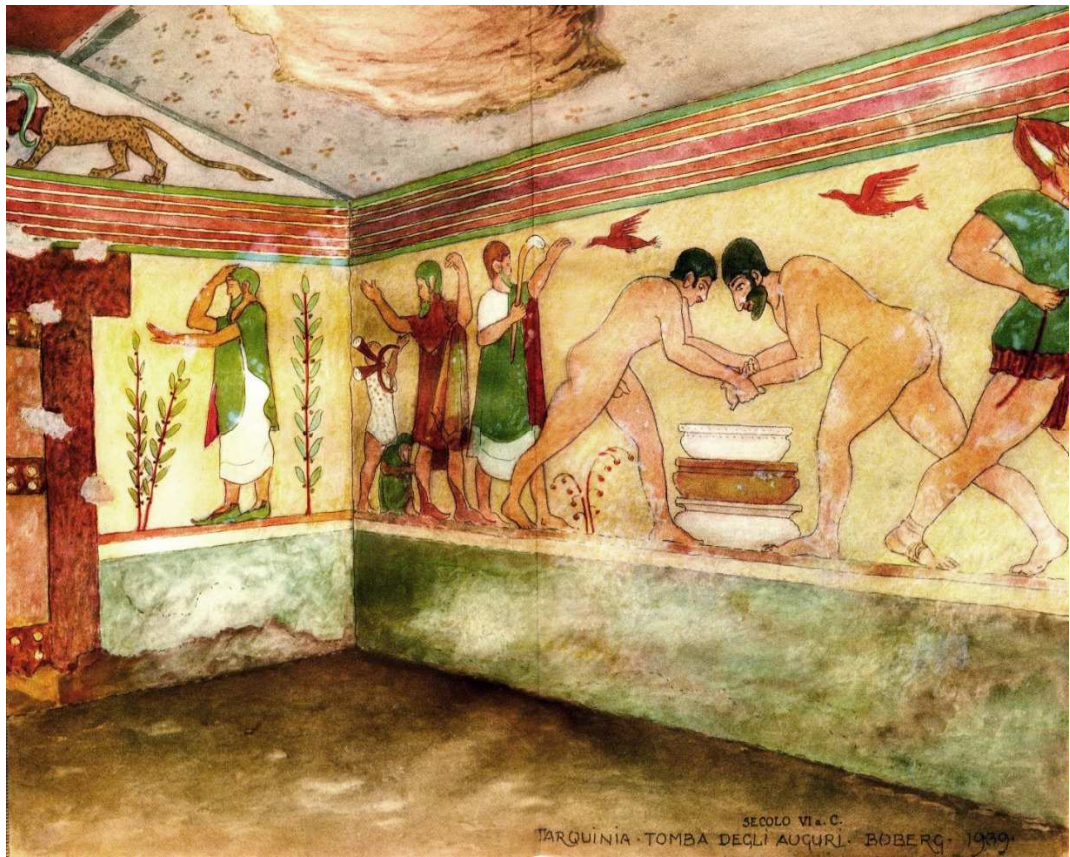


Fig.77 – ‘Secolo VI a.C. Tarquinia – Tomba degli Auguri’ by Ferdinand Boberg, 1939.

Source: illustration included in Martin Nilsson, “Svenska Institutet i Rom,” in *Sverige-Italien: tidskrift* (1945): 7-22.



Fig.78-79 – Pamphlet on ‘Littoria e l’Agro Pontino’.
 Source: Box AM1984-11, Ark Des, Stockholm, Ivar Tengbom papers.

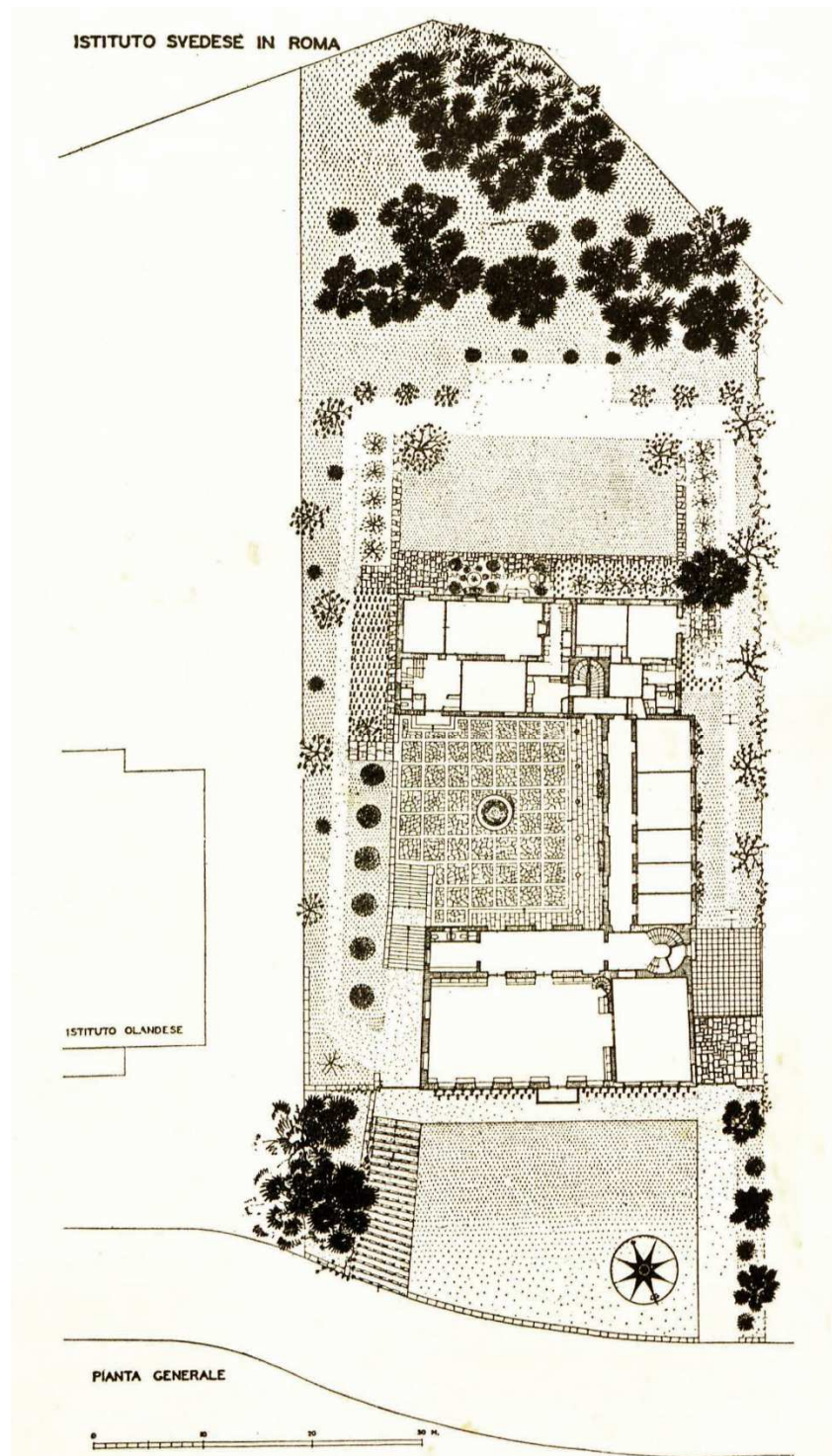


Fig.80 – The Swedish Institute in Rome, general plan by Ivar Tengbom, 1938.
Source: Martin Nilsson, "Svenska Institutet i Rom," in *Sverige-Italien: tidskrift* (1945), 18.

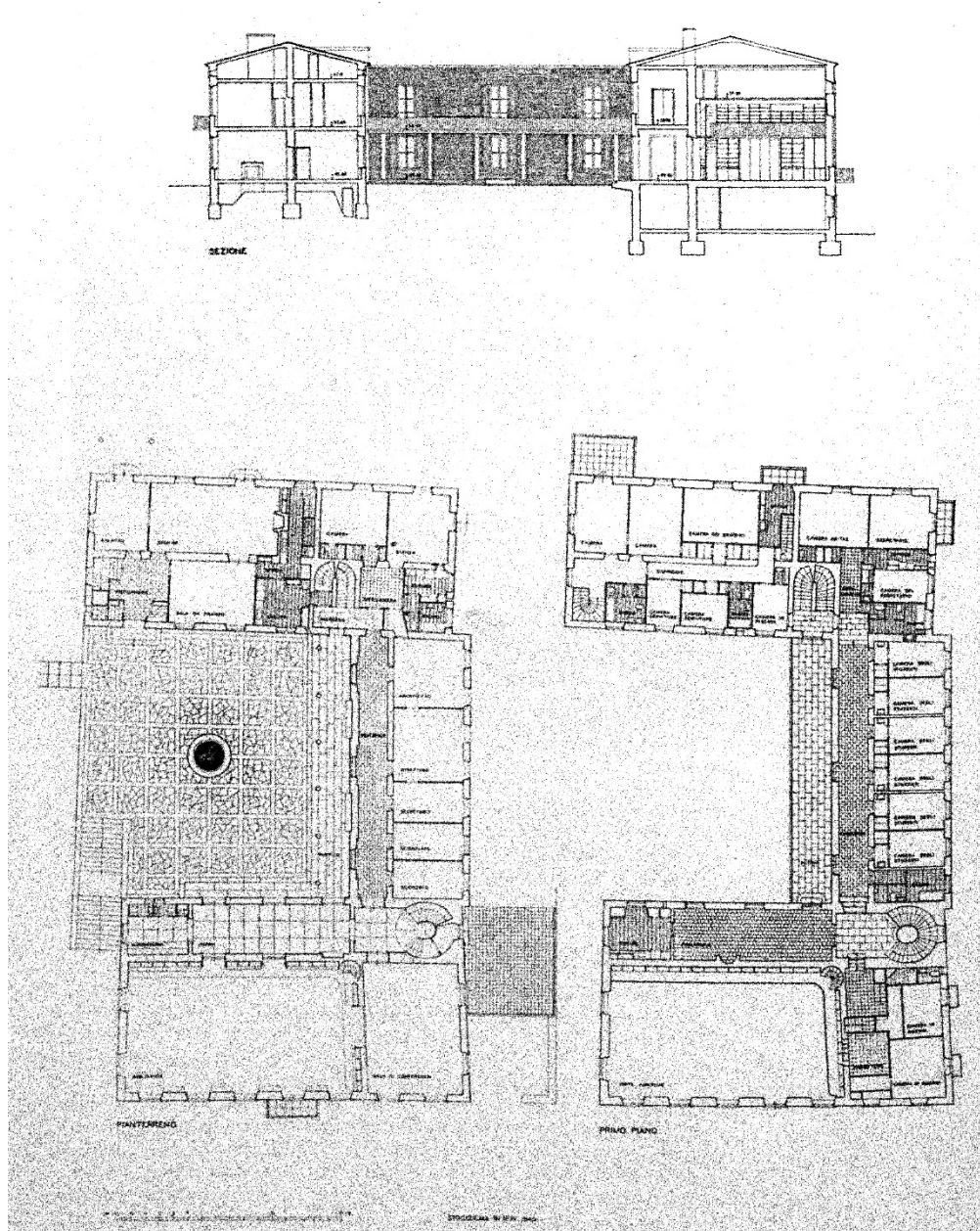


Fig.81 – The Swedish Institute in Rome: ground and first floor by Ivar Tengbom, 1938.
 Source: Ivar Tengbom, *Svenska Institutet i Rom* (Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Rom, 1941), 4.



Fig.82 – The Swedish Institute seen from the opposite hill.
Source: Ark Des, Stockholm. Photo by S. A. Vigano, ID. ARKM.1984-102-1306.



Fig.83-84 – Swedish Institute: front on Via Omero (*above*) and back (*below*) facades.
Source: Ark Des, Stockholm. Photo by Vasari (Rome), ID. ARKM.1984-102-1330 (*above*) and ID. ARKM.1984-102-1322 (*below*).



Fig.85-86 – Swedish Institute: West facade (*above*) and East court (*below*).
Source: Ark Des, Stockholm. Photo by Vasari (Rome), ID. ARKM.1984-102-1320 (*above*) and ID. ARKM.1984-102-1324 (*below*).



Fig.87-88 – Swedish Institute: the staircase to the inner court, closed on the forth side by a series of aligned trees (*above*) and the court with a colonnade, opposite to the trees (*below*).
Source: Ark Des, Stockholm. Photo by Vasari (Rome), ID. ARKM.1984-102-1323 (*above*) and ID. ARKM.1984-102-1325 (*below*).



Fig.89-90 – Swedish Institute: the library (*above*) and the main corridor towards the inner court (*below*).
Source: Ark Des, Stockholm. Photo by Vasari (Rome), ID. ARKM.1984-102-1344 (*above*) and ID. ARKM.1984-102-1348 (*below*).



Fig.91-92 – Swedish Institute: the kitchen (*above*) and the common room –the Parlatorio– at the first floor overlooking the courtyard (*below*).
Source: Ark Des, Stockholm. Photo by Vasari (Rome), ID. ARKM.1984-102-1339 (*above*) and ID. ARKM.1984-102-1338 (*below*).

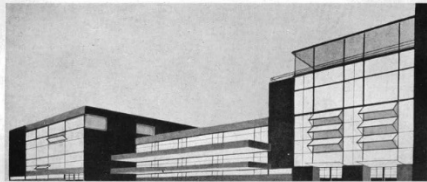


Fig.93 – Swedish Institute: student's room (*above*).

Source: Ark Des, Stockholm. Photo by Vasari (Rome), ID. ARKM.1984-102-1349 (*above*)

sto, il quale in ultima analisi si traduce in mancanza di equilibrio, se guardiamo le cose da un punto di vista tradizionale, anzi ostenta questo capovolgimento delle leggi statiche ed antiche sovrapposendo, ad esempio, a grandi finestrate altissimi muri chiusi, sfinestrandone enormemente agli angoli la costruzione, dove per il passato si voleva richiedere maggiore apparenza di forza.

L'altro aspetto dell'architettura internazionale si riflette specialmente nelle piccole costruzioni, nelle mo-



M. J. Ginsburg

Milano. Fabbrica statale

Da Ludvig Heltenskiar

deste case di affitto, nelle case in serie, nei villini. Per gli internazionalisti, anche questa architettura minore deve essere l'espressione d'un ideale avventuroso, poiché la civiltà moderna tende oggi verso mete industriali, che mutano tanto profondamente la fisionomia di esse da fare apparire come un controsenso il concipirle con forme ispirate al passato. È sorto così tutto un nuovo formulario estetico, che trae ispirazione dalle forme della nuova dinamica, riguardata come l'esponente più caratteristico e fondamentale della società avvenire. Gli internazionalisti così ragionano: i pionieri, le automobili, gli aeroplani, nulla hanno di comune col passato, e pure sono belli, di una bellezza che nasce soltanto dalla loro conformazione spontanea, dettata dalla natura stessa dell'oggetto, considerato come un utensile in cui tutto ha un suo valore, nulla è sovrabbondante né inutile. Rendere oggetto, utensile anche la piccola casa, la villa, tale è lo sforzo

degli internazionalisti; per essi è migliore fonte di ispirazione l'eroismo che il Pantheon o il Partenone. Ispirarsi a questi mezzi dinamici, ecco ciò che l'avvenire addita, poiché in essi si trova la conferma più bella che oggi ogni stilismo è assurdo, e una nota sola trionferà nel mondo, alta, nobile, comune, sorta spontanea dalla scienza del costruire col minimo mezzo le più ardite forme.

Da questo punto di vista il Le Corbusier esalta lo stato d'animo avvenire della società, in cui tutto contribuirà

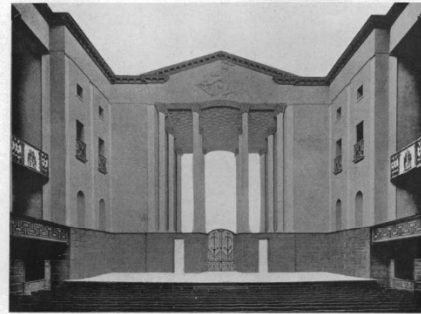
all'attuazione logica e completa del razionalismo architettonico, onde la casa potrà ridursi ad utensile tal quale l'automobile, bella della bellezza degli utensili di lavoro. Da questo punto di vista pare il Ruskin per scrivere: «È prossima l'ora in cui trionferà una nuova architettura internazionalizzata e con poche variazioni da un paese all'altro, della quale l'unità sarà offerta dalla matematica e dall'intelligenza.»

In conclusione, questa corrente d'architettura internazionale va al di là della vita odierna; essa fissa gli sguardi nel futuro e in esso si esalta, mentre vuol teoricamente trasformare la fantasia creatrice in una artificiosa creatività cerebrale, in cui al sentimento si opponga l'ingenuità del cervello scientificamente organizzato che sa assolvere i bisogni imposti adeguandoli perfettamente ai mezzi tecnici, e sol per questo è capace di creare opere d'arte. Queste teorie (molte oggi ce ne sono in tutto il mondo, poiché caratterica

di questa corrente è il cartello, il programma di scuola) riflettono tutte un parossismo appassionato per il rinnovamento a base scientifica, verso un conguaglio ideale architettura ingegnerica. Ed è strano per tutti noi il contrasto stridente, fra l'arida teoria e il linguaggio esaltato che la esprime. Ma se invece di soffermarsi

konoder e di uno Schelling, o le teorie artistiche di un Hayez e di un Ingres; ma se guardiamo alle intime radici di quel movimento ritroveremo in questo gli stessi fondamenti.

Da che cosa derivò infatti quel primo romanticismo? Dal bisogno di rivalutare l'arte con una nuova visione



Jens Tengbom

Il «Concert House» di Stoccolma

Da Andersson Rosen

alle parole, cerchiamo di penetrarne il senso intimo, la strana dissonanza non ci colpirà più, perché sotto l'arida scorza matematica, coglieremo l'anima di questo movimento che è un nuovo romanticismo.

Le teorie di un'arte avvenire a basi matematiche e scientifiche, d'una architettura lontana trasferita in un futuro a volte paradossale e fantastico, gli stessi grafici di questa scuola che si proclama razionalista ad oltranza, che disprezza i sentimentalismi tradizionalisti come scorre romantiche, sono altrettante facce del romanticismo che ne permeano i più intimi impulsi. Invano cercheremo in questo novello movimento romantico le idee del vecchio romanticismo di un Wac-

estetica, opponendo alla imitazione classica dell'illuminismo la libera creazione. Si voleva allora, come oggi, togliere alla fantasia ogni ceppo del passato, trasferendola nel futuro. Allora ci si rifaceva al culto del bello colla libera creazione, che idealizza la natura per mezzo della fantasia creatrice del genio; oggi invece si vuol trovare una forma novella d'arte che sorgegghi come creazione spontanea dall'oggetto idealizzato in un lontano avvenire. Alla parola «fantasia creatrice» si è sostituita l'altra «cervello matematico», ma il fondo è rimasto lo stesso: la ricerca folle dello spirito, che tenta d'infrangere i ceppi d'una disciplina millenaria per rifarsi vergine dalle radici, ri-

Fig.94 – Page of *Rassegna di Architettura* by Giuseppe Samonà, comparing the Russian Ginsburg and Tengbom's Concert House in Stockholm
 Source: Giuseppe Samonà, "Tradizionalismo ed Internazionalismo architettonico," in *Rassegna di Architettura* I, 12 (1929), 462-463.

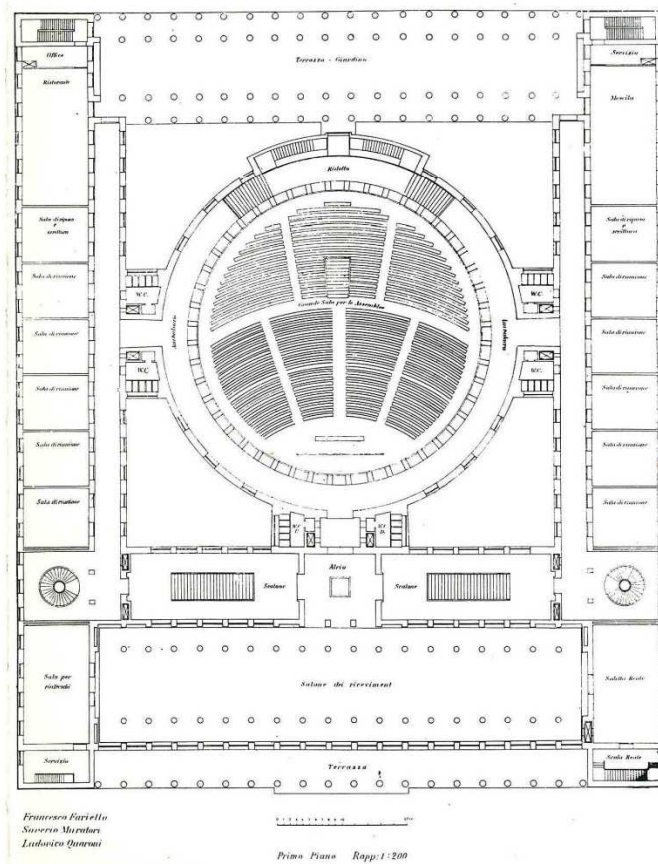
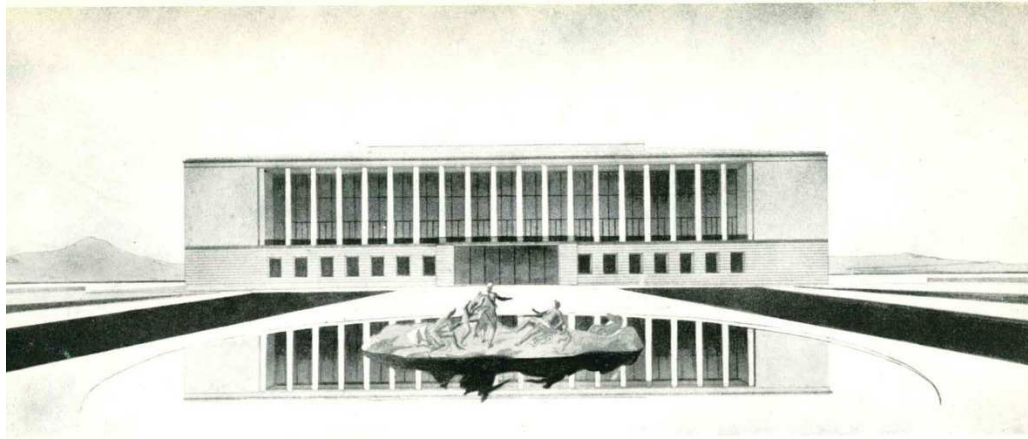


Fig.95-96 – Project for the Palazzo dei Ricevimenti competition (1st degree) at the E42 by Saverio Muratori, Francesco Fariello and Ludovico Quaroni (1938).
 Source: Manfredo Tafuri, *Ludovico Quaroni e lo sviluppo dell'architettura moderna in Italia* (Milan: Edizioni di Comunità, 1963), 60.

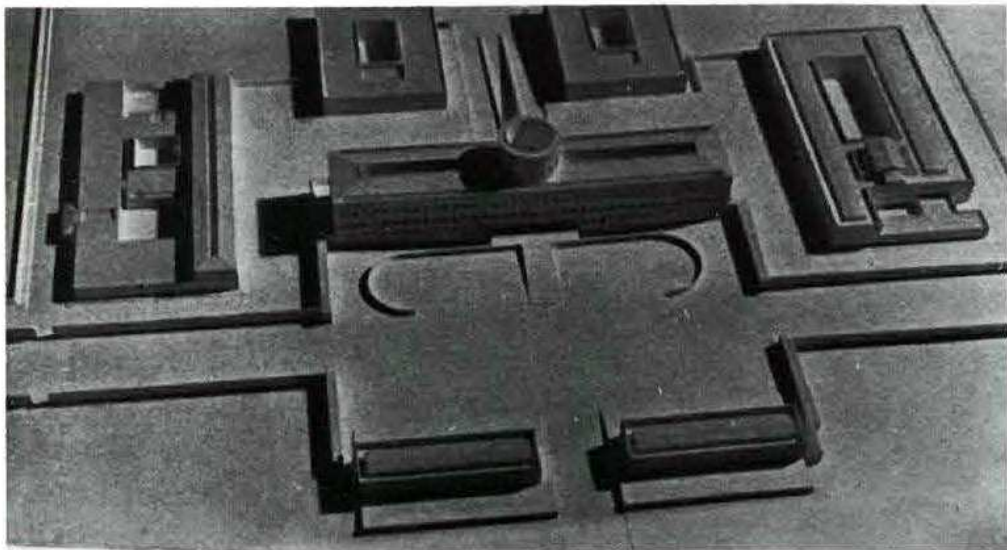
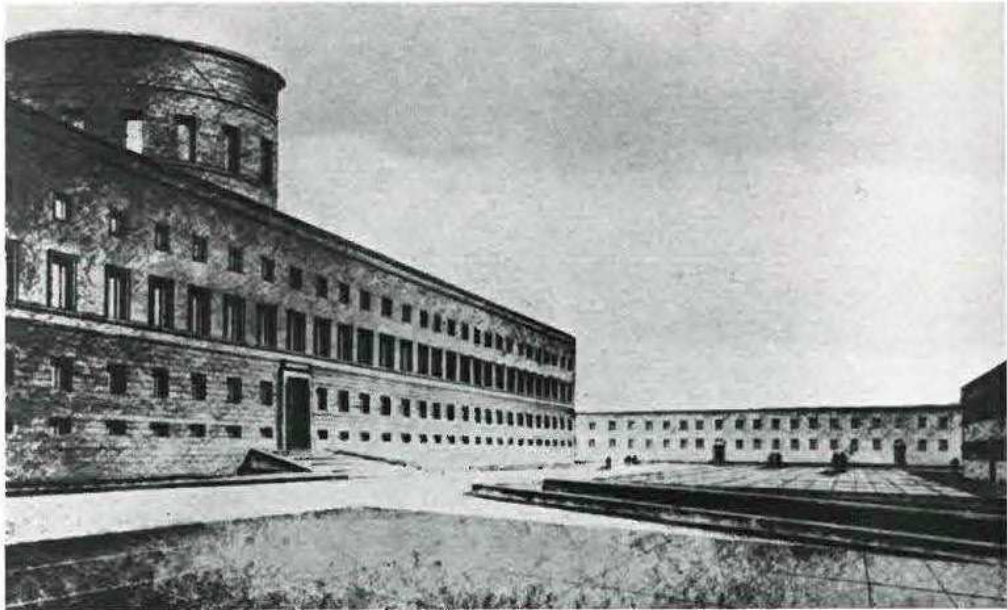


Fig.97-98 – Competition entry for the main office buildings in the Penitentiary area by Saverio Muratori (Rome 1939).

Source: Giancarlo Cataldi, *Saverio Muratori architetto (Modena 1910-Roma 1973): il pensiero e l'opera* (Florence: Alinea, 1991), 30.

PART V (1945-1953)

Swedish experiences for Post-war Italy. The role of Institutions and study trips.

The interwar decades had left behind a heavy baggage, for both Italy and Sweden: the first due to its fascist dictatorship, for the latter due to its unpopular choice of remain neutral, which –as it happened during the First World War– permitted Sweden’s large stocks of iron to supply both Allies and Nazi’s governments.

However, as it emerged from the previous chapter, the 1920s and 1930s had been quite crucial in building the first stable Institutions dedicated to improving mutual relationships, from an economical but also a cultural point of view.

The so-called ‘Nordic classicism’ in particular, had raised the attention of the group ‘Novecento’ as well as the most more conservative side, headed by Marcello Piacentini and Plinio Marconi.

However, these two groups considered differently their relationship with the past: for Swedish architects in fact, this new classical interpretation was a way to ‘speak’ again an internationally comprehensible language (after the national-romantic season),¹ while, for many Italian architects, it was a ‘nostalgic’ reaction against foreign influences.

And if, in the Post-war period, Swedish Architecture became synonymous of social-democracy and self-independence, it has been mentioned how, in the 1930s in Rome, they often collaborated with the Fascist authorities.

Though conceived as propaganda, the Institutes of Culture –like the one founded in Rome by the Swedes in 1925 and the Italian born in Stockholm in 1941– had an effect also on Architecture: as shown by the notes of the Italian articles, the Institutes actively helped the circulation of information and they also opened up new commercial perspectives.

Moreover, it is important to underline that, although in the 1940s both states spent a lot of energy in convincing the Western world of their extraneousness to previous regimes, many of the fruitful collaborations of this decade were perpetuated thanks to the relations already established in the previous ones.

¹ Henrik O. Andersson, “Il classicismo moderno del Norden,” in *Classicismo nordico*, 7.

For Sweden on the other hand, the choice of neutrality had major diplomatic consequences: already in February 1943, the United States initiated an internal investigation into Sweden's political choices during the conflict.²

At the center of the international suspicion were the military decisions occurred after the official Swedish declaration of neutrality (on 1 September 1939), as the permission to Germany (given already in 1940), to transport raw materials and its armed forces on Swedish railroads, directed to and from Norway (also a neutral country).³

As the diplomat Erik Boheman (1896-1979) reported in his memoirs when he was visiting the United States in fall 1942, Sweden's reputation in that part of the world was quite low. This fact had made Boheman's intensive work as a negotiator with America's leading politicians and administrators (including President Roosevelt) rather difficult and, almost impossible, was becoming his task to import lacking supplies in Sweden, like gasoline and oil, due to blockades and other restrictions from the fighting powers.⁴

After the victory of the Allied troops, in a world at the threshold of the Cold War and dominated by overseas diplomacy, Sweden did not clearly stand with neither United States or the Soviet Union and declared its neutrality in the international assets.

However, its main economic interest was to access the American-funded Marshall Plan in order to guarantee exports and imports in the Nordic country. As a natural consequence, Swedish neutrality was largely adapted on the US wishes⁵ and an important part of this plan had to be played by a new and apparently independent institution, founded in 1944, which aimed to advertise Swedish work in the various fields of knowledge, from Economics to Politics, but also Design, Engineer, Architecture and Planning practice: the *Swedish Institute for cultural relations with foreign countries* (SI – Swedish Institute).

² Per-Axel Hildeman, *Upplysningsvis Svenska Institutet 1945-1995* (Värnamo: Swedish Institute, 1995), 8.

³ Norway was finally invaded by the Nazi in Spring 1940. John M. West, "The German-Swedish Transit Agreement of 1940," *Scandinavian Studies* 50, 1 (1978), 76. The fact is also included in Christian Leits, "Sweden: the committed neutral," in *Nazi German and Neutral Europe* (Manchester: Manchester University press, 2001): 49–84.

⁴ Per-Axel Hildeman, *Upplysningsvis*, 8.

⁵ The political and economic issues concerned with Swedish neutrality in the first years of the Cold War are included in Birgit Karlsson, "Neutrality and economy, 1946-52," *Journal of Peace research* 32, 1 (1995): 37–48.

The Swedish newspaper *Dagens Nyheter*, in January 1945, referred Boheman's introductory statement:

*'A country in a neutral position cannot be particularly popular on one side or the other. Therefore, it is important to make the voice of our spirits heard outside our boundaries, to create a Swedish exports Association in the spiritual and cultural area, an organization which, to a certain extent, would also be intended for imports in this area. The creation of a new government institution as the center for information work has been considered less suitable for many reasons, said Mr Boheman. In the United States parliament resided the idea of creating a body which is rooted in Swedish cultural life and it is supported by business associations and people's movements. The intention is not to create a monopoly, but a coordinating and helping organization is needed, which avoids duplications'.*⁶

Boheman's statement was the result of his solid workgroup, who had negotiated with the American government, who was made by Alfred Öste (*Svenska Dagbladet's* foreign editor) and Gunnar Myrdal with his wife Alva, a Swedish social engineer, emigrated in the United States in the 1930s, whose crucial role in this Social-democracy of the 1930s had been rediscovered only in recent years.⁷

Therefore, this chapter focuses on the crucial role of Institutions such as the *Swedish Institute* and the *Milan Triennale*, who also cooperated together in several occasion.

The first paragraph analyzes the characters and the direct consequences of the Swedish participation to the 1947 Post-war Triennale, which lead to Piero Bottoni's (1903-1973) official invitation in Sweden in 1948.

Moreover, in those same years, the SI started to promote a series of foreign scholarships, dedicated to young architects (like Piero Maria Lugli, Hilda Selem and Giorgio Gentili), with relevant implications on the Italian press as well as on its government guidelines, in which Sweden was becoming more and more present as a reference.

⁶ "Bättre svensk goodwill än efter förra kriget," *Dagens Nyheter*, January 30, 1945, 1.

⁷ Thomas Etzemüller, *Alva and Gunnar Myrdal: social engineering in the Modern World* (London: Lexington Books, 2014); Yvonne Hirdman, "The Happy 30s: a short story of social engineering and gender order in Sweden," in Helena Mattsson, Sven-Olov Wallenstein (eds.), *Swedish modernism: architecture, consumption and the welfare state* (London: Black dog, 2010): 66–71.

A peculiar position was also the one of recurring figures like Francesco Quaroni and Saverio Muratori, who, a little older, had been mentioned for their initial interest (already in the 1930s) towards Asplund's and Tengbom's architecture. On the other hand, the chapter closes in 1953, signed by the inauguration of the 'Italian month' in Stockholm, the opening of the *Nutida Italiensk Konst* exhibition, arranged by Franco Albini (1905-1977) and Franca Helg (1920-1989), which –maybe even for a brief moment– had made particularly popular modern Italian arts and architecture in Sweden.

In this sense, the research also provides a peculiar sight on Italian Neorealism, not only seen as a national interest towards peasant arts, but rather as a complex of 'opposing' emotions, both attracted by the modernity of the northern models, as well as by the possibilities of new traditional interpretations.

As we had seen in the previous chapters, these two tendencies had been the backbone of the architectural renewal in Sweden, explaining –at least from a psychological point of view– the dissemination of extraneous models in Italy.⁸

⁸ A general reference to the importance of the Nordic panorama, is included in most of the writings on Italian Neorealism. However, my statement has a peculiar resonance in Bruno Reichlin and Joseph Branden's words, as expressed in 2001: 'In the end, couldn't the Tiburtino be seen as the encounter of Innocenzo Sabbatini's fanciful "barocchetto" at Garbatella or Aniene and Scandinavian "Neo-Empiricism"?'. Bruno Reichlin and Branden W. Joseph, "Figures of Neorealism in Italian Architecture (Part 1)," *Grey Room* 5 (2001): 78–101. On the topic see also the lecture by Ilaria Pontillo, "New Empiricism in Sweden and Denmark, Neorealism in Italy: relationships and influences in the social housing" (paper presented at the international seminar 'Italy and the Nordic Architects', Rome, Italy, November 14–15, 2013).

5.1 Promoting Sweden Abroad. From the VIII Triennale to the Swedish Institute's working scholarships

Within the responsibility of the Swedish Institute –first directed by the diplomat Tore Tallroth (1912-1992)– there was the propaganda of national productions, through the publication of explanatory pamphlets on every aspects of Swedish society and initiatives; the supervision of international events and exhibitions and also the funding of scholarships for young students from all over the world, in order to learn more about the Swedish ‘modern way of life’.

In order to be funded, companies and organizations would subscribe their membership to the Institute and pay an annual fee. In this way, the members would have been able to appoint half of the council members, while the government was responsible for the remaining part.⁹

In particular, the relationships with Italy were more significant at this first stage, from 1945 to 1960, before the ever-growing funds of the Institute encourage it to foster exchanges with the most distant areas of the planet like South America, China, Turkey, Japan and India.¹⁰

In particular, during the 1950s, scholarships for Italian students funded by the Swedish Institute arrived up to 25, in third position after France (with 38 scholarships) and Great Britain (with 29).¹¹ (Fig.99)

Design and architecture were, on the other hand, subjects at the center of the exporting proposals of the Institute, as suggested by the numerous pamphlets on the topic.¹²

⁹ Per-Axel Hildeman, *Upplysningsvis*, 10.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 24-31.

¹¹ 1960. *45 års upplysningsarbete: Utveckling – förnyelse – resultat*, Swedish Institute Archive, Stockholm.

¹² Gotthard Johansson, Arthur Hald, Per Holm, *Come la svezia cerca di risolvere il suo problema degli alloggi* (Stockholm: Svenska institutet, 1947) also in French (*Comment la Suède cherche à résoudre son problème du logement*); Simon Jensfelt, *Modern Swedish Housing* (Stockholm: Svenska Institutet, 1961); Arthur Hald, *Swedish Design* (Stockholm: Svenska institutet, 1961); Thomas Atmer and Björn Linn, *Contemporary Swedish Architecture* (Stockholm: Svenska Institutet, 1961); Kell Åström, *City Planning in Sweden* (Stockholm: Svenska Institutet, 1967). Moreover, the Swedish Institute revised and promoted a series of other foreign publication, included George E. Kidder Smith's *Sweden Builds* (New York: Reinhold Publishing corporation, 1957), 6.

5.1.1 The Swedish section at the VIII Triennale in Milan (1947)

The first publication by the SI, dedicated to designing and planning practice, was edited in Italy and it was originally titled *Come la Svezia cerca di risolvere il suo problema degli alloggi*¹³ (Fig.100).

But for what occasion was this pamphlet conceived it? It was first published in two languages –Italian and French– in order to illustrate the Swedish section of the VIII *Triennale* of Milan (1947), the first relevant Italian exhibition¹⁴ occurred after the end of the war, and therefore mainly concerned on urgent social issues like the housing shortages and the technical reconstruction.

Likely, the Swedish Institute's political aim in Italy was to dissolve all doubts on any possible kinship with the previous Fascist institutions, which instead had cast some shadows on the Swedish Institute in Rome.

From an economic point of view, the SI had also decided to invest in the participation of the Triennale in order to assert its role in the field of design and industrial production.

As we had previously mentioned, Sweden's longstanding relationship with the Milanese institution originated at least in 1923, but, now, it was no longer the result of an industrial group's solitary interest (like for example Orrefors, Nordiska Kompaniet and Kosta) or of the active involvement of the *Svenska Slöjdföreningen*,¹⁵ but it was instead an organized response of a proper institutional body that –although independent– had the objective of presenting the best national selections and expanding to new possible markets, as it was Italy.

On 31 May 1947, the eighth edition of the Triennale opened in Milan with the direction of Piero Bottoni (1903-1973).

Since 1923, at the beginning of the Fascist decades, he had been an active member of the Communist party and he became particularly involved in Urban planning policies.¹⁶

¹³ 'How Sweden is trying to solve his Housing problem.'

¹⁴ In 1947, the Italian institutions organized also another international encounter, far less important: the International Exhibition of Building Construction in Turin. In this occasion the exhibition was mainly national with more than 500 involved companies, while the foreign representatives were only five: USA, England, France, Swizerland and finally Denmark. Gino Becker, "Mostra Internazionale di edilizia di Torino," *Metron* 13 (1947), 61.

¹⁵ See par.2.3 and 4.1.

¹⁶ After his graduation at the Politecnico di Milano in 1926, from 1929 he was among the Italian delegate at the CIAM Congresses and one of the signers of the 1933 Charte d'Atene. In the same year he was among the promoters of the magazine *Quadrante* (1933-1936), and, after the war, he became a leading member of *Metron* as well as one of the founders of the 'Movimento Studi

The choice to appoint him, at the beginning of 1946, as director of the first Post-war Triennale was particularly eloquent of a new necessary approach: not any more the celebration of regionalisms and valid craftsmanship, but instead the will to cope with the social and economic situation of the country and to solve the questions related to the lowest sections of society.¹⁷

The problems related to Bottoni's ambitious program were well expressed by the architect and collaborator Ernesto Nathan Rogers (1909-1969), in the introduction to the special issue of the magazine *Domus*, entirely dedicated to the exhibition:

*'This is the problem of the reconstruction that emerges for the specific sector "of modern decorative and industrial arts and modern architecture": the home of man. The vastness of the subject itself excludes the possibility of dealing with other interesting topics, which were widely investigated in past exhibitions: referring to them, the catalogue consciously mentions "renunciation". It is a social program in the widest sense.'*¹⁸

The spectacular and playful elements of the past editions had to be driven out by the more urgent issues, starting from the housing shortages: for this reason Bottoni, with a larger group of architects from Milan, managed to realize (instead of the exemplary models built in 1933 inside the garden) the new neighborhood called QT8.¹⁹

The QT8 Plans were also followed by the usual 'Photographic exhibition of modern architecture', in this occasion especially focused on the popular housing

Architettura' (MSA). From 1949 to 1956 he was part of the Committee for the journal *Urbanistica*. In 1945-46 he was a national consultant for the Chamber of Deputies and from 1956 to 1964 he was a councilor in Milan. See Giancarlo Consonni, Lodovico Meneghetti, Graziella Tonon, *Piero Bottoni. Opera completa* (Milan: Fabbri editori, 1990); Graziella Tonon (ed.), *Piero Bottoni. Una nuova antichissima bellezza. Scritti editi e inediti 1927-1973* (Rome/Bari: Laterza, 1995); Renzo Riboldazzi, *Piero Bottoni a Capri: architettura e paesaggio, 1958-1969* (Cremona: Rona, 2003); Giancarlo Consonni, Graziella Tonon, *Piero Bottoni* (Milan: Electa, 2010); See also the series of publications *Quaderni dell'Archivio Bottoni*, promoted by Bottoni's archive institution.

¹⁷ Bottoni's ambitious purpose had been expressed in the introduction of the official catalogue: Piero Bottoni, "Note illustrative," in *T8, Ottava Triennale di Milano, catalogo-guida* (Milan: stamperia grafica Meregalli, 1947): 7-12.

¹⁸ Ernesto Nathan Rogers, "Esperienza dell'ottava Triennale," *Domus* 221 (July 1947), 1-2.

¹⁹ See Piero Bottoni, "QT8: un quartiere modello," *Metron* 11 (1946): 76-80 and *Metron* 26-27 (1948), a special issue dedicated to the QT8.

plan realized during and after the war, in which a peculiar position was given to the Swedish examples, and included in the SI catalogue.²⁰

Among them, relevant were for example, Backström and Reinius 'Star' housing in Gröndal (**Fig.101**), as well as the small and inexpensive prefabricated constructions, realized with the help of the inhabitants between the 1930s and the 1940s. (**Fig.102**)

The T8 also included foreign sections, and the organizers were warmly invited to participate in the spirit of social engagement promoted by Bottoni.

In response, the Swedish display, built in two months between 21 March and 15 May and directed by the architect and designer Bengt Gate (1909-1988),²¹ received the most positive response:

*'The general tone of the foreign sections confirms the point of view of the Italian organizers: homes, popular housing, some exceptions to show the skill of their artisans but, essentially, as demand by the difficulties, severe studies designed to support the dramatic demands of the people. [...] The rich, sophisticated Sweden has allowed the architect Gate to represent it, and it is an example of a style also moral. The other objects of this stand, even those who were unique pieces, become the surrounding to the humble theme and look like foods that taste better after the fragrance of bread.'*²²

Engaged in the construction of the politically initiated so-called 'People's Home' (*Folkhemmet*)²³, the Swedish Institute, in collaboration with the SAR (National

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 2. Rogers positively refers to the Swedish models included in the photographic exhibition; Gotthard Johansson, Arthur Hald, Per Holm, *Come la svezia cerca di risolvere il suo problema degli alloggi*, 3–19.

²¹ Piero Bottoni, *Contract between the Ottava Triennale and the Swedish Section represented by Bengt Gate, March 21, 1947*, Svenska Institutet Arkivet, Deposit 2, Box 2, Riksarkivet, Stockholm (**Appendix 'Letters 5.1'**). Gate was nominated the artistic director of the exhibition, with the help of Elof Eriksson (1887-1961), president of the Committee. Agnoldomenico Pica, *Storia della Triennale*, 90–91. On the other hand, Bengt Gate was Simon Gate (1883-1945)'s son, the Orrefors' artist among the most representative, who had exposed in almost every Triennale from 1923. Bengt Gate in 1947 also curated the International Town Planning and Housing Exhibition in Paris and, as a member in the SAR Information committee, he influenced the content and form of both the Triennale exhibition and later ones.

²² Ernesto Nathan Rogers, "Esperienza dell'ottava Triennale," 4.

²³ The social-democratic concept had played a huge part in Swedish architecture between the 1930s and the 1950s. Its propagandistic role had been discussed in Helena Mattsson, Sven-Olov

Association of Swedish Architects) were actively involved in the reconstruction programs.²⁴

The pavilion was applauded by the jury, with a series of medals, like to the Sundvall Company for 'large windows and wall coverings'; to Bengt Gate; to Orrefors with elements designed by Simon Gate, Edward Hald, Nils Lindberg, Sven Palmqvist, Edwin Ohrström; to Bruno Mathsson, for his chaise-long made with curved wood (Karl Mathsson factory, **Fig.105**), but especially –as remembered by Rogers– the medal for the standard kitchen by Carl Malmsten, with the model 'Hyresgästernas Sparkasse'.²⁵

The kitchen had a low shelf running along both walls of the room, with a closed part to collect the most frequently used items, a simple sink and the work plane both made of stainless steel. Few elements completed the kitchen furniture: a dining table, a refrigerator and a 'vegetable closet', taking the shape of the collective house by Sven Markelius.²⁶ (**Fig.103-104**)

Many of the elements could be individually combined in different ways, and they could also be easily assembled and dismantled, not very far from the modern *Ikea* system, making it particularly suitable for standardization and different uses. (**Fig.106**)

But the Milan exhibition was not only chance to show these Nordic examples to a foreign audience, but also an interesting possibility, for Swedish workers, to visit the QT8 neighborhood in 1947, as shown by the correspondence²⁷ between Bottoni and the Swedish Institute's Italian representant: the lecturer Ernst Erland Billig (1915-1992), arrived in Florence in December 1946.²⁸

Wallenstein (eds.), *Swedish modernism: architecture, consumption and the welfare state* (London: Black dog, 2010).

²⁴ On the topic see the lecture by Stina Hagelqvist, "Materializing the ideology of Swedishness in VIII Triennale di Milano, 1947" (paper presented at the international seminar 'Italy and the Nordic Architects', Rome, Italy, November 14–15, 2013).

²⁵ Agnoldomenico Pica, *Storia della Triennale*, 90-91; the Swedish pavilion is also illustrated in "Svezia," *Domus* 221 (July 1947): 34–36.

²⁶ Stina Hagelqvist, "Materializing the ideology."

²⁷ Gian Giacomo Galligo, *Letter to the T8 committee, May 15, 1947*, Svenska Institutet Arkivet, Deposit 2, Box 2, Riksarkivet, Stockholm. The occasion arrived since a group of Swedish Union workers were already visiting, from May 20, the village of Sestri Levante, close to Genova. The purpose of the visit was to reach an agreement in order to host almost 1800 Swedish workers in the Italian village (200 each month) for a half year. **Appendix 'Letters 5.2, 5.3'**

²⁸ From the letters between Tore Tallroth and Billig (in Svenska Institutet Arkivet, Deposit 2, Box 1, Riksarkivet, Stockholm) it is evident that Billig had an active role in the organization of the Swedish section at the Milan Triennale.

As recalled by Stina Hagelqvist in 2013, ‘Retrospectively (...) the image the exhibition constructed, I claim, was not a neutral reflection of contemporary Swedish architecture; rather it was a very selective one. The Swedish exhibition provided an image constructed by a cultural elite both within the design field and the architectural one represented for example by Gotthard Johansson, active in the Society of Arts and Crafts, a leading cultural journalist, critic and former co-writer of the functionalist manifesto *Acceptera*, Sven Markelius, Superintendent of Stockholm’s Town Planning department, also he a former co-writer of the manifesto *Acceptera*, and professor Paul Hedqvist and within housing politics represented by Per Holm, economist, expert advisor in the Ministry of Health and Social Affairs and a member of the Housing Investigation. The objects and the buildings showed in the exhibition was also the result of a careful and strict filtering process considering the attitude of SAR to show the best rather than the typical and some of the buildings on show in the Triennale exhibition came to be re-used in later both national and international exhibitions contributing to the image of Swedish post war architecture.’²⁹

5.1.2. Piero Bottoni’s travel to Sweden in June 1948

The favorable opinion raised by the Swedish section of the VIII Triennale had, once the exhibition was already closed, an unexpected result: the informal invitation, exploited by the Swedish Institute in collaboration with the *Svenska Sljöödföreningen*, to finance Piero Bottoni’s short study-trip to Sweden.

The first letter, kept in Bottoni’s Archive, was dated February 1948, few months after the closure of the 1947 Triennale and signed by the same Bengt Gate.

The Swede was trying to fund the travel of his Italian friend, thanks to the help of the Swedish Institute, for a period of at least ten days. The travel however, was included within the Post-war policy of the SAR, which wanted to promote the image of Sweden abroad, thanks to the travels of influent foreign architects.

In that occasion, Bottoni was also invited to have a lecture in Stockholm, at the place of the National Board of Architects.³⁰

²⁹ Stina Hagelqvist, “Materializing the ideology.”

³⁰ Bengt Gate, *Letter of Arch. Ancker, B. Gate, S. Lindgren to Piero Bottoni, February 16, 1948*, Archivio Piero Bottoni, Series A.3.6 Corrispondenza di Piero Bottoni, Dipartimento DATSU, Milan. In the same letter, Gate also informed Bottoni of a probable travel of Leif Rinius in March in Italy. Finally, Gate kindly asked for a copy of *Domus* with the complete review of the VIII Triennale.

The official approval, arrived on March 24, with the invitation coming directly from the Swedish Institute.³¹

The travel, which should have lasted few weeks between June and July, was abruptly interrupted since he urgently ‘had to come back to Italy in order to work for the Triennale’³² and, probably, also to the organization of the VII CIAM in Bergamo in 1949.³³

However, what Bottoni brought home was an interesting baggage, quite different from the Swedish proposals presented at the previous Triennale: in his archive, are today kept a series of photographs and plans of different types of Swedish Architecture, mostly unpublished in our country in that moment.

Many decades later, Bottoni had the chance to resume an old question, which had been raised long before by the architect Giovanni Broglio, visiting the IFHTP Congress in Göteborg: the cheap and popular home with a modular system.,

As shown by Gustav Rosenberg’s images³⁴ of Nörra Ängby, he focused on the ‘epic’ of Swedish social achievements: the suburb was in fact the result of Stockholm’s planning experimentation in the 1930s, based on a simple and rational urbanizations of large areas, adapted on the morphology of the land; cheap materials and the use of self-construction with the involvement of the inhabitants. The final low price of the house was possible thanks to the standardization of the lots, and the set up of few buildings typologies, covered with wood panels and a pitched roof.³⁵ (**Fig.109-111**)

Bottoni’s chosen images pictured these simple constructions: a rectangular foundation made of bricks and a ground floor with a kitchen, general services and two bedrooms. (**Fig.107-108**)

³¹ Gunnar Granberg, *Letter of the Svenska Institutet for kulturellt utbyte med utlandet to Piero Bottoni, March 24, 1948*, Archivio Piero Bottoni, Series A.3.6 Corrispondenza di Piero Bottoni, Dipartimento DATSU, Milan.

³² I. Avenstrup, *Letter of the Svenska Institutet, July, 1948*, Archivio Piero Bottoni, Series A.3.6 Corrispondenza di Piero Bottoni, Dipartimento DATSU, Milan.

³³ On the VII CIAM see: Eric Mumford, *The CIAM discourse on Urbanisme*, 179-200; Paolo Nicoloso, “Il CIAM di Bergamo. Le Corbusier e le “verità” discutibili della Carta d’Atene,” in Marida Talamona (ed.), *L’Italia di Le Corbusier* (Milan: Electa, 2012): 297–312.

³⁴ Rosenberg was one of the most important photographers of architecture in Sweden, and his work it has been usually associated with the *Acceptera* members. A brief mention in include in Antoine Baudin, ed. *Photography, Modern Architecture, and Design: The Alberto Sartoris Collection* (Losanna: EPFL, 2005), 90–91.

³⁵ See par 3.3.

This type of structure however, deeply reflected the traditional Swedish farm, at the center of the architectural debate since Ellen Key's 'Beauty in the Home' (1897-1898) and Ragnar Östberg's 'Ett hem', published in 1913.³⁶

On the other hand, aside from the prophetic questions and the philosophical value of tradition, the Italian designer Piero Bottoni, in search of new solutions for the necessary reconstruction of millions of Italian homes, was certainly attracted by Norra Ängby's model.

In this moment, the same Italian politician Amintore Fanfani (1908-1999) was working at the National 'Piano incremento occupazione operaia' ('Increase employment occupation Plan') equally concerned in the construction of houses for the unsheltered population as well as with the need to find an employment to large part of the country's workforce.³⁷

The Swedish model could therefore be configured as a valuable aid, but at it had the disadvantage to occupy a rather large areas with a low density, an issue at the center of the debate since third CIAM in Bruxelles (1930), when people like Gropius and Bottoni himself had expressed doubts about the possibilities of this model in favor of higher construction.³⁸

Finally, the Italian solution expressed in the INA Casa plan, which followed Fanfani's Plan in 1949, was a necessary compromise among these different systems: the impossibility of building with wooded prefabricated elements (practically unknown in Italy) was combined with the necessity of a higher-density system, although built with the help of scarcely specialized manpower, as it happened in Stockholm throughout the 1930s.³⁹

³⁶ See Barbara Miller Lane, "An introduction to Ellen Key's 'Beauty in the home'", in Kenneth Frampton (ed.), *Modern Swedish design: three founding texts* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2008), 19–31. The introduction is also followed by the reprint of the English version of the original text by Ellen Key.

³⁷ The plan was officially approved on February 28, 1949 (Law n°43). For the political context see also Istituto Luigi Sturzo, *Fanfani e la casa: gli anni Cinquanta e il modello italiano di welfare state. Il piano INA-Casa* (Rubbettino: Soveria Mannelli, 2002).

³⁸ The question is the center of the debate at the III CIAM, dedicated to the analyzes of the neighborhood. See Eric Mumford, *The CIAM discourse on Urbanism*, 49–58.

³⁹ In this sense, the Mario Ridolfi's 'Architect's Manual' was conceived as an important tool in the hands of the designer in order to direct the workers, made in collaboration with Bruno Zevi under the aegis of USIS. The bibliography on the topic is very large. See the essentials: Bruno Zevi, *Zevi su Zevi. Architettura come profezia* (Venice: Marsilio, 1993); Roberto Dulio, *Introduzione a Bruno Zevi*, 42–52.

5.1.3. Swedish Institute's study scholarships

Besides Bottoni's short travel to the North, Swedish Planning practices, propagandized by the SI, influenced Italian Post-war reconstruction through other more significant initiatives.

First of all, thanks to chance to young Italian graduates to spend three or six months in Sweden with a training scholarship, at the Town Planning Office of Göteborg or Stockholm.

In the Post-war period in fact, the possibilities for an Italian to study abroad were mostly limited to this kind of initiatives, since the low value of Italian money, compared to the life of the Nordic country.

As shown in papers collected in the Swedish Institute Archives, the first was given in 1947 and included five Italians. The scholarships were in fact given to different countries in order to study in several fields of both humanities and science.

However, despite the difficulties, it is quite significant that among the first five nominees, we can see the name of a newly graduated student in Architecture and a future protagonist of the Italian debate: Piero Maria Lugli (1923-2008).

Son of the famous roman archaeologist Giuseppe Lugli (1890-1967), he was part of a younger generation (he graduated in 1947) that Manfredo Tafuri described as characterized

'by a notable cultural disorientation, joined, in the best brains, to a rare energy and a remarkable constructive will, convinced they had to start all over again, steeped in the analysis of objective reality (...) and in the search of a new morality, expressing itself in adherence to the concrete problems of society. (...) A tormented class of intellectuals (...) who felt they had to be the protagonist of a liberation process'.⁴⁰

His arrival in the Nordic country was expected on December 4, 1947, before Piero Bottoni and right after the end of the VIII Triennale.

Finally, the paper indicated the amount of the scholarship for the six months period (almost 3000 kvar) and a reference address: the Göteborg Town Planning Office (*Byggnadsnämnden Göteborg*).⁴¹

It is the opinion of the author that Lugli's work in Sweden should be reassessed, not only for the construction of a new approach to his own urban design, but

⁴⁰ Tafuri, Manfredo. *Storia dell'Architettura Italiana, 1944-1985* (Turin: Einaudi, 1982), 17.

⁴¹ *Förteckning över Svenska Institutets stipendiater läsåret 1947/48, manuscript*, Svenska Institutet Arkivet, Deposit 1, Box 'vol. F IV 1', Riksarkivet, Stockholm.

especially for his role in the dissemination of Scandinavian models in Italy through his teachings, his built developments, and his collaboration with national Institutions and magazines.

In particular, we can start from the analysis of the long essay written by Lugli, published in the Roman University magazine *Rassegna critica di Architettura* and dedicated to the explanation of Swedish planning practice.⁴²

Quite interesting were his comments related to his sketches of villages and farms: in the illustrated case (**Fig.112**), he put in strict correlation the traditional constructions with the essentiality of the modern examples, like Sven Markelius' private villa in Kevinge, already published in 1947 in the *Architectural Review*.⁴³ (Stockholm, **Fig.113**)

Few pages ahead, Lugli openly praised the urban structure of the fishermen village of Landalan (Göteborg, 1931), showed with two of his sketches (**Fig.114-115**) and the following statement:

'These ancient examples offer an inexhaustible source of material for the urban designer. The variety of the housing dispositions and of the gardens along the streets: the presence of small kitchen gardens and enclosed courtyards, made them real urban models on the human scale.'

The interest towards the peasant tradition was peculiar of the Swedish approach from the last decades of the nineteenth century, while in Italy a new discovery of humble origins was at the center of the 'Neorealist' debate.⁴⁴

⁴² Piero Maria Lugli, "Aspetti dell'urbanistica svedese," *Rassegna critica di architettura* 5 (January-February 1949): 3–40.

⁴³ "The New Empiricism: Sweden's latest style," *Architectural Review* 101 (June 1947): 199-204. In particular, this essay used for the first time the term 'New Empiricism' in order to describe Markelius' rationality and the close relation with the surrounding landscape.

⁴⁴ On the peasant roots of Neorealism in Italian Architecture and its definition see: Manfredo Tafuri, *Storia dell'Architettura Italiana, 1944-1985* (Turin: Einaudi, 1982): 5–46; Amedeo Belluzzi, Claudia Conforti, *Architettura italiana 1944-1984* (Roma: Laterza 1985); Giorgio Ciucci, Francesco Dal Co, *Architettura italiana del Novecento* (Milano: Electa 1990); Francesco Dal Co (ed.), *Storia dell'architettura italiana. Il secondo Novecento* (Milano: Electa, 1997); Maristella Casciato, "Neorealism in Italian Architecture," in Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Rejean Legault (eds.), *Anxious modernisms: experimentation in Post-war architectural culture* (Montreal/ Cambridge: Canadian Centre for Architecture/Mit Press, 2000): 25–53; Bruno Reichlin and Branden W. Joseph, "Figures of Neorealism," in Italian Architecture (part 1), *Grey Room* 5 (2001): 78–101; Bruno Reichlin, "Figures of Neorealism in Italian Architecture (part 2)," *Grey Room* 6 (2002): 110–133; Michelangelo Sabatino, *Orgoglio della modestia* (Milan:

However, as shown in the previous chapter, this was not a totally new topic in Italy, and it found other important occasions at least since the end of the First World War, including the 1920 Stockholm exhibition directed by Guido Balsamo Stella.⁴⁵

In both occasions, it is interesting to notice how the observation of the rich Nordic peasant tradition helped to unhinge the Italian debate.

Moreover, once he came back in Italy, Piero Maria Lugli had the chance to apply many of these suggestions in his first projects.

Among them, we can remember for example Lugli's participation to two of the most seminal projects of the Italian 'Neorealist' Architecture: the neighborhood 'Tiburtino III' (1949-1954) and the new rural village of 'La Martella' (1951-1954),⁴⁶ both designed in collaboration with the older architect Ludovico Quaroni, mentioned in the previous chapter, for his first attempts to renovate (through Swedish models) the Classical canone in the 1930s in Rome.⁴⁷

In 2001, the Italian architect Bruno Reichlin, reminded the role of Scandinavian models in the general plan of the Tiburtino, especially evident in the struggle for variety of the different elements, in order to obtain an effect of 'affected spontaneity' in the layout of the district, observed by Lugli in Swedish modern neighborhoods.⁴⁸

In the case of La Martella instead, the plan for Landala had been reinterpreted in the rural houses of the village, with services and a long courtyard in the back. (Fig. 117)

In one of the few essays on this (rather unknown) architect, it is stated:

Franco Angeli, (2011): 201–213. In all these essays is also included a comment on the Tiburtino and La Martella representative neighborhoods.

⁴⁵ See par. 2.2.

⁴⁶ "Unità residenziale al km.7 della Via Tiburtina," *Casabella continuità* 215 (April-May 1957): 7–32, a special issue mostly dedicated to the experience at Tiburtino. The magazine also included the essay: Ludovico Quaroni, "Il paese dei barocchi"; See also Carlo Chiarini and Marcello Girelli, "Dal Tiburtino a Matera," *Casabella continuità* 231 (September 1959): 23–28; Luigi Beretta Anguissola (ed.), *I 14 anni del Piano INA-Casa* (Rome: Staderini, 1963), 254–255; Paola Di Biagi (ed.), *La grande ricostruzione. Il piano INA-Casa e l'Italia degli anni Cinquanta* (Rome: Donzelli, 2001); Rinaldo Capomolla, Rosalia Vittorini (eds.), *L'architettura INA Casa (1949-1963) : aspetti e problemi di conservazione e recupero* (Rome: Gangemi, 2003), 68–81.

⁴⁷ See par.

⁴⁸ Bruno Reichlin and Branden W. Joseph, "Figures of Neorealism (part 1)," 85; a direct reference to Lugli's period in Sweden is also included in Carlo Melograni, *Architetture nell'Italia della ricostruzione* (Macerata: Quodlibet, 2015), 74–75.

'Lugli did not visit Sweden and Stockholm according to a vision of the obligatory journey in the formation of the urban planner (which in the 1950s included Matera, Amsterdam and Stockholm), but he drew from a long and fruitful study of two years at the end of the forties (...) a concept in which urban planning was not only functionalist neighborhoods, rigid control of factories, public and private services, urban planning standards and housing, but it was the consequence of a technical, scientific, political and cultural construction'.⁴⁹

Finally, thanks to the drawings kept in the National Archive in Rome, we can have an idea of the type of projects in which Lugli was involved, like the plans for Wästra Frölunda, Göteborg (1948) and for Farsta (Stockholm), unfortunately not realized according to Lugli's design.⁵⁰

In these two cases we can already see the characters of his future Italian INA-Casa plans: the variety of the views, green courtyards, the close relations between housing and the social services (schools, cinemas, shops, social centers etc.) and pedestrian inner streets, in contrast with the carriage roads, mostly kept towards the edges of the district. (Fig.118-121)

Also in 1948, another new cultural association 'Friends of Sweden' was established in Rome and in Milan, where Lugli himself was invited to give a lecture on 'Swedish Architecture and Constructions'.⁵¹

Finally, Lugli's dissemination in Italy had an important role since he entered the INA Casa Commission, where he managed to include many Nordic examples in the small 'handbook' for the general guidelines of the plans: the series *Piano incremento occupazione operaia: Case per lavoratori 2. Suggestimenti, esempi e norme per la progettazione urbanistica*. (Fig.124-126)

The included examples clearly showed the strict correlations between the Italian INA Casa districts and its Swedish and Danish 'relatives'.

Finally, rather important was Lugli's involvement with the Faculty of Architecture in Rome, in which he became a professor in 1964 for Urban

⁴⁹ "Piero Maria Lugli," in Augusta Lupinacci, Maria Letizia Mancuso, and Tiziana Silvani (eds.), *50 anni di professione: 1940-1990* (Rome: Kappa, 1992).

⁵⁰ Archivio Centrale dello Stato, 'Piero Maria Lugli' Paper, Folder 76 'Farsta' and Folder 78 'Stoccolma', Rome.

⁵¹ The conference was given in Rome on February 17, 1952, in occasion of the 'Swedish Week to the Open gate Club. "Associazione Culturale Italo-Svedese 'Amici della Svezia,'" in Fondazione C. M. Lerici (ed.), *Rassegna annuale di scambi culturali italo-svedesi. ITALIA SVEZIA*, anno I (Stockholm: Istituto Italiano, 1955), 104–105.

Planning, probably showing most of this Nordic examples during his academic course.⁵²

In this sense, the exchange between Italy and Sweden at the beginning of the 1950s was mutual: in September 1949 in fact, Lugli and Ferruccio Rossetti, collaborator of the Italian architect Gio Ponti, published a long article on the Swedish magazine *Byggmästaren*, dedicated to 'modern' Italian architecture (with examples of the previous 1930s generation), presenting for the first time in a Swedish magazine the names of Giuseppe Terragni, the BBPR group, Adalberto Libera, Mario Ridolfi, Luigi Cosenza, Piero Bottoni, Luigi Figini, Gino Pollini, Franco Albini and even the engineer Pier Luigi Nervi. **(Fig.122-123)**

The sudden interest for the Italian group was also helped by the opening, between 24 and 30 July 1949, of the VII CIAM in Bergamo which was attended by the Swedes Sven Backström & Leif Reinius, who presented their plan for Rosta-Örebro, which was in return appreciated by the Italian press.⁵³

After Lugli's experience abroad and his Nordic inclusion in the committee of the INA Casa, many other Italian journals like *Comunità* and *Urbanistica* (directed by the industrialist and social reformer Adriano Olivetti), *Metron* and especially *L'Architettura cronache e storia* (directed by Bruno Zevi) specifically started to publish numerous dossiers on Swedish and Danish planning practice.⁵⁴

But the case of Lugli was not isolated: the SI scholarships in fact, continued in the following years, giving the same possibility to other students.

The chosen names became all known in the Italian context, like the architect Hilda Selem (1951-1952), eventually the teacher of interior design in Rome for

⁵² On the Urbanism course in Rome and the role of Piero Maria Lugli see: Federico Malusardi, "L'insegnamento dell'urbanistica nella Facoltà di Architettura di Roma," in Vittorio Franchetti Pardo (ed.), *La Facoltà di Architettura dell'Università di Roma "La Sapienza" dalle origini al duemila: discipline, docenti, studenti* (Rome: Gangemi, 2001), 217–242.

⁵³ Eric Mumford, *The CIAM discourse on Urbanisme*, 188. The plan, which continued the architectural discourse already started in Stockholm with the Gröndal district (1944-1946), became the cover of the issue number 5 of the journal *Urbanistica*, directed by Adriano Olivetti with the collaboration of other names, like Piero Bottoni.

⁵⁴ See the Bibliography with the Italian articles.

twenty years;⁵⁵ Italo Insolera (1955-1956)⁵⁶ who had to renounce at the last minute for the sudden loss of his father and finally Giorgio Gentili (1956-57).⁵⁷ Moreover, from 1951, the SI opened an intensive summer course (August), directed by Sven Markelius, titled 'Swedish Design and Architecture'.

Unfortunately, since there were no scholarships for this type of course, the lectures were mostly attended by English and American architect.

An interesting exception was the case of the Jewish journalist Nadia Stein, who, after the course, managed to publish in the political and architectural journal *Comunità*, a long essay on Swedish Laws and the political management of the Planning practice in this country.⁵⁸

Hilda Selem for example, during her stay in Sweden in 1952, sent in Italy part of the new dossier prepared by Sven Markelius and the Planning Office of the city of Stockholm.⁵⁹ (**Fig.127-128**)

Later on, the young architect Giorgio Gentili wrote the most important articles –between 1957 and 1958– on the new district of Vällingby in the pages of Bruno Zevi's *L'architettura cronache e storia*.⁶⁰ (**Fig.129**)

⁵⁵ *Svenska Institutets stipendiater 1951/52, manuscript*, Svenska Institutet Arkivet, Deposit 1, Box 'vol. F IV 1', Riksarkivet, Stockholm. Hilda Selem's work as a teacher as well as an architect had never been studied. However, she was teacher of Interior design between 1974 and 1995 (Vittorio Franchetti Pardo (ed.), *La Facoltà di Architettura*, 586–591) and in 1979 she published: Hilda Selem, *Il sistema dei forti di Roma nella logica dell'ecosistema urbano per il riuso del costruito* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1979).

⁵⁶ *Svenska Institutets stipendiater 1955/56, manuscript*, Svenska Institutet Arkivet, Deposit 1, Box 'vol. F IV 1', Riksarkivet, Stockholm.

⁵⁷ *Svenska Institutets stipendiater 1956/57, manuscript*, Svenska Institutet Arkivet, Deposit 1, Box 'vol. F IV 1', Riksarkivet, Stockholm.

⁵⁸ Nadia Stein, "La superpolitica delle abitazioni in Svezia," *Comunità* 15 (October 1952): 42–45. For the archival information see: *Letter of Nadia Stein to the Swedish Institute*, Svenska Institutet Arkivet, Deposit 1, Box 'vol. F IIa 144', Riksarkivet, Stockholm.

⁵⁹ Markelius, Sven and Selem, Hilda. "Nuovi sviluppi urbanistici a Stoccolma," *Urbanistica* 10-11 (1952): 34–60. The article was an introduction taken from the publication: Stockholms stads stadsplanekontor, *Generalplan för Stockholm 1952 = A general plan for Stockholm 1952* (Stockholm: Stockholms stadsplanekontor, 1952).

⁶⁰ By Giorgio Gentile see the following articles: "Panorama svedese: Un nucleo residenziale nella città satellite di Stoccolma," *L'Architettura cronache e storia* 20 (June 1957): 100–3; "Panorama svedese: Centro comunitario e cinema a Vällingby," *L'Architettura cronache e storia* 22 (August 1957): 244; "Panorama svedese: Il centro commerciale di Vällingby," *L'Architettura cronache e storia* 24 (October 1957): 386–391; "Panorama svedese: Serpentina nel parco di Stoccolma," *L'Architettura cronache e storia* 31 (May 1958): 23–27; "Le città satelliti di Stoccolma," *Urbanistica* 24-25 (September 1958): 133–147.



Fig.99 – Map with the number of scholarships, given to foreign students, by the Swedish Institute between 1950 and 1959. It is evident, that the main concern of the SI in this first period was Europe.
Source: Included in 1960. *45 års upplysningsarbete: Utveckling – förnyelse – resultat*, Swedish Institute Archive, Stockholm.

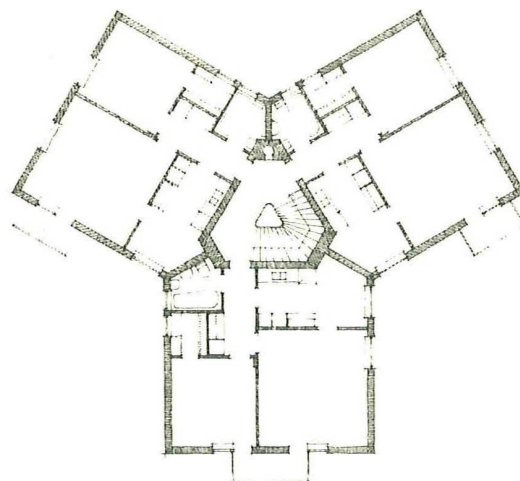


Fig.100 – Catalogue's cover for the Swedish pavilion at the VIII Triennale, Milan 1947.
Source: Gotthard Johansson, Arthur Hald, Per Holm, *Come la Svezia cerca di risolvere il suo problema degli alloggi* (Stockholm: Svenska institutet, 1947).



Case a stella. Gröndal, Stoccolma. Architetti: S. Backström e L. Reinius.

Complesso formato da unità a forma di stella a tre punte, comprendenti tre appartamenti serviti da una scala in comune. Tali unità possono essere impiegate come edifici a sè stanti o riuniti in complessi maggiori, formanti un motivo di cortili esagonali. Sono possibili anche altre combinazioni.



Sulla scala si aprono 3 appartamenti di due stanze e cucina.

2

17

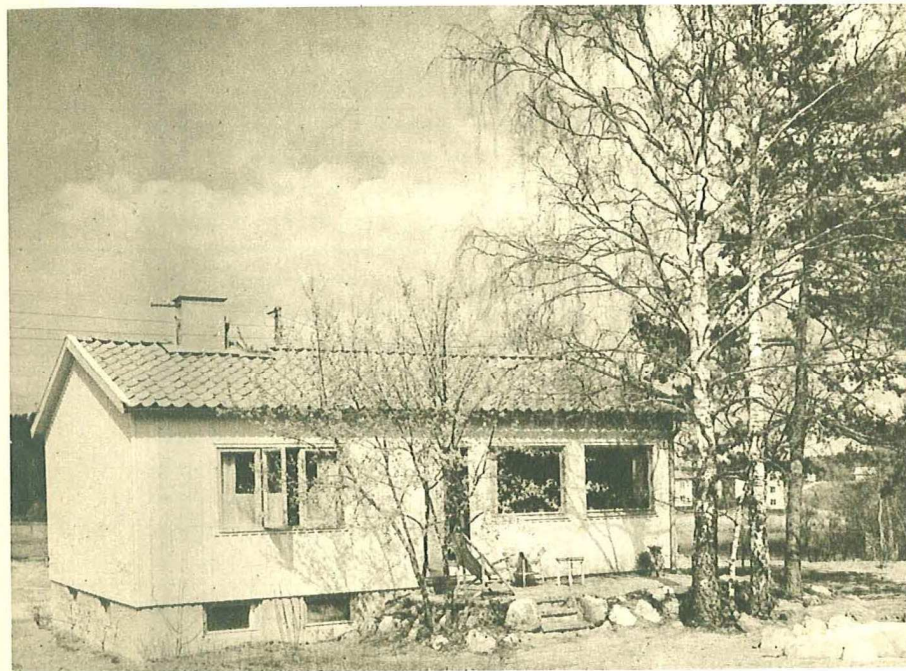
Fig.101 – Illustration of a “Star” Housing, Gröndal, Stockholm. Architects: Sven Backström and Leif Reinius

Source: Gotthard Johansson, Arthur Hald, Per Holm, Come la svezia cerca di risolvere il suo problema degli alloggi (Stockholm: Svenska institutet, 1947), 17.

La casa è composta con elementi prefabbricati e il proprietario prendendo parte alla costruzione contribuisce al suo finanziamento.



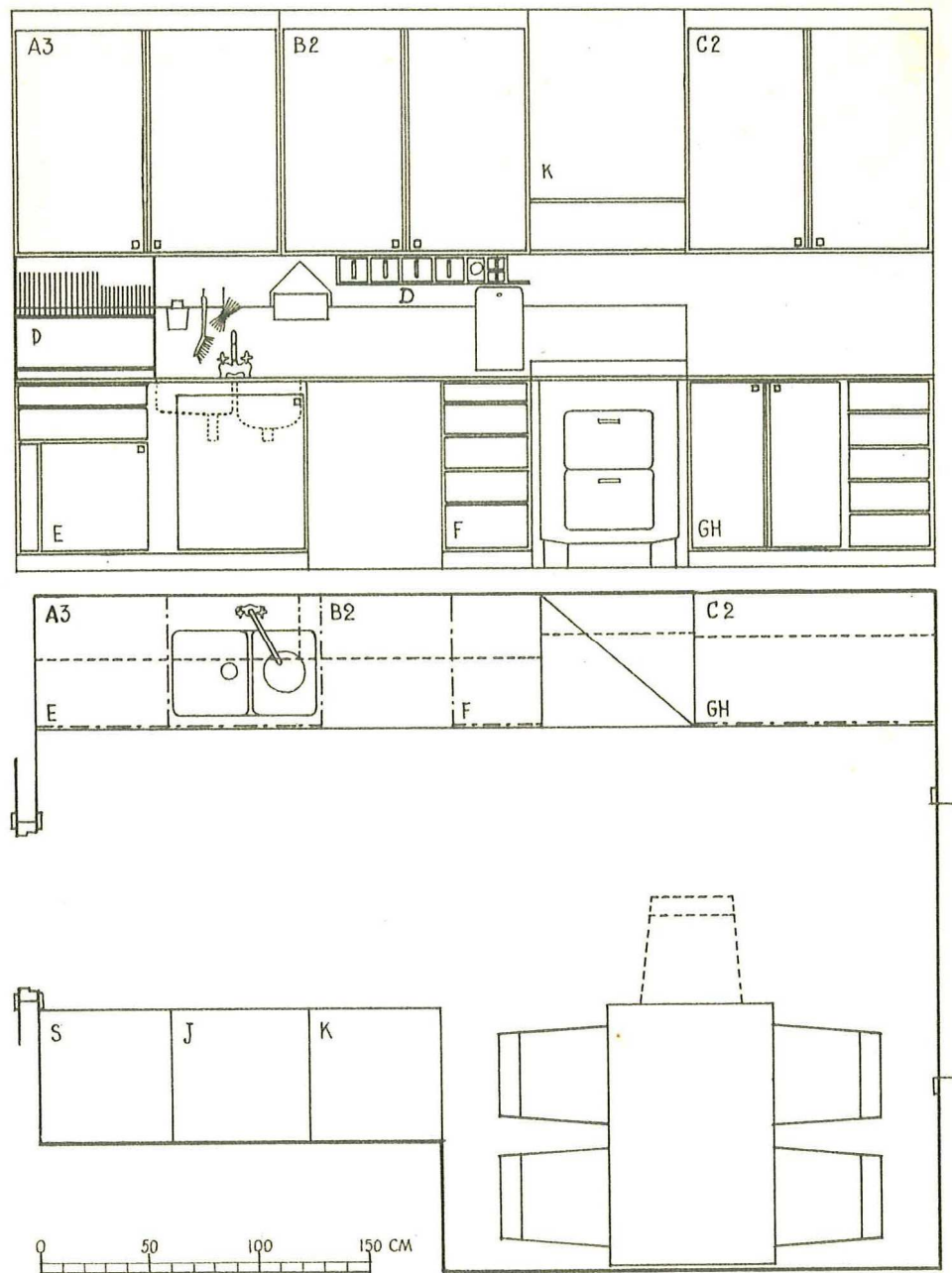
Case isolate per una famiglia, «casette minime», uno dei tipi standard della città di Stoccolma.



19

Fig.102 – Illustration of a prefabricated house: ‘The owner, taking part in the construction of the house, contributes to its financing’.

Source: Gotthard Johansson, Arthur Hald, Per Holm, *Come la svezia cerca di risolvere il suo problema degli alloggi* (Stockholm: Svenska institutet, 1947), 19.



Pianta e sezione di una cucina per un appartamento di 3 camere.

Fig.103 – Drawing of a standard kitchen, exhibited at the VIII Triennale
 Source: Gotthard Johansson, Arthur Hald, Per Holm, *Come la svezia cerca di risolvere il suo problema degli alloggi* (Stockholm: Svenska institutet, 1947), 27.



Fig.104 – Images of the standard kitchen, exhibited at the VIII Triennale: the front and the back.
Source: Ernesto Nathan Rogers, “Svezia (Padiglione dell’ottava Triennale),” *Domus* 221 (July-August 1947), 35.

La Svezia, per opera dell'arch. Bengt Gate, si presenta con uno stand dove appaiono evidenti la chiarezza della progettazione, il pregio del materiale e soprattutto la perfetta tecnica locale nella lavorazione del legno. Una cucina, un soggiorno e alcuni mobili di serie sono gli elementi che compongono questa esemplare esposizione.



Svezia

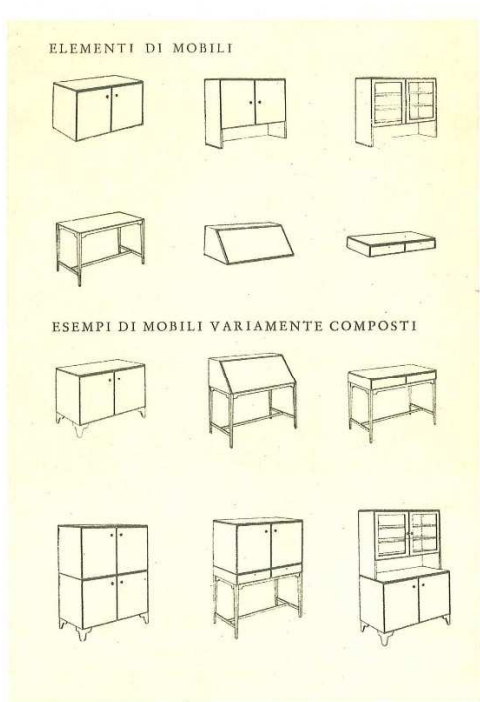


Sedia, in legno e compensato curvati, collegati con imbullonatura metallica. Il legno usato è il faggio.

Con lo stesso tipo di lavorazione è stata eseguita questa chaise-longue: il materassino è ricoperto in pelle di orsetto, il guanciale è in cretonne a disegno marrone su fondo naturale. È una creazione di Bruno Mathsson.



Fig.105 – Page from *Domus* with the pavilion and the chaise-longue by Bruno Mathsson
 Source: Ernesto Nathan Rogers, “Svezia (Padiglione dell’ottava Triennale),” *Domus* 221 (July-August 1947), 34.



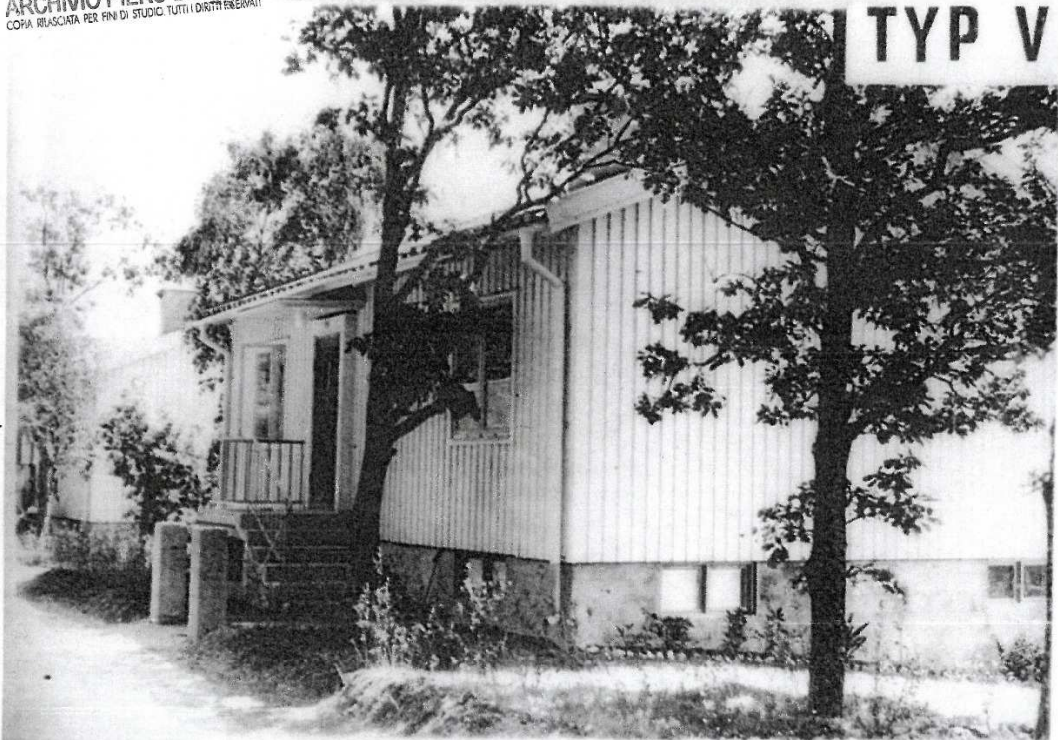
36



Una produzione in larga scala di serie di mobili composte di elementi combinabili in varie maniere e che inoltre possono essere facilmente montati e smontati, con conseguente risparmio di spazio, sia nell'immagazzinaggio che nel trasporto. I mobili vengono consegnati in pacchi e possono venire montati tanto dal venditore che dal cliente stesso. «Triva Bygg» dell'architetto Elias Svedberg, Nordiska Kompaniet.

37

Fig.106 – 'Furniture, made up of elements that can be combined in various ways and which can be easily assembled and dismantled.' *Triva Bygg* design by Elias Svedberg for the Nordiska Kompaniet. Source: Gotthard Johansson, Arthur Hald, Per Holm, *Come la svezia cerca di risolvere il suo problema degli alloggi* (Stockholm: Svenska institutet, 1947), 36-37.



Bottenvåningen

Källarvåningar

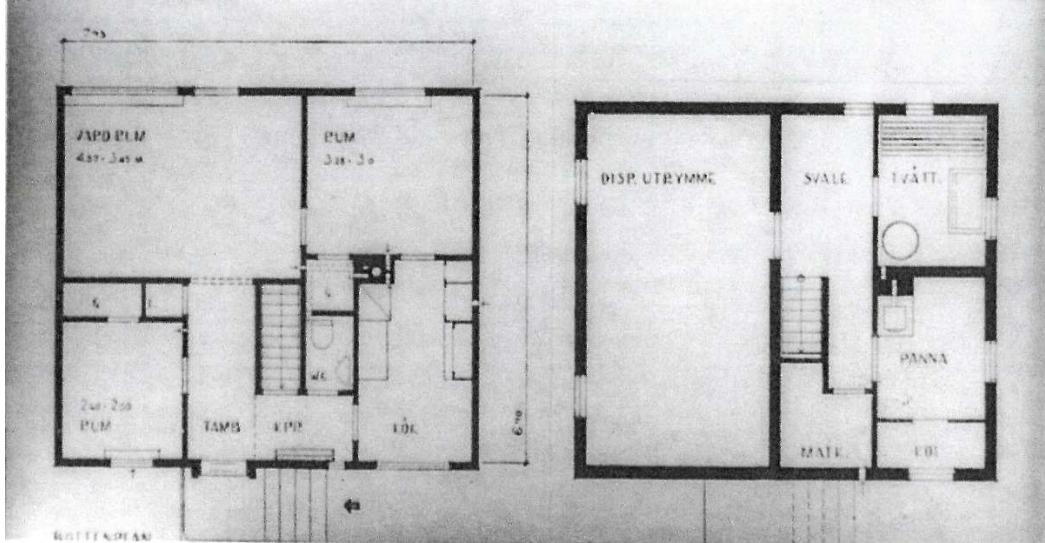


Fig.107 – House Type V: Photo of the exterior; grand and basement floor (1932-1934)

Source: Archivio Piero Bottoni, Series A.2.6.5 Case prefabbricate in Svezia, Dipartimento DATSU, Milan.

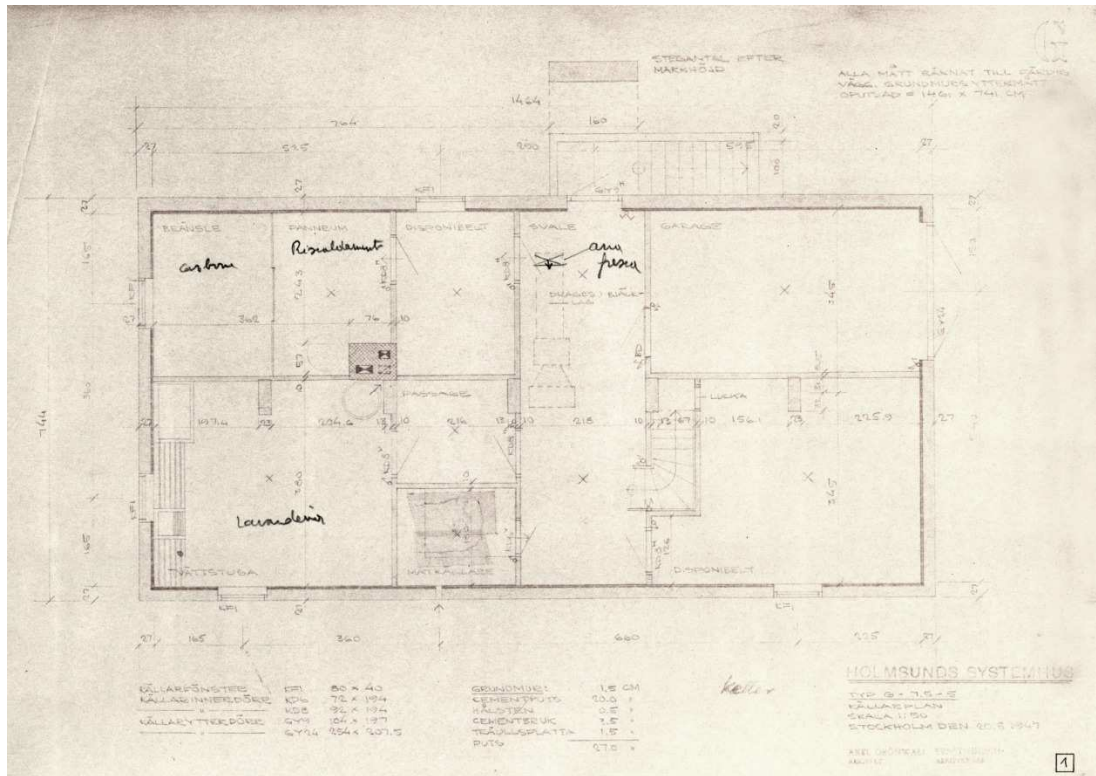
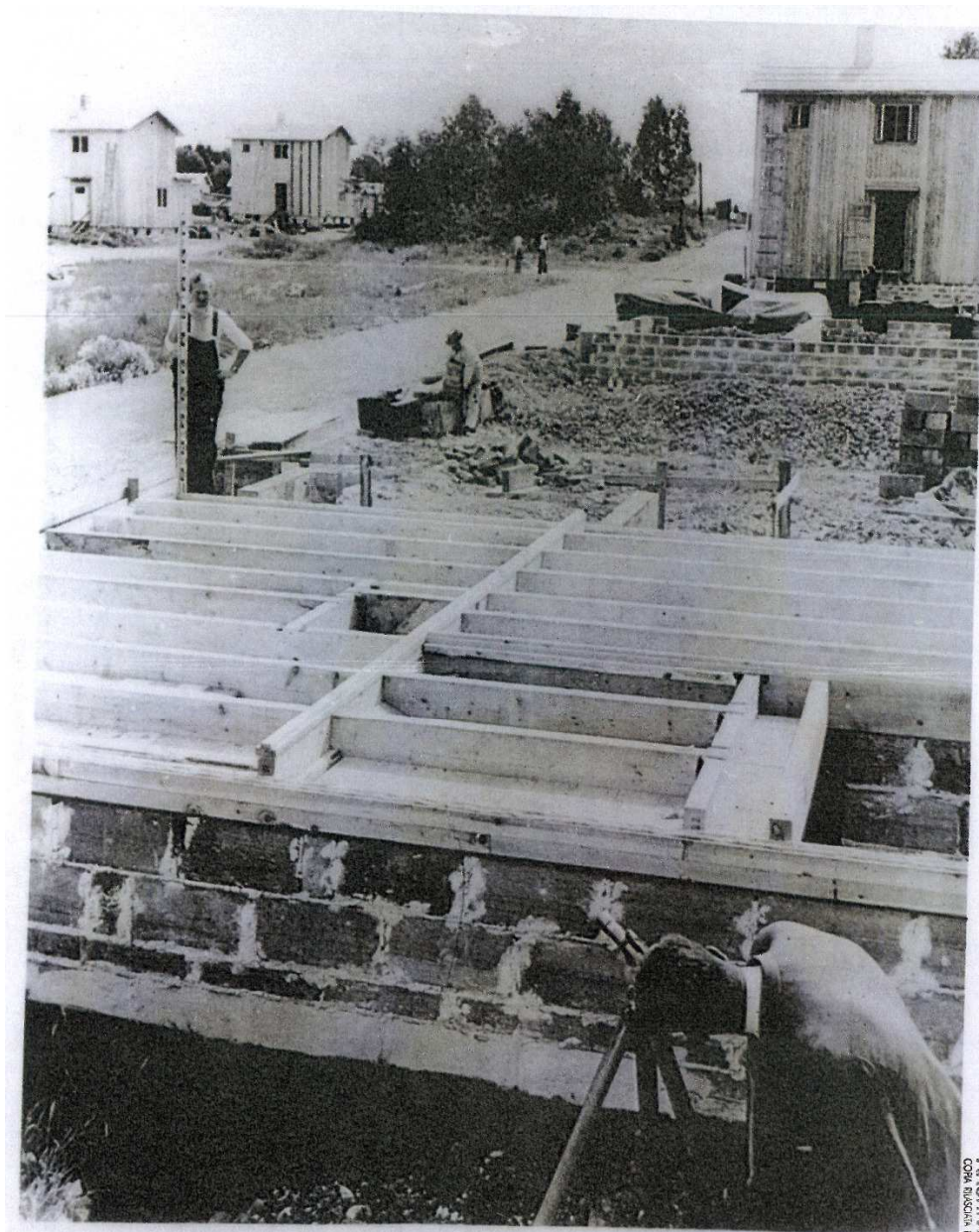


Fig.108 – Axel Gronwall e Ernst Hirsch, prefabricated house, Holmsunds systemhus, 1946-47. **Ground Floor plan.**

Source: Archivio Piero Bottoni, Series A1.1.54.3 Swedish Buildings, Dipartimento DATSU, Milan.



ngby, 1933. Instruktören kon-
rollerar medelst avvägning, att
ttenbjälklaget blir fullt i väg.

ARCHIVIO PIERO BOTTONI
COPIA RIUSCITA PER FINIS STUDIO TUTTI DIRITTI RISERVATI

Fig.109 – Norra Ängby, August 1933. Photo by C. G. Rosenberg.
Source: Archivio Piero Bottoni, Series A.2.6.5 Case prefabbricate in Svezia, Dipartimento DATSU, Milan.

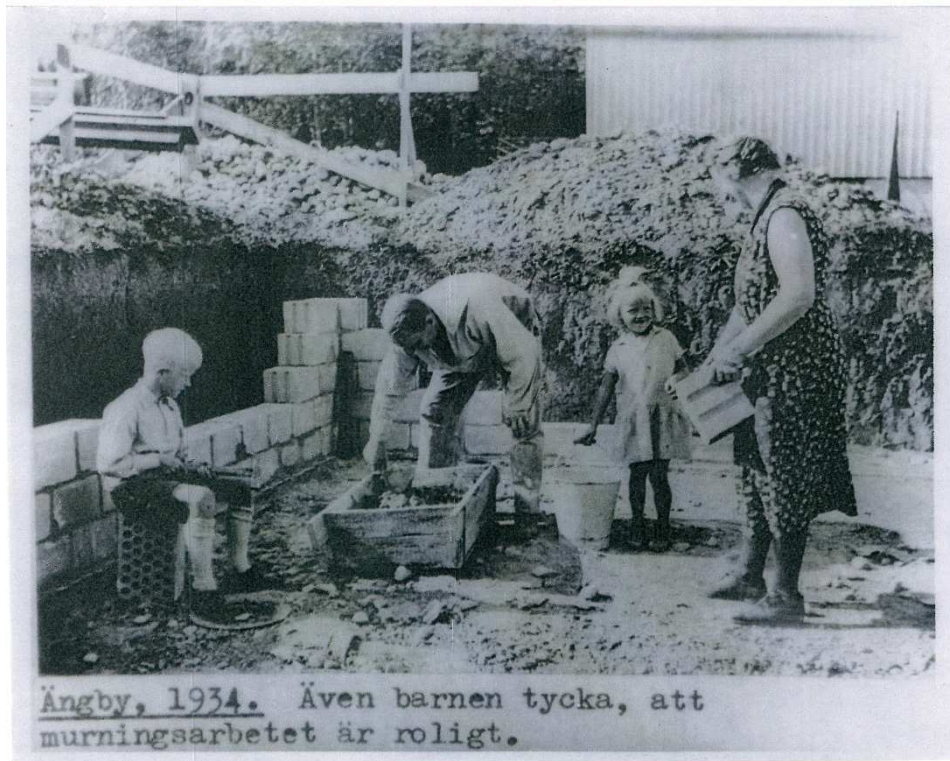


Fig.110-111 – Svednyra, 1932 (*above*): the instructor shows to the inhabitant how to build the wall; Norra Ängby, 1934 (*below*): even the family cooperate in the construction of the house.
Source: Archivio Piero Bottoni, Series A.2.6.5 Case prefabbricate in Svezia, Dipartimento DATSU, Milan.

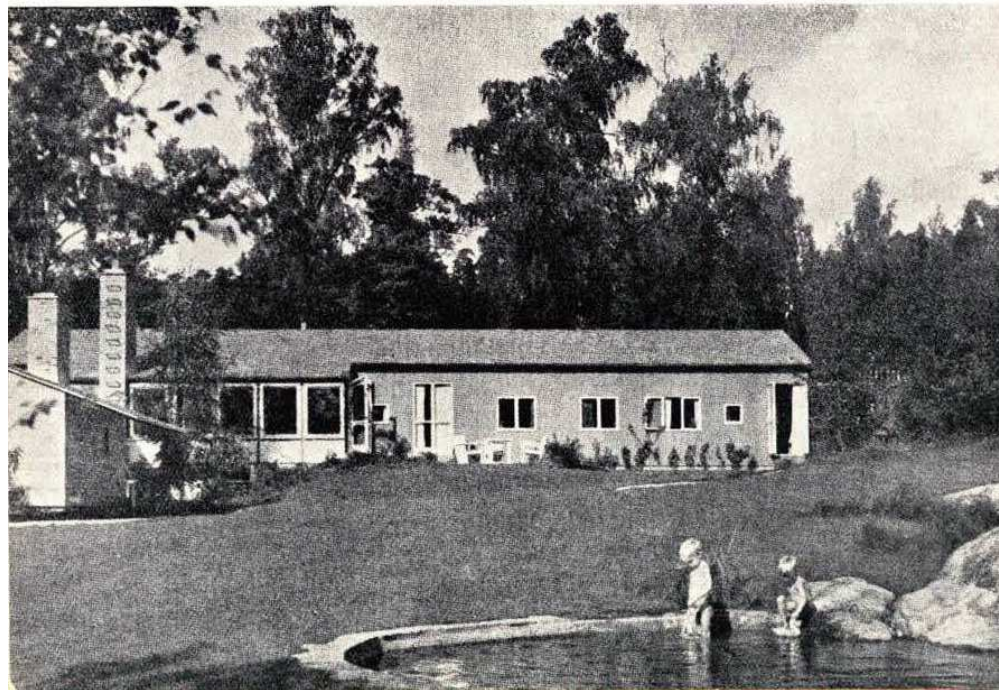
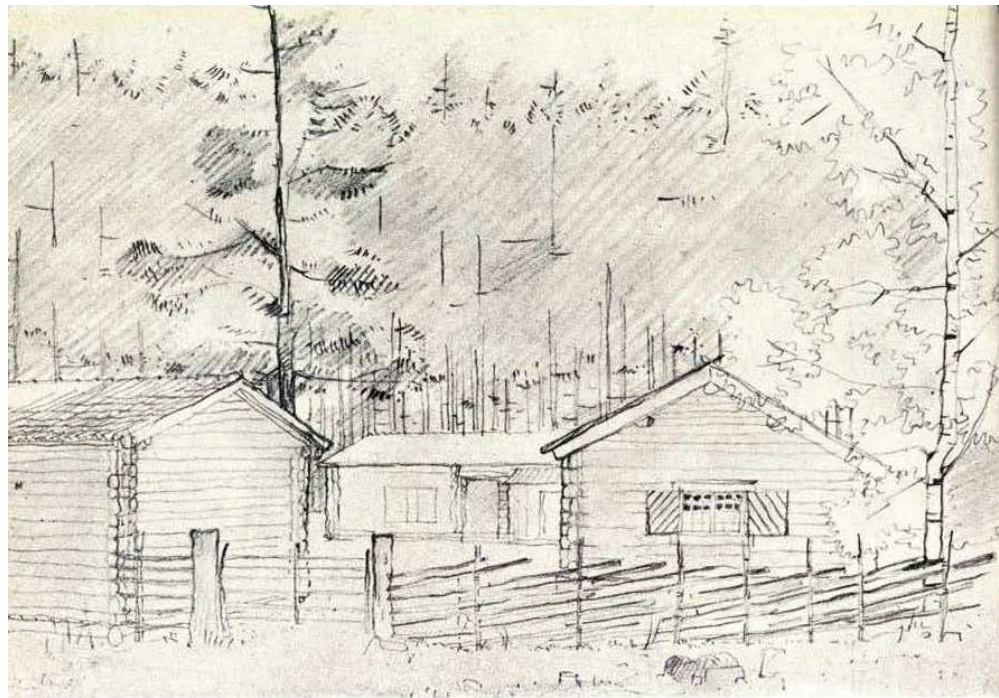


Fig.112-113 – Drawing by Piero Maria Lugli of a farm in central Sweden, compared to Sven Markelius' private villa in Kevinge (Stockholm): 'with modern tools, like the prefabrication, are here reproduced spaces coming from the popular tradition.

Source: Piero Maria Lugli, "Aspetti dell'urbanistica svedese," *Rassegna critica di architettura* 5 (January-February 1949), 4.

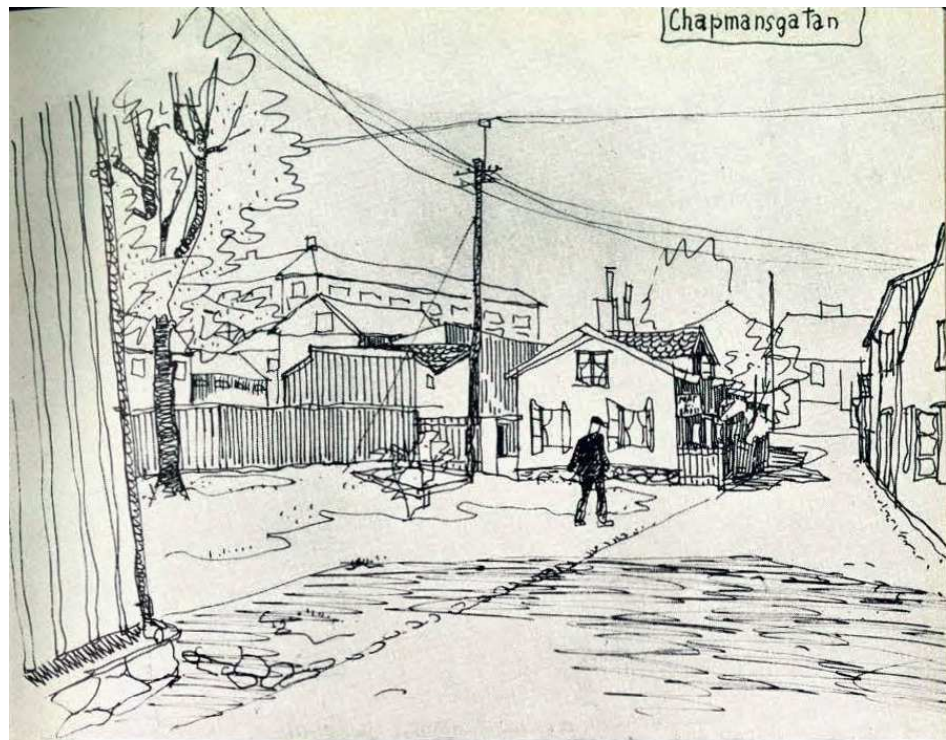


Fig.114-115 – Drawing by Piero Maria Lugli of Landala (Göteborg), 1931. Streets of an old fishermen village. Lugli stated: *‘These ancient examples offer an inexhaustible source of material for the urban design. The variety of the housing dispositions and of the gardens along the streets: the presence of small kitchen gardens and enclosed courtyards, made them real urban models on the human scale.’*
 Source: Piero Maria Lugli, “Aspetti dell’urbanistica svedese,” *Rassegna critica di architettura* 5 (January-February 1949), 17.

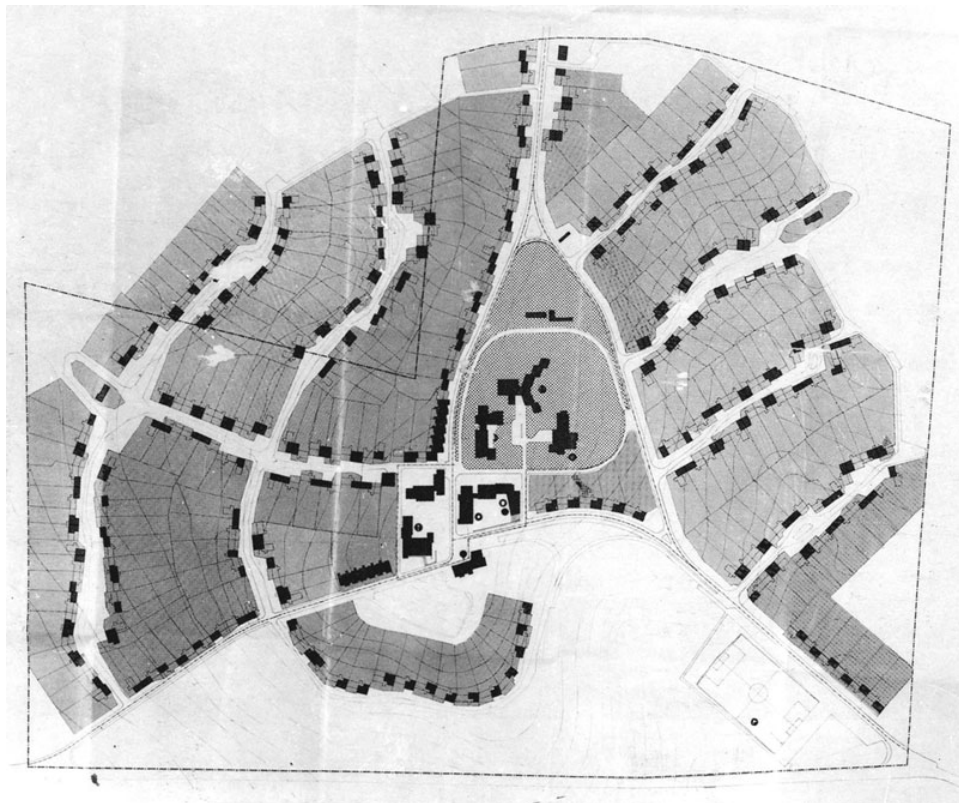
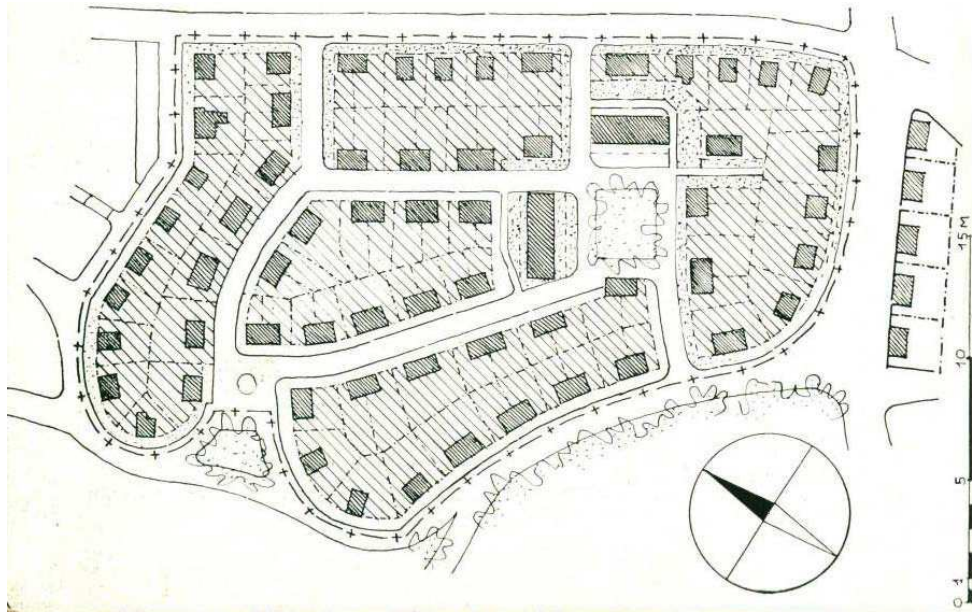


Fig.116-117 – (above) Plan of Landala (Göteborg, 1931) compared with (below) the plan for La Martella (Matera, 1951-1954) by Federico Gorio, Michele Valori, Ludovico Quaroni, Piero Maria Lugli, Luigi Agati. Source (above): Piero Maria Lugli, “Aspetti dell’urbanistica svedese,” *Rassegna critica di architettura* 5 (January-February 1949), 16.

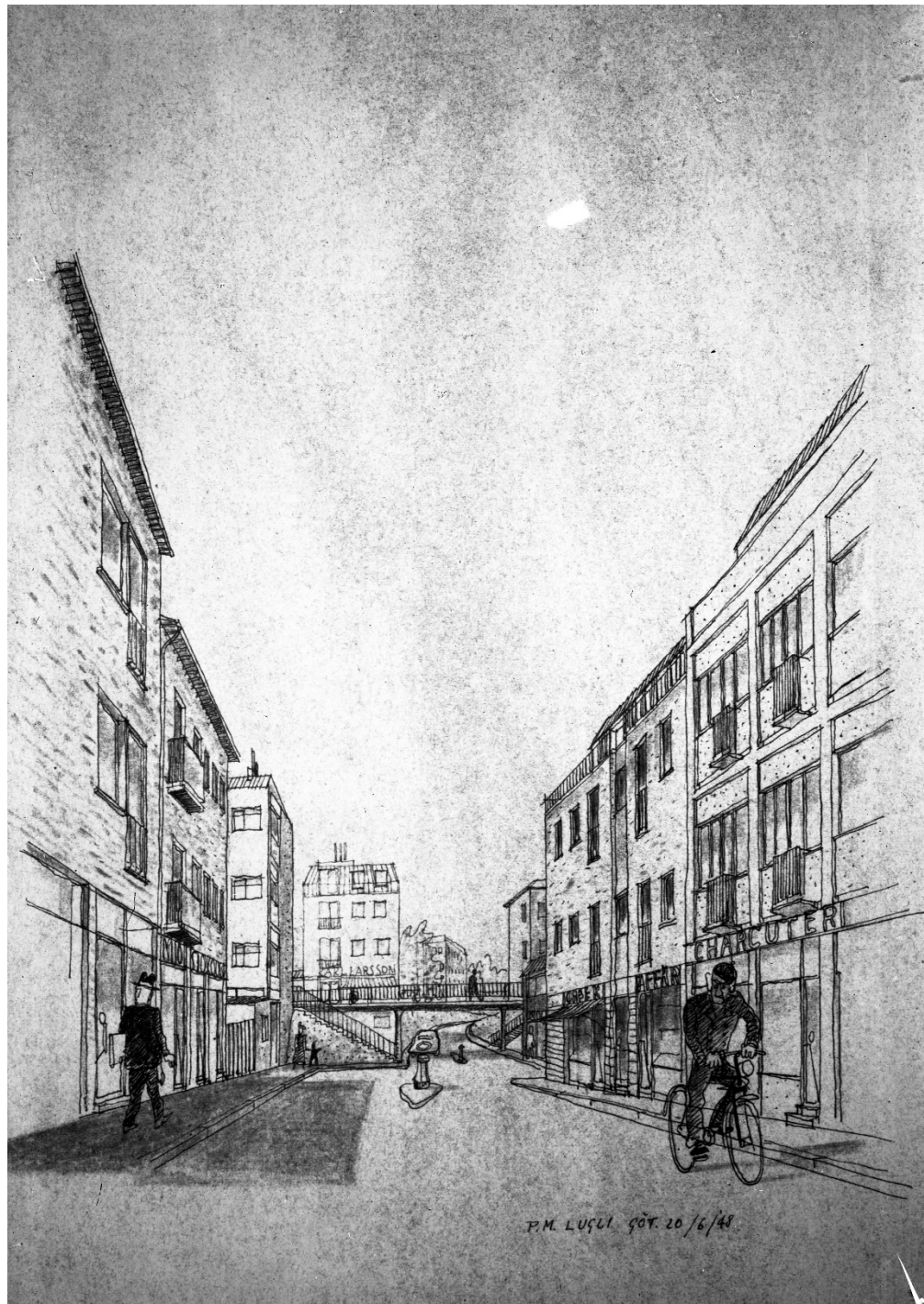


Fig.117 – Drawing by Pietro Maria Lugli of a street in Göteborg (dated 20 June 1948).
Source: Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Piero Maria Lugli Paper, Folder 76, Rome.

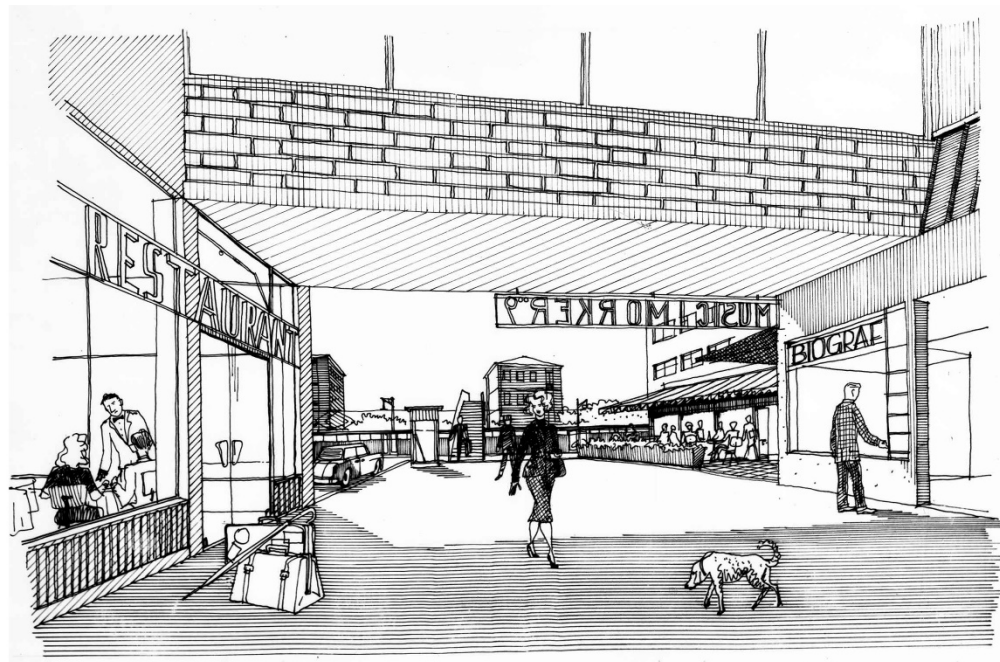


Fig.119-120 – Pietro Maria Lugli: sketches for Wästra Frölunda, Göteborg (1948): above, the shops street and below the square between the general market and the main pedestrian street.
Source: Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Piero Maria Lugli Paper, Folder 76, Rome.

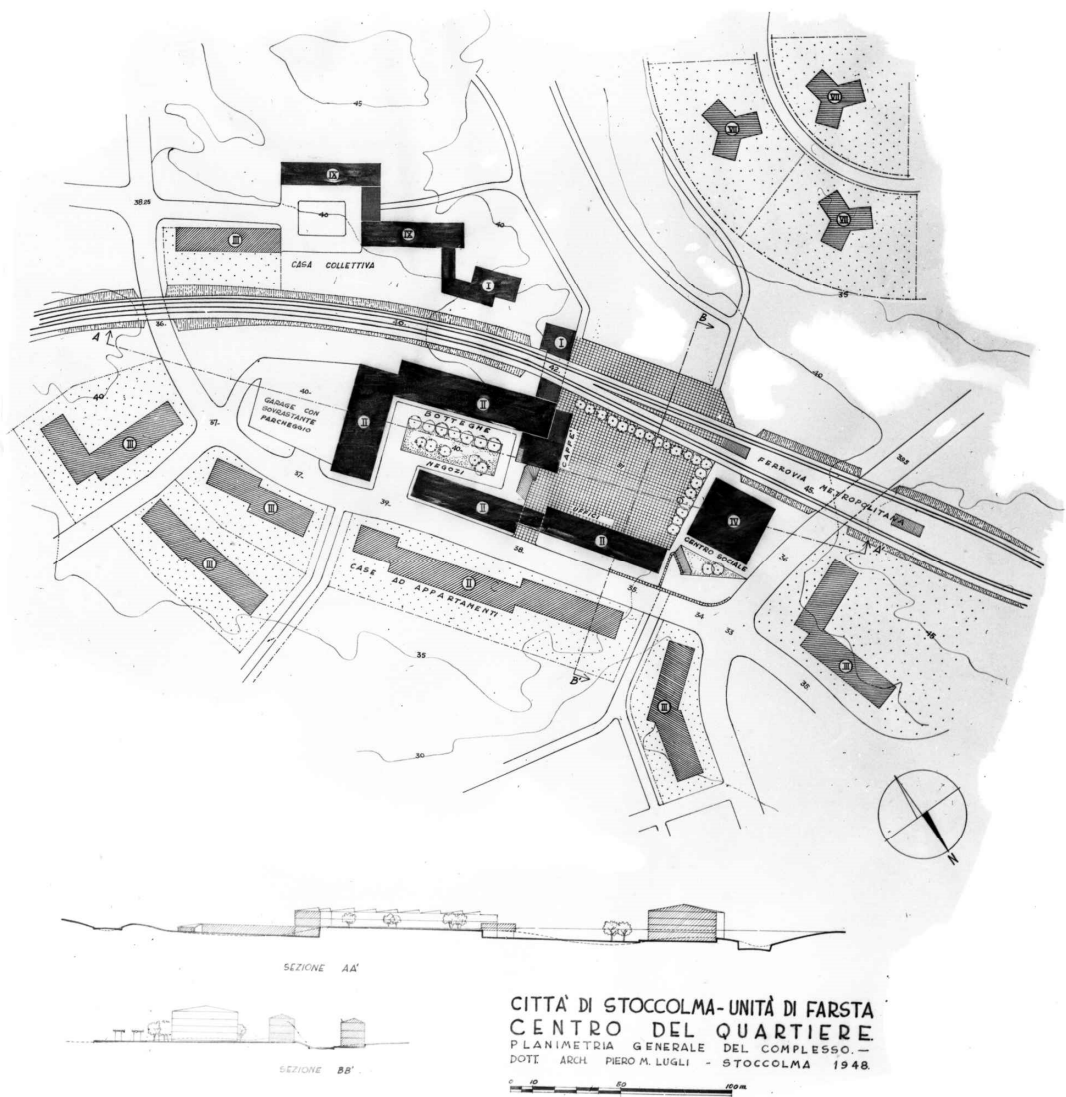


Fig.121 – Pietro Maria Lugli: Plan for Farsta, Stockholm (1948).
 Source: Archivio Centrale dello Stato, Piero Maria Lugli Paper, Folder 78, Rome.

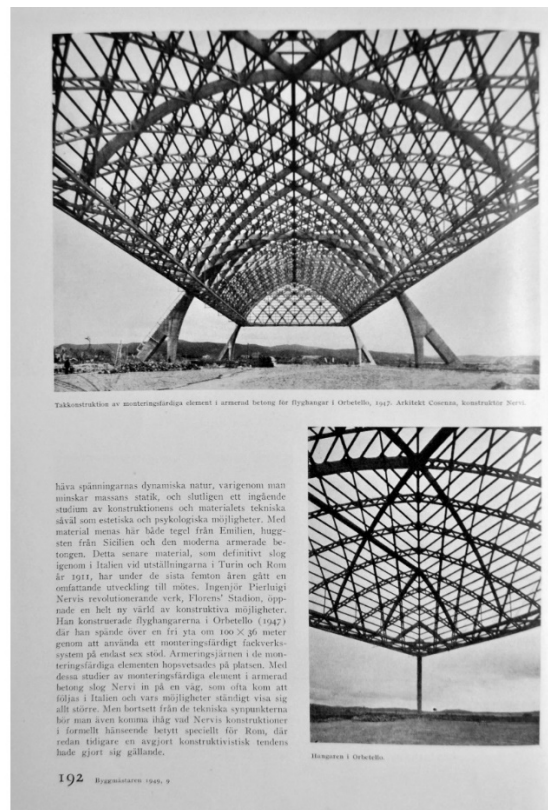
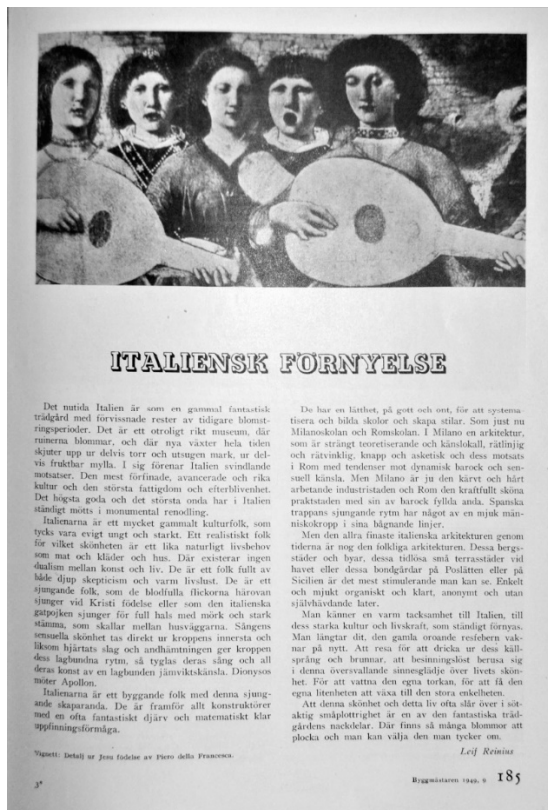


Fig.122-123 – Piero Maria Lugli's article in *Byggnadsstraren* on Italian Modern Architecture, 1949. Source: Piero Maria Lugli and Ferruccio Rossetti, "Italiensk Förnyelse," *Byggnadsstraren* 9 (1949), 185; 192.

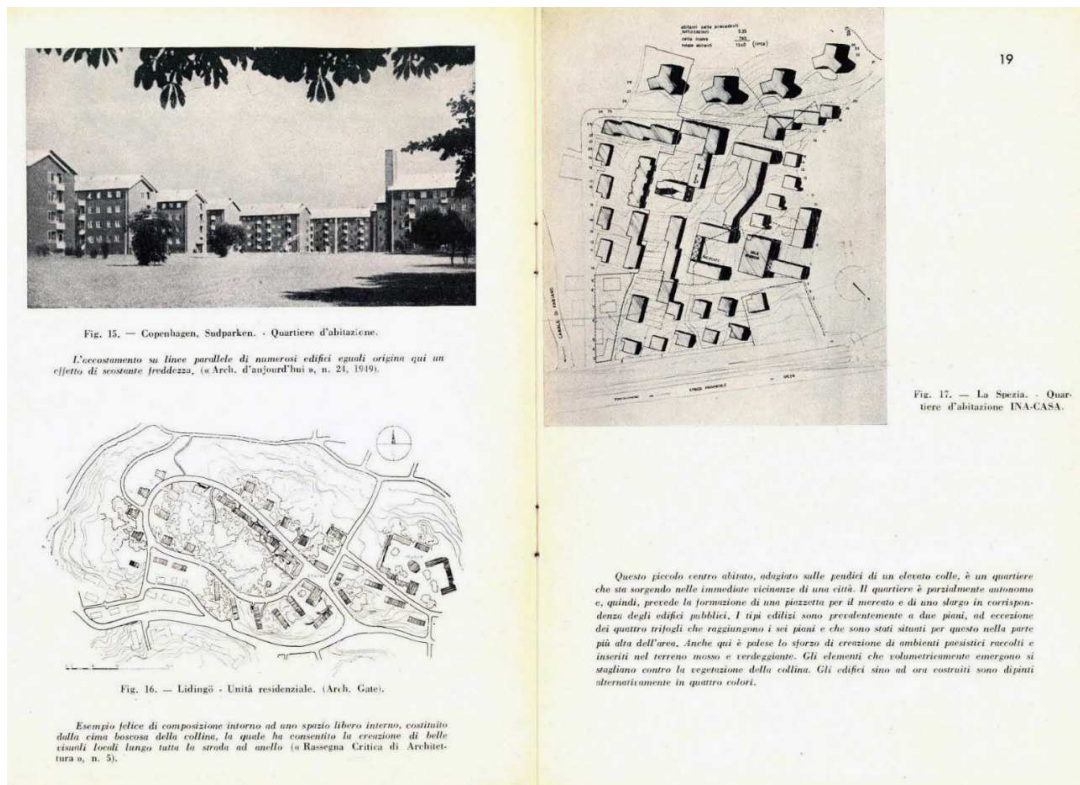


Fig.124 – Illustrations included by the Official Committee for the Italian Housing Reconstruction Plan in small 'handbook' to other architects. On the left are visible the Sudparken in Copenhagen and the Lidingö neighborhood (Arch. Gate); on the right, the foreign examples are compared with a new Italian complex in La Spezia.

Source: *Piano incremento occupazione operaia: Case per lavoratori 2. Suggestioni, esempi e norme per la progettazione urbanistica.* (Rome: Danesi, 1950), 18-19.

18. - Si tenga presente che il tracciato stradale preesistente non può vincolare tassativamente la posizione degli edifici, i quali possono contribuire a creare ambienti, visuali, scori gradevoli anche se composti indipendentemente dagli allineamenti stradali, senza tuttavia dimenticare che i punti di vista principali si troveranno sempre lungo le vie principali.

Fig. 25. — Copenaghen - Gruppo di abitazioni a Blidah.

Questa strada è stata tracciata rispettando gli alberi preesistenti e avendo cura di ricavare lungo il percorso le migliori visuali degli edifici che la fiancheggiano e che sono disposti secondo un diverso allineamento. («Urbanistica», n. 2, 1950).



Fig. 26.

Fig. 26-27. — Stoccolma - Unità di Danvågsklippan, Arch. S. Backström e L. Reinus.

Il gruppo di edifici è incrementalmente composto di case torri collocate intorno ad uno spazio libero e, verso valle, sul margine di una collina rocciosa, senza alterare minimamente l'aspetto naturale del luogo. Questo origina un'associazione di volumi situati a livello diverso e che sorgono improvvisi dal sito quasi selvaggio; architettura e paese si uniscono così nel contesto immutato delle forme geometriche con quelle naturali. («Rassegna Critica di Arch.», n. 5).

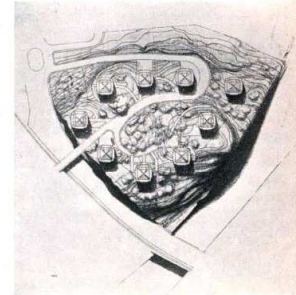


Fig. 27.

Fig.125 – Other valuable Swedish examples for Italian architects: Blidah (Copenhagen) and Danvågsklippan (Stockholm).

Source: *Piano incremento occupazione operaia: Case per lavoratori 2. Suggestioni, esempi e norme per la progettazione urbanistica*. (Rome: Danesi, 1950), 26-27.

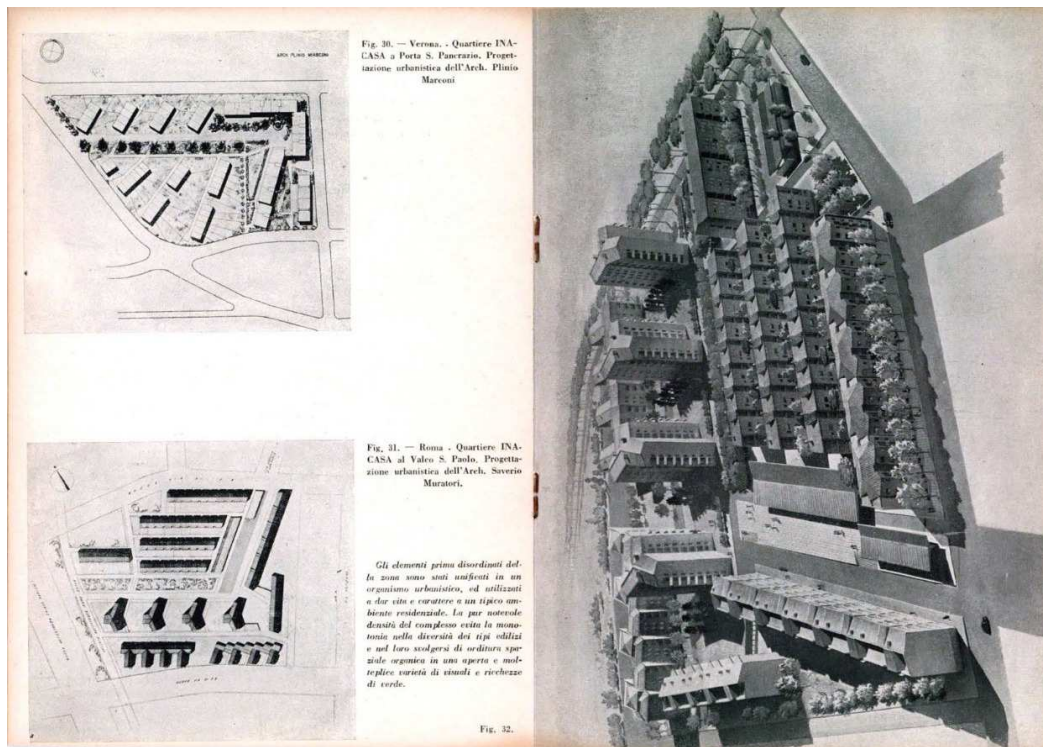


Fig.126 – Italian examples: Verona, Quartiere INA-Casa at Porta san Pancrazio by Plinio Marconi and below Saverio Muratori's project for the INA-Casa neighborhood in Valco San Paolo (Rome). Source: *Piano incremento occupazione operaia: Case per lavoratori 2. Suggestimenti, esempi e norme per la progettazione urbanistica.* (Rome: Danesi, 1950), 30-31.

Zone di espansione e nuovi quartieri residenziali

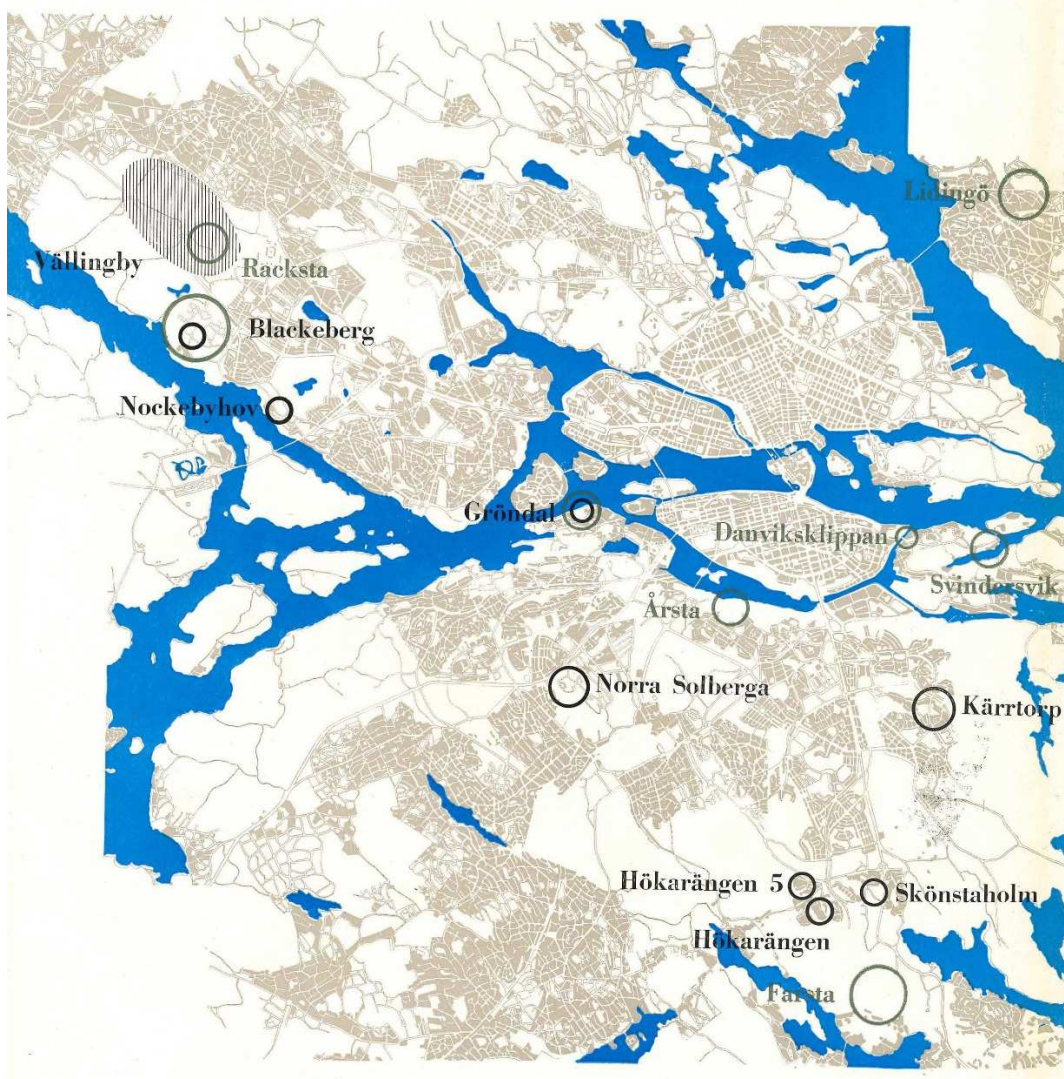


Fig.127 – Regional Plan of Stockholm.

Source: Sven Markelius and Hilda Selem, “Nuovi sviluppi urbanistici a Stoccolma,” *Urbanistica* 10-11 (1952), 47.

La nuova città satellite di Vällingby presso Stoccolma

Piano della città satellite di Vällingby presso Stoccolma

Progetto dell'Ufficio Piano Regolatore della città di Stoccolma.

Architetti: S. Markelius, C. F. Ahlberg, G. Sidenbladh, B. Harlen, J. Hojer.

Ingegneri: C. H. af Klercher, S. Lundberg, O. Larsson.

Rappresentazione nel rapporto 1:25.000.

In nero le nuove costruzioni e la rete ferroviaria; in arancione, la rete stradale in progetto; in verde-grigio le costruzioni e la rete stradale esistente.

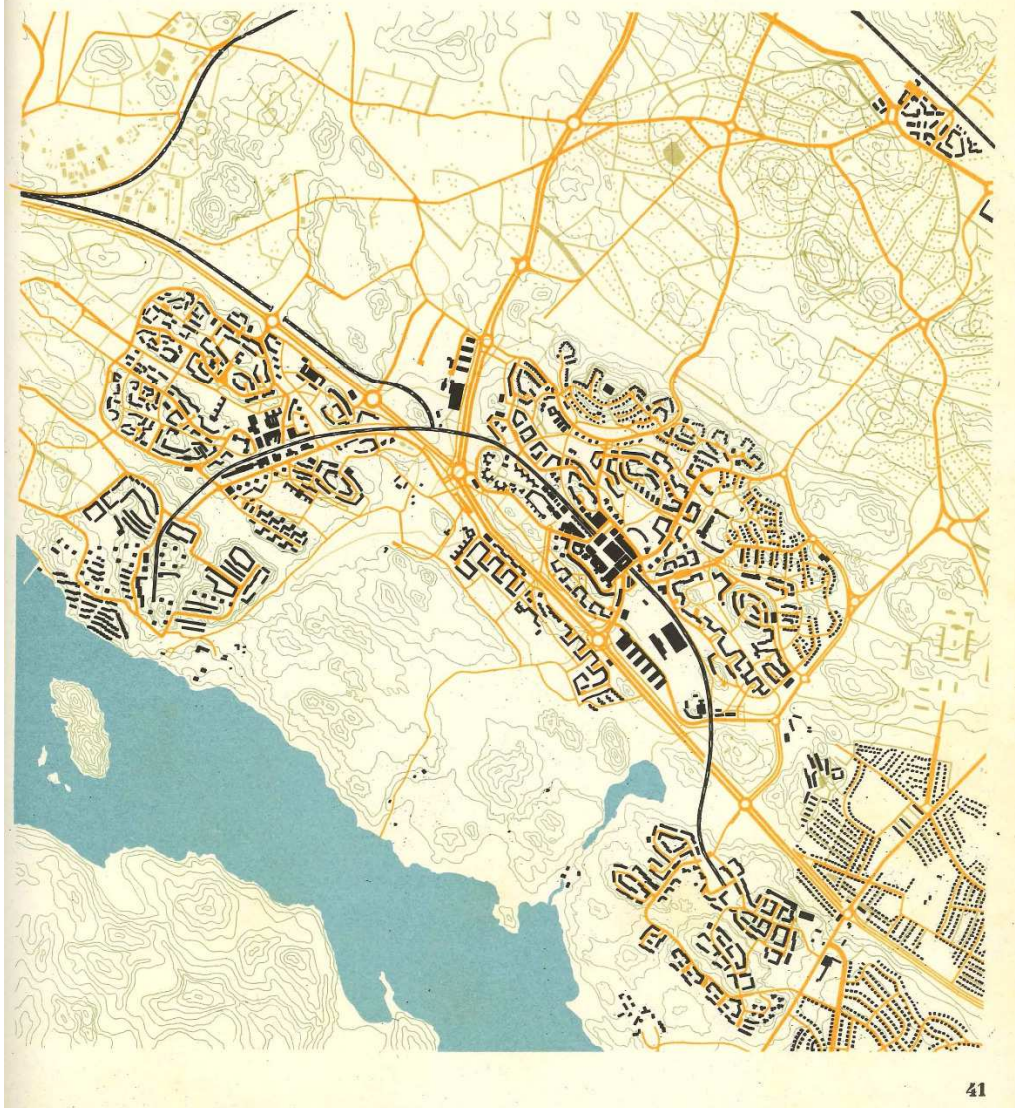
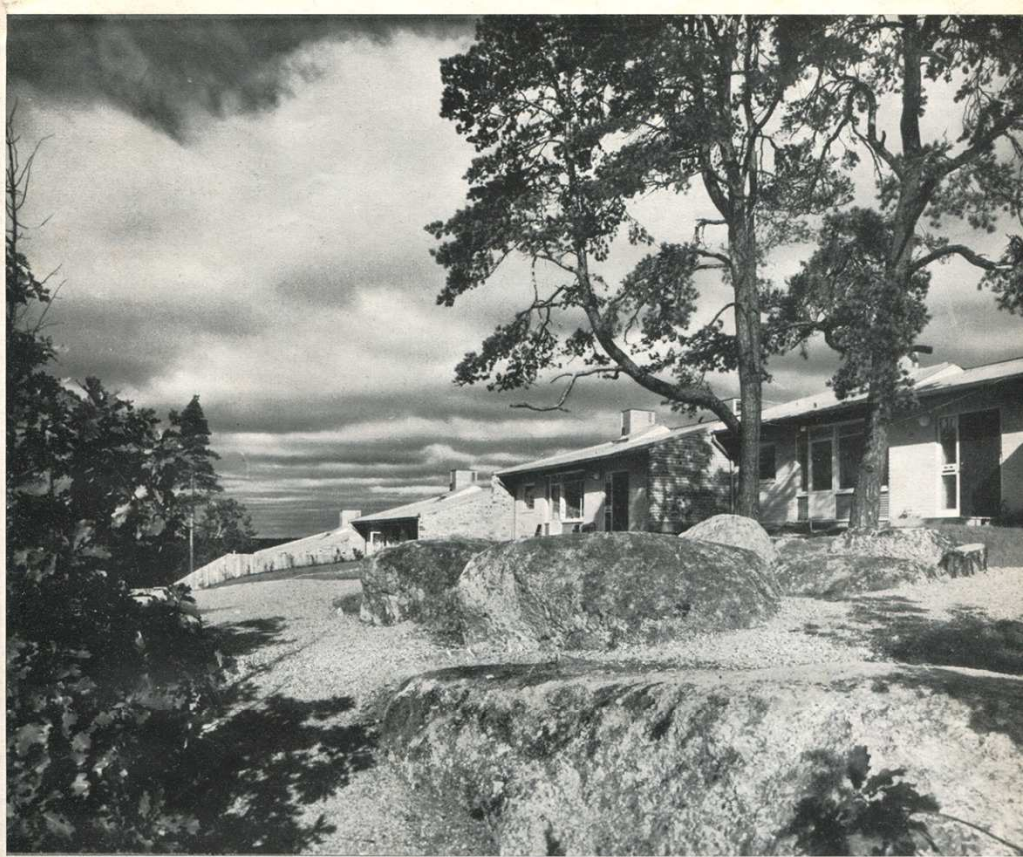
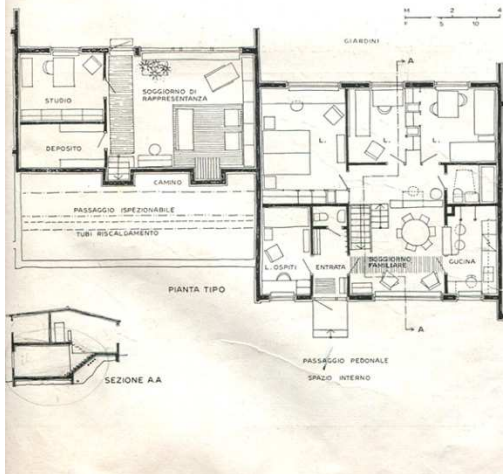


Fig.128 – Plan for the city of Vällingby (Stockholm, 1952).

Source: Sven Markelius and Hilda Selem, "Nuovi sviluppi urbanistici a Stoccolma," *Urbanistica* 10-11 (1952), 41.



Il quartiere Atlantis in Vällingby



L'a III

Fig.129 –The Atlantis neighborhood at Vällingby (Stockholm) presented in Italy by Giorgio Gentili. *Source:* Giorgio Gentili, “Panorama svedese: un nucleo residenziale nella città satellite di Stoccolma,” *L’Architettura cronache e storia* 20 (1957), 103.

5.2 Franco Albini and the 1953 *Nutida Italiensk Konst* in Stockholm

Italian architects' references to Swedish experiences started to become more evident after the end of the Second World War, and the fact had its natural counterpart not only in the publishing of Italian examples in the pages of *Byggmästaren* and *Konstrevy*, but also in the official occasions organized in Stockholm in the early 1950s, thanks to the work of the Italian Institute of Culture.

In particular the year 1953 signed a crucial moment in the history of the Italian-Swedish relationships, first of all for the presentation by Gio Ponti, of the first proposal for the new building of the Institute.⁶¹

The area in fact, had been promised to the Italian authorities, since 1938, when the Swedish government took the deal for the construction of the Swedish Institute of Classical Studies in the area of Valle Giulia in Rome.⁶²

In order to promote the visibility of this operation, the director of the Italian Institute Carlo Morozzo della Rocca,⁶³ organized –in March 1953 (6 March-6 April)– an intensive meeting: the first month-long 'Italian festival' in Stockholm.⁶⁴

The most relevant event within the festival was certainly the exhibition, organized by the Venice Biennale, on the New Italian Art (*Nutida Italiensk Konst*), once again at Liljevalchs Konsthall. (**Fig.131**)

In order to arrange different sections of the exhibition, different names were appointed: the critics Roberto Pallucchini and Umbro Apollonio, responsible for the selection of the contemporary arts, and the architect Franco Albini (1905-1977) for design and architecture, also in charge for the general design of the temporary exposition.⁶⁵

⁶¹ Fulvio Irace (ed.), Gio Ponti a Stoccolma: *l'Istituto italiano di cultura C. M. Leric* (Milan: Electa, 2007), 48–49.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 118. See also par.4.2.

⁶³ "Direttori dell'Istituto Italiano di Stoccolma," in Fondazione C. M. Leric (ed.), *Rassegna annuale di scambi culturali italo-svedesi. ITALIA SVEZIA*, anno I (Stockholm: Istituto Italiano, 1955), 116. Let's also remember that the name Morozzo della Rocca, related to an ancient aristocratic Italian family, was included in the Italian committee of the 1920 Stockholm Exhibition. See par.2.2.2

⁶⁴ "Il mese italiano a Stoccolma," in *Rassegna annuale di scambi*, 123–125.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 123.

Albini's name was chosen due to his important activity within the Milan Triennale, where he had worked from 1933, as a collaborator of Giuseppe Pagano, for the design of the model 'Stainless Steel House'.⁶⁶

He was also a protagonist of the magazine *Casabella*, and, according to the analysis made by his friend Giuseppe Samonà,

'in the rhetorical and magniloquent climate of the Italian society of that time, the different position of the architects of the [Casabella] group is bound to the singular character of their activity, which for very few took place mainly in the writings and for all the others within very limited issues, in which the part reserved to the stable and complete buildings of architecture is exceptional if compared to the great prevalence of furnishings'.⁶⁷

In this sense, their distance from the Roman political power had given them more freedom of experimentation (especially in the interiors and in temporary designs) and the necessary time (within the 'factory' of *Casabella*) to dissect and internalize the ideas about modernity. A bit younger than Persico and Pagano, Albini's architecture could be interpreted –at least at the date of 1953– as a 'natural complexion of the not always linear path' of these two masters.⁶⁸

On the other edge of *Casabella's* interpretation, we can also recall Albini's brief education within the 'Novecento' group, that he had received, between 1930 and 1932, inside the studio directed by Emilio Lancia) and Gio Ponti (director of the rival *Domus*, exhibiting also a model for a 'Villa on the Sea' at the Monza 1930 Exhibition).⁶⁹

In this way, even if Albini had never had direct contact with Swedish architects before 1953, thanks to the Triennali and the resonances of the 1939 Pagano and Gardella 'travel to the North', he had certainly managed to keep track of the innovation of the Swedish panorama.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ The available bibliography on this protagonist is rather large. Essential reference study on Franco Albini are the two volumes edited by Federico Bucci: Federico Bucci and Augusto Rossari, *I musei e gli allestimenti di Franco Albini* (Milan: Electa, 2005); Federico Bucci and Giampiero Bosoni, *Il design e gli interni di Franco Albini* (Milan: Electa Architettura, 2009).

⁶⁷ Giuseppe Samonà, "Franco Albini e la cultura architettonica in Italia," *Zodiac* 3 (1958), 83.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 85. The quotation is also included in: Bucci and Rossari, *I musei*, 18.

⁶⁹ Esposizione triennale Internazionale delle arti decorative industriali moderne alla villa Reale di Monza (ed.), *36 Progetti di ville di architetti italiani* (Milan: Bestetti e Tumminelli, 1930), 2–7.

⁷⁰ See chapter 4.1.

The importance to understand the wishes and the expectations of a foreign audience, had been pointed out by Albini himself between 1954 and 1955, during a conference at the Faculty of Architecture in Milan:

I believe that the interest is aroused whenever the exhibition, topic and presentation, enter the sphere of understanding and of acceptance of the public and at the same time it represents an integration of its needs and a contribution to its culture. (...)

I have found that the Swedish public rejects a certain expression of Italian decorative art, in which the lack of controlled forms joins the lack of practical destination. For many Swedes, especially those who do not know our country and have not suffered all the charms that make us forgive so many things, I have been questioned about why in Italy we only make unique pieces, only objects accessible to an economically high class, and there is no production also for all the others, who, like everyone else, need beautiful things as well.

Therefore, in order for an exhibition of applied art to be more included into their sphere of acceptance, it is preferable that it points out a qualified production of everyday objects rather than the most imaginative decorative art.

Another aspect of the Swedish public's character (...) is the aspiration of all that is related to a natural and historical environment that they have.

The Scandinavian landscape is totally different from that of Italy: a wavy ground, polished granite rocks, which denounce the age-old action of the ice: a great variety of small details that is realized in an assembly of great monotony. The result is a large scale, opposed to the small scale of the Italian landscape, which changes within a few kilometers, in which free nature is absent, built as it is by millennia of history.

I believe that the different request of the larger Swedish public, which I myself have been able to verify, are in large part described by these different environmental conditions. The Swedish public accepts and understands those artistic expressions that preserve and enhance all the characteristics of our country of origin and of our most authentic culture.

An analogous reflexion on the theme could be done for the architecture of the exhibitions. It establishes the relationship between the exhibited works and the visitor and moreover it establishes the very first approach of the public to the theme of the exhibition. The first act of sympathy.

It seems important to me to point out the need for the architect's sensitivity to take into account the range of acceptance of a certain public

and also the limits in which the surprise can play to conquer the sympathy of the public already at the threshold of the exhibition. It is sometimes fundamental for the success and interest of the exhibition to detach the visitor from external reality and induce it in a particular atmosphere, which helps him to focus on the exhibited works and sharpen their sensitivity, without causing them any stress. Architecture must become a mediator between the public and the exhibited items, it must give value to the environment as a powerful of suggestion on the visitor.⁷¹

Thanks to these insightful words, we have valid ‘map’ to interpret the role of Albini in front of the Swedish audience: not only he was well aware of the limits within the Italian decorative art system (still not able to reach a affordability for all level of society),⁷² he also decided to use it in order to choose the best national production that could have matched the Nordic wishes: economic and popular.⁷³ In this sense, the success of any show was made, first of all, starting from the dialogue –or even better the ‘acceptance’– of the ‘other’ part: the users. On the other hand, the design of a traveling exhibition had the difficult task of being able to adapt to the different situations, starting from the first location in Stockholm: the Liljevalchs Konsthall, inside the huge rooms built by Carl Bergsten in 1916. The museum, which had already been the background of the 1920 *Italienska Utställningen*,⁷⁴ was characterized by a direct smooth illumination, thanks to the large windows in the double-high volume of the Skulpturhall, and the glass ceilings of the two central rooms.

⁷¹ Franco Albini, “Le mie esperienze di architetto nelle esposizioni in Italia e all’estero,” *Casabella* 370 (2005): 9–13.

⁷² On a general analysis of the Italian design in the Post-war period see: Elena Dellapiana, “i designer architetti,” in Fiorella Bulegato and Elena Dellapiana (ed.), *Il design degli architetti italiani 1920-2000* (Milan: Electa architettura, 2014), 8–31. On the same topic, see also the recent study: Catharine Rossi, *Crafting Design in Italy. From Post-war to Postmodernism* 8 Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015).

⁷³ Despite the attempts, not all critics were completely satisfied by the final selection. See for example Ragna Ljungdell, “Italiensk arkitektur och konsthantverk,” *Aftonposten*, April 9, 1953, in which she recalled the beauty of Italian artisanship.

⁷⁴ See par.3.2.

The exhibition was also the first organized by Albini in collaboration with his partner Franca Helg (1920-1989),⁷⁵ more than ten years younger than his male collaborator.

The final solution for the Liljevalchs reflected the temporality of the event and gave a modern –an more ‘human’– interpretation of Bergsten’s classical architecture: first of all it had few highly selected pieces, in order to highlight the scenographic effect of Albini’s arrangements.

As shown in the general plan (**Fig. 132**), the occupied spaces were basically four: the schulpturhall devoted –as it was in Bergsten original intention– to the giant modern sculptures by Marino Marini, Arturo Martini and Marino Mazzacurati; the two main central rooms were dedicated to paintings and other significant sculpture by Umberto Boccioni, and, finally, three rooms dedicated to decorative arts.

In the same conference (1954-1955), he also stated that,

‘given the large amount of material to be exhibited, the sequence of the rooms devoted to pure art was interrupted with the rooms of applied art. This intersection of the topics, which due to their different nature required different forms of exhibition, gave liveliness to the exhibition. The rooms of the decorative art, precisely because of the minute character of the exhibits, have been set up in such a way as to close and embellish the space, while in the others the layout has been limited to emphasizing the continuity of the spaces. The insistent use of the same materials and the same elements reaffirmed the link between the different parts. For the intelligibility of the exhibited items, it is always necessary a logical and human dimension of the space that contains them: dimension logically proportioned to the works and humanly to the visitor.’⁷⁶

In this sense, the use of a series of light cotton tapestries (in Italian ‘tarlatana’), that were hanged on the ceiling to form soft parables, was made not only in order

⁷⁵ Franca became a partner of the Albini-Helg studio in 1952. Kay Bea Jones, *Suspending Modernity: the Architecture of Franco Albini* (London. Ashgate, 2014), 147. On Franca Helg’s distinctive role by her husband, not much as been said yet. A brief study had been published by Antonio Piva, and Vittorio Prina. *Franca Helg. “La gran dama dell’architettura italiana”* (Milan: Franco Angeli, 2006).

⁷⁶ Franco Albini, “Le mie esperienze,” 10.

to filtrate the light of the large glasses, but also to re-modulate the immense size of the Bergsten's space.⁷⁷ (Fig.133-138)

While in the double-high volume, the larger sculptures could find a better proportion with the lowered ceiling, in the first room, space was cut diagonally by metal posts, suspended on light stainless steel rods.⁷⁸

The effect was a series of dark vertical elements which seemed suspended into the free air, giving a sense of lightness, which contrasted with the simple concrete bases of the sculptures. (Fig.136-138)

Similar to this disposition, the decorative art rooms were organized with steel bars and glass showcases, already used in the Palazzo Bianco in Genoa and perfected for temporary displays at the 'Bycycle exhibition' at the IX Triennale (1951).⁷⁹

The rooms devoted to Decorative Arts, represented what he called the 'variation of the voltage' of the exhibition: not an empty space nor a struggle for repetition. In this smaller spaces, the velarium was hanged on a plywood ring, and the cotton elements followed the perimeter walls to the floor, creating a tent space, suspended in time, focusing all the attention on the exposed elements.

(Fig.139-143)

Four round tables, covered with purple paper, hosted ceramics and other potteries. Other 'monumentalized' elements were the 'Margherita' chairs, designed by Albini himself in 1950 and made with straws, in order to directly reconnect his work with the peasant tradition.⁸⁰ (Fig.137 and 141-142)

Compared to the previous 1930 and 1920 exhibition at Liljevalchs, this was the most relevant moment for Italian architecture, and in fact a separate area was in

⁷⁷ The tarlatana was white, on the walls of the scupturhall were also hanged pink and green cotton tapestries, recalling the Italian colors of the flag Franco Albini, *Mostra di Arte contemporanea di Stoccolma – 1952 Organizzata per conto della Biennale di Venezia*, Archivio Albini, Milan, ID_retro 41_2. See **Appendix 'Letters Franco Albini.'**

⁷⁸ The description of the exhibition is based on a large number of photos and on the description and the drawings at the Archivio Albini, Milan.

⁷⁹ Federico Bucci and Augusto Rossati, *I musei e gli allestimenti di Franco Albini* (Milan: Electa, 2005), 137. The IX Triennale opened on May 12, and, speaking about the Swedish section, this had received great praise. The organization, still held by the Swedish Institute, was chaired by Erik Wettergren (for the organizing committee) and Gotthard Johansson (for the executive committee). The jury, of which Karl Olof Stefansson was vice-president, rewarded, among others, the Swedes Stig Lindberg, the Orrefors glasbruck and Bengt Gate. Among the invited guests in Italy for the occasion are the Swedes Backström & Reinius. In Agnoldomenico Pica, *Storia della Triennale* (Milan: Edizioni del Milione, 1957), 55.

⁸⁰ Franco Albini, *Mostra di Arte contemporanea*.

the basement of Liljevalchs was dedicated also to it, including the most important Italian names. (Fig.144-149)

The selection was guided by the CIAM group, mainly made by members from Milan.

Compared to the sure success of the Italian Arts and Decorative Arts, the architectural exhibition was far more difficult to communicate only through photos and drawings.

However, the 'Italian month' managed to raise the expected success: as we can read in the local press, Swedish critics were quite impressed by modern Italian architecture 'characterized by new lines, extreme functionality and purity.'⁸¹

Interesting is that in this occasion, the Swedish attention was raised for the first time on the role of the engineer Pier Luigi Nervi, as it would in the following years.⁸²

The Italian month in Stockholm, signed by Franco Albini's organization, had a rather positive resonance on the foreign audience and the presence of a group of Italian architect (Gio Ponti, Vito Latis, Franco Albini, Ignazio Gardella and Carlo de Carli) was finally celebrated by the press.⁸³ (Fig.150)

Their presence was probably related to a second design exhibition: the opening –from March 23 to April 4– of the 'Italian Product Exposition', inside the Nordiska Companiet.⁸⁴ (Fig.151)

After few weeks, from April 16 to 23, Piero Portaluppi (1888-1967) sent a letter to the Swedish Institute, in order to coordinate with them his visit to Stockholm with his students from the Faculty of Architecture in Milan.⁸⁵

The vivacity of the mutual exchanges was certainly evident at this point, and then it will gradually lose its strength from 1965 onwards.

In this sense, this festival was a crucial occasion for further developments: first of all, Gio Ponti's proposal for the Italian Institute of Culture in Stockholm, but also it was a moment of unexpected exchanges, as denounced by Albini's untitled

⁸¹ Harry Källmark, "Arkitektur och naturrealism." See **Appendix 'Articles 1953'**.

⁸² "There is a great deal of stony functionalism and unrealistic formalism in the catalogue. This is not lacking here either, and perhaps you can say that the architecture which points ahead in Italy does it in a rather convincing way. Nervi's concrete constructions in stadium, industrial and hangar buildings have a beautiful matter." Torsten Westman, "Nutida Italiensk arkitektur," *Dagens Nyheter*, March 14, 1953.

⁸³ "Fem italienska arkitektkollegar," *Stockholm Tidningen*, March 11, 1953.

⁸⁴ "Il mese italiano a Stoccolma," in *Rassegna annuale di scambi*, 124–125.

⁸⁵ *Letter from Piero Portaluppi to the Swedish Institute, April 17, 1953*, Svenska Institutet Arkivet, Deposit 1, Box 'FIIa', Folder 126, Riksarkivet, Stockholm.

photo while he was sitting in Aalto's Villa Mairea, probably taken while the Italian architect arrived in the Finnish capital, with his travelling exhibition. (Fig.152)



Fig.131 – Strändvagen (Stockholm) with the manifest of the Italian exhibition, 1953.
Source: Liljevalchs Konsthall Arkivet, photoalbum "1953 Nutida Italiensk Konst".

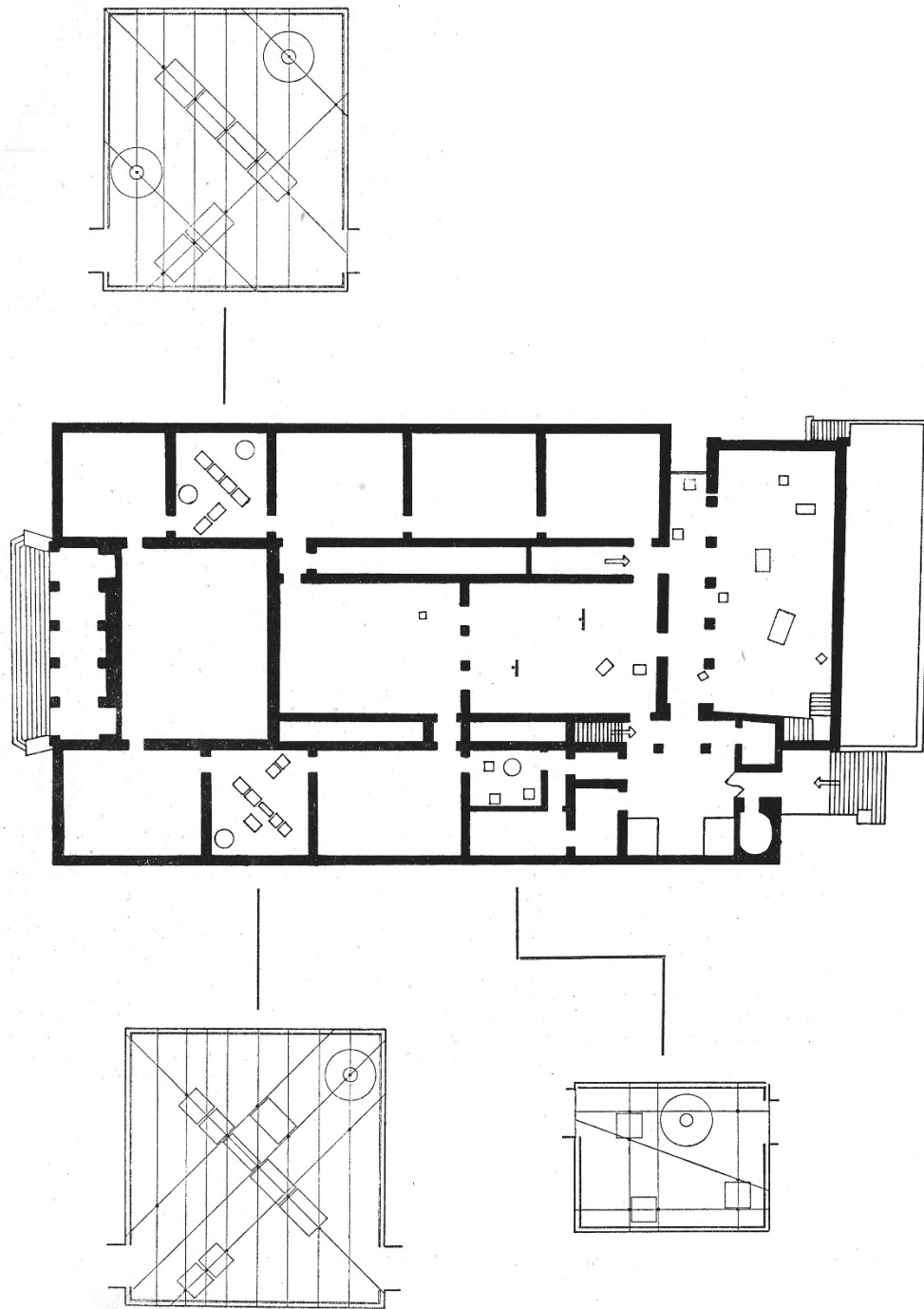


Fig.132 – Plan of the Exhibition at Liljevalchs Konsthall by Franco Albini.
Source: Franco Albini and Franca Helg, “Due mostre di arte moderna italiana ad Helsinki e Stoccolma,”
Metron 48(November 1953), 28.



Fig.133 – The Skulpturhall (Carl Bergsten, 1916) on occasion of the Italian exhibition, 1953.
Source: Liljevalchs Konsthall Arkivet, photoalbum “1953 Nutida Italiensk Konst”.



Fig.134 – The Skulpturhall (Carl Bergsten, 1916) on occasion of the Italian exhibition, 1953.
Source: Liljevalchs Konsthall Arkivet, photoalbum “1953 Nutida Italiensk Konst”.



Fig.135 – The Skulpturhall (Carl Bergsten, 1916) on occasion of the Italian exhibition, 1953.
Source: Liljevalchs Konsthall Arkivet, photoalbum “1953 Nutida Italiensk Konst”.



Fig.136 – Main room on occasion of the Italian exhibition, 1953.
Source: Liljevalchs Konsthall Arkivet, photoalbum “1953 Nutida Italiensk Konst”.



Fig.137 – One of the main room on occasion of the Italian exhibition, 1953.
Source: Liljevalchs Konsthall Arkivet, photoalbum “1953 Nutida Italiensk Konst”.



Fig.138 – *Nutida Italiensk Konst*. Exhibition of tapestries by Franco Albini (1953).
Source: Liljevalchs Konsthall Arkivet, photoalbum “1953 Nutida Italiensk Konst”.

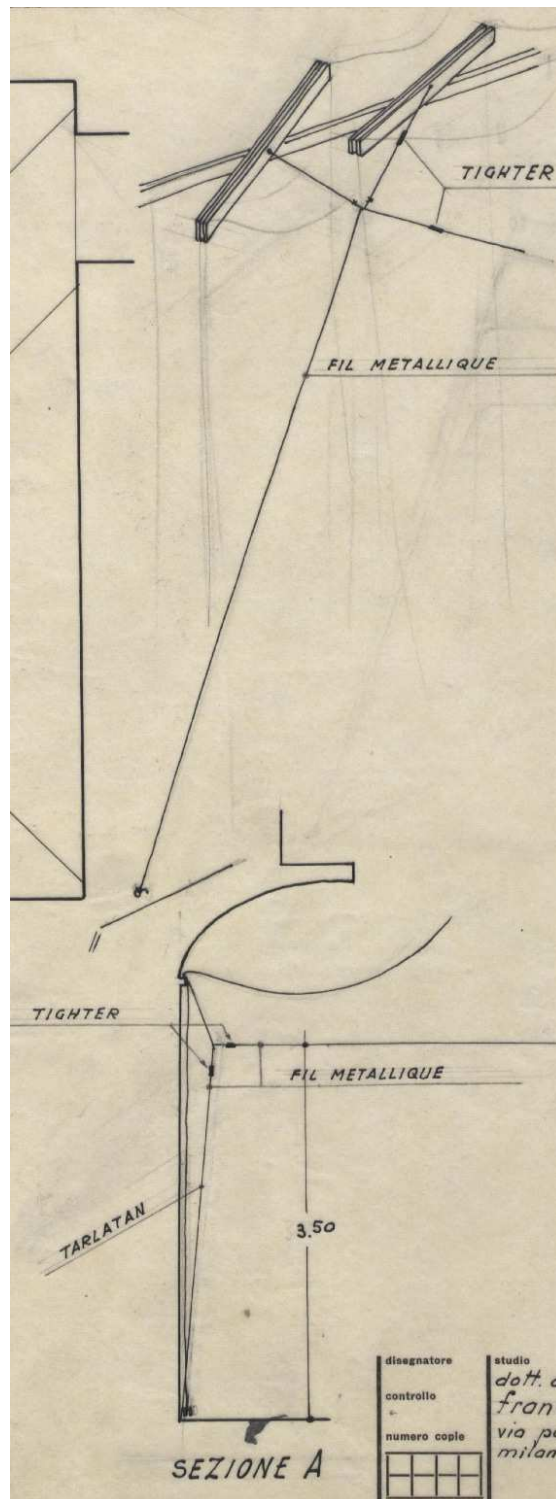


Fig.139 – Detail of the ‘velarium’ system.
Source: Archivio Albini, ID.118_3.



Fig.140 – *Nutida Italiensk Konst*. Exhibition by Franco Albini (1953).
Source: Liljevalchs Konsthall Arkivet, photoalbum “1953 Nutida Italiensk Konst”.



Fig.141 – *Nutida Italiensk Konst*. Exhibition by Franco Albini (1953).
Source: Liljevalchs Konsthall Arkivet, photoalbum “1953 Nutida Italiensk Konst”.



Fig.142 – *Nutida Italiensk Konst*. Exhibition by Franco Albini (1953).
Source: Liljevalchs Konsthall Arkivet, photoalbum “1953 Nutida Italiensk Konst”.



Fig.143 – *Nutida Italiensk Konst.* Exhibition by Franco Albini (1953).
Source: Liljevalchs Konsthall Arkivet, photoalbum “1953 Nutida Italiensk Konst”.



Fig.144 – *Nutida Italiensk Konst*. Architectural and design Exhibition by Franco Albini (1953).
Source: Liljevalchs Konsthall Arkivet, photoalbum “1953 Nutida Italiensk Konst”.

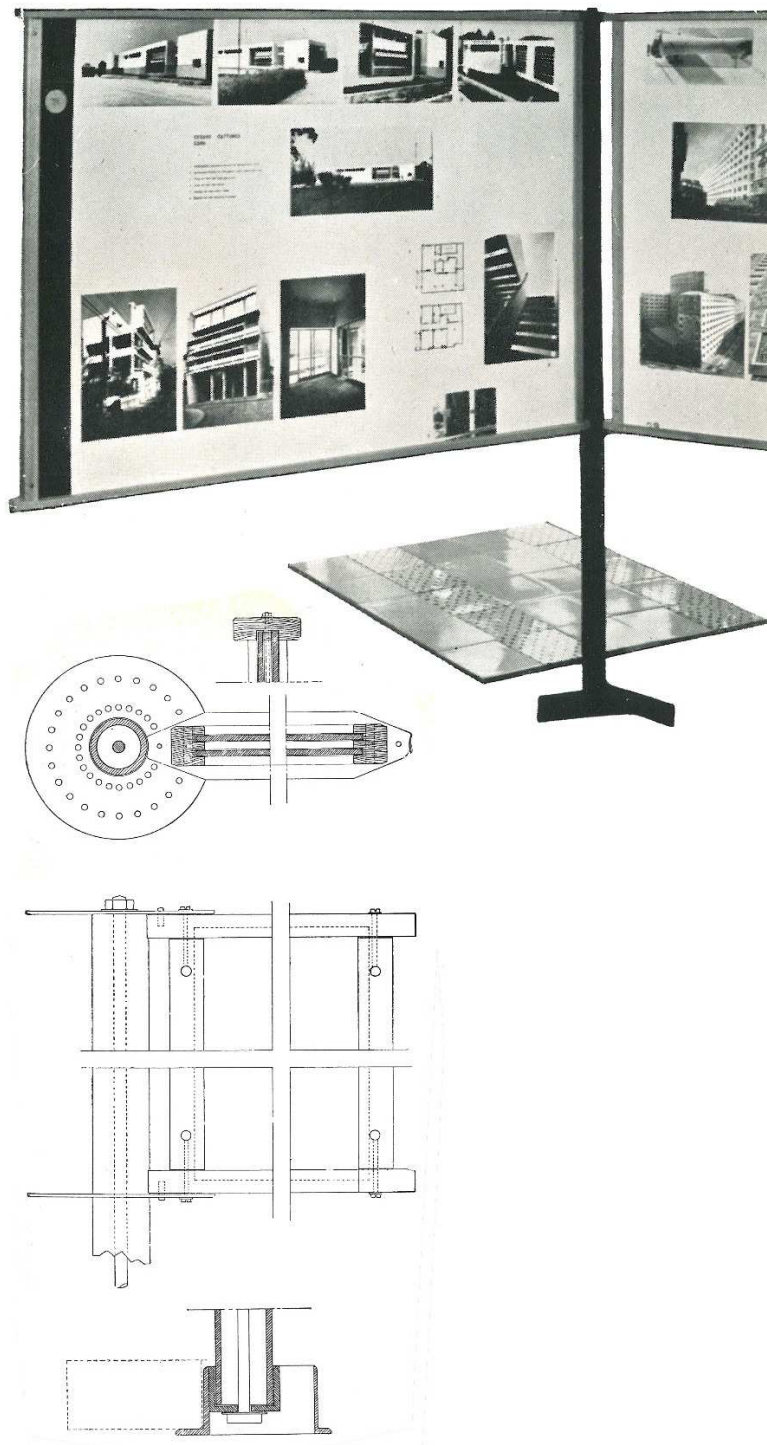


Fig.145 – Detail of the standing pole of the Architectural Exhibition by Franco Albini.
Source: Franco Albini and Franca Helg, “Due mostre di arte moderna italiana ad Helsinki e Stoccolma,”
Metron 48 (November 1953), 32.



Fig.146 – *Nutida Italiensk Konst*. Architectural and design Exhibition by Franco Albini (1953).
Source: Liljevalchs Konsthall Arkivet, photoalbum “1953 Nutida Italiensk Konst”.



Fig.147 – *Nutida Italiensk Konst*. Architectural and design Exhibition by Franco Albini (1953).
Source: Liljevalchs Konsthall Arkivet, photoalbum “1953 Nutida Italiensk Konst”.

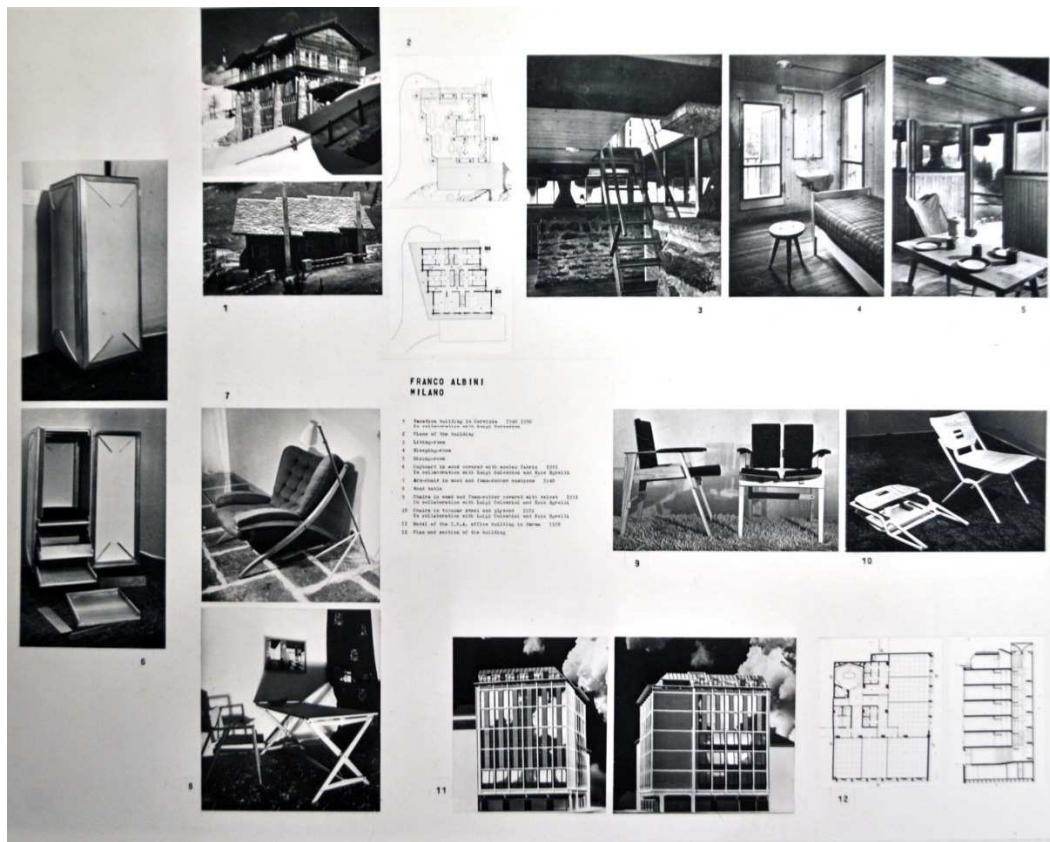
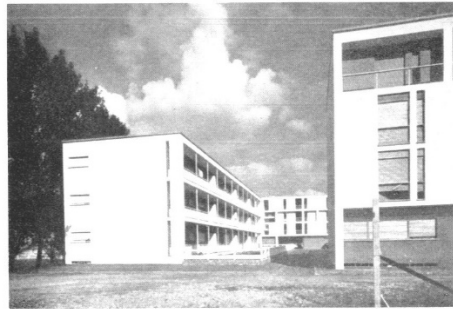


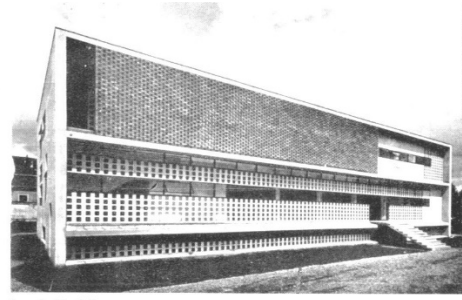
Fig.148 – *Nutida Italiensk Konst.* Architectural panel of Franco Albini (1953).
 Source: Liljevalchs Konsthall Arkivet, photoalbum "1953 Nutida Italiensk Konst".



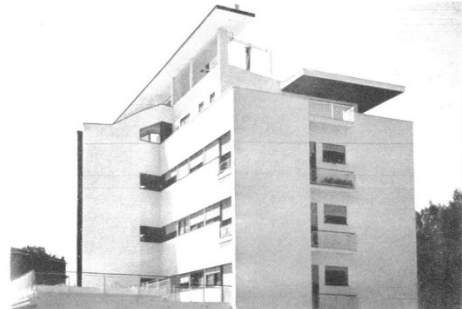
Carlo Mollino
Skidstation och hotell vid Sauze d'Oulx (Skärm 38)
Marcello Nizzoli och Annibale Focchi
Bostadshus för anställda vid AB Olivetti, Ivrea



Pl. 38



Ignazio Gardella
Tuberkulossanatorium, Alexandria
Vincenzo Monuco och Amadeo Lucichenti
Hyreshus, via Salaria, Rom



Pl. 39

Fig.149 – Examples of Italian modern architectures included in the official catalogue.

Source: *Nutida Italiensk Konst: utställning anordnad av Biennalen i Venedig. Liljevalchs Konsthall, 7 mars-12 april 1953* (Milan: Mondadori, 1953), Pl.37-38.



Fig.150 – Gio Ponti, Vito Latis, Franco Albini, Ignazio Gardella and Carlo de Carli.
Source: "Fem italienska arkitektkollegor," *Stockholm Tidningen*, March 11, 1953.

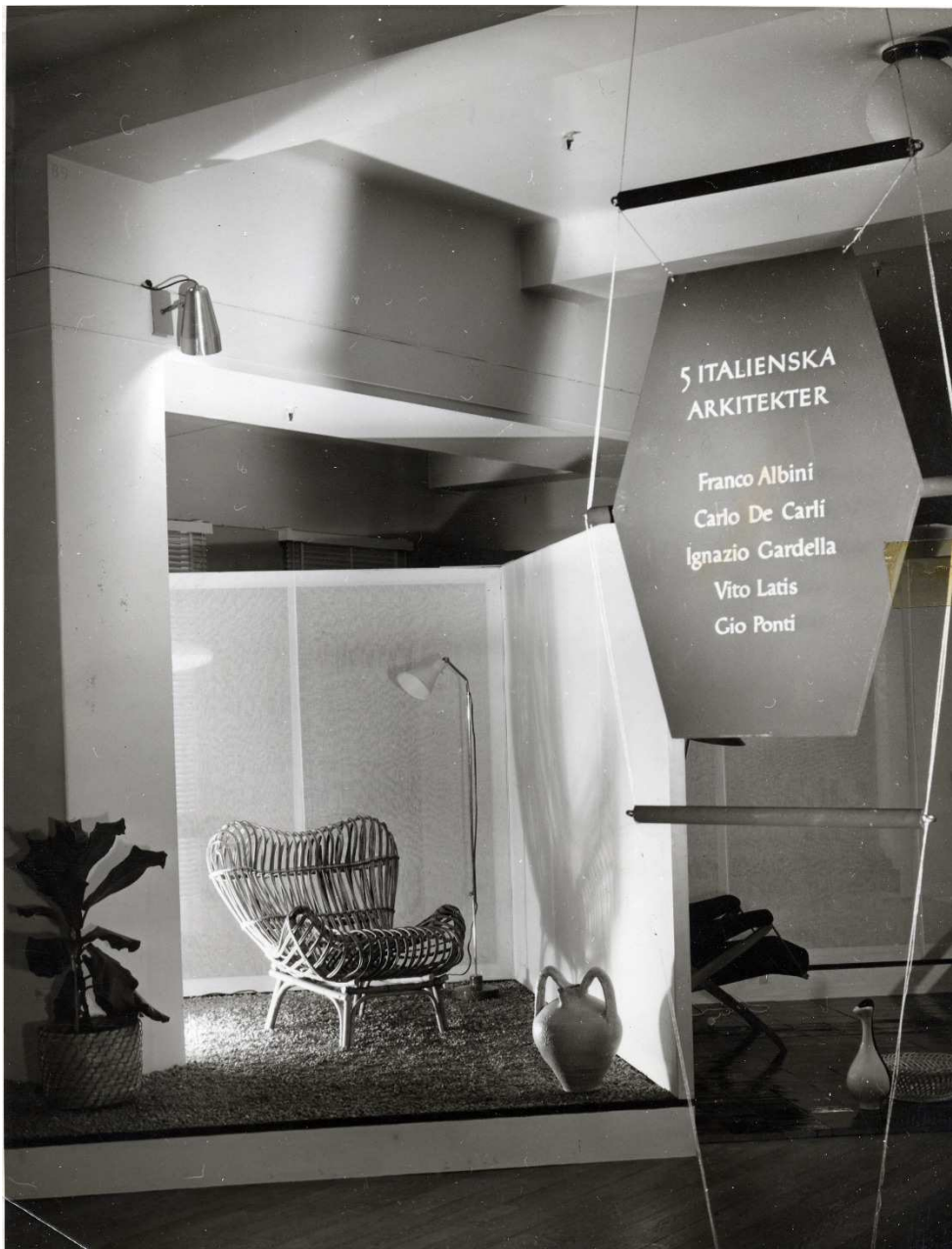


Fig.151 – Exhibition at the Nordiska Kompaniet by Gio Ponti, Vito Latis, Franco Albini, Ignazio Gardella and Carlo de Carli.

Source: Archivio Albini, ID.40_10.



Fig.152 – Albini at Villa Mairea.
Source: Archivio Albini.

EPILOGUE

A younger Generation to the North

After the inclusion, in 1950, of several Nordic models into the second Italian 'handbook' published by the Italian Housing Plan Committee,⁸⁶ the International fortune of Swedish architecture was sealed in the 1957 book by Kidder Smith *Sweden Builds*, who presented this Nordic country as a model for the its high quality of life and the positive relations between architecture and the surrounding environment.⁸⁷

This second book was also conceived as a helpful manual for architects, divided by typology and with an introduction on Swedish Peasants traditions, like wood structures and 'stone architecture' of country churches and castles.

The presented image of Sweden was positive, and impossible to untangle from its Social-Democratic government,⁸⁸ which resonated the ideals of the Italian 'Christian-Democratic' Party.

In that same moment, in Italy the collaborations with Sweden were becoming more evident, as in the case of the Swedish RESO ('Cooperative Association for the Organization of Travels and Popular Vacations') who in 1958 decided to build a touristic village for Nordic workers, in Tuscany in the natural environment of Castiglione della Pescaia, in the place today known as 'Riva del Sole'.⁸⁹

The project intended to interpret the Swedish model in an Italian perspective, since the two appointed designer were the Italian architect Maria Cittadini

⁸⁶ *Piano incremento occupazione operaia: Case per lavoratori 2. Suggestimenti, esempi e norme per la progettazione urbanistica* (Rome: Danesi, 1950).

⁸⁷ George E. Kidder Smith, *Sweden Builds* (New York: Reinhold Publishing, 1957), 17.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.* 'Actually it is difficult to imagine their architecture in a nonsocialist country.'

⁸⁹ Giancarlo Capecchi, *50 Anni di Riva del Sole* (Grosseto: Editrice Innocenti, 2010), 82–84.

(1924-2013)⁹⁰ and his engineer husband Iginò Chellini,⁹¹ after a formal invitation to visit the Nordic country.⁹² (Fig.153-154)

The project was well welcomed in the pages *Costruire*, as a fine example of a modern 'autonomous neighborhood' (as were supposed to be the INA Casa developments), particularly concerned in fitting within the natural existing context: 'the urban composition certainly does not perpetuate a violence, but on the contrary follows a rhythm, a "contained" relation. A rhythm of planimetric adjustment, rational masses between the inserted volumes and the episodes of the landscape.'⁹³

On the other hand, the design was an interception of both Swedish and Italian elements, visible for example in one of the facades of the touristic center (Fig. 155): the use of simple porous bricks for the ventilation of the rooms, as in Gardella's Sanatorium (1929-1936) was in fact tribute to the popular tradition, while the planimetric design of the building and the rotation of the rooms recalled the famous Backstrom and Reinius' *Kvinnornas hus*. (Fig.53-54)

Besides taking the Swedish models to the Italian shores, the economic growth and Kidder Smith's publication had made the *Norden* destinations even more suitable for Italian architect, as proved by the few information available of other 'Trip to the North': among the modern travellers, we can include for example the 1958 'Study Trip' by the Accademia di San Luca with the newly graduated Paolo Marconi (1933-2013),⁹⁴ Gianfranco Caniggia (1933-1987) and Adelaide Regazzoni to visit Swedish and Danish architectures,⁹⁵ as well as Alfredo

⁹⁰ A brief bibliography of her work is included in Maria Letizia Mancuso, *50 anni di professione: IV Volume* (Roma: Prospettive, 2006), 56-59.

⁹¹ The building had been published in: F. V. De Ambris, "Centro turistico internazionale Riva del Sole a Castiglione della Pescaia," *Costruire* 10 (January-March 1962): 27-52; Giovanni Tombari, *Umberto Tombari. Un progettista nella provincia italiana (opere e progetti 1925-1960)*, (Roccastrada: Editrice Il mio amico, 2004): 120-128; Marco Del Francia, Giovanni Tombari, Barbara Catalani (eds.), *Itinerari di Architettura contemporanea: Grosseto e provincia* (Pisa: Edizioni ETS, 2011), 26-27.

⁹² The information is based on the testimony of the nephew of the couple. However, since Maria Cittadini and Iginò Chellini do not have any available archive yet, it is difficult to go for further research.

⁹³ F. V. De Ambris, "Centro turistico internazionale," 28. (Translation by the author)

⁹⁴ He was the son of Plinio Marconi, mentioned for his direction in the 1930s of the magazine *Architettura* and for his early interest in Asplund's architecture, when he wrote him in 1931. See par. 4.1.1.

⁹⁵ The travel by the Accademia di San Luca was presented in Saverio Sturm, "Young Italian architects in the North in the Post-war: the Accademia di San Luca's study tour in Sweden and

Lambertucci's (1928-1996) travel to Denmark (between Åarhus e Copenhagen) in summer 1958.⁹⁶ (Fig.156)

Particularly interesting were also Michele Capobianco's travels in Sweden, at first when he was still a student in architecture in 1951.⁹⁷

Years after this first travel, during which he established long-lasting relationships with Swedish architects, like Torbjörn Olsson (1916-1998),⁹⁸ in 1959 he wrote the second book, after Zevi's 1948 pamphlet, on Erik Gunnar Asplund.⁹⁹

In the meantime, on Nordic shores, Gio Ponti inaugurated his Italian Institute of Culture in Stockholm on 24 November 1958, described by the local press, with ambiguous feelings, as 'piece of Italy in the North'.¹⁰⁰ (Fig.157)

Despite Ponti's words, the building had been designed in collaboration with the Swedish architect Ture Wennerholm (1892-1957), known in Italy for his Ericsson factory in Stockholm,¹⁰¹ as well as with the Italian engineer Pier Luigi Nervi (1891-1979) for the structure of the auditorium, and it is therefore impossible not to notice some 'Swedish references', for example in the two main facades of the building.

Moreover, if we want to extend to the other Nordic countries, it is possible to see the first travels to Finland, with the experiences of Leonardo Mosso, Carlo Chiarini, Luciano Rubino (with his Danish wife Inge Pedersen) and Federico Marconi, as important experiences which still need to be deepened by historians.

Denmark in 1958" (paper presented at the international seminar "Beyond Rome. Architects' travels between the Nordic countries and the Mediterranean," Stockholm, Sweden, May 20–21, 2016).

⁹⁶ Alfredo Lambertucci's private archive is currently under study by Pisana Posocco, who provided the information on this summer travel.

⁹⁷ Some traces of his experience had been found in Zevi's archive, in a letter by Capobianco written in 1999, when he remembered his first encounter with Zevi, in 1955, once he came back from his Swedish experience. See **Appendix 4.5**.

⁹⁸ Letters are available at the Ark Des (Stockholm), in the AOS studio correspondence (Ahlgreen-Olsson-Silow) with Michele Capobianco.

⁹⁹ Michele Capobianco, *Asplund e il suo tempo* (Naples: Tip. Licenziato, 1959).

¹⁰⁰ For a deeper analysis of Ponti's building, the Italian museum MAXXI published the exhibition catalogue: Fulvio Irace (ed.), *Gio Ponti a Stoccolma. L'istituto Italiano di cultura "C.M. Lericci"* (Milan: Mondadori, 2007). The quotation is taken from "Un edificio Italiano a Stoccolma," *Domus* 288 (1953), the magazine directed by Ponti himself.

¹⁰¹ "Una fabbrica nella natura," *Comunità* 2 (March-April 1949): 30–31. PhD. Giovanni Bellucci is currently undergoing some further research on this architect, and his relations with the Italian architect Gio Ponti.

On the exhibition front, the year 1953 did not sign the end of Italian presentations in the North, but they did not had the same resonance of the *Nutida Italiensk Konst*.

We can recall for example the opening of the Exhibition about Nordic Art, organized in April-May 1955 in Rome at the 'Palazzo delle Esposizioni', collecting the most important artworks from all Nordic countries, included Iceland. (Fig.158)

In the preface of the catalogue, the Italian organizer and art critic Emilio Lavagnino (1898-1963) clearly stated the resonance of Nordic design and architecture, forgetting on one side that this exchange had began from pure arts and the opening of the first Biennale in Venice in 1895:

'Among us [Italians], beside some Edvard Munch's works, the major interest in the artistic production of the five Nordic nations was polarized in the field of artistic craftsmanship and architecture and very numerous are, undoubtedly, the Italians who, next to the engravings, the paintings and to the sculptures exhibited in Rome today, would have liked to see ceramics, fabrics, wood, glasses and above all drawings, photographs and architectural projects. A desire that we think it is not impossible to satisfy in an age not too far away'.¹⁰²

Unfortunately, this second appointment was never arranged, in favour to others: in 1961 for example the exhibition 'Italian Culture of today' (*Italiensk konst*) traveled, from March to November, crosses the entire northern Europe, with sections dedicated to Painting, Sculpture, Architecture and Decorative Arts.¹⁰³ (Fig.159-162)

The exhibition was organized by the Italian *Biennale* and the *Triennale* and, on behalf of this last Institution, were appointed the critic Agnoldomenico Pica and the architect Enrico Peressutti (1908-1976).¹⁰⁴

¹⁰² *Arte nordica contemporanea Danimarca, Islanda, Finlandia, Norvegia e Svezia*. Edited by Associazione nordica delle arti (Rome: L. De Luca, 1955), Exhibition catalogue, 10.

¹⁰³ The exhibition was hosted from March to April at the Louisiana Museum in Copenhagen; in May, the exhibition arrived in Göteborg; from August 5 to September 10 the exhibition is at the *Svea Galleriet* in Stockholm. Between the end of September and November 12, the exhibition is in Turku and Helsinki (supervised by the Helsinki Institute of Culture, directed by Roberto Wis).

¹⁰⁴ Knud W. Jensen, "Om udstillingen »Italiensk Kultur i Dag«,” *Louisiana Revy* 4 (March 1961): 2.

Again in January 1962, the Göteborg University wrote to Pier Luigi Nervi to confirm his availability for a conference. Because of his previous commitments he had to kindly refuse the invitation and, in his place, he probably suggested the name of another important Italian engineer: Riccardo Morandi (1902-1989).

In fact, from November 19 to 24 1962, at the Göteborg University, the Student Association in collaboration with the Italian Institute of Culture, organized the 'Italian Week' followed by the 'Italian Product Exhibition'.

During the event, Riccardo Morandi was invited to hold a conference entitled 'On modern concrete and prestressed concrete projects, illustrated by numerous projections' (in collaboration with the Stockholm Polytechnic), while Gio Ponti was called for another lecture at the Italian Institute of Culture, entitled 'This is the greatest time in history, for architecture'.¹⁰⁵

This event clearly showed the Nordic interests towards Italian engineers,¹⁰⁶ celebrated on an international level only in 1964, with the famous MOMA exhibition *Twentieth Century Engineering*.¹⁰⁷

Finally, it is important to remember what was happening in the place where all this story had begun: the *Biennale* gardens. As recalled in the second chapter, in 1954 Boberg's Swedish pavilion –originally built in 1912– had been definitively demolished and replaced by Rietveld's design.¹⁰⁸

At the *Biennale*'s archive, we can still read the dense correspondence between the two nations: not by chance the last 'hope' for the realization of a Swedish pavilion arrived exactly between March and July 1953, contemporary to the *Nutida Italiensk konst* at Liljevalchs Konsthall.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ Foundation C. M. Lericci (ed.), *Rassegna annuale di scambi culturali italo-svedesi. ITALIA SVEZIA*, anno IV (Stockholm: Italian Institute, 1969), 79, 93.

¹⁰⁶ Italian engineers had been published in Sweden in previous occasions: the first time in occasion of the 1953 Stockholm exhibition by the Italian exchange architect Hilda Selem and then in 1955 by Torbjörn Olsson, the Swedish friend of Michele Capobianco, who also provided the connections with the Italian studios and magazines for the images. See: Selem, Hilda, "Pier Luigi Nervi och Hans verk," *Byggmästaren* 12 (1953): 253–280 Torbjörn Olsson, "Nutida italiensk arkitektur," *Konstrevy* 2 (1955): 78–83.

¹⁰⁷ The Exhibition was held between June 30 and September 13, 1964. The exhibition included works by Pier Luigi Nervi, Riccardo Morandi, Franco Levi, Silvano Zorzi, Annibale Vitellozzi, Claudio Marcello and the Garibaldi bridge by Antonio di Carlo and Bruno Zevi,

¹⁰⁸ Mulazzani, Marco. *I Padiglioni della Biennale. Venezia 1887-1988* (Venice: La Biennale di Venezia-Electa, 1988), 55.

¹⁰⁹ See the Letters in, Box 28, Folder 49-53, ASAC Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, Venice, Padiglioni, atti 1938-1968 (serie cosiddetta Paesi).

On July 20, the Swedish architect Axel Kandell took over the task of designing the new pavilion, and, after an exchange period at the Swedish Institute in Rome, he finally sent, to the Biennale committee, a proposal.¹¹⁰ (Fig.163)

Eventually, the occasion faded, and in 1956, a Nordic committee organized an ‘invited competition’ with Klas Anshelm (Sweden), Sverre Fehn (Norway) and Reima Pietilä (Finland). The results are quite known and, at the end of February 1959, Gottard Johansson commented the competition designs, openly praising the essentiality of the project by the winner Sverre Fehn.¹¹¹ (Fig.164-165)

As we can see, if on one side we can trace the Italian attempts to dialogue with Sweden, on the other end the Swedish institutions were gradually losing interests in these events, and the possibility to build a new Swedish pavilion was definitely lost.

A final word has to be spend about Italian magazines and books on Nordic countries: as the general statistics has pointed out by,¹¹² between 1945 and 1965, their resonance in the southern country reached its peak, and then gradually decreased in the next decades.

Particularly relevant was the ‘coverage’ of the topic on titles like *Domus* (1928-ongoing), *Metron* (1945-1954), *Comunità* (1946-1978), but especially the new *Casabella-continuità* (directed from 1954 by Ernesto Nathan Rogers) and *l’Architettura cronache e storia* (1954-2003), led by Bruno Zevi himself.¹¹³

We can close this short outline with the series of publication by the historian Stefano Ray, a young student of Bruno Zevi, who in 1965 published the important reference (at least for an Italian audience) *L’architettura moderna nei paesi scandinavi*. In his first general retrospective on the Scandinavian countries’ modern architecture¹¹⁴ he sealed its influence on the English so-called ‘Neo-Empiricism’ as a reaction to the most strict interpretations of the Modern Movement, and highlighted the role of tradition (both Classical and popular) among the Nordic masters.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ Gottard Johansson, “Biennalpaviljongen,” *Svenska Dagbladet*, February 27, 1959. Fehn won the competition at the end of 1958. Completed in 1962, the building helped secure Fehn’s reputation worldwide.

¹¹² See **Appendix ‘Statistics’, Graphic 1.1. and Graphic 1.2.**

¹¹³ See **Appendix ‘Statistics’, Tab.1.3.** A list of Italian articles is included in the bibliography.

¹¹⁴ A short essay however (specifically on Sweden) had been published in Italy already in 1938, by Saverio Muratori: “Il movimento architettonico moderno in Svezia,” *Architettura 2* (February 1938): 95–122.

¹¹⁵

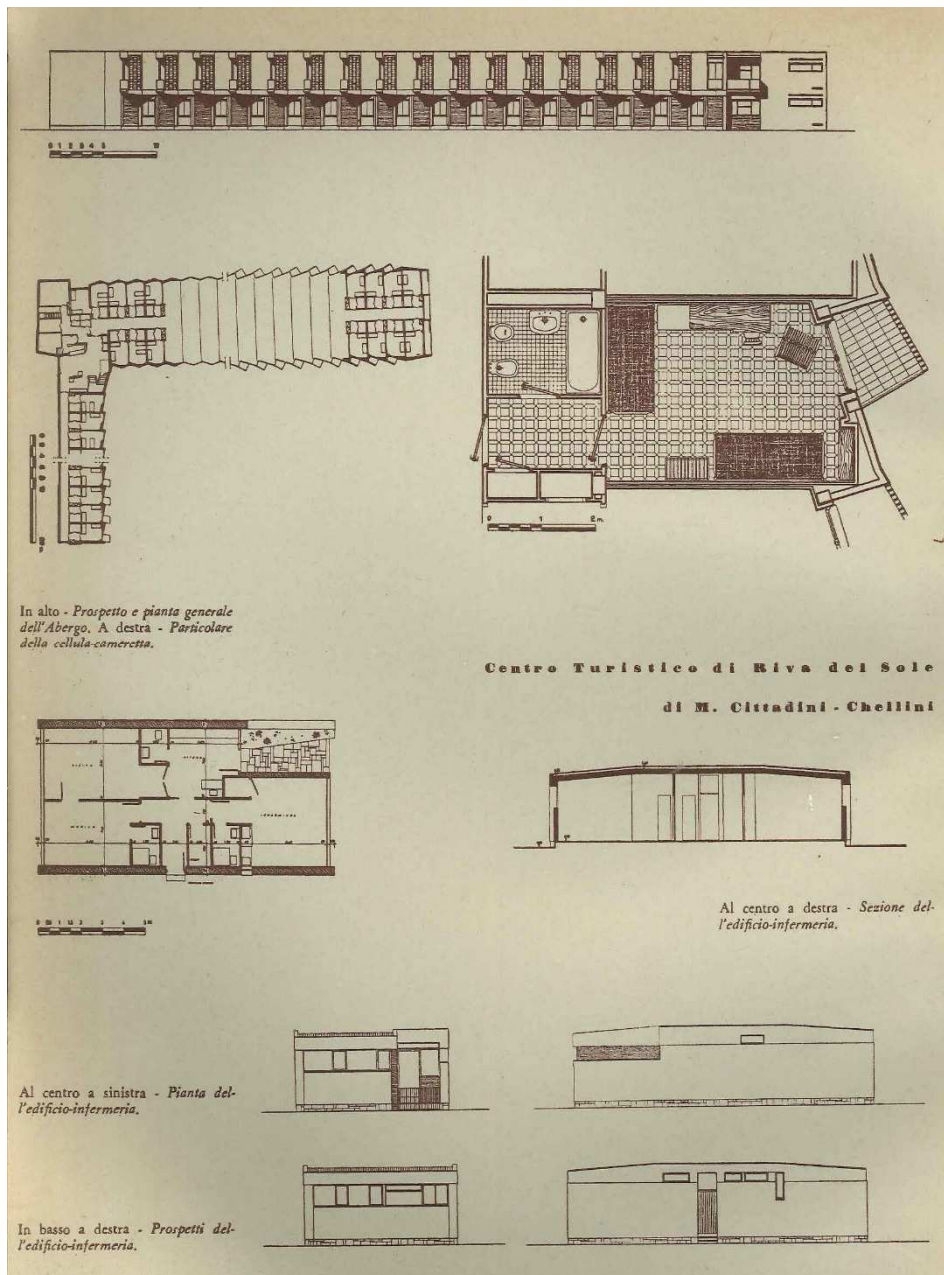


Fig.153 – Riva del Sole: Plan of the central touristic center with a detail of the double room; Plan of the infirmary.

Source: F. V. De Ambris, "Centro turistico internazionale Riva del Sole a Castiglione della Pescaia," *Costruire* 10 (January-March 1962), 40.



Fig.154 – Riva del Sole: the bar.

Source: F. V. De Ambris, “Centro turistico internazionale Riva del Sole a Castiglione della Pescaia,” *Costruire* 10 (January-March 1962), 41.

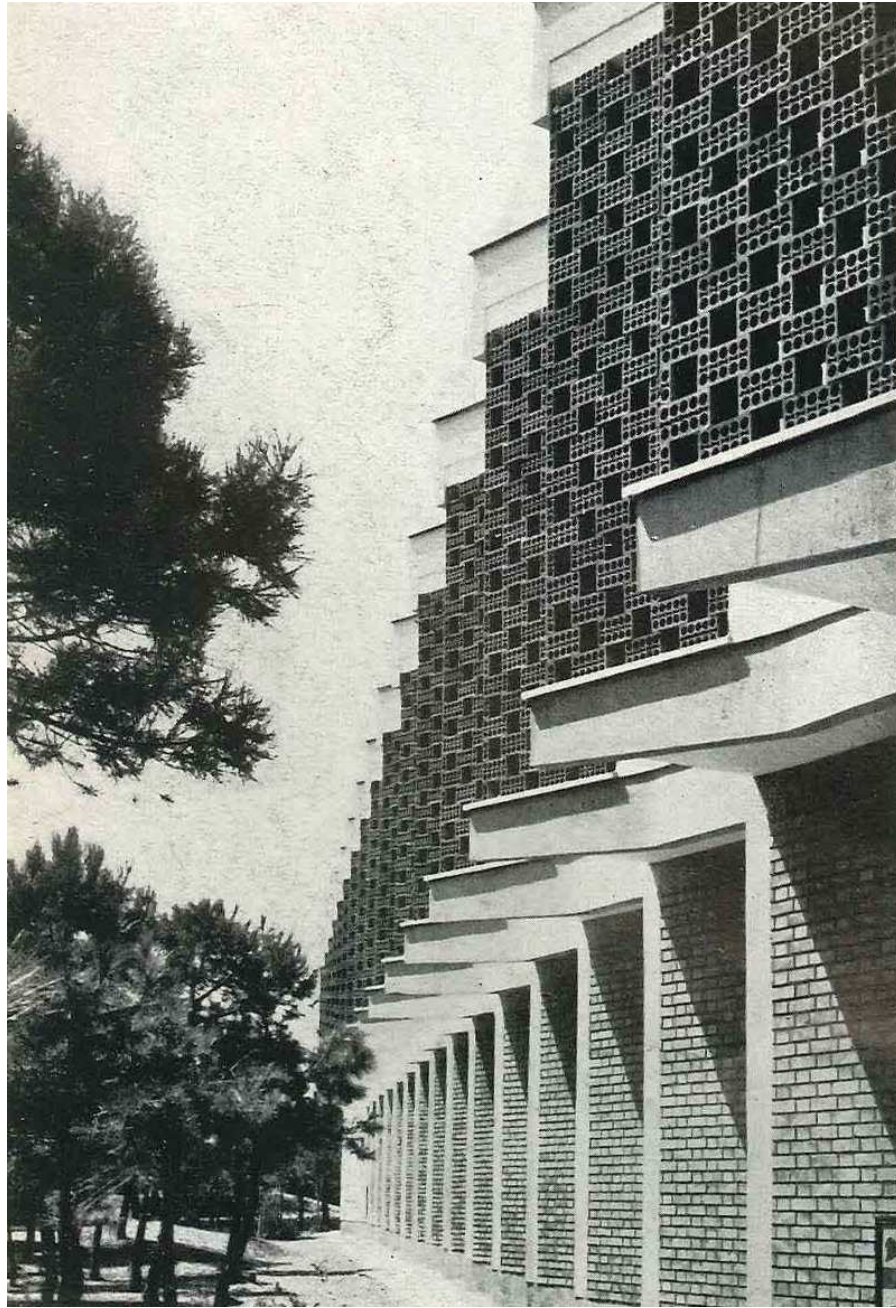


Fig.155 – Riva del Sole: the rooms inside the hotel.

Source: F. V. De Ambris, “Centro turistico internazionale Riva del Sole a Castiglione della Pescaia,” *Costruire* 10 (January-March 1962), 44.



Fig.156 – Alfredo Lambertucci: a picture from his trip in Denmark in 1958.
Source: Alfredo Lambertucci's private archive, Rome.



Fig.157 – The Italian Institute of Culture on the cover of *Arkitektur* (1959)
Source: Arkitektur 9 (1959).



Fig.158 – ‘Arte Nordica Contemporanea’, cover of the official catalogue (1959)
Source: Arte nordica contemporanea Danimarca, Islanda, Finlandia, Norvegia e Svezia. Edited by Associazione nordica delle arti. Rome: L. De Luca, 1955. Exhibition catalogue.



Fig.159 – Image of the Exhibition ‘Italian culture of today’.
Source: Louisiana Museum’s Archive, Copenhagen.



Fig.160 – Image of the Exhibition ‘Italian culture of today’.
Source: Louisiana Museum’s Archive, Copenhagen.

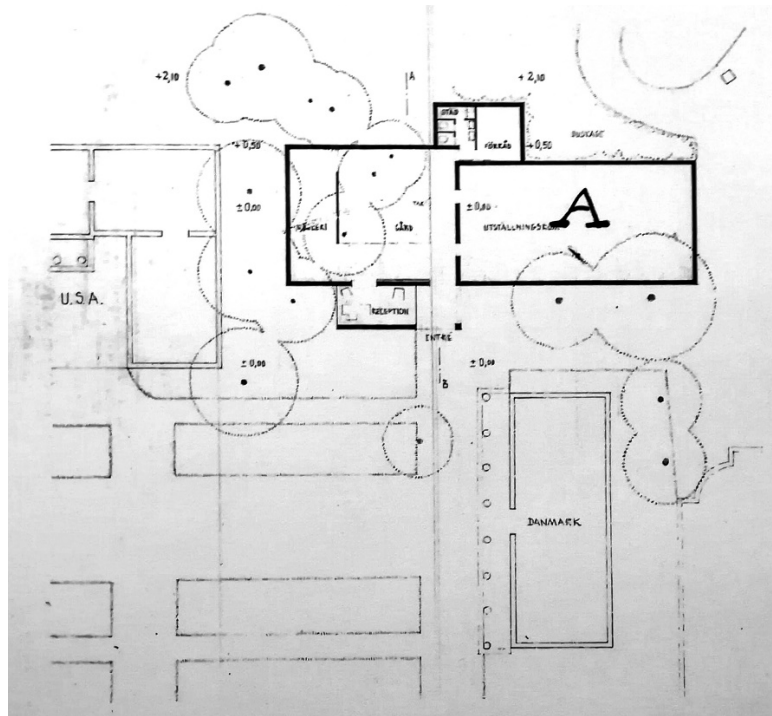


Fig.163 – Plan for the Swedish Pavilion by Axel Kandell (June 25, 1953).
 Source: Axel Kandell, *Plan for the Swedish pavilion*, Box 28, Folder 49-53, ASAC Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, Venice.

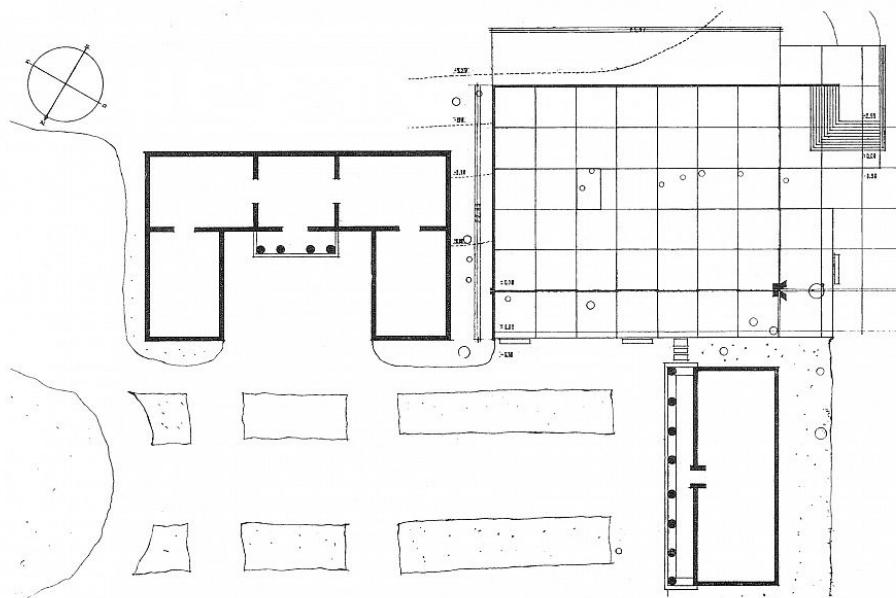


Fig.164 – Plan by Sverre Fehn for the Venice pavilion.
 Source: Christian Norberg-Schultz, *Sverre Fehn: opera completa* (Milan: Electa, 1997).



Fig.165 – Nordic Pavilion by Sverre Fehn at the Venice Biennale.
Source: Photo Ferruzzi, The National museum of Art, Architecture and Design, Oslo..

Conclusions

Concluding a research like the one shown in these pages is perhaps not such an easy task. The reasons are many, first of all the large number of questions, names and situations that have been raised or just introduced, which sometimes seemed like isolated cases and therefore difficult to place in the broader panorama of the history of transnational architecture.

One of the results of my empirical approach, based on both archival materials¹¹⁶ and on the bibliographical analysis, was a certain heterogeneity and the fragmentary nature of the described experiences, which sometimes shared only a chronological horizon.

On the other hand, this empiricism brought me to follow new untraced paths: like the role of Ferdinand Boberg and his relations with the Swedish Institute in Rome; a new awareness about established international encounters (long before the CIAM) from the 1923 first IFHTP congress; the vital role of women like Margherita Sarfatti and Maja Sjöstrom in the fortification of these mutual relationships; the relevance of Zevi's English education; the propagandistic role of the *Swedish Institute for Foreign Culture* in the second Post-war, and finally the intersectional nature of modern architecture itself, since the importance given to pure and decorative arts for a better understanding of the architectural debate.

A wider goal of the research was in fact to contribute to the construction of a more inclusive history, in which Italian architecture had been able to renew its tradition (as well as to contribute to modern architectural historiography) also thanks to the influence of foreign contributions, in combination with its long-lasting reference to its important (and sometimes difficult to deal with) heritage. In order to do that, I have tried to deepen the work of less-known protagonists¹¹⁷ inside a more comprehensive frame of the Italian history of Architecture, as in

¹¹⁶ At this point, it is possible to point out some methodological limitations: the first was certainly the difficulties related to the translation from Swedish to English, followed by the challenging (or in some occasion even impossible) accessibility, to both archival materials or architectural magazines. The Swedish Institute in Rome, for example, does not have an archive open to the public yet, with consequent complications related to the analysis of the events organized in Rome by the same institutions in the 1930s and 1940s, which, for their interests might be used as a starting point for further deepening. Another example was the materials related to Maja Sjöstrom, Swedish artist who moved to Rome in 1924, who had a public archive in Stockholm but her personal letters are still private and their analysis was therefore based on the 2012 publication by Åsa Rausing-Roos.

¹¹⁷ I would also like to focus on the importance of their archives, eventually helping the work of selection by the deputed Italian Institutions.

the case of the critic Vittorio Pica, the futurist Arturo Ciacelli, the artist Guido Balsamo Stella and the architects Giovanni Broglio, Piero Maria Lugli and Hilda Selem.

If we also look to the younger generation, many of other 'minor protagonists' (from the second part of the 1950s and briefly presented in the epilogue) like Maria Cittadini, Stefano Ray and Luciano Rubino, still do not have any available archive. On the other hand, others like Ignazio Gardella and Franco Albini, do not have in their archive some 'private' sections, like their travel photographs or their correspondence, implicitly proposing further developments for the devoted Institutions for the inclusions of these elements.

Besides this reflection on the importance of minor-archives for the wider context, the recurring presence of other well-documented architects like Ferdinand Boberg in the Italian exhibitions, suggests new possibile deepenings to be solved. In the end, this thesis aimed to provide a better understanding of the genesis, based on material evidence, of how and why there was a *liaison* between Italian critics and Nordic architecture, because, if analyzed in relation to their geographical and political context, it looks clear that they have very little in common.

However, to a closer look, Sweden and Italy were two nations which could not be considered among the leaders of the 'heroic' phase of the modern movement, like Germany and France, but they both had a significant role from the 1930s onwards.

Moreover, the peculiar position of Sweden in two World Wars made it an ideal soil for experimentation, with economic possibilities precluded to other European countries. Swedish arts were also able to organize themselves in 'corporate' systems that offered –and sometimes even created– a strong and unique image abroad, with a relevant impact on Italian magazines.

For example, it was the case of the *Svenska Slöjdföreningen* members, who, thanks to their work for the 1920 *Italienska Utställningen*, were able to raise awareness in Italy on the importance of a national education about Decorative and Peasant Italian Arts.

Again in the second Post-war, the dissemination of the 'Swedish model' was consistently achieved through the work of the *Swedish Institute for Foreign Culture*, thanks to their funds to dedicated publication, exchange scholarships and exhibitions.

In this sense, the research highlighted how the recurring confrontation of these two nations, characterized by great differences (like Swedish freedom of interpreting its own past and to 'import' foreign elements), allowed both

countries to critically cope with the paradigms of the 'International style', with sensitive influences coming from their own roots (both Classical and popular). These different interpretations of modernity, expressed in the built examples like Villa Orsetta, Villa San Michele, Villa Svezia, but also in Tengbom's Swedish Institute, in Muratori, Fariello and Quaroni's early competitions, and in Lugli's INA Casa plan for Matera, question the monolithic vision of the *zeitgeist* of early historiography, but also opens to the need of a better understanding of the mutual influences between the context, the site and the international propaganda.

The truth is that my own journey has often been a 'travel of discovery' in itself, like the ones that I have talked about, which gradually brought me closer to the several possible paths that could be delineated around the theme of the relationship between Swedish and Italian architecture since the end of the eighteenth century.

In order to do that, I did not consider the numerous educational experiences made by the Nordic architects in Italy, but rather I looked up to understand the 'propagandistic' system, as seen from the Italian point of view.

The training trips of the Nordic architects in Italy are in fact only briefly mentioned in the first and third chapters (without any will to give a complete picture of them), but for the only purpose of delineating the historical context, because one of the main goals was to draw a 'map' in the opposite direction, towards the 'Trip to the North'.

In the introduction, I started my thesis highlighting that the only known 'travel North' were basically three: the first in 1939 by Pagano and Gardella, the second after 1936 by Ivo Pannaggi and the third by Gio Ponti in the 1950s.

On the other hand, in 1955 he stated that this experience was becoming quite common among architects, suggesting new possibilities for the topic.

The final result was the construction of a new 'map' of the trip to Sweden in the first half of the twentieth-century by Italian architects and artists, which shows the vivid interest of the Italian audience on the Nordic countries, especially evident between the 1930s and the 1950s. (**Fig. 166**)

From the research also emerged the general difference between modern Italian journeys and the traditional *Grand Tour*: while the result of the 'trip to South' was mainly constituted by a long series of travel sketches, Italian archives do not seem to be so rich of them,¹¹⁸ and the reconstruction of the architects' movements in a foreign land was mostly made thanks to personal letters, photos,

¹¹⁸ In this sense, a further deepening should be done in order to highlight the consistency and the role of the architectural 'travel sketches' in Italy.

sent postcards, even small films and –finally–articles on Italian magazines, as published results of their peregrinations.

In this sense, the beginning of the chosen date –1895– might seem too late and it is possible, of course, to analyze a longer historical trajectory which grounds the ‘Italian journeys to the North’ in the early romantic construct of architectural tourism made on the ‘journeys South’, as briefly introduced in the first chapter. However, the decision of the 1895 was made in order to underline a second topic of interest, hidden behind the main binomial ‘travels between Italy and Sweden’: the introduction in Italy of a new media –with the birth of the printed magazine *Emporium*– and the beginning of an Italian decisive opening towards the International panorama thanks to dedicated events, as the Venitian *Biennali*.

In Italy, if we look at the dedicated studies to the role of magazines in the development of Italian critics, a more comprehensive analysis of Post-war architectural magazines has been published only in 1997 by Mario Mulazzani.¹¹⁹ For the first time –and within a national history– it became clear how, along with the construction of a real country, a complex set of magazines was building ‘with words’ a completely new modern thought, with results often as important as its material achievements.

Therefore, in the twentieth-century a central role should be given not only to architects and historians, but also to many editorial directors and journalists involved in the public debate, still largely unknown.¹²⁰

¹¹⁹ Mario Mulazzani, “Le riviste di architettura. Costruire con le parole,” in Francesco Dal Co (ed.), *Storia dell’Architettura italiana. Il Secondo Novecento* (Milan: Electa, 1997), 430–443.

¹²⁰ The question of their archival accessibility is therefore quite significant, in order to perpetuate this new idea of a more inclusive past. Only to have an idea of the problem, it is enough to say that, during my research, I have analyzed twenty-five Italian magazines and only six of them were available online, while only two had also an updated database. An early outcome of the research, while it was still ongoing, was the compilation of the first list of Italian magazines –necessary to highlight those titles that could be more involved with Nordic Countries– and the construction of a ‘reference geography’ of Italian journals (with 1623 titles), as a prelude to every subsequent study. This first database, which waits now for further improvements, has been presented to the CNBA (Coordinamento Nazionale delle Biblioteche di Architettura) who it is going to make it accessible on their website. The presentation had occurred on May 26, 2017 at the Bologna University. The result will be published in *Anfione e Zeto* (February 2018) and in the book of the event, in May 2018. This was, of course, a preliminary survey with some basic information and it does not solve the problem of accessibility of these titles. For this purpose, it is instead necessary to sensitize Institutions and universities for future digitalization and creations of online databases.

The goal was to look at our history with a shifted perspective, to test the paradigm of Classicism, of the ‘travels’ and of the Modern Movement, from another point of view.

In this sense, combined together –the built, the exhibited and the printed architecture– they draw new possible versions of our history: more versatile, more inclusive and certainly richer of new models and mutual interferences.

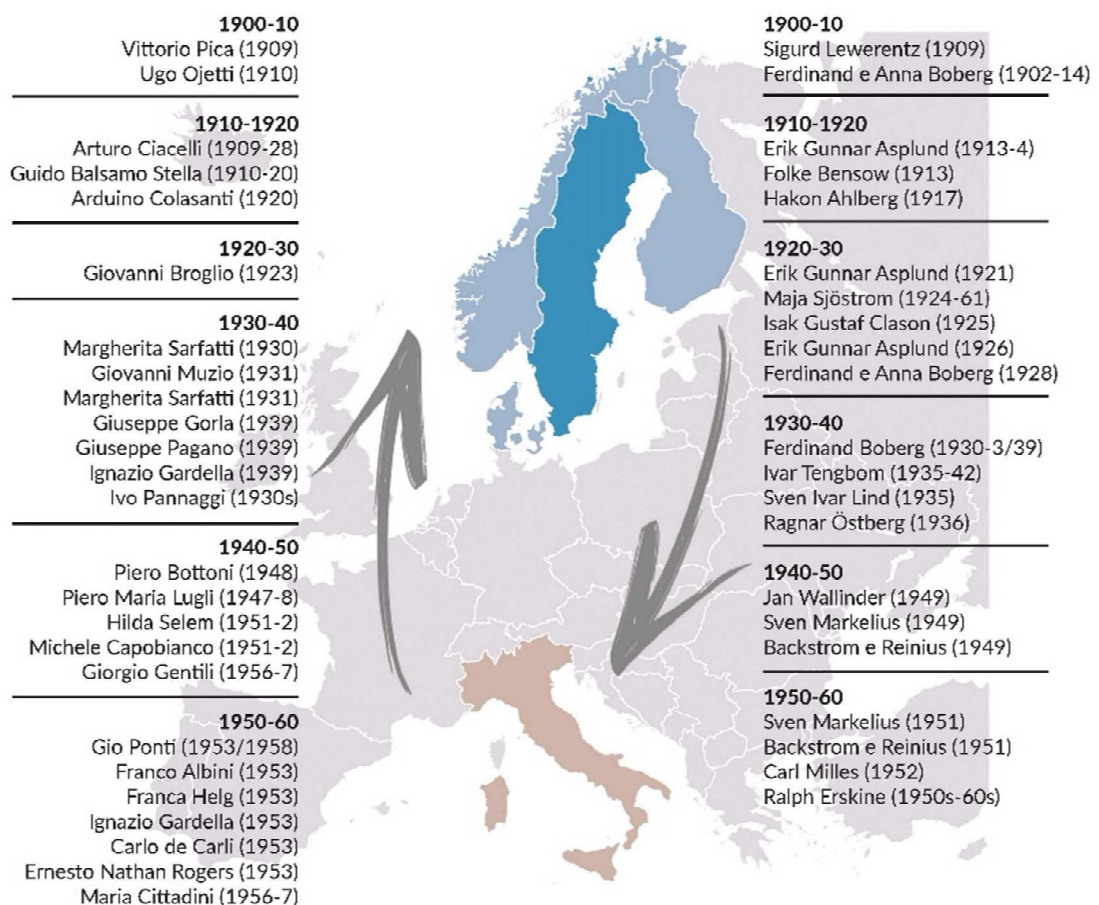


Fig. 166 – The ‘Trip to Sweden’ between 1900 and 1960. A new map.
Source: Monica Prencipe

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STATISTICS about Italian articles on Nordic countries

Tab. 1.1 Italian articles on Nordic Architecture (1895-1970) organized by country

Decades	<i>Norden</i>	Sweden	Finland	Denmark	Norway	Tot
1895-1900	0	1	0	0	0	1
1901-1910	0	6	0	0	0	6
1911-1920	1	4	0	0	0	5
1921-1930	6	4	0	2	0	12
1931-1940	5	18	7	1	3	34
1941-1950	4	24	12	2	1	43
1951-1960	9	24	26	15	6	80
1961-1970	5	31	30	29	10	105
TOTALE	30	112	75	49	20	286

Tab. 1.2 Most prolific Italian authors on Nordic Architecture

First name	Last name	N°
Ivo	Pannaggi	11
Attilio	Podestà	11
Alvar	Aalto	9
Inge	Pedersen	7
Vittorio	Pica	7
Giorgio	Gentili	6
Leonardo	Mosso	6
Giuseppe	Pagano	5
Roberto	Papini	5
Gio	Ponti	4
Eugenio	Gentili	4
Francesco	Fariello	3
Hans Erich	Lampl	3
Enrico	Thovez	3
Giulia	Veronesi	3
Giuseppe	Vindigni	3
Sven	Markelius	2
Antonio	Nezi	2
Edoardo	Persico	2
Luigi	Piccinato	2
Alessandro	Schiavi	2

Tab.1.3 Summary of Italian articles on Nordic Architecture (1895-1980) organized by title

Title	First issue	Last issue	1895-1900	1901-1905	1906-1910	1911-1915	1916-1920	1921-1925	1926-1930	1931-1935	1936-1940	1941-1945	1946-1950	1951-1955	1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970	Total	Journalists
L'Arte Italiana decorativa e industriale	1890	1911	0	1	0	0												1	Vittorio Pica
Atti della Società degli ingegneri e degli architetti in Torino	1892	ongoing	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	Leonardo Mosso
Emporium	1895	1964	1	0	2	1	1	1	1	3	3	0	2	2	1	1		19	Erik Sjoestedt; Vittorio Pica; Adriano Augusto Michieli; Piero Torriano; Antonio Nezi; Roberto Papini; Giuseppe Maria Lo Duca; Attilio Podestà; Giulia Veronesi; Mario Labò
Nuova Antologia di lettere, scienze e arti	1900	1926	0	0	0	1	0	0	0									1	Harald Brising
L'Arte decorativa moderna	1902	1907		3	0													3	Enrico Thovez

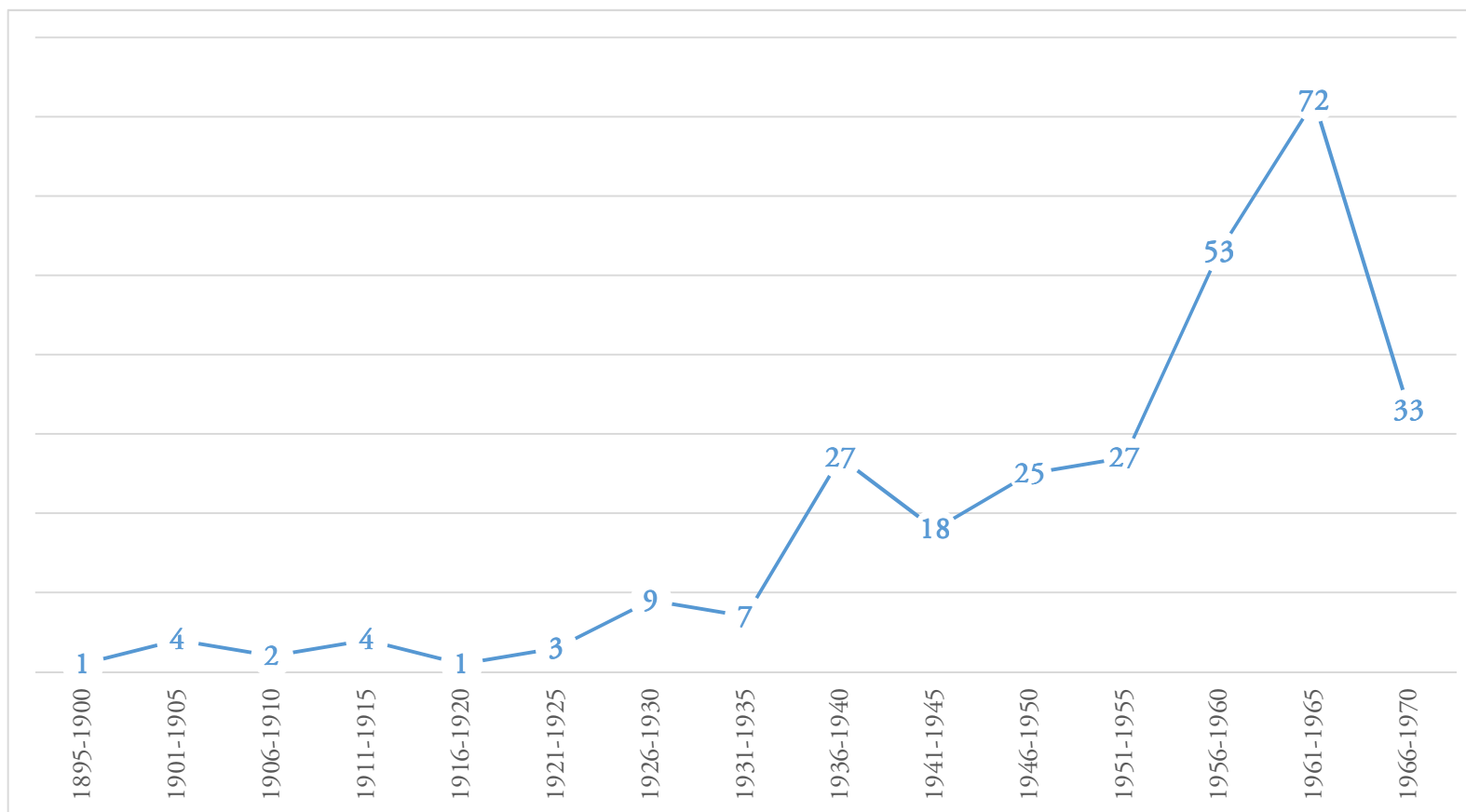
<i>Title</i>	First issue	Last issue	1895-1900	1901-1905	1906-1910	1911-1915	1916-1920	1921-1925	1926-1930	1931-1935	1936-1940	1941-1945	1946-1950	1951-1955	1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970	Total	Journalists
L'Architettura italiana	1905	1943		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0						3	Ivo Pannaggi
Vita d'arte	1908	1919			0	2	0											2	Vittorio Pica
La cultura popolare	1911	1933				0	0	0	2	0								2	Alessandro Schiavi
Architettura e arti decorative	1921	1931						1	3	1								5	Marcello Piacentini; Roberto Papini, Francesco Fichera
Ingegneria	1922	1927						1	0									1	Gaetano Minnucci

<i>Title</i>	First issue	Last issue	1895-1900	1901-1905	1906-1910	1911-1915	1916-1920	1921-1925	1926-1930	1931-1935	1936-1940	1941-1945	1946-1950	1951-1955	1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970	Total	Journalists
Casabella	1928	ongoing							0	3	4					1	9	20	Giuseppe Pagano; Edoardo Persico; Attilio Podestà; Erik Hultberg; Anna Maria Mazzucchelli; Alvar Aalto; Maria Luisa Scalvini; Gianni Mezzanotte, Giorgio Gentili; Roberto Palumbo; Leonardo Mosso
Casabella-costruzioni	1938	1939									3							3	Giuseppe Pagano; Attilio Podestà
Costruzioni-Casabella	1940	1943									4	7						11	Attilio Podestà; Giuseppe Pagano; Giancarlo Palanti; Alvar Aalto
Casabella-continuità	1953	1965												6	19	7		32	Alvar Aalto, Gotthard Johansson; Arne Jacobsen; Eugenio Gentili; Leonardo Mosso; Francesco Tentori; Gianni Pirrone; Sven Markelius; Johan Pedersen; Olli Kivinen; Arne Ervi
Domus	1928	ongoing							2	0	1	5	6	5	1	2	0	19	Carlo Felice; Ivo Pannaggi; Giuseppe Pagano; Ernesto Nathan Rogers; Ake Stavenow; Rolf Engstromer; Alvar Aalto; Kay Fisker; Gio Ponti; Emilio Lancia

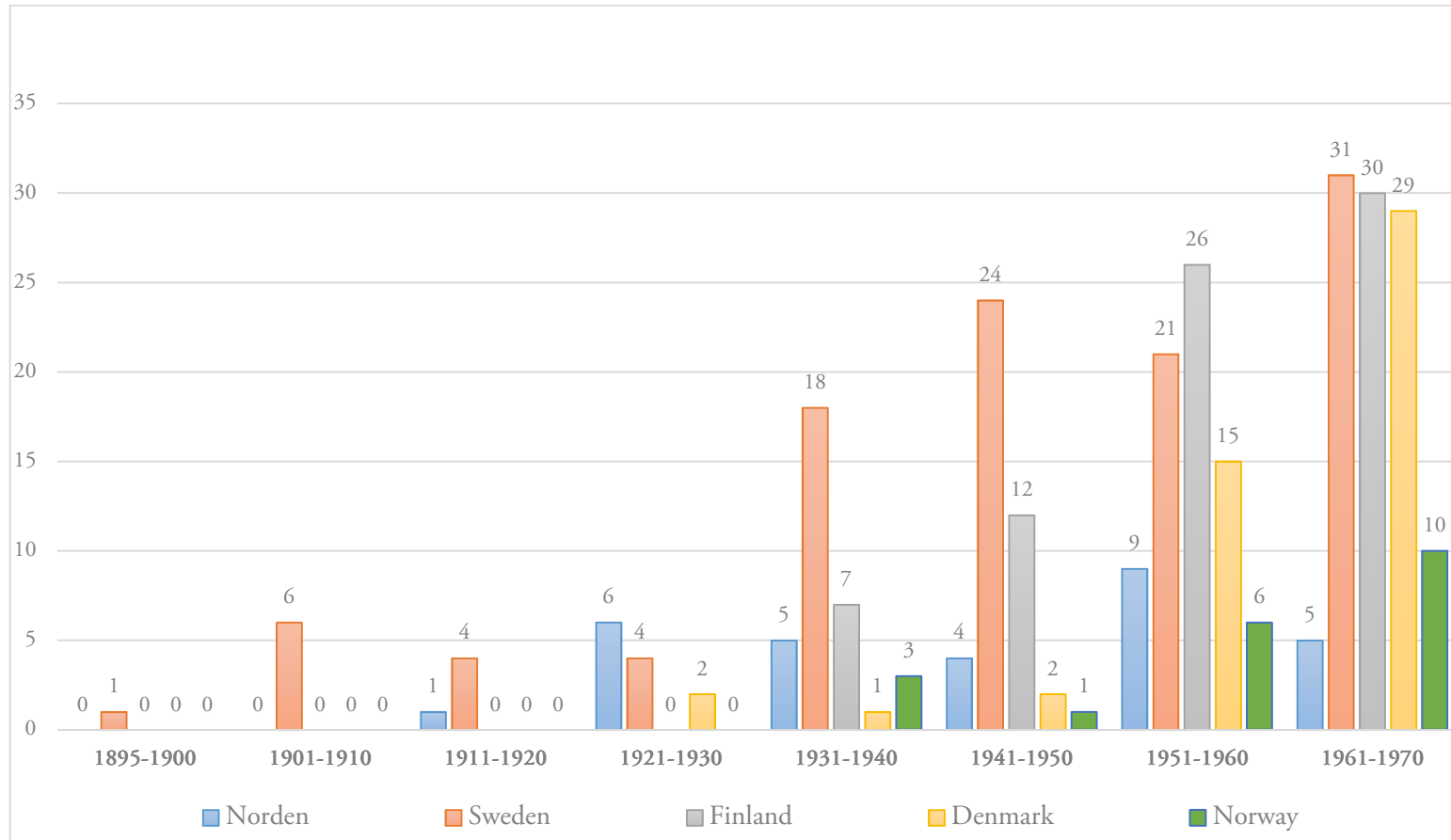
<i>Title</i>	First issue	Last issue													Total	Journalists				
			1895-1900	1901-1905	1906-1910	1911-1915	1916-1920	1921-1925	1926-1930	1931-1935	1936-1940	1941-1945	1946-1950	1951-1955			1956-1960	1961-1965	1966-1970	
Rassegna di architettura	1929	1940							1	0	1								2	Giuseppe Samonà; Raimondo Campanini
Architettura	1932	1943								0	2	2							4	Saverio Muratori; Francesco Fariello
Urbanistica	1932	ongoing								0	1	0	2	1	1	0	0	5	Alberto Gut; Mattea Ferrari; Sven Markelius; Hilda Selem; Giorgio Gentili	
Edilizia Moderna	1933	1942								0	4	0						4	Walderman Johanson; Ivo Pannaggi; Riccardo Rothschild	
Stile	1941	1947										4	0					4	Gio Ponti; Pietro Maria Bardi	
Metron	1945	1954										0	6	3				9	Alvar Aalto; Luigi Piccinato; Bjorn Bardel; Erik Bryggman; Bernhard Lindahl; Franco Albini	
Cantieri	1946	1950											1					1		

Title	First issue	Last issue	Journalists													Total	Journalists				
			1895-1900	1901-1905	1906-1910	1911-1915	1916-1920	1921-1925	1926-1930	1931-1935	1936-1940	1941-1945	1946-1950	1951-1955	1956-1960			1961-1965	1966-1970		
Comunità	1946	1978													6	3	0	3	0	12	Ove Bang; Eugenio Gentili; Nadia Stein; Franco Buzzi Ceriani; Enzo Minchilli; Hans Erich Lampl
Strutture	1947	1947													1					1	
Rassegna critica di architettura	1948	1954													1	0				1	Piero Maria Lugli
l'Architettura cronache e storia	1954	2003														5	29	59	24	11 7	Giorgio Gentili; Giuseppe Vindigni; Fabrizio Cocchia; Giancarlo de Carlo; Ivo Pannaggi; Inge Pedersen; Renato De Fusco
La Casa	1955	1962														1	0	0		1	Antonio Milia
Zodiac	1957	1973															0	1	0	1	Sigfried Giedion
Sapere			0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	Attilio Podestà
Tot			1	4	2	4	1	3	9	7	27	18	25	26	51	72	33	286			

Graphic. 1.1 Italian articles on Nordic Architecture (1895-1980)



Graphic. 1.2 Italian articles on Nordic Architecture (1895-1970) organized by country



ARTICLES

1920 - The Italian exhibition

Carl Malmsten, "Italienska Utställningen," *Svenska Slöjdföreningens tidskrift*, XVIII, 2 (February 1921): 13–20.

Translation by Gabriella Jakobsson and Monica Prencipe

A joyous shower arrived, as we walked in the Italian exhibition, mostly contemplating pieces of vernacular handcraft that have been gathered from Italy's different regions. The more art moves close to nature, the more intimate it is with the people living in poor circumstances, the more art becomes an intense reflection upon life. Thanks to the objects of everyday life, with their rhythm and color, they speak up about nature and heritage. Here, it proudly gave testimony of the spirit of the people and of the country in which they had been formed: the pure and salutary joy of life, contentment and sunny reliance on home, place of origin and tradition.

Look at the ceramics: how infinitely simple and unpretentious their shapes are. They owe the same great, enclosed serenity that the Italian landscape carries with its chains of mighty sweeping mountains, that in their blinding majesty surround the view-sight, whose lines impacted the people, driving them towards their art and craftsmanship to find the same liberating, classical style.

In one grand and pure, expanding gesture these bowls take their form, urns, plates and jars, which in their bright shapes, spare saturation as swelling of fresh life. No searching doubt, no confusing rule, in the handwork with immediate, joyful precision, as the produced things seem to appear from one impulse. Never dead or dehydrated by repetition.

This self-entrusted strength, it is by such tradition of vernacular artist's heritage, that these objects owed their breath-taking beauty.

The naive folksy character, its bright emphasis and the joy in its unpretentious craftsmanship, that has never affected these craftsmen with tiredness or carelessness, to adulterate these forms that, year after year, has been reproduced. How admirable are these small-scale artists, that over centuries managed to remain within these classic and simple shapes, and after decades are still reproducing them with the same freshness and delight, as if these forms were produced for the very first time today!

Happy is the country, which sun is so warm and infinitely shining, that it, over time, brought forward the action of the small craftsman and his work, and whose

let him in content joy do his daily work, so it owes its value, raised above shifting fashions, ennobled by this sense of eternity that rest over a life that passes by.

And these colors, the glazings: if only a few: green, blue, yellow, red. But how playful, happy and certain they are always applied. How carefree they don't decorate and accentuate their shape, and which such an unsought beauty isn't their rhythm as color chords.

No anxious calculation can be assumed, no fear to do things, or do the conventional.

Guided by tradition and of fresh artistic instinct, the work is carried through from its good, alive path. With time and surprise the learned patterns are reproduced by free hand, piece by piece, with the same freshness. Over there are all the colored cups, here are the plates. Now they bring the ribbons, the brocades, the imagery, never dehydrated calculation juicy, brisk and alive.

Piece by piece accomplished with speed that goes beyond the restrained work of copying.

And the visitor, wandering along the saloons, where most of these ceramics had been gathered, happily welcomes these rows of swelling, colour shimmering magical objects, that with their richness carries the messages that, for the humankind, are the best: sun and the joy of working.

Against the glittering light of the south with all its glory, they received us in the sculpture hall, where the Sicilian urns were displayed, brought together to the room center.

You just think: trucks and working vehicles richly painted with imagery, blazing suns, messy check-patterns, yet brought forward by peasant artists in the industrial disgraceful time of the 1920s.

–Oh, Stockholm- when will we see your porters put such a sparkling torch in the November fog outside the beer café!–

How dull and richly flourished are not these folksy hangings and carpets around the walls, owing to these intensive and secretive ribbons as only true plant colours can grand...and the fresh life of the drawings that only traditional workers, that only the cultivator can lend, when he, inside himself, sees the image, consisting of material that is then fixed in the loom.

These realizations are, as our folk-movement (*in Swedish 'allmoge'*), affected by oriental archetypes and they share, with grand affinity, many patters.

They also share with these the deep splendour and strength in colour, and the roughness in the drawing, as vital and healthy generation like to these hangings, in which the cottage is decorated to the parish: a festive colour element, shining as the sun and the summer flowers of the north.

We also draw pleasure from the copper vessels lively and powerful rounding's and a hammering, that contributed to the coppers most seductive red shimmer. And these shapes! An unerring sharpness. A plant as a Juno! Look only at this jug- around half a meter high- in which the coffee is boiled in the small cafés. Follow its line from feet up over the belly and see how the alignment runs out the pipe and how the handle stands against. And look at the posture!

And industrial stone. We are also here confronted with an old, ancient, rich and vibrant tradition, which all over follows the models, that with as time goes by has shown them self to still be viable. By glass, silk, brocade tissues, laces, objects where shown, marvellous in the crafts refinement, in colour, in technical perfection, saturated by old and noble culture- a luxury production, which indeed fulfil its assignment as container off the highest artistic and technical tradition, which certainly must be obstructive in the own country's aspirations to create an immediate, new path.

What enchantment of colour and matter in these golden and wonderfully praised and deep colours shining silk brocades. Its glory and magnificent splendour that filled these rooms where these weaves where hanging, with by with, was overwhelming.

How soft hues the light Venetian glasses carried, how clean and ennobled shapes. And though how all alive all its parts, hand-blown by masters, in where the craft of hand-blowing has been carried out through generations, and which secrets been kept as precious treasures.

And the laces! – Here a professional should speak – although anyone can praise the marvellous refinement, the loveable richness of these laces, which truly reminds the beautiful *Italiadonnor*, from which they all once had been manufactured for, and which are still, after decades, reproduced lovingly, fragrant of all that worship, that's been wasted on earth's sweetest flower and crown.

Also, silver elements were put on display, and also they carried the same conscious artistic craftsmanship as we found in the copper vessels. The surface showed just about the right degree of hammering, which brought forth the silvers shininess and the shapes curvatures.

The exhibition showed in part Peasant art, where the natural beauty instinct nicely came through, and partly it displayed pieces of a superior industry of highest precision and quality. It would though be wrong to value the Italian art industry overall from the collection that was shown here, a collection, partly chosen by an Italian purchase commission and then furthermore sifted by a jury. This movement in Italy, that now is aiming for a renaissance in the modern spirit of producing households goods, builds upon the folksy art and craft movement.

It comes across here –as we in our ‘*allmoge*’ art– its true originality, genuine simple way to give form, rhythm and colour, liberated from any dogmatic *zeitgeist* style, the revelation for humankind is a pure, joyous search for beauty, which makes the company with these objects so infinite fertilizing and that is one of this battering rams, capable of liberating the practising artist from a burden tradition or the suffocating embracement of too much competence. Those enthusiastic men –among them the general director of the Italian Royal Arts Arduino Colasanti and the Italian commissar of the exhibition Prof. Balsamo Stella– which have been working for such a renaissance, wanted the Italian true artistic talents to find their place.

The work should not be carried through on mechanical-industrial grounds. Instead in a vast freely manner after the good model of working small-scale masters, skilled in the secrets of their craft, proud over their art, re-establishing past times art craft and by so brings honour and richness to themselves and their country.

And so these pioneers, the Italian artistic talents, believe them to be so rich in language, those who once should the skilled craftsman’s coat, that through such craftsmanship renaissance salvage it would benefit a big part of the population of this colossal and not so rich country.

When Italy –as we hope and believe– soon advanced a few steps on this path, we certainly will have more to learn on this craftsmanships and we will receive even greater impulses, that could enrich and humanize our own country by following the work of others applied art.

We warmly thank this sunny country, which represents to our frozen shore these artworks, fruits of noble, ancient and still freshly living culture.



ITALIENSKA UTSTÄLLNINGEN

AV CARL MALMSTEN

ETT GLÄDJENS BAD UNDFINGO VI, DÅ VI KRINGVANDRADE PÅ den italienska utställningen, främst betraktande de alster av folklig handaslöjd, som hopbragts från Italiens skilda trakter. Ju närmare konsten tryggar sig till naturen, ju intimare den uppbäres av ett folkskikt, levande i ursprungliga förhållanden, desto intensivare blir konstens livsspeglings. I vid bohaget bundna rytmer och färger ger den röst åt natur och släkte. Här vittnade den stolt om andan hos det folk och land som danat den: naturlig och sund livsglädje, förnöjsamhet och soligt tryggande till hemort och tradition.

Se på keramiken: hur oändligt enkla och okonstlade äro icke dess former. De äga samma stora, slutna ro som det italienska landskapet med dess tåg av mäktigt vägande berg, som i blånande majestät kringgärda synkretsen, och vilkas linjespel återverkat på människorna och drivit dem att i sin konst- och hantverkliga gärning finna denna samma befriande, klassiska linje. I en enda stor och ren, växande rörelse danas dessa skålar, urnor, fat och krus, vilka i sin rundnings klara, sköna måttad liksom svälla av friskt liv. Ingen sökande tvekan, ingen oklarhet härskar, men handen arbetar med omedelbar, glad säkerhet, och de färdiga tingen verka som framsprungna ur en heljuten impuls. Aldrig död

OVERSTYCKE: EN AV UTSTÄLLNINGSSALARNA



SILVERKANNAN

och torr uppgivning. Den jämförande stycka, vilken är den av traditionen ledda fullgilla konstnärens sälla ärvet, har skändt dessa ting deras betagande skönhet. Folke karaktärens naiva, lusa betoning och glädjen vid det anspråklösa hantverk-skallet ha icke tillåtit att trötthet och slentrian gripit utövarna, förvanskande den form som är efter år återgivits. Hur beundransvärda äro icke dessa utnämningar, som förmått att genom århundraden bevara de klassiska enkla formerna, och som efter sekler återge dem med samma friskhet och fröjd, som om denna form för alla första gången framträdde i dag! Lyckligt det land, vars sol är så varm och evigt strålände, att den så öfver tidens växlingar och jäkt lyfter den enkla människans glädning, och som låter henne i förtjusning glädje så öfva sitt dagliga arbete, att det vinner ett värde, upphöjt öfver det skiftande modet, afslat av den evighetskända som vilar öfver ett liv vilket så byter fram.

Och färger, glasyver: Blott några få: gröna, blå, gula, röda. Men hur lekande, glatt och säkert de ståde iro palagda. Hur bekymmerfritt och omedelbart smycka och fram-



LERA AV BRAND LERA MED SVART OCH RÖD DEKORATION

höva de icke sin form, och med vilken också skönhet äro icke så rytm som färgskord funna. Här spåras vi ängslig omsikning, icke såvida att göra saker, lika de vedertagna. Lett av traditionen och av frisk konstnärlig instinkt går arbetet fram sin goda, levande bana. Med fart och klän återges på fri hand det inlärda mönstret, pås efter pås med samma friskhet. Där stå alla Engkopparna, här fasten. Nu komma banden dit, nu bilderna, nu bildframställningarna; aldrig torr beaktning — sakt, hastigt och levande. Så blir styck efter styck färdigt med en fart, som långt öfvergår det slaviska kopierandet.

Och besökaren, som ströfvade genom mittsalarna, där det mesta av denna keramik samlats, gladdes och hälsade varmt dessa led av avvällande, färgrikande tingestår, som så rikt bura bud om det som för människolikhet är bäst: Sol och arbetets glädje.

Men siderns gnistande ljus i högsta prakt, där mötte oss i skulpturhallen, där de sicilianska kärnorna ståtade, sammansjutta mot rummets mitt. Tänk bara! Dragkärror och arbetsskålon, rikt bemålade med bildframställningar, flammände solar, bevakiga rumtöfver, ännu framställda



VINSTÄMMOR GLAS

av konstfärdiga bondmästare i den industriella oroadens år 1920! — O, Stockholm — när få vi se dina stadsbad ställa en sådan gnistande fackla i novemberdimman utanför pilsterkallert! — Hur dunkelt och rött prunkade icke allmogebanor och matar runt väggarna ägnade denna intressiva och hemlighetsfulla hand som blott åkta växtfärger förtäna — och det friska liv i teckningen som blott den traditionellt arbetande, ursprungliga utövarn förmår skänka, då han för sitt int äga ser den bild, som i bestående material se in frörens i växtstoln. Dessa växtvärder äro, liksom vår allmoges, påverkade av oronstänkta förebilder och äga med dem stor frändskap i mönsterbildningen. De dela även med dem den djupa prakt och stycka i färgmålningen och den kärighet i teckningen, som ett livslätt och sunt släkte åtkar att se i de boskade, samlat stugan smycka till helg och i socken: ett feofigt färgslag, strälände som sol och sommarblommor i nooden.

Vi njöto och av kopparkärlens livsvällande och mäktiga rundning och en hämning, som kom kopparr att anlagga sitt mest förföriska röda skimmer. Och formen! En ovik-



KOPPARKÄLLERKÄNNÄ I N. HÖG

lig säkerhet. En växt som en Juno! Se blott på denna kanna — 1/2 m hög vid pass — varit kaffet kokas i de små kafferna. Följ denna ljuva form upp över magen och se huru den löper ut i pipen och hur handlaget spelar emot. Och som den ståt!

Och industribetren. Även här möta vi en gammal, rik och lysande tradition, vilken alljämt arbetar vidare med de förebilder, som under tidernas löpp upptäckta och visat sig gångbara. Av glas, sidan och beskärfvärader, spekar visades ting, underbara i utförandets finhet, i färg, i teknisk fulländning, mättade av gammal och ädel kultur — en lysproduktion, vilken förvisso fyller sin uppgift som uppehållare av en den högsta konstnärliga och tekniska tradition; men vilken säkerligen måste verka hämmande på strövandens noom det egen landet att släpa en omedelbar, ny riktning.

Vilket trolleri av färger och stoffer i de gyllene och av underbart höga och djupa färger skimmrande sidensbokaderna. Den glans och färgrika prakt som fyllde det rum där dessa växtvärder hängde, vad vid vad, var övervälligande.

1953 – Architecture and naturalism

Harry Källmark, “Arkitektur och naturrealism,” (in Liljevalchs Konsthall 1953 *Nutida Italiensk Konst* presscuts)

Translation by Gunnel Lindelöv

The contemporary Italian architecture is characterized by new lines, extreme functionality and purity. The exhibition, arranged by the CIAM-group in Liljevalchs Art Gallery with the photomontage of new Italian buildings and constructions, is really worth seeing and contributes to give a good understanding of the architectural freedom this country gives their artists of building.

To such a high degree free itself from the enormous weight as the past of the Italian art life, the traditional conception and the paralyzing feeling of international art conscience, made on reorganization within art life, is an excellent proof of the vitality, wealth of ideas and expansive force of the contemporary Italian architecture. As early as 1914, when Antonio Sant’Elia wrote the Futuristic Architecture Manifest, which at the time aroused a great deal of hullabaloo, the opposition prevented other results than some original exhibition pavillions and other similar buildings, created by the futuristic architects. But the impulse was given and when for the Italian architecture important year 1926 arrived, there was good soil for news in the area.

Some architects who had just passed their examination established the ‘Gruppo 7’, intensively agitating for their ideas in the press.

The movement caught the wind and already two years later the nationwide association MIAR – Movimento Italiano per l’Architettura Razionale, opened the doors to a first functionalistic exhibition in Rome. The youths had a good support in the fascists, who generally saw to that they had something new to introduce and invest in. The love between fascism and the architects cooled down after a while and when the next exhibition was arranged in Rome 1931, the opposition had Piacentini, the Academy and the financially strong aristocracy behind them, who together gave them a crushing defeat.

The modern architecture had the wind against it in Italy and for a long time it looked dark for the pioneers in the field of architecture. Three names can be mentioned in the fights among new ideas, *Giuseppe Terragni*, whose magnificent creation ‘Novocomum’ 1929 was the first real example of modern architecture in Italy, *Edoardo Persico*, whose renowned defense for modernism in architecture

already has made history, and at last *Giuseppe Pagano*, whose unyielding belief in fascism, fought more for as he believed social problems than new architectural creations. He blindly believed that fascism had the will to realize the group's new plans of creations, not just for its own sake but as a link in the fight for better conditions of life, as the people to a great degree were in need of according to his meaning.

In the architectural magazine *Casabella*, he fought bravely for his sake, until the magazine in 1942 was confiscated by the Germans. After two decades of faithful struggle for the ideals of fascism, he in the end turned against the whole system, and became its most bitter enemy, finally he had to give his life for his new fate in Mauthausen's torture chamber. No wonder that the modern Italian architects feel a little moral obligation before their art movement and therefore have the social devotion in their work, which conducts their endeavours to give the people more light and comfort.

The result of the struggle by these pioneers of construction is now seen in many places in Italy. The railway station in Florence, which was built by Michelucci, is one of the most successful railway buildings in modern architecture. In the town of Sabaudia, Piccinati did planning, which generally arouses astonishment through its clean and open lines.

The screen section of the exhibition gives a rather clear perception of the modern lines of the buildings. In all the different sections of the society, from railway stations to schools and tuberculosis clinics their work have left traces. Ignazio Gardella built in 1937-38 a tuberculosis clinic in Alessandria, which can be said to be a model for such a building. The construction is made of reinforced concrete and heated by radiators between floor and ceiling. The fantastic sun terrace is screened off by a wall made of porous brick. There are many examples of typical Italian embellishments. For example in Claudio Venders store palace in Milano, the three lowest floors are covered with perlinomarble which radiates white and absorbs light against the other floors, which are covered with Piccinelli earthenware. The heating is by this architect solved through a roof leading the heat, which also can be used for cooling. When Carlo Cocchia equipped a new terraced house in Lucrino near Napoli, he designed it with floors in terracotta and with inlays of red majolica and faience in the kitchen area. Shutters and windowframes are made of Swedish wood. Every house has its own colours, which are varied to a homogenous ring in the unit. Another architect Marco Zanuso, designed the facade on a new house of polished granite and with dark glazed terracotta frames under the windows.

Through all floors he put up polycrome and strongly decorative tiles of terracotta behind cut glass. Giulio Minoletti built a swimming pool in which he covered

the bottom with blue glass mosaic, which fades away toward the deep in darkening colours.

The examples are numerous. The remaining impression after seeing the architectural section is exclusively good, irrespective of the thought that different taste in different countries may turn up. But with the natural charm and art tradition that is still alive in Italy, there is no lack of variety and if one thing doesn't fit, there's always something else which fits better. The freedom these modern Italian architects seem to have, must be something desirable also for architects from other nations, who never really succeeded to break from preconceived traditions about what a house should look like. The Swedish architecture may have greater difficulties to fight against, but even here attempts worthy of respect have been made to introduce a new feature of light worship in buildings, an ambition which is saluted with joy. For sure this Italian architectural exhibition will inspire our young architects to take new and fresh steps in the fight against the routine and lagging behind in this area.

Arkitektur och naturrealism

Den nutida italienska arkitekturen präglas av nya linjer, ytterlig funktionsduglighet och renhet. Den av CIAM-gruppen anordnade utställningen i Liljevalchs konstnall av fotomontage över italienska nybyggnader och anläggningar är i hög grad sevärd och bidrar till att ge en god uppfattning av den arkitektoniska frihet som detta land ger åt sina byggnadskonstnärer.

Att i så hög grad som fallet är, frigöra sig från den ofantliga tyngd som det förflutna i det italienska konstlivet, den traditionella uppfattningen och den förlamande känslan av internationellt konstsamvete, utgjort på nydaningen inom konstlivet, är ett fullgott bevis för den nutida italienska ar-

de en intensiv agitation för sina idéer.

Rörelsen fick vind i seglen och redan ett par år senare kunde den riksomfattande föreningen MIAR — Movimento Italiano per l'Architettura Razionale, slå upp portarna till en första funktionalistisk utställning i Rom. De unga hade ett gott stöd i fascisterna, som gärna såg att de fick något nytt att lansera och satsa medel på. Kärleken mellan fascismen och arkitekterna svalnade efterhand och när nästa utställning år 1931 anordnades i Rom, hade oppositionen mot dem märkesmannen Piacentini, Akademien och landets penningstarka aristokrati bakom sig, som tillsammans beredde dem ett svidande nederlag.

Han trodde blint på att fascismen hade vilja att realisera gruppens nydaningsplaner, inte bara för sakens egen skull utan som ett led i kampen för bättre levnadsförhål-

anden, som folket i hög grad var behov av enligt hans mening.

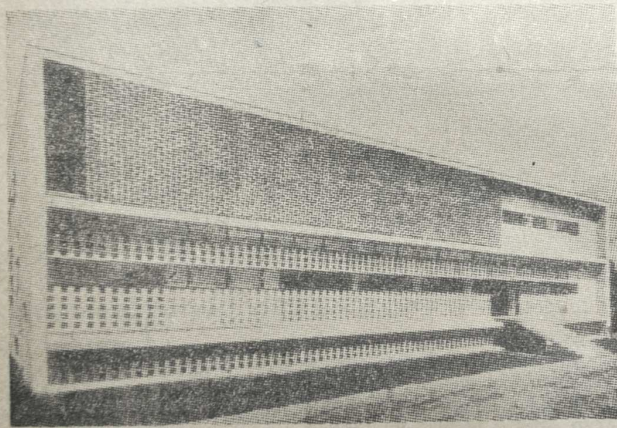
I arkitekturtidskriften *Casabella*, kämpade han tappert för sin sak, tills skriften 1924 togs i beslag av ryskarna. Efter två decenniers trogen kamp för fascismens ideal, ändade han sig slutligen mot hela systemet, och blev dess bittraste motståndare, för att slutligen få ge sitt liv för sin nya tro i Mautausens tortyrkammare. Inte undra

på att de moderna italienska arkitekterna känner en smula moraliskt ansvar inför sin konstriktion och därmed har fått den sociala patos i sitt arbete, som dirigerat deras strävanden att ge folket mera ljus och komfort.

Resultatet av dessa byggnads-pionjärers kamp visar sig nu på en hel del platser i Italien. Järnvägsstationen i Florens, som byggdes av Michelucci, är en av den moderna arkitekturens mest lyckade järnvägsbyggnader. I staden Sabaudia, har Piccinati gjort planeringar, som allmänt väcker förvåning genom sina rena och öppna linjer.

Utställningens skärmavdelning ger ganska tydligt uppfattningen av de moderna linjerna i byggnaderna. På alla olika områden i samhället, från järnvägsstationer till skolor och dispensärer har deras arbete avsatt spår. Ignazio Gardella byggde 1937—38 en dispensär i Alessandria, som gott kan sägas vara idealet när för en sådan byggnad. Konstruktionen är gjord av armerad betong och får värme genom element mellan golv och tak. Den fantastiska solter-

rassen har avskärmats av en mur av poröst tegel. Den typiskt italienska utsmyckningen finns många prov på. I t. ex. Claudio Venders affärspalats i Milano, är de tre nedersta våningarna klädda med perlinomarmor, som strålar vit och ljusabsorberande mot de övriga våningarna som är klädda med Piccinelli-fajans. Värmefrågan har denna arkitekt löst genom värme-



Ignazio Gardella: TB-dispensär i Alessandria 1937—38

kitekturens livskraft, idériakedom och expansivitet. Redan 1914, då Antonio Sant Elia författade det Futuristiska Arkitektmanifestet, som på sin tid väckte åtskilligt buller åstad, förhindrade oppositionen att det blev andra resultat än några originella utställningspaviljonger och andra liknande byggnader, som åstadkoms av de futuristiska arkitekterna. Men impulsen var given och när det för italienska arkitekturen betydelsefulla året 1926 kom, fanns det en god jordmån för nyheterna på området. Några nyutexaminerade arkitekter slöt sig samman och bildade Gruppo 7, som i pressen för-

Den moderna arkitekturen fick motvind i Italien och det såg länge mörkt ut för nydanarna inom byggnadskonsten. Tre namn kan nämnas i sammanhanget och striderna kring de nya idéerna, nämligen *Giuseppe Terragni*, vars magnifika skapelse "Novocomum" av år 1929 blev det första verkliga exemplet på modern arkitektur i Italien, *Eduardo Persico*, vars vittberömda försvar för modernismen inom arkitekturen redan gått till historien och slutligen *Giuseppe Pagano*, som genom sin envetna tro på fascismen, mera kämpade för, som han trodde sociala problem än arkitektoniska nyskapelser.

CONFERENCES

1994 – A trip to Finland to visit Alvar Aalto

By Ignazio Gardella

Intervention given in occasion of the publication of the book *Giuseppe Pagano* edited by Alberto Bassi e Laura Castagno in 1994.

Ignazio Gardella Archive (Oleggio)

Ho voluto venire alla presentazione del bel libro su Pagano di Alberto Bassi e Laura Castagno, anche se i miei molti anni e malanni e la mia noiosa sordità mi consigliavano di stare a casa. Ma mi dispiaceva non partecipare ad una riunione che ricorda Giuseppe Pagano, un caro amico che ha dato un così forte contributo allo sviluppo negli anni trenta del Movimento Moderno italiano di cui anch'io ho fatto parte.

Il mio intervento sarà però breve e più aneddotico che critico. Basato cioè sui ricordi che affiorano alla mia memoria –anch'essa un po' offuscata– da anni così lontani come il 1939.

Nel 1939 Pagano era stato invitato a tenere una serie di conferenze in Svezia e in Finlandia, ed io l'ho accompagnato nel suo viaggio in gennaio appunto del 1939. Pagano non era forse un grandissimo architetto ma era certamente un architetto vero. Un architetto vivo e colto, stimolatore di energie che riusciva a raggruppare intorno a sé (Mollino). Da quando, nei primi anni '30, era stato nominato direttore di Casabella, che aveva voluto intitolare Casabella-Costruzioni, la rivista era diventata uno dei pochi punti di riferimento e di incontro del piccolo gruppo di architetti milanesi aderenti al Movimento Moderno.

Una delle poche riviste che pubblicava i loro progetti. Pagano era - come è noto – fascista; e questa sua adesione al fascismo si può capire pensando alle sue radici nell'irredentismo istriano. Ma non era certo un fascista ortodosso; era un fascista ribelle e di fronda. Voglio ricordare un episodio.

Negli anni trenta l'Istituto Case Popolari di Milano aveva fatto fare un progetto di un quartiere dove le case erano disposte planimetricamente in modo da formare la parola DUX. Pagano scrisse un feroce articolo di stroncatura intitolato, se ben ricordo, "scherza con i fanti e lascia stare i santi", che gli procurò una dura ammonizione del famigerato "Minculpop" con la minaccia di chiudere la rivista.

Ritornando al viaggio del '39 ricordo Pagano come un piacevolissimo

compagno di viaggio, che sapeva vedere e aiutava a vedere le cose con occhio critico e scanzonato, e sempre con una vena di umorismo.

Dopo un breve soggiorno a Stoccolma (Markelius) siamo partiti una sera per nave diretti ad Helsinki. A mezzanotte, mentre dormivamo in cabina, siamo stati svegliati da un forte rumore di martellamento. Saliti sul ponte della nave ci siamo trovati di fronte ad uno spettacolo per noi straordinario. Intorno alla nave il mare era completamente ghiacciato, bianco sotto la luce di una luna piena. Uno di quei momenti magici che vissuti insieme creano tra due persone un rapporto di reciproca intesa, intraducibile in parole.

A Helsinki Alvar Aalto ci ha accolto con grande cordialità. Egli abitava allora, insieme alla prima moglie Anu, una signora di regale imponenza, in una casa con lo studio annesso; uno studio grande ma non enorme, di dimensione europea più che americana. L'architettura di Alvar Aalto era molto diversa da quella di Pagano.

Quella di Pagano più rigida e programmata; quella di Aalto più libera e congeniale alle forme sinuose dei molti laghi finlandesi. Ma sul piano umano avevano molti caratteri in comune. Anche Aalto era estroverso, amante dell'architettura, ma anche della vita, delle belle donne, del vino.

Del resto Aalto rivendicava ai finlandesi un carattere passionale, per così dire mediterraneo, molto diverso dagli svedesi e considerava la Finlandia l'ultimo avamposto della civiltà europea di radice greco-latina; contro - per dirla con Buzzati - il deserto dei Tartari.

Pagano era venuto in Svezia e Finlandia, oltre che per le conferenze, anche per raccogliere materiale per Casabella. Aveva perciò numerosi incontri, ed io con lui, con molti architetti di diverse tendenze. Dopo uno di questi incontri, non ricordo bene per quale specifica ragione, mi disse: vedi, tra noi architetti razionalisti ci sono discussioni, confronti di idee, scontri di idee diverse mentre gli architetti "pompiers" sono sempre tutti d'accordo. Per architetti "pompiers" egli intendeva gli architetti conservatori e conformisti, i mestieranti della professione. E' una frase che mi è rimasta impressa. E da allora ho una certa diffidenza per i gruppi o i "clan" di architetti che sono sempre d'accordo. Mentre ero ad Helsinki ho fatto una puntata fino a Viipuri per vedere la biblioteca di Aalto. Nella biblioteca c'era

- c'è spero ancora - una scala racchiusa tra due muri che aveva su un lato un grosso corrimano di legno, sagomato alla Alvar Aalto, mentre sull'altro un tubo sottile di metallo. Ritornato ad Helsinki ho chiesto ad Aalto il perché di quella differenza tra i due corrimani. Mi ha risposto pressa poco così: "Potrei dirti che salendo, per la fatica del salire, è bene che la mano abbia una larga superficie di appoggio come quella del legno, mentre scendendo trascinati dalla forza di gravità è bene che la mano possa scorrere facilmente su di un tubo. Ma in realtà

ho fatto i due corrimani diversi, perché così mi piaceva, così andava bene per la mia architettura.” Una frase per me illuminante.

Da Helsinki siamo ritornati in Italia per vie diverse: io ho fatto una breve deviazione in Norvegia. Nello stesso 1939 sono incominciati gli anni cupi della guerra, della occupazione nazista nel Nord Italia, della Resistenza. Pagano ha partecipato attivamente alla Resistenza, rifiutando come molti il suo passato di fascista.

Ho visto per l'ultima volta Pagano una sera da Albini; nei pochi giorni in cui era uscito sulla parola dalla prigione di Villa Trieste dove comandavano Valenti e la Ferida, due astri cinematografici. Quella sera ci disse, ed è tipico del suo carattere: "appena entrato mi sono schiacciato una sigaretta accesa sul palmo della mano e ho detto ai due artisti: vedete è inutile che mi torturate perché io sono capace di resistere al dolore". Pagano è poi morto a Mathausen, nel lager nazista.

Io credo, concludendo, che si può dire che la sua morte è stata una grave perdita per l'architettura italiana, perché sono certo che - se fosse vissuto - avrebbe dato un forte impulso e un grande contributo al dibattito architettonico del dopo guerra.

LETTERS

1. Vittorio Pica

N°	(1.1)	Published	Yes
Date	February 2, 1910		
Addresser	Vittorio Pica	Receiver	August Brunius
Archive	Kungliga bibliotek (Stockholm)	Paper	MS Acc1981/105:5
Source	Capti – Archivio virtuale Vittorio Pica http://www.capti.it/index.php?ParamCatID=5&lang=IT&IDArchivio=7&idcart=5289		

*Roma (Palazzo Torlonia
Via Bocca di Leone)
Le 2 février 1910*

Monsieur

J'admire depuis longtemps l'art soigné, original et puissant d'Anders Zorn et j'aime beaucoup l'homme simple, joyeux et loyal qu'il est. C'est vous dire combien je serai content de pouvoir participer à la manifestation pour son prochain cinquantenaire, dont vous me parlez dans votre lettre bien aimable.

Veillez donc, je vous en prie, vous adresser à mon bon et cher ami Thorsten Laurin, le posséder tant ce que, à plusieurs reprises, j'ai écrit sur Zorn et sur son art de peintre, de sculpteur et de graveur et il saura choisir, mieux que personne et mieux que moi-même, la page ou les pages à reproduire dans votre intéressante publication et il pourra en outre vous en donner la traduction, car il connaît assez bien l'italien. Si de votre publication vous pouvez me envoyer un exemplaire je vous en serai bien reconnaissant.

Salutations bien cordiales

Vittorio Pica



Rome (Palazzo Corsini)
 Via Bocca di Leone :
 ce 2 février 1910.

Monieur

J'admire depuis long temps
 l'art sien, original et puissant
 d'Anders Zorn et j'aime beaucoup
 avec l'homme simple, joyeux et
 loyal qu'il est. C'est vous dire
 combien j'e serai content de
 voir participer à la manifestation
 pour son prochain anniversaire,
 dont vous me parlez dans votre
 lettre bien aimable.

J'espère donc, je vous en
 prie, vous adresser à mon

bon et cher ami Anders Zorn, de
 possible tout ce que, à plusieurs reprises,
 j'ai écrit sur Zorn et sur son
 art de peintre, de sculpteur et de graveur
 et il sera choisi, mieux que par
 vous et même que moi-même, la page
 ou les pages à reproduire dans votre
 intéressante publication et il pourra
 en outre vous en donner la traduction,
 car l'edizione inglese vien d'italien
 et vous en sera bien reconnaissant.

Salutations très cordiales.

J
 Vittorio Ficca

N°	(1.2)	Published	No
Date	January 6, 1911		
Addresser	Vittorio Pica	Receiver	Erik Lindberg
Archive	Riksantikvarieämbetet (Stockholm)	Paper	Erik Lindberg, E1: 10

*Comitato Esecutivo per le feste commemorative del 1911 in Roma
Il commissario speciale per le belle arti,*

*Roma, 6 janvier 1911
Via Bocca di Leone, 78
Palazzo Torlonia*

Cher monsieur

Je travaille depuis quelque temps à une monographie sur l'art moderne suédoise, qui paraître en volume illustré d'ici à trois ou quatre mois en dont j'ai publié plusieurs chapitres dans ma revue d'art Emporium.

J'à désire consacrer quelques pages à votre intéressante œuvre de sculpteur et y reproduire un certain nombre de sus médaille es de vos plaquettes : voulez-vous avoir l'amabilité de m'en envoyer les photographie ? Merci d'avance

Mes compliments à M.me Lindberg et moi salutation peur cordiales à vous.

Vittorio Pica

COMITATO ESECUTIVO PER LE FESTE COMMEMORATIVE DEL 1911 IN ROMA

IL COMMISSARIO SPECIALE
PER LE BELLE ARTI

ROMA, ce 6 janvier 1911.

PIAZZA VENEZIA, 11 - TELEF. INTERPR. 68-20

Via Bocca di Leone, 98
Palazzo Tordinona

Cher Monsieur

Je travaille depuis quelque temps à une monographie sur l'art moderne suédois, qui paraîtra en volumes illustrés d'ici à trois ou quatre mois et dont j'ai publié plusieurs chapitres dans une revue d'art Emporium.

Je désire consacrer quelques pages à votre intéressante œuvre de sculpteur et y reproduire un certain nombre de vos médailles et de

vos plaquettes: voudriez-vous avoir l'amabilité de m'en envoyer les photographies? Serai d'acquéies!

Mes compliments à M. me Lindberg et mes salutations plus cordiales à vous.

J.
Lindberg

N°	(1.3)	Published	No
Date	No date [1911?]		
Addresser	Erik Lindberg	Receiver	Vittorio Pica
Archive	Riksantikvarieämbetet (Stockholm)	Paper	Erik Lindberg, E1: 10
Note	answer to letter 1.2		

Monsieur Vittorio Pica à Rome

J'ai eu l'honneur de recevoir votre estimée lettre du 6 janvier et vous remercie infiniment de votre amabilité de me donner une place dans votre monographie. Ci-inclus vous trouverez les photos de quelques-unes de mes œuvres dont voici la liste. Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, l'assurance de mes 'seviliments' les plus distingués.

1. Le portrait de la mère de l'Artiste (1903)

3. Le musée du Nord à Stockholm.

Inscription: Connais – toi-même.

*Derrière la femme le buste de D'Hazelius, le fondateur du dit musée.
(1906)*

2. L'expédition 'Durée' au Pôle Nord (1897) (1901)

5. L'exposition à Stockholm 1909.

4. Linnaeus (1907)

Monsieur Vittorio Pica
à Rome

J'ai eu l'honneur de recevoir votre
estimée lettre du 6 janvier et vous
remercie infiniment de votre amabilité
de ^{me} donner ^{une place} quelques pages ^{dans} de votre
monographie. Ci-inclus vous trouverez
~~les~~ ~~quelques~~ ~~les~~ ~~quelques~~ ~~les~~ photos de
quelques-unes de mes œuvres. Sur
~~les~~ ~~dos~~ ~~j'ai~~ ~~marqué~~ ~~les~~ ~~titres~~ ~~et~~
~~les~~ ~~sujets~~ ~~des~~ ~~pla~~ ~~de~~ ~~ces~~ ~~plaques~~ ~~ces~~
Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, l'assurance
de mes sentiments les plus distingués

1. Le portrait de la mère de l'Artiste (1903)
3. de musée du Nord à Stockholm.
Inscription: Connais-toi même. La buste
derrière la femme le buste de S. Hazelius,
le fondateur du dit musée. (1906)
32. L'expédition suédoise au Pôle Nord 1897. (1903)
52. L'exposition à Stockholm 1909 soit.
La fonte
67. Limous. (1907)

N°	(1.4)	Published	No
Date	January 22, 1911		
Addresser	Vittorio Pica	Receiver	Erik Lindberg
Archive	Riksantikvarieämbetet (Stockholm)	Paper	Erik Lindberg. E1: 10

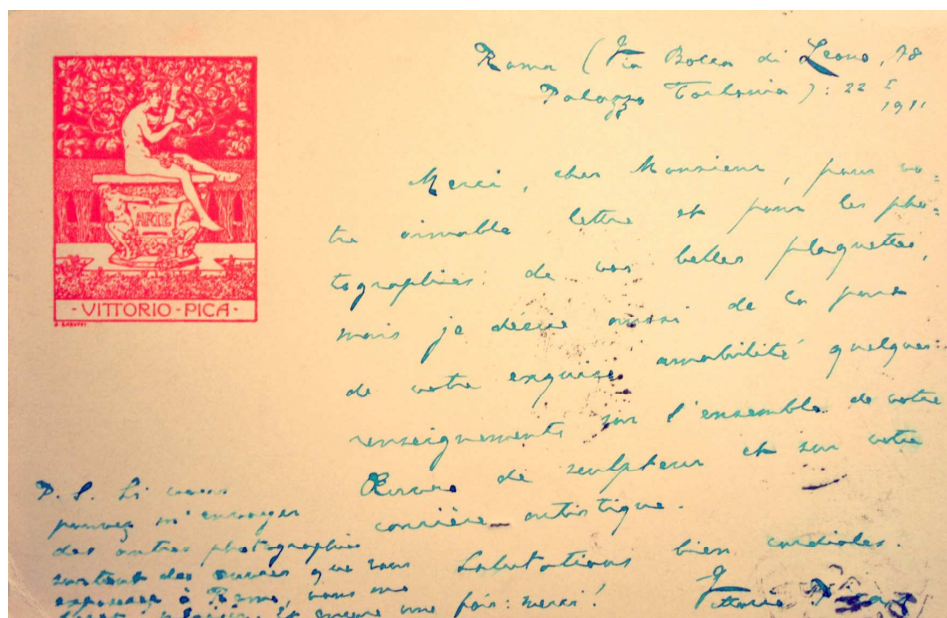
Roma (Via Bocca di Leone, 78
Palazzo Tarltonia): 22 1 1911

Merci, cher Monsieur, pour votre aimable lettre et pour les photographies de vos belles plaquettes mais je désire aussi de la part de votre exquise amabilité quelques renseignements sur l'ensemble de votre revue de sculpteur et sur votre carrière artistique.

P.S. Si vous pouvez m'envoyer des autres photographies surtout des œuvres que vous exposais à Rome, vous me ferez plaisir. Et encore une fois : merci !

Salutations bien cordiales

Vittorio Pica



N°	(1.5)	Published	No
Date	January 29, 1911		
Addresser	Erik Lindberg	Receiver	Vittorio Pica
Archive	Riksantikvarieämbetet (Stockholm)	Paper	Erik Lindberg, E1: 10
Note	answer to letter 1.4		

Monsieur Vittorio Pica à Rome,

En réponse à votre aimable lettre du 22 d.c. j'ai le plaisir de vous adresser ci-jointes, encore quelques photographies.

7. À ma mère (--- du portrait que je vous ai déjà envoyé).

8. Madame Adlesparre, la fondatrice des sociétés "Fredrika Brenner" (pour l'encouragement des mouvements féministe) et la société des amis de travaux manuels

9. Le Baron Gustaf Tamin. Médaille offerte par « La comptoir du Fer ».

10. Le musée de Guthenbourg. "Pour la science, pour l'art"

Vous demandez des notes sur ma carrière artistique. Voici quelques dates d'une vie dépourvue d'aventures mouvementées.

Né à Stockholm le 31 décembre 1873. Elève de mon père, actuellement graveur à la monnaie, et de l'École de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts où j'étudiais sous Börjeson (L'académie ne possède pas une école de gravure en médailles). En 1899 en prenant part à un concours du monument ---, j'ai décroché le premier prix.

Cependant muni d'une bourse de voyage j'avais eu (le honneur d'être reçu comme élève chez le Chaplain à Paris 1899). Pendant trois ans j'ai profité de les conseils et de l'exemple des maîtres français, les Rotes, les Dupuis, les Vernon.

D'un voyage en Italie en 1901 j'emporte des impressions de beauté et des souvenirs heureux.

Ce qui m'a définitivement décidé de vouer mes forces à l'art de la médaille.

Déjà à Paris je recevais la charge honorable de graver les coins des médailles des prix Nobel, un travail qui m'a très honorablement servi de début (1902) dès mon retour en Suède (en 1902) les commandes se sont succédé et j'ai pu me réjouir d'un intérêt toujours --- de l'art de la médaille.

En êtes-vous content, cher Monsieur? Je suis toujours à vos aides et vous prie de recevoir mes salutations les plus sincères.

N°	(1.6)	Published	Yes
Date	March 20, 1912		
Addresser	Vittorio Pica	Receiver	Richard Bergh
Archive	Kungliga bibliotek (Stockholm)	Paper	MS L149:3
Source	Capti – Archivio virtuale Vittorio Pica http://www.capti.it/index.php?ParamCatID=5&lang=IT&IDArchivio=7&idcart=5289		

Venezia, Segretario dell'Esposizione d'Arte,

Mon cher Bergh

Voici déjà un mois que j'ai renvoyé à l'ami Thorsten Laurin avec la photographie qu'il m'avait bien vendu.

M'a prêter pour ma monographie illustrée aussi celles qui m'avaient été prêtées pour vous. J'en ai conserver seulement 2 on 3 pour un article illustré que je viens de promettre pour sa revue au directeur de L'art et les artistes de Paris.

N'oubliez pas qu'un de mes plus vifs désires est d'organiser en Italie une exposition de vos œuvres et des œuvres de vos favorites amis et disposer librement le moi.

Si je peux vous être utile en quelque chose en Italie. Mes compliments à M.me et à M.lle Bergh et une poignée de main bien amicale à vous.

Vittorio Pica

P.S. Voulez-vous prier M. John Eriksson de vouloir avec l'amabilité de m'envoyer à l'adresse vénitienne que je bien donne une vingtoine (vingt et un) de photos de ses ouvres pour portrait et des renseignements très graphique pour un article sur ma revue ?

Merci d'avance !

N°	(1.8)	Published	No
Date	November 18, 1913		
Addresser	Vittorio Pica	Receiver	Erik Lindberg
Archive	Riksantikvarieämbetet (Stockholm)	Paper	Erik Lindberg, E1: 10

Venezia (3134 San Barnaba) le 18 novembre 1913

Cher Monsieur

Je (confirme) de recevoir vos photographies et je vous en remercie bien vivement. Aussitôt après les avoir fait reproduire pour mon prochain volume sur L'art et les artistes de la Suède de nos jours je vous en remercie. J'avais voulu faire reproduire une ou deux médailles de votre père. Voulez-vous avoir l'obligeance de m'en envoyer les photographies par retour de courrier ? Salutations cordiales

Vittorio Pica



Ponçin (3124, San Marco)
 ce 12 novembre 1913

Cher Monsieur
 Je viens de recevoir vos photographies et je
 vous en remercie bien vivement. Aussitôt après les
 avoir faites reproduire pour mon prochain volume sur
 l'art et les artistes de la littérature de vos jours je vous
 les renverrai.
 J'aurais voulu faire reproduire une ou deux mi-
 niatures de votre pays. Pourriez-vous avoir l'obligeance
 de m'en envoyer les photographies par retour de
 courrier? Salutations cordiales.
 Louis Piercy

N°	(1.9)	Published	No
Date	No date [after 1915]		
Addresser	Richard Bergh	Receiver	Vittorio Pica
Archive	Nationalmuseum arkivet (Stockholm)	Paper	Richard Bergh Brevsamlingen, 62:1
Note	Translation by Gunnel Lindelöv		

[Swedish version edited]

Mon cher Pica,

Jag tackar Er hjertligt för Edert kort, jag beklagar lifligt att postbefodran är så dålig under kriget / Ni har antagligen icke fått ett kort jag tidigare sändt Eder / Min adress är toujours la même / Saltsjö – Storängen Stockholm / Ni kan sända fotografien af min fars tafla dit / Jag beklagar också mycket att jag icke har mottagit Eder bok om den svenska konsten / Jag har emellertid sett den hos andra konstnärer och den har väckt mitt lifliga intresse /

Jag har enormt mycket att göra i museet , omorganisationen skrider alltjämt framåt och jag gläder mig att en gång få visa Eder det hela när det blir färdigt / Vi hoppas nämligen alltjämt att få se Er här igen / Mätte bara kriget snart vara slut –

Poignée de mains bien amicale

R Bergh

[English version]

My dear Pica,

I cordially thank you for your card, I sincerely regret that the mailservice is so bad during the war / You have probably not received a card I sent you earlier / My address is toujours la même - Saltsjö – Storängen Stockholm / You can send the photography of my father's painting there / I also very much regret that I haven't received your book about Swedish Art / I have however seen it with other artists and it has aroused a lively interest in me /

I have an enormously lot of work in the museum, the reorganization is still proceeding and I will be pleased to once again show you everything when it is finished / as we still hope to see you here again / May only the war soon be over /

A Friendly handshake

R. Bergh

Mon cher Pica,

Jeg takker Er højest for eders kort.
Jeg beklager hfligt at postbefordring er
så delvis under angst - ~~Jeg~~ ^{Vi} har
antagelig ikke fået en kort ^{tilbage} sendt eder -
Min adress er toujours La mienne -
Saltsjö - Stora Nyström - Vi kan
sända fotografier af min fars tegl
dit - Jeg beklager ^{med} meget at jeg ikke
har svarede eder bsk om de svenske
konster - Jeg har emalle tid selv den
hos andre ~~men~~ ^{og} den har været mit
hfligt interesse -

Jeg har erovret meget at gøre i
musset, om organisationen skæder
altjant fremt og jeg glæder mig at
en gang få vide eder det hele med
det bli hørdigt - Vi begynder snart
altjant at få se Er her igen -
Mitte kan se sig selv som det -
Poignée de main bien amicale

R. Berg

2. Ferdinand Boberg

N°	(2.1)	Published	No
Date	April 24, 1914		
Addresser	Ferdinand Boberg	Receiver	Antonio Fradeletto
Archive	ASAC - Archivio Storico delle Arti contemporanee (Venice)	Paper	'Lettere autografe' papers, Folder 'Ferdinand Boberg'.
Note	Boberg invites Vittorio Pica and Fradeletto to visit Malmö		

Carissimo amico!

Quando, dopo la nostra bella visita a Venezia, son tornato a Malmö, parlano colla direzione dell'impraticabilità di darvi un vero invito per assistere all'inaugurazione dell'esposizione. Essendo dato, che l'esposizione è 'specificatamente' baltica, e cioè svedese, tedesca, danese, massimo finlandese, non trovano la praticabilità di fare tale invito, ma m'hanno esposto invece di trovare un altro modo. I giorni 10-14 giugno di presso c'è a Copenhagen l'ingresso internazionale della stampa. Al 13, quando congresso viene invitato ufficialmente dal ministero svedese degli affari esteri a fare visita a Malmö, e perciò viene preso direttamente a Copenaghen per via di gran vapore svedese, menato a Malmö, ci a hanno la colazione, visita l'esposizione e prende parte al gran banchetto offerto dell'esposizione, fatto quanto ufficialmente, e viene finalmente riportato dalla stessa strada a Copenhagen.

Non potreste trovarmi a Copenhagen quel giorno? E farvi inserire membro del congresso? In tal caso avrei una volta il gran piacere di salutarvi in paese nostro, e co che tante volte son venuto salutarvi sul suolo italiano!

E come crede con Pica? Non potrebbe anche lui venire? Sarebbe un tanto desiderato reclamo per l'esposizione, tanto più che la sezione d'arte è interessantissima, con grandi collezioni d'antichità tedeschi russi e finlandesi, altre naturalmente gli svedesi e danesi.

Dicono anzi che una tale collezione d'arte tedesca non è stata giammai collocata, certo non fuori Germania, ed i russi son rappresentati di cose sconosciute completamente prima e che fanno gran rumore.

Non sarebbe possibile di immaginare una tale rarità?

Fatemi sapere, prego, perché se venite voi o Pica ossia tutti e che, mi preparerei per stare anch'io a Malmö quel giorno e servirvi personalmente di Cicerone. Potete pensare quanto piacere mi farebbe di vedervi finalmente in Svezia. Anche Anna in tal caso verrebbe a Malmo festeggiare tale grande occasione – e tali cari amici! Spero dunque di leggervi presto e rimango intanto come per sempre vostro devotissimo

Ferdinand Boberg

Saluti Cordiali di Anna!

N°	(2.2)	Published	No
Date	April 18, 1935		
Addresser	Filippo Caffarelli	Receiver	Ferdinand Boberg
Archive	Kungliga Bibliotek (Stockholm)	Paper	Ferdinand Boberg Papers, L57:3

18 aprile 1936

Caro amico ho saputo con molto ritardo della grande sventura che l'ha colpita e l'assicuro di tutto il mio profondo compianto.

Anna era una delle creature più adorabili e belle della terra!

Viva spiritosa intelligente bella colta e buona, poche donne al mondo mi hanno ispirato tanto affetto e tanta simpatia. Benché stessimo ai due capi di Europa pure mi è doloroso pensare che lei non ci sia più come una perdita personale. Mi pare che il sole debba splendere meno caldo perché non c'è più quella creatura ardente a ridergli in faccia la sua fede nella vita. Dans mon souvenir Anna m'apparaît comme cette opale le feu qu'elle portait au doigt scintillante d'une lumière embrasée et profonde.

D'après mon affliction je mesure la votre

Je suis d'ailleurs, hélas, trop bien ce qu'un tel [vennage] a de terriblement cruel.. Courage, cher ami. J'apprends que vous venez d'avoir votre fête, dieu vous bénisse, continuez, travaillez, cher maître, pour la beauté du monde, que vous avez enrichie!

Margherita Sarfatti

17 aprile

VIA DEI VILLINI 19
ROMA

Caro amico, ho saputo
con ~~spetto~~ ritardo della
grande sventura che
l'ha colpita, e
l'assunto di tutto
il mio profondo
compianto. Anna era una delle
creature più belle
che della terra!

Viva spiritosa
intelligente bella
colta e buona
poche donne al mondo
mi hanno ispirato
tanto affetto e tanta
simpatia. Anche
stessimo un due
capi di Europa,
pure mi è doloroso
pensare che lei

non ci sia più
come una perdita
personale. Mi pare
che il sole debba
splendere meno
caldo, perché non
c'è più quella
creatura ardente
a ridargli in
faccia la sua

pede nella vita. Da
non cominciare
Anna in apparenza
come c'è l'opale
de per qu' elle portait
an Joy. Fascinantillante
d'une lumière et embrasée
et profonde.
D'après mon affect
je mesure la note
je suis d'ailleurs, tels,
trop bien ce qu'un tel ven
nage a de terriblement
ouel.. Courage, cher

2)
ami. J'apprends que
vous venez d'avoir
votre fête, Dieu
vous bénisse, continuez
travailler, cher
maître, pour la beauté
du monde, que vous
avez enrichie.
Mon sympathique

N°	(2.3)	Published	No
Date	December 25, 1935		
Addresser	Jole Venturi	Receiver	Ferdinand Boberg
Archive	Kungliga Bibliotek (Stockholm)	Paper	Ferdinand Boberg Papers, L57:3

Natale 1935

Mio carissimo amico, in questi giorni nei quali Lei sentirà maggiormente la sua solitudine e nei quali rivivrà la tristezza dell'anno scorso, Le sono maggiormente vicina col pensiero e col cuore.

Non posso pensare che da quasi un anno ci manchi la nostra cara. Essa è così viva nella mia mente, così presente nel mio spirito, che mi pare non sia partita...

Povero amico, Lei si chiede perché se ne sia andata così presto! La stessa angosciata domanda mi faccio io, ripensandola poi così forte, giovane, piena di vita...

Ma le cose di questa esistenza non hanno né giustizia, né logicità, né compassione... Essa ci ha lasciato nello strazio e nella vana rievocazione della sua preziosa compagnia. Forse aveva già dato al mondo troppo, o forse poteva incominciare per Lei un periodo di decadenza fisica ed è meglio allora e più generoso pensarla recisa come un fiore vivissimo che non ha conosciuto la tristezza di appassirsi in vani rimapianti.

Caro Boberg, se Lei fosse qui la pregherei di passare con noi questi giorni saturi di ricordi e tanto tristi. Mi duole di non poterle essere vicino altro che in ispirito. Lavori per la sua adorata, riunire il materiale che la esalterà nel tempo a venire, è la cosa più dole e più consolante che lei possa fare. Così Anna Boberg non sarà mai perduta...

Ogni pensiero di bene e tutta l'espressione della mia tenera amicizia

Jole

Natale 1935

Mio carissimo amico, in questi giorni nei quali lei centerà maggiormente la sua solitudine e mi quali rivivrà la tristezza dell'anno scorso, le sono maggiormente vicina col pensiero e col cuore. Non posso pensar che da quasi un anno ci manchi la vostra cara. Essa è così viva nella mia mente, così presente nel mio spirito, che mi pare non sia partita... Posso amico, lei si chiede perché se ne sia andata così presto! La stessa angustiosa domanda mi faccio io, ripensandola (più così forte, giovane, piena di vita...

Ma le cose di questa esistenza non hanno né giustizia, né logica, né compassione... Essa lei ha lasciato, nello strazio e nella sua me- vocazione della sua preziosa compagnia. Forse aveva già dato al mondo troppo, o forse poteva incominciare per lei un periodo di de- cadenza fisica ed è meglio allora e più generoso pensarla viva come una fiore vivificante che mi ha conosciuto la tristezza di apparire in vani rimpianti. Caro Robert, se lei fosse qui la pre- cherei di passare con noi questi giorni saturi di ricordi e tanto tristi. Mi duole di non poter essere vicino altro che in spirito. Lavori per la sua adorata, riunire il materiale che la esalterà nel tempo a venire, è la cosa più dolce e più consolante che lei possa fare. Così Anna Robert non sarà mai perduta... Qui pensiero di bene e tutta l'effusione della mia tenera affezione. Lora

N°	(2.4)	Published	No
Date	July 9, 1936		
Addresser	Jole Venturi	Receiver	Ferdinand Boberg
Archive	Kungliga Bibliotek (Stockholm)	Paper	Ferdinand Boberg Papers, L57:3

Viareggio 9 – 7 - 36

Mio carissimo amico,

da gran tempo non le scrivo, pur ricordandola con grande affetto, ma ho avuto Donatella ammalata, e questo mi ha tolto la volontà persino di scrivere.

Ora la bimba è guarita bene ed il primo pensiero è per il caro amico lontano, al quale voglio dire tutto il nostro ricordo affettuoso.

Le sue lettere sono sempre una grande gioia per me. Ogni accenno alla cara, grande scomparsa, un legame di più, un rivivere il ricordo della adorata, che è sempre creativo di lei.

Che fortuna che S. Marco le abbia dato il desiderio di ritornare in Italia; così avremo la gioia di piabbracciarlo e di passare ancora delle belle ore insieme!

Come va la collezione per la futura mostra di Parigi? Immagino benissimo.

Auguri per un proficuo lavoro.

Molti pensieri cari ed un affettuoso abbraccio

Jole

François - 9. 7. 30
 Mio carissimo amico, da gran tempo mi
 le senti, per ricordarle nel grande
 affetto, ma ho avuto dov'è la am-
 malata, e questo mi ha tolto la
 pronta. Servito di servizio -
 Ora la tima è guarita bene ed
 il primo pensiero è per il caro amico
 fontano, al quale voglio dire tutto il
 nostro ricordo, affetto -
 La cui lettera ho sempre una
 grande gioia. An ne son deciso
 alla casa, grande compagnia, mi
 soave di un, sul vivere il
 ricordo alla adorata, cui è sempre

matto di lei - S. Marco e altri
 che fanno che S. Marco e altri
 sono il desiderio di vivere in
 Italia; con tutto la gioia di
 riabbracciarlo e di sempre avere
 delle belle ore insieme,
 Come se la colosse per la stessa
 parte di Parigi? Immagino benissimo
 C'è un per un professore loro -
 Affetto a braccio
 F.

N°	(2.5)	Published	No
Date	August 27, 1936		
Addresser	Filippo Caffarelli	Receiver	Ferdinand Boberg
Archive	Kungliga Bibliotek (Stockholm)	Paper	Ferdinand Boberg Papers, L57:3

Roma, 27 agosto 1936

Caro Boberg,

Tecla mi ha prega di esprimere la sua più commossa riconoscenza per il bellissimo ritratto della signora Anna Boberg, inviatoci e che terremo a dolcissimo e perenne ricordo di Lei a Suo che ha saputo farlo così nobilmente rivivere avanti i nostri occhi!

Saremo entrambi lietissimi di rivederla fra noi, se vorrà tornare in Italia, ove la sua adorata compagna la seguirà in ispirito. Essa è sempre presente nella nostra casa con questo incomparabile visione delle Isole Lofoten da cui non posso staccare gli occhi! Era veramente il suo regno!

Se lei viene, dunque, ricorderemo insieme, e sarà anche per noi una serena gioia!

Intanto si abbia i nostri più affettuosi saluti e il ricordo devotissimo e amichevole di

F. Caffarelli



MINISTERO DEGLI AFFARI ESTERI

Roma, 27 apr.
1936

Caro Bobey,

Teco mi parlo di
espionaggio la sua più umosa-
rionomia per il bellissimo ritratto
della Signora Anna Bobey in via
Toci e che terreno a Solisvino e
perenne ricordo di Lei e suo
che ha saputo fare cose nobilmente
vivere avanti i nostri occhi!
Saremo entrambi lieti

non si rivestano per noi, se vorrà
tornare in Italia, se la sua abitudine
Compagno - la separa in ispirito. Essi
è sempre presente nella nostra casa
una giunta imperipabile di via delle
Isle Lofoten se mi non staccare
gli occhi! E - sicuramente il suo repe!

Se Lei viene, dunque, rivederemo
insieme, e sarà anche per noi
una serena gioia!

Intanto si affia i nostri più
affettuosi saluti e il ricordo. Sc. K. M.
mo e amichevole si

A. C. F. Arell.

N°	(2.6)	Published	No
Date	September 26, 1936		
Addresser	Jole Venturi	Receiver	Ferdinand Boberg
Archive	Kungliga Bibliotek (Stockholm)	Paper	Ferdinand Boberg Papers, L57:3

Roma – 26 settembre 36

Caro, caro amico,

da quanto tempo non le scrivo e come mi pesa questo silenzio!

Il periodo della villeggiatura non è stato felicissimo; ho dovuto far fare una piccola operazione alla bimba e così non ho avuto cuore neppure per scrivere agli amici. Ora tutto è superato: siamo di nuovo a Roma e si riprende la vita solita di lavoro. E lei caro Bob, quante belle cose ha fatto nella luce fantastica della loro estet? Ricordo che Anna mi parlava con entusiasmo di artista del chiarore delle notti nordiche e a me pare di vedere Bob lavorare e lavorare in quell'ambiente di sogno e cercare così la sua anima. No, non lo penso pagano. Penso che aremo avuto molto dalla vita, tutto anzi da un cuore di donna eletta, le sembri di non dover attendere altro dalla sorte. Ma vorrei che avesse la mia convinzione; la gioia di pensare che tutto non è finito e che verrà ancora l'unione più grande e spirituale nel regno della luce. Certo io sono più egoista di lei nel mio affetto perché ho bisogno di credere alla sopravvivenza eterna per calmare il mio dolore. Non ragiono molto e faccio come i bambini che si abbandonano alle illusioni belle. L'autunno si avvanza dolcemente e a malgrado del clima ancora estivo, le notti scendono rapidamente. Lo penso tutto in tempo al suo lavoro a poi a sera contemplante il Mälär che si vede dalla sua casa. In queste lunghe ore di forzato riposo vorrei esserle vicina e parlare di colei che se n'è andata innanzi – ma non perduta – andata innanzi nel mistero per poi porgerci la mano quando andremo a raggiugerla. Si avvicina l'Ottobre e immagino che la sua collezione di motivi di acqua sarà completa e magnifica. Mi racconti presto di questo trionfo. E quando la vedremo ancora a Roma caro amico? Spero presto, spero che la nostalgia dell'Italia si faccia sentire e la induca ancora a venire. Akka io sarò felice di vederla e felice di parlare ancora e sempre di Lei della quale il mio cuore è pieno.

Con questo omaggio di devozione, di ammirazione infinita, mi sembra di avvicinarmi a lei e di rendere onore alla sua memoria.

Ghino e i ragazzi la inviano saluti cari ed io l'abbraccio con cuore d'amica.

Jole

Roma - 26 settembre 50

Roma, caro amico, da quanto tempo una
 cosa mi pesa questo pensiero!
 Il pensiero della inesperienza, una è stata ferita
 sua; ho dovuto far fare una grande spe-
 razione alla tomba e così non ho avuto una
 misura per venire col cuore. Era tutto e
 l'esperto. Si sono a Roma e
 riprendi la vita della casa.

Lei sono, quanto della era ha fatto
 nella base l'entusiasmo della tua vita? Fondi
 che dove mi parlava con entusiasmo di altri
 al chiarire della notte, perché e a me pare
 di vedere Poi lavorare e lavorare in quel
 ambiente di sogno e amore era la tua anima
 che non lo fanno adesso. Peggio che ora
 avete molto dalla vita, tutto anzi da un
 cuore di donna eletta, le senti di una donna
 estranea alla vita. Ma una di
 avere la mia ammirazione; la gioia di pensare
 che tutto non è finito e che sono ancora
 l'unico più grande e spirituale nel regno
 della luce. Fin'ora di Lei nel mio spirito
 sento il suo spirito di essere alla ispirazione
 perché ho fatto di credere alla
 letture per spiegare il mio amore non razionale
 molto e facile come; tant'è che ti è parso
 nuovo e di nuovo felice.

L'autunno si avverte distintamente e a malgrado del
 come questo estate, le notti vengono rapidamente
 ho fatto tutto intero, al tuo lavoro e per a
 sono, esemplare il Mater che ti era dalla
 sua casa. Le queste lunghe ne di parati
 ripeto vorrei essere serena e portare di me
 che se mi è andata davanti. Ma, una condotta -
 andata nuovi nel mistero per poi trovare la
 meno questo continuo a raccomandarla. La
 si, perché l'altro è impiego che la sua
 collezione di metri di acqua, era completa e
 meccanica. Mi sarebbe stata di questi tempi.
 E quando la vedeva, questa a Roma, era
 unico? Il suo posto, spero che la costanza
 dell'Italia si faccia sentire e la indovina
 ora a vivere. Allora in loro felice di
 Maria e felice di portare amore e sempre
 di Lei della quale il mio cuore è pieno.
 Con questo omaggio di devotissimo di ammirazione
 ripeto, mi sembra di avvicinarmi a lei
 e di vederla come alla sua memoria.
 Chissà e i ragazzi. Le rinnovo saluti cari
 ed è l'ottimo con cuore d'acqua.

N°	(2.7)	Published	No
Date	Febraury 12, 1937		
Addresser	Jole Venturi	Receiver	Ferdinand Boberg
Archive	Kungliga Bibliotek (Stockholm)	Paper	Ferdinand Boberg Papers, L57:3

12-2-37

Carissimo Bob, sono così mortificata di aver tanto atteso a risponderle, ma spero sappia che il mio pensiero resta immutabile per lei e per la memoria della cara perduta.

I giorni passano così rapidamente, che non riesco mai a far ciò che vorrei. Mi scusi carissimo.

La sua penultima lettera si era incrociata con la mia e così non potei rispondere in merito al progetto di vedersi a Pisa. Chissà che riesca possibile anche per me. Per Ghino che va spesso a Livorno, sarà certo più facile, mentro io che ho la casa e i bambini, non posso tanto tempo prima impegnarmi, senza sapere cosa può venire ad impedirmelo.

Pensi però che sarei felicissima e cercherò in tutti i modi di venire a riabbracciarlo e ad ammirare il suo lavoro. Come è passato quest'inverno? La immagino tutto preso dalla sua arte che le da tante meritate soddisfazioni e che l'avvicina ancor più se è possibile alla sua cara.

Le scrivo seduta proprio di fronte al ritratto di Anna. Mi pare che mi sorrida con quel suo sorriso tutto luce ed io non posso capacitarmi che quell'essere così giovane spiritualmente e materialmente non sia più.

Ma nel nostro cuore fedele essa è viva come non mai e così sarà sempre, e il nostro affetto è come una fiaccola che arde dinanzi a lei e l'illumina. Si ricordi caro Bob, che mi ha promesso il suo ritratto ed io l'aspetto con impazienza. Sarà una delle cose più care che avrò e godrò di vederlo fare "pendant" con quello di Anna.

Il mese venturo saremo in un nuovo appartamento più grande e più bello all'Aventino. Aspetto di vederla presto nella nuova casa.

Frattanto l'abbraccio con grande tenerezza

Jole

Via delle Terme Deciane, 2

12 - 2 - 37

GR. UFF. ARCHITETTO GHINO VENTURI - VIA GIOBERTI, 54 - TEL. 43226

Carissimo Bob, sono così mortificata di aver tanto at-
teso a risponderle, ma spero sappia che il mio
pensiero resta immutabile per lei e per la memoria
della cara perduta.

I giorni passano così rapidamente, che non riesco mai
a fare ciò che vorrei. Mi scusi, carissimo -
La sua penultima lettera si era incrociata con la mia
e così non potei rispondere nulla in merito al progetto
di vederti a Pisa. Chitza che cerca possibile anche
per me. Per Ghino che va spesso a Livorno, sarà così
più facile, mentre io che ho la casa e i bambini, non
posso tanto tempo prima impegnarmi, senza sapere cosa
può venire ad impedirmelo.
Puri però che ne sarei felicissima e cercherò in tutti i
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lavoro. Come è passato quest'inverno? La im-
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meritate soddisfazioni e che l'avvicina ancor più
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Ma nel vostro cuore fedele essa è viva come una
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Si ricordi caro Bob, che mi ha promesso il suo ritratto
ed io lo aspetto con impazienza. Sarà una delle cose
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a quello di Anna.

Il mese venturo saremo in un nuovo
appartamento più grande e più bello all' Aventino -
Aspetto di vederla presto nella nuova casa -

Fra tanto l'abbraccio con grande tenerezza
Lole
Via delle Terme Deciane, 2

N°	(2.8)	Published	No
Date	No date [1937]		
Addresser	Jole Venturi	Receiver	Ferdinand Boberg
Archive	Kungliga Bibliotek (Stockholm)	Paper	Ferdinand Boberg Papers, L57:3

Roma – 26 settembre 36

Caro, caro Bob, che gioia avere il suo ritratto così bello, così somigliante, così riuscito anche come cosa artistica!

In questi giorni sono occupatissima e non riesco ancora ad occuparmi di nulla, ma appena possibile andrò a cercare la cornice uguale a quella del ritratto di Anna. Anche in questo piccolo dettaglio devono essere simili ed uniti.

Il quadretto con la vista del lago è semplicemente delizioso. Sono felice di averlo perché lei lo ha fatto, e felice anche perché si tratta di un paesaggio sul quale gli occhi della nostra cara si saranno fermati migliaia e migliaia di volte, con amore intenso.

Grazie Bob, grazie dal più profondo del cuore. Mi sembra di avere un tesoro con quelle care cose dei miei amici e le guardo con ammirazione e con tenerezza.

Spero che la primavera le infonda il desiderio di arrivare fino a Roma, ove un cuore fedele lo attende nel desiderio sempre più grande di sentir parlare di colei che è sempre presente nel nostro spirito.

Ghino e i ragazzi la salutano caramente ed io l'abbraccio con infinita tenerezza.

Jole

Via delle Terme Deciane, 2

Caro, caro Bob, che gioia avere il tuo ritratto così bello, così assomigliante, così riuscito anche come cosa artistica!

In questi giorni sono occupatissimo e non riesco ancora ad occuparmi di nulla, ma appena possibile andrò a cercare la cornice uguale a quella del ritratto di Anna. Qui che in questo piccolo dettaglio devono essere simili ed uniti.

Il quadretto con la vista del lago è semplicemente delizioso. Sono felice di averlo perché lei lo ha fatto, e felice anche perché si tratta di un paesaggio nel quale

gli occhi della nostra cara si saranno fermati migliaia e migliaia di volte, con amore intenso. Grazie, Bob, grazie dal più profondo del cuore - Mi sembra di avere un tesoro con quelle care cose dei miei amici e le guardo con ammirazione e con tenerezza.

Spero che la primavera le infonda il desiderio di arrivare fino a Roma, o se un cuore fedele lo attende nel desiderio sempre più grande di sentir parlare di colui che è sempre presente nel nostro spirito.

Ghino e i ragazzi lo salutano calorosamente ed io l'abbraccio con infinita tenerezza.
Via Terme Deciane - 2
Joe

N°	(2.9)	Published	No
Date	July 20, [1937]		
Addresser	Jole Venturi	Receiver	Ferdinand Boberg
Archive	Nationalmuseum arkivet (Stockholm)	Paper	Ferdinand Boberg, EA:671:1, 'Brev från Ghino Venturi'

Roma – 20 luglio

Mio caro Bob,

mi pare un secolo da quando le ho scritto l'ultima volta, ma la vita di una mamma è veramente piena di avvenimenti che le impediscono di avere una vita tutta sua.

Ci sono stati gli esami di Renato superati brillantemente, poi la sua partenza per il campo, dato che i nostri studenti invece di fare un anno come soldati possono dividere questo periodo durante i cinque anni di università; poi la malattia di Donatella che solo ora incomincia ad alzarsi e per completare un caldo che paralizza ogni attività.

Questa mattina mi sono alzata alle cinque e così col fresco posso pensare a mettermi a scrivere.

Caro Bob, che piacere sentirle dire che verrà l'anno venturo!

Mi fa sorridere l'idea che lei farà il possibile per conservarsi fino a quel momento! La sua vita è già così regolata e perfetta che sono certa lei avrà ancora molti anni davanti a lei per la gioia di chi le vuol bene.

Sono così ansiosa circa la pubblicazione che farà col Boethius. Quando verrà lei me la farà vedere anche se scritta in svedese e se poi la tradurranno in francese o in inglese io la comprerò per la gioia di rivedere quelle sue splendide tavole di Tarquinia, e di leggere le annotazioni di Boethius.

Tutte le volte che passo vicino al Moderno, guardo in quella libreria se vi sono altre tavole. Per ora nulla di nuovo.

Saluti da tutta la famiglia e il ricordopiù affettuoso dell'amica

Jole

Roma - 20 luglio
Mio caro Bob, mi pare un uolo da
quando te ho scritto l'ultima volta, ma
la vita di una mamma è occupata
prima di avvenimenti che le impediscono
di avere una vita tutta sua. Di tuo
stati gli esami di Renato superati brillan-
tamente, poi la sua partenza per il
camp, dato che i nostri studenti non
e di fare un anno come sticchi per
sono dividere questo periodo durante
cinque anni di università; poi la
malattia di Donatella che solo ora in-
comincia ad abbassarsi e per completare
un caldo che paralizza ogni attività
mi tua mattina mi sono fatta alle
cinque e così col freno posso pensare
a mettermi a serare -
dire che ora l'anno venturo! - M. P.

sondare l'idea che li farei il possibile
per convincersi fino a quel momento la
sua vita è già così regolata e pen-
sata che non conta di aprirne ancora
particolarmente a te per la gioia
di chi te vuol bene.
Sono così assurdo circa la pubblicazione
che farei col Boethius - Quando vorrà,
di me la farei vedere anche te
scritta in webad e se poi la tradurranno
in francese o in inglese io la compro-
per la gioia di ricevere quella tua
lettera di Teo e di Barquinia, e di leggere
le annotazioni del Boethius
Tutte le volte che passo vicino al
Museum, guardo in quella libreria e vi trovo
altre copie - Per ora nulla di nuovo -
Salute da tutta la famiglia
e il ricordo più affettuoso dell'infanzia
Ma

N°	(2.10)	Published	No
Date	April 27, [1938]		
Addresser	Jole Venturi	Receiver	Ferdinand Boberg
Archive	Nationalmuseum arkivet (Stockholm)	Paper	Ferdinand Boberg, EA:671:1, 'Brev från Ghino Venturi'

Roma 27-4

Mio carissimo Bob, che gioia aver la certezza di poterlo riabbracciare presto! Naturalmente siamo felici di averlo a pranzo il 3 maggio e si capisce che saremo in Piazza Esedra ad aspettare il suo arrivo alle 18.30. Sono lietissima della sua decisione e mi pare persino inutile scrivere, tanto mi pare prossimo il momento di poter fare delle lunghe chiacchierate. Mi farà vedere, come sempre il suo meraviglioso e fecondo lavoro ed io sarò fiera di lei e contenta di sentirlo vicino al mio cuore.

A presto dunque caro Bob. E ringrazio ancora la situazione internazionale che mi consente di godere la pace e di avere qui il mio grande, carissimo amico.

Saluti cari da tutti.

Un abbraccio tenerissimo da Jole

Tessie Decima 2

Roma. 27. 4

Mio carissimo Bob, che gioia aver la certezza di poterlo riabbracciare presto! Naturalmente siamo felici di averlo a pranzo il 3 maggio e si capisce che saremo in Piazza Cavour ad aspettare il suo arrivo alle 18.30.

Sono lietissima della tua decisione e mi pare persino inutile scrivere, tanto mi pare prossimo il momento di poter fare delle lunghe chiaccherate. Mi farà vedere, come sempre il tuo meraviglioso e fecondo lavoro ed io sarò fiera di lei e contenta di sentirlo vicino al mio cuore -

A presto dunque, caro Bob - È ingrato ancora la situazione internazionale che mi consente di godere la pace e di avere qui il mio grande, carissimo amico.

Saluti cari da tutti.

Un abbraccio tenerissimo da
Tessie

N°	(2.11)	Published	No
Date	May 31, [1938]		
Addresser	Jole Venturi	Receiver	Ferdinand Boberg
Archive	Nationalmuseum arkivet (Stockholm)	Paper	Ferdinand Boberg, EA:671:1, 'Brev från Ghino Venturi'

Roma – 31 maggio

Mio carissimo Bob, avrei voluto scriverle subito e dirle tutta la mia gioia per le buone notizie che mi dà. Avevo ragione io di dirle che io Principe sarebbe stato entusiasta delle sue tavole? Auguri dunque per la pubblicazione. L'Istituto svedese avrà anche quegli studi che non ha dato all'Istituto di Studi Romani? Bene. Vede che la sua gita ha avuto degli eccellenti risultati ed io ne sono felice, perché oltre alla gioia di averlo visto ho anche quella di sapere che il suo lavoro è stato apprezzato come doveva.

Lo immagino al lavoro per gli studi di carattere Stoccolmesese. Mi dispiace solo di non vederli. Ma se faranno una pubblicazione dei suoi lavori, lei forse me lo farà conoscere vero?

Sono orgogliosa dei suoi trionfi, della sua attività e di tutta la spiritualità che la mette al di sopra di tante creature umane. Mi pare in certo quel modo di fare la parte di Anna, spronandolo al lavoro (sebbene non ce ne sia bisogno) e godendo poi del suo successo. Ma non dubito che la parte imperitura della sua cara –lo spirito immortale– è con lei e gioiosa.

Sono grata al principe che lo spinge a venire qui nel prossimo maggio.

Lo attendo con fiducia e con gioia.

Cari saluti da tutti e un abbraccio dalla sua Jole

Roma - 31 maggio

Mio carissimo Bob, avrei voluto scriverti subito e dirti tutta la mia gioia per le buone notizie che mi dai. Ovvero ragione io di dirti che il Principe sarebbe stato entusiasta delle sue tavole? Auguri dunque per la pubblicazione. L'Istituto Svedese avrà anche quegli studi che non ha dato all'Istituto di Studi Romani? Bene - Vede che la sua vita ha avuto degli eccellenti risultati ed io me sono felice perché oltre alla gioia di averlo visto ho anche quella di sapere che il suo lavoro è stato apprezzato come doveva. Lo immagino al lavoro per gli studi

di carattere stoccolmeso. Mi dispiace solo di non vederli. Ma se faranno una pubblicazione dei suoi lavori, lei forse me la farà conoscere, no? Sono orgogliosa dei suoi trionfi, della sua attività e di tutta la spiritualità che la mette al di sopra di tante creature umane. Mi pare in certo qual modo di fare la parte di Cupida, spronandolo al lavoro (sebbene non ce ne sia bisogno) e godersi poi del suo successo. Ma non dubiti che la parte imperitura della sua cara - lo spirito immortale - è con lei e viva. Sono grata al Principe che lo spinge a venire qui nel prossimo maggio. Lo attendo con fiducia e con gioia. Saluti cari da tutti e un abbraccio dalla sua Tote

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Roma – 22 luglio 1938

Carissimo Bob,

la sua lettera di oggi, così affettuosa e sollecita nel chiedere nostre notizie, mi fa proprio bene al cuore, No amico caro, non è successo nulla di grave e vorrei che lei potesse sapere quante volte mi sono seduta al mio tavolino per scriverle e quante volte ho dovuto rimandare la lettera ad un momento meno occupato. Veramente la vita ha un ritmo troppo affannoso ed io vedo fuggire i giorni ed i mesi con la sensazione dolorosa di non averli abbastanza sfruttati.

Come vede quest'anno non siamo ancora partiti. Renato ha finito ieri i suoi esami di licenza e finalmente lo vediamo un po' tranquillo, ché lo studio ed il caldo lo avevano sciupato oltre misura.

Ieri sera siamo stati ad una rappresentazione del Lohengrin alle Terme di Caracalla. Che cosa fantasmagorica Bob!

Immagini quei sudari grandiosi come sfondo alla scena, illuminati di bagliori rossastri e la gran massa verde degli alberi. La dizione incredibilmente chiara anche in lontananza e 20.000 persone sistemate magnificamente a godersi quella gioia.

Al ritorno abbiamo attraversato le immense gallerie sotterranee, che fino ad ora erano quasi tutte sepolte sotto la terra. E così abbiamo ammirato la grandiosità dei resti che erano ancora ignoti.

Avrei voluto averlo accanto a me a godere quello spettacolo che sono certa avrebbe impressionato la sua sensibilità squisita. Peccato che a Settembre gli spettacoli saranno finiti!

Dico a Settembre perché non metto neppure in dubbio che lei possa mancare alla sua visita promessa. La sua salute non la prendo neppure in considerazione, tanto son sicura che si manterrà perfetta come sino ad ora.

Così eccomi ad attenderlo con la gioia di sempre e con l'ansia di sentire le nuove cose che ha scritto su Anna. Immagini se mi interesserà sentire il racconto di tanti episodi e racconti deliziosi.

Sono lieta che pensi a me come all'amica italiana che del ricordo di Anna ha fatto un culto e che perciò è felice ogni volta che può sentirla esaltare. Come ella è sempre viva e reale nel nostro cuore!

In quest'Italia che essa amò col suo grande cuore di artista, la sua figura non sarà mai dimenticata giammai e il mio pensiero amico sarà sempre una fiaccola accesa dinanzi a lei.

Mi dica ancora del suo lavoro. Lo segue con grande ammirazione e sono certa che nel lavoro Lei si sente ricongiunto a quell'eletta creatura che come Lei aveva il culto del bello.

Quando verrà, porti tutto quello che può farmi conoscere la sua meravigliosa attività. Le ora passate insieme saranno dolci e cariche di ricordi ed io già le progusto con delizia.

Scusi amico caro il mio lungo silenzio materiale. Con lo spirito lei sa che le sono vicio, sempre affezionata, sempre memore ed entusiasta. E mi dica presto la data del suo arrivo, sarà un anticipo del piacere che mi darà la sua visita.

Ghino e i bambini mandano saluti cordialissimi e io la stringo teneramente al cuore

Jole

Roma - 22 luglio 1938

Carissimo Port, la tua lettera di oggi, così
 offesa e sollecita nel chiedere il motivo dell'as-
 suno, mi fa proprio bene al cuore. No,
 e ormai lei potesse sapere quanto forte
 mi sono tenuto al mio tavolo per ragione
 e quanto volte ho dovuto rimandare la
 lettera ad un momento meno occupato.
 Invece la vita ha un ritmo troppo af-
 frettato ed io vedo fuggire i giorni ed i
 mesi con la susseguente chiacchiata di una
 avvertenza abbastanza brutta.
 Come vede quest'anno non siamo ancora
 partiti. Renato ha finito ieri i suoi
 esami di laurea e finalmente lo vedremo
 un po' tranquillo, ed lo studio ed il celato
 lo faranno scampare oltre misura.
 Speri che siamo state ed una

representazione del Selenite alle Terme di
 Casacala. Che era fantasmagorica, Port!
 Immagini qui vedersi Grandi, come
 sfiorate alle scene, illuminati di bagliori
 bruciati e la gran massa verde flogi-
 allori - la fazione incredibilmente chiara
 anche in lontananza e 20.000 persone in-
 vite magnificamente a vederla quella sera.
 Il ritratto abbiamo attraversato le immense
 Gallerie Selenitane, che fino ad ora erano
 quasi tutte sepolte sotto la terra - è est-
 abissino ammirato la grandiosità dei resti che
 erano ancora ignoti.
 Orsi molto esteso accanto a me a vedere
 quello spettacolo che era stato appunto
 trovato la sua civiltà. Squisita. Peder-
 che a settembre di spettacoli saranno fatti.
 Dico a settembre perché non mette neppure
 in dubbio che lei potrà mancare alla sua
 visita promissa - la tua salute non la
 prende neppure in considerazione, tanto im-

tevera che si manifesta perfetta come fino ad
ora - Con eccomi ad attendere con la gioia
di sempre e con l'anima di sempre le
nuove cose che ha scritto tu Anna - Emma
Qui te mi interverrà salire il racconto di
Tanti episodi e ricordi. Ebbene -
Sono lieta che pensi a me come all'anima
italiana che del ricordo di Anna ha fatto
un culto e che perciò è felice ogni volta
che può sentirsi parlare - Poi ella è
sempre viva e reale nel nostro cuore! Tu
quest' Italia che esta anno col suo gran
cuore d'artista, la tua figura un'ora
di musicata Giannini e il mio piccolo
cuore sarà sempre una faccenda accesa
dinanzi a lei! Mi dica questo del tuo
lavoro. Lo seguo con grande ammirazione
e sono certa che nel lavoro lei è sua
ricongiunta a quell'alta creatura che come
lei anima il culto del bello -

Quando venni sotto tutto quello che può
farsi esistere la tua meravigliosa attività.
Le ore passate insieme variegato dolci e
con che di ricordi ed io già le presento
con debria - Sono amico caro il mio lung.
Spirito materiale - Ora lo spirito lei ha
che che tuo vicino, sempre operante,
sempre amore ed entusiasmata. E mi
chea presto la data del tuo arrivo, to
mi entusiasmato del piacere che mi darà la
tua visita. Gioia e i ragazzi mandano
Saluti entusiasmanti ed io la stringo te -
sempre al cuore

Ade

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Archive	Kungliga Bibliotek (Stockholm)	Paper	Ferdinand Boberg Papers, L57:3

Roma – 29 settembre

Mio carissimo Bob avrei voluto scriverle io per prima; ma quell'incubo della situazione internazionale gravava sul mio spirito in modo troppo deprimente.

Oggi il nuovo senso di fiducia viene ad alleggerire anche il mio animo e con più serenità nel cuore posso mettermi a tavolino e scrivere al mio grande amico lontano.

Che gioia è stat la sua visita e che ricordo mi hanno lasciato le ore passate insieme! Quando l'ho accompagnata all'autobus, mi è sembrato di accompagnare non un'amico, ma un parente carissimo che mi sentivo vicina al cuore, ed io ho sentito le lacrime che mi pungevano gli occhi tanto mi doleva vederlo partire. Era troppo giusto che lei andasse a casa, specie data la situazione internazionale e confesso che la Domenica, giorno del suo arrivo a Stockholm, ho tirato un sospiro di sollievo sapendolo ormai al sicuro. Però è stato un grande dolore distaccarmi da lei.

Oggi è arrivata la sua lettera e cintemporaneamente il quadretto del Sacre Coeur.

Grazie caro Bob, grazie di tutto. Che gentile aver subito lavorato per me! Nella mia stanza ormai houna piccola collezione di opere sue, collezione che lei mi arricchisce ogni anno e che forma tutto il mio orgoglio.

Anche il nuovo quadretto di Anna è delizioso: così spontaneo e pieno di sensibilità, proprio come era lei!

Lei si domanda se ci rivedremo ancora?

Caro Bob, con tutta sicurezza. Mi pare che la forza del desiderio sia la prima fautrice del destino e con tutto il desiderio della sua compagnia io chiedo alla sorte di portarlo ancora fra noi.

Le ho detto che gli animi si sono distesi, per quanto –e lei lo avrà letto sui giornali– nessuna misura precauzionale era stata presa a Roma.

Nelle altre capitali si lavorava febbrilmente, si distribuivano maschere antigas – si preparavano ricoveri, ma da noi non is faceva nulla e veramente tutti erano calmi e cotinuavano tranquillamente la loro vita.

Per forza si pensava alle possibili conseguenze di un dramma europeo, specie noi mamme che avremmo visto partire mariti e figli, ma attendevamo con serenità gli eventi.

Speriamo che la pace si raggiunga mediante l'accordo propugnato dal Duce e la tranquillità ritorni su tutti!

Ed ora amico mio, un'altra preghiera.

Si conservi forte come mi ha annunciato di voler essere pensando ad Anna. Sia come ella certamente vuole: tranquillo e sereno.

So che quando si perde un tesoro tanto grande, la rassegnazione è difficile, ma si deve tentare in ogni modo e con tutta la volontà.

Anna è nel nostro cuore sempre viva e come omaggio postumo le porgiamo il nostro ricordo e il nostro rimpianto. Ma ella non vuole che il suo Bob soffra troppo acerbamente della sua partenza. Vuole vederlo sereno, così come quando lei er qui a procurargli tutta la gioia e tutto il conforto di un affetto immenso e previdente.

Pensi che il spirito aleggia intorno a lei e non deve soffrire per il suo rimpianto troppo crudo.

Il legame spirituale è rimasto intatto anzi esaltato e questo deve essere la sua forza.

Vorrei che lei sentisse come la "vicinanza" reale della nostra cara, che lo confortasse la certezza assoluta di ritrovarla oltre questa breve vita mortale.

Il suo dolore ne sarebbe addolcito.

Mi dica di Lei, che lavori fa e quanto successo ha riportato con le sue tavole di Tarquinia.

Ghino e i figlioli mandano saluti amichevoli ed io l'abbraccio con grande tenerezza

Jole

Roma 29 settembre

Mio adorato Rob con i voluti sereni in per
 la prima, ma quell' incubo della tirazione in
 tenazionale gravava sul mio spirito in modo terribile
 desimute. Oggi il nuovo corso di fidelità
 sine ad alliganti anche il mio animo e in
 più emittenti nel mio poter mettermi a ton
 fino e tenere al mio grande amico, intanto
 Che gioia è stata la tua vita e che riavolo
 mi hanno lasciato le ore passate insieme!
 Quando l'ho accompagnato all'autobus, mi è
 sembrato di accompagnarti con un amico, ma
 un parente, conigliato per ~~sentire~~ mi sentivo vicino al
 suo cuore ed ho sentito le lacrime che mi per
 avano gli occhi tanto mi dispiace vederti partire.
 Era terribile quanto che lo andasse a casa da
 e ti data la situazione internazionale e cogli
 che lo domenica giorno del tuo arrivo a
 Stockholm ho trascorso un tempo di sollievo, tempo
 che ormai al nuovo ~~for~~ è stato un
 grande dolore distaccarmi da lei -
 Eppure è arrivata la tua lettera e con
 temporaneamente il quadrato del seri Dear
 Grazie, con Rob, grazie di tutto. Oh quanto
 con tanto amore per me! Nella mia stanza
 ormai

ho una grande collezione di spure tue, di collezioni
 che lei mi arricchisce ogni anno e che firma
 tutto il mio spazio quadrato di casa e
 di cui con spontaneo e pieno di similitudine
 pleurotore era lei!
 proprio come era lei!
 Certo Rob, con tutta l'incertezza - Mi per ch
 la forza del desiderio sia la prima faccenda
 del destino e con tutto il desiderio della
 tua compagnia io chiedo alla sorte di portarti
 questa / fra noi - Le ho detto che gli anni t
 sono distesi, per quanto - e lei lo è ora letto
 in giornali - / nessuna misura provanzionale era
 stata presa a Roma. Nella altre capitali
 e lontano felicemente si distribuiscono macchine
 anti gas - si passavano i ricoveri ma da un
 ora si fanno nulla e ovunque tutti erano
 ebbene e continuavano tranquilli, la loro via
 la forza si pensa alle possibili conseguenze
 di un dramma europeo. Sperie un momento
 che nessuno vada / portarsi gli eventi
 attendevano un ventata di morti e fagi, ma
 speriamo che la pace si raggiunga
 mediante l' accordo prolungato dal Jura
 tranquillità ritorni per tutti!

Ed ora amico mio, un'altra preghiera di
Si eccomi forte come m'ha ammoncato di
vota cura procurando ad Anna - Sia come
ella contenta vuole tranquillo e sereno - S.
che quando ti perde un tanto tanto grande
la rassegnazione è difficile ma fr. chi
testar in ogni modo e con tutta la ro-
tante - Anna è nel vostro cuore sempre
sino e come omaggio portiamo le pariamo il
vostro ricordo e il vostro rimpianto. Ma ella
non vuole che il suo Bod sopra troppo con-
tamente della sua partenza - Vuole vedersi
senza, ed. come quando lei era qui a
procurargli tutta la Diva e tutto il confort
di un affetto immenso e prezioso. Fece
che il suo spirito allora inteso a lei e
non deve soffrir per il suo rimpianto troppo
erudo. Il legant spirituale è rimasto subito
anzi esaltato e quest'idea era la sua forza
fiori che le sentiva come me la firmare.
male della nostra casa che lo confortava la
esterna assoluta di ritrovare oltre questo bene vita
mole Il tuo amore in tante calcolate.
fa e quanto questo ha ripotat con la tua
facile di Targia -

Giuro e i folli mandano salut. am.
che ed io fr. abbraccio con grande
tenerezza. Fote

~~Il tuo affetto immenso e prezioso.~~
~~Il tuo affetto immenso e prezioso.~~

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15 novembre

Carissimo Bob, è una gran pena che i giorni passino così velocemente senza che si riesca a concludere quello che si vorrebbe.

Come potrebbe mai diventare un peso scrivere a Lei che ho sempre nel cuore? Le lettere delle persone care sono quelle ce ci uniscono al passato e in questa vita odierna così movimentata e pratica, sono l'unico alimento per il nostro sentimentalismo. Io scrivo a lei e subito l'immagine di Anna si para dinanzi ai mie occhi in tutta la sua sorridente chiarezza.

Se è vero che il ricordo fa vivere quello che non son più, la cara creatura è sempre qui tra noi, evocata dal nostro cuore fedele, viva come lo è stata nella sua vita terrena. E a me piace pensare che sia così.

Sono certa che ella aleggia vicino a Lei e si compiace del suo lavoro.

Che gioia pensare che il 1° maggio verrà ancora in Italia! Lo metto come una cosa sicura perché son certa che i membri dell'Istituto Svedese non si lasceranno sfuggire la magnifica occasione di quere quelle tavole di Tarquinia che nessuno ha pensato di fare prima di Lei.

Quando verrà a Roma troverà qualche novità; si sta abbassando il piano stradale del Teatro di Marcello – Foro Olitorio, Piazza della Consolazione ecc. a livello della Bocca della Verità

Si sono fatti in questa zona due palazzoni per il Governatorato e si sono demolite delle brutte casette che non permettavano di godere questa zona in tutta la sua bellezza.

Ghino sta lavorando finalmente e questa è una gran gioia per lui e per me che soffrivo di vederlo inoperoso. Ora è più contento e tranquillo.

Avevo tentato molte volte di mettergli davanti agli occhi l'esempio di Bob sempre pronto al lavoro e dedicato per intero a quegli splendidi acquerelli, ma Ghino avrebbe considerato il dipingere come una cosa da fare quando si è liquidati come architetti e non ha voluto nemmeno dedicarsi come svago.

Che tempo ha lei a Stockholm? Qui fa caldo e da venti giorni almeno non piove.

E' sera eppure io ho ancora la mia finestra aperta e il sole entra a indorare ogni cosa. Forse invece le sue giornate saranno corte, troppo brevi per la mole di lavoro che lei si propone di fare.

Credo che l'idea di solennizzare il suo 80° anniversario con un'esposizione, sia una cosa nuova nella storia ed io ne sono orgogliosa per lei. Vorrei solo che Stockholm fosse più vicina per venire a rendere omaggio all'illustre artista ottantenne.

E chissà che la sorte mi conceda allora questa gioia!

Ghino e i ragazzi mandano il loro saluto cordiale. Io l'abbraccio affettuosamente.

Jole

75 novembre

Carissimo Bob, è una gran pena che i giorni passino così velocemente senza che si possa mai a concludere quello che si vorrebbe. Come potrebbe mai diventare un peso scrivere a lei che ho sempre nel cuore? Le lettere delle persone care sono quelle che ci riuniscono al passato e in questa vita odierna così movimentata e pratica, sono l'unico balsamo per il nostro sentimentalismo. Io scrivo a lei e subito l'immagine di Anna si para dinanzi ai miei occhi in tutta la sua cosiddetta chiarezza. Se è vero che il ricordo fa vivere quelli che non son più, la cara creatura è sempre qui fra noi, vivente dal nostro cuore fedele, viva come lo è stata nella sua vita terrena. E a me piace pensare che sia così.

Sono certa che ella aleggia vicino a lei e si compiace del suo lavoro.

Che gioia pensare che il 1° maggio verrà ancora in Italia! Lo metto come una cosa sicura perché son certa che i membri

dell' Utrecht Sweden non si lavorano fuggire
la maglietta occasionale di avere quella fante
di l'acquolina che nessuno ha paura di
fare prima di lei - Roma trova qualche volta
Quando viene a Roma trova qualche volta
sta abbassando il piano traballò del teatro
di Marella - Fero Oltorio prova della Corchia
zone ecc. a livello della Rocca della Venia
Si sono fatti in questa zona due palazzoni
per il Governatorato e si sono eliminate
delle brutte case che non permettono di
vedere questa zona in tutta la sua bellezza.
Questo è l'unico sta lavorando finalmente e
per che soffro di mal di testa per lui e per
è più contenta e tranquilla - Ci sono tante
molte volte di metterli davanti agli occhi: l'una
pio di Bot ceppa pronto al lavoro e
dedicata per intero a quegli splendidi acquari
ti, ma Ghino avrebbe pensato il dipin
ore come una sala da parati quando i
te liquidati emu architetti e non ha voluti
nemmeno dedicarsi come segue.

Chi tempo ha lei a Stockholm? Qui fa
caldo e da venti giorni almeno una fante
è ora eppure io ho ancora la mia
finestra aperta e il sole entra a rubare
pari e di. Forse invece le sue giornate
faranno estate, troppo brevi per la mole
di lavoro che lei si propone di fare -
Diedo che l'idea di celebrare il tuo
10° anniversario con una esposizione, tra una
sta nuova nella storia ed io me trovo
compiuta per lei - Sono solo che Stockholm
il sole più vicino per poter venire a un
per omaggio all'illustre artista ottantenne.
E chissà che la sorte mi conceda allora
questa aria! Ghino e i ragazzi mandano
il loro saluto cordiale. Io l'abbraccio
affettuamente.

Ghe

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Mio caro Bob, che bel pensiero mandare oer augurio la copie di quel suo bel disegno!

Lo conserviamo fra i cari ricordi del nostro indimenticabile amico.

Non posso pensare a Lei in questi giorni di festa senza sentirmi stringere il cuore dalla pena.

Se fossimo più vicino me lo verrei a prendere e non lo lascerei dolo neppure un minuto. Deve essere così triste aver perduto il nostro bene ed essere soli a rimpiangerlo nei giorni nei quali tutti invece sono in compagnia e si divertono!

Povero caro Bob, Lei si sarà messo vicino alle sue fotografie ed avrà parlato alla sua Anna e si sarà consolato così! Vero?

Nel farle i miei auguri per l'anno che sta per incominciare penso a tanta serenità che sta per incominciare, penso a tanta serenità per lei e chiedo alla sorte che le conservi a lungo quella sua meravigliosa attività artistica che è diventata la sua sola ragione di vita.

Quando verrà –per fortuna il tempo passa presto– parleremo ancora della possibilità di venire noi a Stockholm. Lo desidero con tutte le mie forze e sarò lietissima se potrò festeggiare il suo 80° anniversario essendole vicina.

Mio caro Bob, pensi che le auguro ogni bene e che voglio saperlo sereno. Mi scusi se non riesco a scriverle quanto vorrei, ma la famiglia da veramente molto da fare. Ad ogni modo Lei sa che le voglio bene che lo ricordo sempre.

Cari saluti da tutti e un abbraccio affettuoso da

*Jole
Natale 938*

Mio caro Bob, che gentile pensiero mandare per
augurio la copia di quel suo bel disegno!
Lo conserveremo fra i cari ricordi del vostro indi-
molevole amico -
Non posso pensare a lei in questi giorni di festa
senza sentirmi stringere il cuore dalla pena.
Se fossimo più vicini me lo verrei a prendere e non
lo lasceri solo neppure un minuto - Deve essere
così triste aver perduto il vostro bene ed essere soli
a rimpiangerlo nei giorni nei quali tutti invece
sono in compagnia e si divertono!
Povero caro Bob! Lei si sarà messo vicino alle
sue fotografie ed avrà parlato alla sua Anna e
si sarà consolato così! Tu?

Nel fare i miei auguri per l'anno che sta per
incominciare penso a tanta serenità per lei, e
chiedo alla sorte che le consenta a lungo quella
sua meravigliosa attività artistica che è diventata la
sua sola ragione di vita.
Quando tornerò - per fortuna il tempo passa presto -
parleremo ancora della possibilità di venire via a Sto-
ckholm - Lo desidero con tutte le mie forze e sono
tristissimo se potrò festeggiare il suo 80° anniversario essen-
dole vicina - Mio caro, caro Bob, pensi che le augu-
ro ogni bene e che voglio saperlo sereno - Mi scusi
se non riesco a scrivere quanto vorrei ma la fa-
miglia dà veramente molto da fare - Ad'ogni modo lei
sa che le voglio bene e che lo ricordo sempre -
Saluti cari da tutti e un abbraccio affettuoso da
Natalie 938

N°	(2.16)	Published	No
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Carissimo Bob, questa volta ho tardato molto a scriverle, ma l'inverno non è molto propizio per noi. S'incomincia con l'influenza di Donatella e si va avanti ammalandosi a turno tutti.

Ora finalmente siamo ritornati alla normalità e con questo tepore primaverile ci si sente confortati.

Penso a lei che sta sempre bene e provo quasi un senso d'invidia per la sua bella salute che le consente di lavorare senza riposo, Che Dio la conservi a lungo! Non mi dica che non verrà a Maggio, mi darebbe troppo dolore! Non credo che la tensione franco italiano peggiorerà ancora; lo spero almeno con tutto il cuore, anche perché questo si rinonnette con la sua visita.

Ormai sono così abituata a vederlo, a poter parlare a lungo della cara e grande amica perduta che non saprei consolarmi di perdere questa gioia. Spero proprio di riaverlo qui a Maggio. Come farei a rinunciare a quelle nostre lunghe conversazioni nelle quali sentivamo di rendere omaggio alla vostra cara parlandone e rimpiangendola amaramente insieme?

Ed è più dolce poterlo fare con un cuore che vibra nello stesso modo!

Bob caro, poi dobbiamo anche pensare al nostro viaggio a Stockholm per il 1940. Lei mi aiuterà a convincere Ghino ed io avrò la mia più grande aspirazione realizzata: venire nella città di Anna, vedere tutte le cose sue e passare qualche giorno vicino al carissimo Bob.

Mi parli del suo lavoro, della sua vita.

Lo ricordo sempre con affetto vivissimo, augurandole giorni lieti e sereni.

Ghino e i ragazzi la salutano ed io l'abbraccio di gran cuore.

Jole

Rome – 26 febbraio

Carissimo Bob, questa volta ho tardato molto a scriverti, ma l'inverno non è molto propizio per noi. S'incomincia con l'influenza di Doua-tella e si va avanti ammalandosi a turno tutti. Ora finalmente siamo ritornati alla normalità e con questo tepore primaverile ci si sente confortati. Penso a lei che sta sempre bene e provo quasi un senso d'invidia per la sua bella salute che le consente di lavorare senza riposo. Che Dio la conservi a lungo! Non mi dica che non verrà a Maggio, mi darebbe troppo dolore! Non credo che la tempesta franco italiana peggiorerà ancora; lo spero almeno con tutto il cuore, anche perché questo si ricomette con la sua visita. Ormai sono così abituata a vederlo, a poter per-

lore a lungo della cara e grande amica perduta che non saprei consolarmi di perdere questa gioia. Spero proprio di rivederlo qui a Maggio. Come farei a rinunciare a quelle nostre lunghe conversazioni nelle quali sentivamo di rendere omaggio alla vostra cara, parlando e rimpiazzandola amaramente insieme? Ed è pur dolce poterlo fare con un cuore che vibra nello stesso modo! - Bob caro, poi dobbiamo anche pensare al nostro viaggio a Stockholm per il 1940. Lei mi aiuterà a convincere Ghino ed io avrò la mia più grande aspirazione realizzata: venire nella città di Anna, vedere tutte le cose sue e passare qualche giorno vicino al caro amico Bob. Mi parli del suo lavoro, della sua vita. Lo ricordo sempre con affetto vivissimo, augurandole giorni lieti e sereni. Ghino e i ragazzi, lo salutano fedelmente e l'abbraccio di gran cuore - Lile

Roma - 26 febbraio

N°	(2.17)	Published	No
Date	April 7, [1939]		
Addresser	Jole Venturi	Receiver	Ferdinand Boberg
Archive	Nationalmuseum arkivet (Stockholm)	Paper	Ferdinand Boberg, EA:671:1, 'Brev från Ghino Venturi'

Roma – 7 aprile

Mio caro Bob,

la sua ultima lettera mi ha dato un dispiacere tremendo perché non so rassegnarmi all'idea di non vederlo a maggio. Spero sempre che la situazione internazionale si chiarisca così da permetterle di venire. Da molti mesi pare sempre di essere in dell'incendio e poi le cose si semplificano.

Lo spero anche ora con tutto il cuore. Lo spero per tutte le tragedie che verrebbero evitate e per la gioia di poter avere qui il mio caro amico Bob. Quando viene la primavera penso al suo arrivo come ad una cara consuetudine alla quale mi sarebbe troppo doloroso rinunciare.

Abbiamo una primavera splendida e l'Aventino è tutto in fiore, ma se lei non odesse venire non mi sembrerebbe più così bella. Spero, spero sempre. Forse lei riuscirà a venire e mi farà vedere qualcuno dei suoi splendidi lavori e mi farà leggere i suoi scritti preziosi.

Non posso sentirlo chiamarsi "vecchietto". E' così fresco di mente, di cuore e di fisico che penso a lei come ad un essere meravigliosamente giovane. Avrei voluto farle avere questa mia per Pasqua, ma sono stata così occupata che non mi è stato possibile scrivere prima d'ora.

Ad ogni modo lei sa che il mio cuore le è sempre vicino, pieno di tenerezza per le e di cari ricordi del suo tesoro.

Mi mandi sue notizie che ho proprio bisogno.

Ghino e i ragazzi si uniscono a me nell'inviare auguri cordialissimi ed io l'abbraccio affettuosamente

Jole

N°	(2.18)	Published	No
Date	August 31, [1939]		
Addresser	Jole Venturi	Receiver	Ferdinand Boberg
Archive	Kungliga Bibliotek (Stockholm)	Paper	Ferdinand Boberg Papers, L57:3

31 agosto

Mio carissimo Bob domani è settembre ed io penso con grandissima gioia che forse fra quindici giorni lei sarà qui. Mi sembra un secolo che non la vedo e sono proprio felice pensando alla sua prossima venuta.

Non le dico con quanta ansia attendo di sentire ciò che ha scritto di nuovo sulla nostra grande anima che ci ha lasciati.

E come a lei è parso di sentirne la presenza mentre scriveva, così io la sentirò rivivere attraverso le parole. Ma ella è del resto così viva e reale nel nostro cuore!

Quando verrà mi dirà tante cose della sua vita; come ha passato questo tempo e quali altri bei lavori ha compiuto.

Ghino e i ragazzi sono ancora in campagna, ma certamente verso la metà di settembre saranno qui, e come me godranno di rivederlo.

Ho tante cose da fare e le scrivo solo poche righe, ma ormai mi pare che presto le dirò a voce tutto il mio ricordo per augurarle buon viaggio.

A presto mio caro amico. Tutta la mia amicizia

Jole

31 Agosto

Mio carissimo Rob Domani è Settembre
ed io penso con grandissima gioia che forse
fra quindici giorni lei sarà qui - Mi
sembra un sepolo che non lo vedo e sono
proprio felice pensando alla sua prossima
venuta.
Non le dico con quanta ansia attendo di sen-
tire ciò che ha scritto di nuovo sulla nostra
grande anima che ci ha lasciati. È come a
lei è parso di sentirne la presenza mentre
scriveva così io la sentivo rivivere attraverso
le parole - Ma ella è del resto così viva
e reale nel nostro cuore!

Quando verrà mi dirà tante cose della sua
vita, come ha passato questo tempo e
quali altri bei lavori ha compiuto.
Ghino e i ragazzi sono ancora in
campagna ma entusiasti verso la meta di
settembre saranno qui, e come me godranno
di vederlo - Ho tante cose da fare e le scrivo
solo poche righe, ma ormai mi pare che presto
le dirò a voce tutto il mio ricordo e tutti
i miei pensieri - Questa è solo per augurarle
buon viaggio - A presto, mio caro amico. Tutta
la mia amicizia

Joe

N°	(2.19)	Published	No
Date	October 25, 1939		
Addresser	Jole Venturi	Receiver	Ferdinand Boberg
Archive	Nationalmuseum arkivet (Stockholm)	Paper	Ferdinand Boberg, EA:671:1, 'Brev från Ghino Venturi'

Roma – 25-10-39

Carissimo Bob,

che conforto mi ha portato la sua lettera! Pur non potendosi dire delle parole molto consolanti, fa bene sapere che anche da lontano un cuore fedele pensa a noi.

Non le dico con quale accorata angoscia seguo lo sviluppo della politica internazionale! La minaccia russa mi fa tremare per loro. Pure, in mezzo a tanto sfacelo, voglio ancora sperare che gli uomini troveranno il modo di non far divampare l'incendio in tutto questo nostro vecchio mondo che sembra aver perduto completamente la saggezza.

E chissà che la primavera trovi una Europa pacificata e che il mio Bob possa ancora tornare a venire a far visita alla sua fedele amica romana.

Come vorrei poter venire ad ammirare la sua mostra!

Sono certa che sarà un nuovo trionfo ed io vorrei assistervi per gioire della sua opera. Ma spiritualmente sarò lì accanto a lei, e con me sarà la animatrice di tutta la sua vita di artista.

Ne sono certa, come sono certa che i nostri cari non si perdono ma restano in noi e accanto a noi, per sempre.

Del resto non sente lei quasi la sua presenza reale, così che a lei si rivolge per parlare e dire il bene del suo cuore?

Che conforto poter vivere beandosi del nostro idolo! Vedrà caro Bob, che ne parleremo ancora insieme e che ancora io potrò ammirare il suo lavoro e sentirmi fiera di lei.

Mi scriva presto. Spero che l'inverno nordico non sia troppo crudo. Qui abbiamo un sole così dolce che fa pensare di più alla follia degli uomini che non sanno accontentarsi di vivere in contemplazione di tutte le cose belle che abbiamo avuto da Dio.

La stringo forte al cuore.

Jole

Roma - 25-10-39

Carissimo Bob, che conforto mi ha portato la tua lettera! Pur non potendoci dire delle parole molto consolanti, che anche da lontano mi danno fede e forza a noi - Non te dico con quale ansietà ansiosa seguo lo sviluppo della pratica internazionale! - La musica russa mi ha tenuto per Dio - Pure, in musica e tanto spazio, molto ancora sperare che di uomini trovandosi il modo di un far dimenticare i secondi in tutto quest'altro vecchio mondo che ce ne ha (non perduti completamente la speranza). E chissà che lo conoscano. Per noi una Europa pacificata che il mio Dio potrà ancora venire a far visita alla sua fedele amica romana!

Non vorrei poter venire ad ammirare la tua mostra! Solo esta che sera mi sono trovato ed io vorrei esserti per girare della tua opera. Ma spiritualmente sono lì, accanto a lei, e non mi pare la ammiratrice di tutta la sua vita di artista. Un solo esta, come sono esta che i nostri cari non si perdono ma restano in noi e accanto a noi per sempre - del resto non sente lei quasi la sua presenza reale, ed è che a lei si rivolge per pensare e dire il bene del suo esile? Che conforto poter vivere accanto nel nostro idolo! Felice caro Bob, che un po' meno ancora insieme e che ancora io potrà ammirare il suo lavoro e sentirmi fiero di lei - Mi terria pronto, quando l'istituto mio sia tutto eretto - l'ultimo su solo era dove che la persona di più alla volta degli uomini che un tempo vedutarsi di vivere in contemplazione di tutti che era alle che entrano avanti da Dio. Lo stampo fra il cuore - The

N°	(2.20)	Published	No
Date	November 26, [1939]		
Addresser	Jole Venturi	Receiver	Ferdinand Boberg
Archive	Kungliga Bibliotek (Stockholm)	Paper	Ferdinand Boberg Papers, L57:3

Roma – 26 novembre

Carissimo amico, sebbene col cuore e col pensiero Le fossi vicina, pure non sono riuscita a scrivere prima. Viviamo momenti di emozione intensa e buona parte della giornata scorre leggendo giornali.

Se lei fosse venuto, caro amico, non avrebbe avuto a dolersene. L'Italia tutta è perfettamente calma e disciplinata; siamo tutti stretti attorno al nostro Duce e sopporteremo volentieri ogni sacrificio ci verrà imposta dall'ipocrita politica delle sanzioni.

Per ora non ci manca nulla e la vita scorre come usualmente. Il nostro cuore di Italiani soffre per per l'ingiustizia dei popoli ben pasciuti che ci volevano sempre vedere poveri ed affamati.

Si raccoglie dappertutto oro, argento e ferro e Donatella voleva dare la sua piccola posata, dicendo che anche lei aveva il dovere di fare qualche cosa.

Caro Boberg, mi sarebbe stato dolce rivederlo e poter parlare a lungo della cara scomparsa. Veramente non le è sembrato troppo misero ciò che ho scritto di Lei?

Se l'affetto e l'ammirazione avessero potuto trasfondersi nelle mie parole, avrei scritto come Dante!

Mi dica di Lei, cosa fa di bello? Ha ordinato tutti i ricordi della cara grande anima?

Che bella cosa poter rivivere nei suoi oggetti e sentir aleggiare il suo spirito vicino a noi!

Io non la scorderò mai, perché essa è stata la donna più grande che ho conosciuto ed amato.

Mio scrivo, caro amico. L'abbraccio con affetto

Jole

Roma - 26 novembre
Carissimo amico, sebbene col cuore e col pensiero le fossi vicina, pure non sono riuscita a scrivere prima. Abbiamo momenti di euforia intensa e buona parte della giornata scrive leggendo giornali.
Se lei fosse venuto, caro amico, non avrebbe avuto a dolersene. L'Italia tutta è perfettamente calma e disciplinata; siamo tutti stati intorno al nostro Duce e sopportiamo volentieri ogni sacrificio e una imposta dall'ipotesi politica delle sanzioni. Per ora non ci manca nulla e la vita scorre come usualmente. Solo il nostro cuore di Italiani soffre per l'ingiustizia dei popoli ben pagati che ci volevano sempre vedere poveri ed affamati.

Si raccoglie dappertutto oro, argento e ferro e Donatella voleva dare la sua piccola portata, dicendo che anche lei aveva il dovere di fare qualcosa.
Caro Bobino, mi sarebbe stato dolce vederlo e poter parlare a lungo della cara compagnia. Veramente non le è sembrato troppo misero ciò che ho scritto di lei? Se l'affetto e l'ammirazione avessero potuto trasfondersi nelle mie parole, avrei scritto come Dante!
Mi dica di lei cosa fa di bello? Ha ordinato tutti i ricordi della cara grande anima? Che bella cosa poter rivivere nei suoi oggetti e sentir aleggiare il suo spirito vicino a noi!
Io non la ricorderò mai, perché essa è stata la Donna più grande che ho conosciuto ed amata.
Mi scriva, caro amico. L'abbraccio con affetto. Lilli

N°	(2.21)	Published	No
Date	February 2, [1940]		
Addresser	Jole Venturi	Receiver	Ferdinand Boberg
Archive	Nationalmuseum arkivet (Stockholm)	Paper	Ferdinand Boberg, EA:671:1, 'Brev från Ghino Venturi'

Roma 20 febbraio

Mio carissimo Bob, da quanto tempo avrei voluto scriverte, non so dirle: ma anche senza riuscire a farlo, l'ho pensato intensamente, specie in quel tristissimo 27, che il nostro cuore fedele non riuscirà mai a scordare. Mi piacerebbe leggere le pagine che le ha dedicato in quel giorno. Saranno un inno di ammirazione e di adorazione come sempre. Sono certa che verrà il momento nel quale il nostro carissimo Non ritornerà in Italia e allora me le leggerà non è vero?

Capisco che la tranquillità dell'Italia possa meravigliare i popoli tanto vicini all'incendio. Non so io stessa chi arriverà a partecipare all'esposizione del 42m ma certo è che qui si continua, anzi si intensifica il programma dei lavori. E da qui a due anni chissà che il mondo si sia pacificato!!

Seguiamo con ammirazione la condotta eroica dei finlandesi ed anche di tanti svedesi si battono per loro. Tutta la nostra simpatia e i nostri voti sono per loro. Che Iddio premi la loro abnegazione! E la cara Svezia non sarà trascinata nel gorgo? Spero con tutto il cuore di no.

Via Mercalli è ai Parioli. Abbiamo l'ascensore e così il nostro Bob non faticcherà più a fare le scale

Note: Saluti da tutti. Un caro abbraccio da

Jole

Saluti da Tutti - Un caro abbraccio da ^{Joe} Roma 20 febbraio
Mio carissimo Bob, da quanto tempo avrei
voluto scriverti, non so dirlo; ma anche sen-
za riuscire a farlo, l'ho pensato intensamen-
te, specie in quel tristissimo 27, che il
nostro cuore fedele non riuscirà mai a
scordare - Mi piacerebbe leggere le pagine che
le ha dedicate in quel giorno - Saranno
un inno di ammirazione e di adorazione
come sempre - Sono certa che sarà il
momento nel quale il nostro carissimo Bob
ritornerà in Italia e allora mi le leggerà,
non è vero?

Capisco che la tranquillità dell'Italia
possa meravigliare i popoli tanto vicini all'in-
ferno - Non so io stessa chi arriverà
a partecipare all'esposizione del '42, ma certo
è che qui si continua, anzi s'intensifica il
programma dei lavori - E da qui a due
anni chissà che il mondo si sia pacificato!!
Seguiamo con ammirazione la condotta eroica
dei finlandesi ed anche di tanti svedesi che
si battono per loro - Tutta la nostra simpatia
e i nostri voti sono per loro - Che l'odio
premi la loro abnegazione! E la cara
Svezia non sarà trascinata nel gorgo? Spero
con tutto il cuore di no
Via Mercalli è ai Parioli - Abbiamo l'ascensore e così
il nostro Bob non stancherà più a fare scale -

N°	(2.22)	Published	No
Date	No date [1940]		
Addresser	Jole Venturi	Receiver	Ferdinand Boberg
Archive	Nationalmuseum arkivet (Stockholm)	Paper	Ferdinand Boberg, EA:671:1, 'Brev från Ghino Venturi'

Carissimo Bob, le sue parole affettuose mi sono giunte al cuore ! anch'io come lei ho subito pensato che purtroppo non ci sarà l'inaugurazione dell'Istituto Svedese a che mi toccherà dover rinunciare alla gioia di vederlo. Inutile che le dica il mio dolore. Mi ero così abituata alla sua visita, che la ritenevo uno dei dolci doni della primavera. E come lei sono disperata! Quando, quando potrà di nuovo venire il mio Bob?

La tragedia europea è stata così fulminea che ne siamo ancora tutti costernati, sebbene in Italia, come lei avrà letto sui giornali, regni una calma quanto mai confortante. Non si può prevedere quali saranno gli sviluppi della politica, ma abbiamo fede nel nostro capo e speriamo...!

Vorrei dirle tante cose ma il pensiero che la censura legga questa mia lettera mi gela il cuore le parole affettuose che mi sgorgano nell'animo.

Fisso la mia speranza nella sua forte fibra e sono certa che ci rivedre, o ancora. La penso sempre con tanta affettuosa tenerezza e serbo nel cuore questa nostra amicizia che mi è di grande conforto.

Mi scriva presto. Un abbraccio da Jole

Carissimo Bob, le sue parole affettuose mi
sono giunte al cuore! Anche io come lei
ho subito pensato che purtroppo non ci
sarà l'inaugurazione dell'Istituto Sociale e
che mi toccherà dover rinunciare alla gioia
di vederlo. Inutile che le dica il mio
dolore - mi ero così abituata alla sua visita,
che la ritenevo uno dei dolci doni della
primavera. E come lei sono disperata!
Quando, quando potrà di nuovo venire
il mio Bob? La tragedia europea è stata
così fulminea che ne siamo ancora
tutti estorditi, ebbene in Italia, come

lei avrà letto sui giornali, regni una calma
quanto mai confortante. Non si può
prevedere quali saranno gli sviluppi della
politica ma abbiamo fede nel nostro capo
e speriamo...!
Vorrei dirle tante cose ma il pensiero che
la censura legge questa mia lettera mi
gela nel cuore le parole affettuose che mi
sorgono nell'animo - spero nella sua
forte fibra e sono certa che ci rivedremo
ancora - la penso sempre con tanta
affettuosa tenerezza e cerco nel cuore questa
nostra amicizia che mi è di grande conforto.
Mi scriva presto - Un abbraccio da Leda

N°	(2.23)	Published	No
Date	July 27, 1940		
Addresser	Jole Venturi	Receiver	Ferdinand Boberg
Archive	Nationalmuseum arkivet (Stockholm)	Paper	Ferdinand Boberg, EA:671:1, 'Brev från Ghino Venturi'

Roma – 27-7-940

Carissimo Bob,
credo proprio che questo sistema di mandarsi delle cartolina, sia il più
semplice per far giungere speditamente le notizie.
Non si dice molto, ma almeno giunge il saluto delle persone care.
Sapere che lei ha iniziato quel colossale lavoro degli aspetti caratteristici
delle province svedesi, riempie di ammirazione e penso che lei ha a sua
disposizione una fonte inesauribile di conforto e di gioia.
Poter lavorare e potere nel lavoro ritrovare l'anima della sua artista
perduta!
E' una specie di comunione spirituale in una sfera che non ha nulla di
terreno, pur rimanendo satura di ricordi. E capisco la sua commozione
e le sue lagrime.
Chissà che lei presto posso tornare fra noi e si possa ancora parlare a lungo
della nostra cara.
Quando verrà le farò leggere dei resoconti dei miei viaggi dell'al di là
inviati a un mio amico indiano, dal suo figliastro morto a vent'anni.
Questo signore, Ministro dell'educazione in India, mi aveva un giorno
confidato la sua disperazione, ed io gli avevo detto la mia certezza della
nostra sopravvivenza dopo la morte. Egli si è deciso a fare delle sedute ed
i risultati sono stati semplicemente sorprendenti.
Ne ha avuto un conforto infinito e tanti consigli impensati.
Ghino è in Albania. Renato fa il corso allievi ufficiali a Pavia.
Mi sento un po' triste e tanto sola.
Scriva presto.
L'abbraccio con tutto il cuore

Jole

indiano, dal tuo figlio morto a vent'anni -
 mi - questo spiffero ministro dell'educazione
 in - in suada, mi aveva un giorno
 concesso la tua disperazione, ed è gli
 solo dato la mia lettera della notte
 sopravvivenza dopo la morte. Oh si, è
 dieno e fare delle sedute ed è inutile
 te sono stati sempre impuniti.
 che ha avuto sul conforto impuniti e tanti
 consigli impuniti - Ghio è in B. B. B. B.
 Rebuto fa il corso allivi; affilati no
 Mi auto un no forte e tanto
 Teriva sempre in tutto il cuore
 l'abbraccio con tutto il cuore

ARMINA POSTALE
 30
 POSTE ITALIANE

Architetto
 Ferdinand Bohers
 18 Norr Mälarsstrand
 Stockholm
 (Svezia)

Roma - 27-7-940

Carissimo Bob, credo proprio che
 questo sistema di mandarsi delle
 cartoline, sia il più semplice per
 far giungere spedatamente le notizie.
 Non si dice molto, ma almeno giun-
 ge il saluto delle persone care -
 sapere che lei ha iniziato quel colosal
 lavoro degli aspetti caratteristici delle
 province e isole, mi riempie di ammirazione
 e penso che lei ha a tua
 disposizione una fonte inasautibile di
 conforto e di gioia - poter lavorare
 e avere nel lavoro ritrovare l'anima
 della tua attività perduta! è una gioia
 di comunione spirituale in una
 Sfera che non ha nulla di terreno, pur
 rimanendo saluta di ricordi. è capisco
 la sua commozione e le sue lacrime.
 Chiedo che presto lei possa tornare a fra-
 uci e si possa curare parlare a lungo
 della nostra cara - Quando vorrà le
 farei leggere dei romanzi di mezzogiorno
 l'al di là rivisti a un mio amico

N°	(2.24)	Published	No
Date	September 10, 1940		
Addresser	Jole Venturi	Receiver	Ferdinand Boberg
Archive	Nationalmuseum arkivet (Stockholm)	Paper	Ferdinand Boberg, EA:671:1, 'Brev från Ghino Venturi'

Roma – 10 settembre

*Mio carissimo Bob,
eccomi finalmente libera di scriverle un poco. Sono tornata a casa dopo
essere stata a trovare Renato che fa il corso di allievo ufficiale del Genio.
E' stato commovente vedere il mio figliolo in grigio verde e sentirlo
parlare di ponti, di passerelle, di pozzi ecc.*

*Da noi la vita è tranquilla e serenamente fiduciosa. Se non fosse per
l'oscuramento non crederemmo quasi di essere in guerra.*

*Però anelo il ritorno alla normalità! Meno male che da lei ricevo lettere,
mentre dalla zia dell'Argentina non ho notizie da lunghi mesi.
Certamente i piroscafi faranno pochi viaggi.*

*Le sono grata di avermi trascritto le annotazioni del suo diario. Mi
conforta essere accomunata a lei nel ricordo della cara perduta, sempre
così presente nel nostro spirito. E come sempre lo ammiro per la mole di
lavoro che intraprende sorridendo. Capisco che questa sia diventata la
sua ragione di vita e il mezzo per sentirsi spiritualmente vicino a
quell'anima eletta. Che fortuna per il suo paese che lei faccia con tanto
amore quegli acquerelli che nessuno ha mai pensato di fare! Chissà
quando potrà ancora farmi ammirare la sua collezione di lavori nuovi!
Spero presto.*


*C'è a Roma, ambasciatrice tedesca la Principessa Bismark che mi dicono
di origine svedese. Lei sa a che famiglia appartiene? E' tanto amica dei
miei amici, che ne dicono un gran bene.*

Mi scriva, caro Bob. Io ho poco da dire. Vivo in attesa...

L'abbraccio affettuosamente

Jole

anima d'alto. Che fortuna per il tuo paese
 che lei faccia con tanto amore quello
 a quello che nessuno ha mai pensato di
 fare! Chissà quando potrà ancora far
 un ammiratore la sua collezione di libri
 nuovi! Spero presto.
 C'è a Roma, ambasciatrice tedesca
 Imkeper a Nymark che mi dicono di origine
 tedesca. Lei sa a che famiglia appartiene?
 È tanto vicina di noi amici, che ne dico
 un gran bene. con B. J. lo ho poco da dire
 vivo in altra affettuamente.



CARTOLINA I
 30
 POSTE ITALIANE

Architect
 Ferdinand Boberg
 2001 Mälarsstrand 78
 Stockholm

Roma - 10 settembre
 Mio carissimo Bob, i tuoi finalisti W. e
 di venisti un poco. Sono tornate a
 casa dopo esser stata a trovare Renato
 che fa il corso di allievo ufficiale del Gaiu
 è stato commovente vedere il mio figlio
 in proprio verde e sentirlo parlare del posto,
 di V. e delle di forza. ce.
 Da noi la vita è tranquilla e serenamente
 fiduciosa. Le un forte per l'eventualità
 loro credono quasi di essere in guerra.
 Poi solo il ritorno alla normalità. Non
 male che da lei viene lettere, mentre dalla
 via dell'Argentina non ho notizie da lung
 mesi. Certamente i profeti saranno pochi
 viaggi. Le sono grata di essermi tornato
 le amazioni del tuo diario - Mi con
 tanta cura accamunata a lei nel ri-
 fondo della cara perdita, sempre esi-
 presente nel mio spirito. E come
 sempre lo amiro per la nob di lavoro
 che intraprende con il mio - Capisco che quest
 sia diventata la sua ragione di vita. Il
 lavoro per sentirsi spiritualmente vivo a quest

N°	(2.25)	Published	No
Date	December 3, 1940		
Addresser	Jole Venturi	Receiver	Ferdinand Boberg
Archive	Nationalmuseum arkivet (Stockholm)	Paper	Ferdinand Boberg, EA:671:1, 'Brev från Ghino Venturi'

3-12-40

Mio carissimo Bob! Che gioia mi ha dato la sua ultima cartolina. Ho tanta speranza che tutto vada bene ed io abbia in aprile il piacere di riabbracciarlo! Era una così dolce consuetudine vederlo ogni anno che quest due anni di lontananza mi sono sembrati eterni.

Sarò orgogliosa di ammirare il lavoro che ha fatto in tutto questo tempo il mio grande amico e sarò fiera di vedere apprezzata la sua opera da tanti studiosi e competenti.

Poi faremo un tuffo nel ricordo della nostra cara scomparsa e rivivremo un po' la dolcezza della sua memoria.

Noi bene. Renato ha finito il suo corso di ufficiale ed ora è con noi. Lo ricordiamo con molto affetto e le mandiamo i nostri saluti - Jole

N°	(2.26)	Published	No
Date	January 6, 1941		
Addresser	Jole Venturi	Receiver	Ferdinand Boberg
Archive	Nationalmuseum arkivet (Stockholm)	Paper	Ferdinand Boberg, EA:671:1, 'Brev från Ghino Venturi'

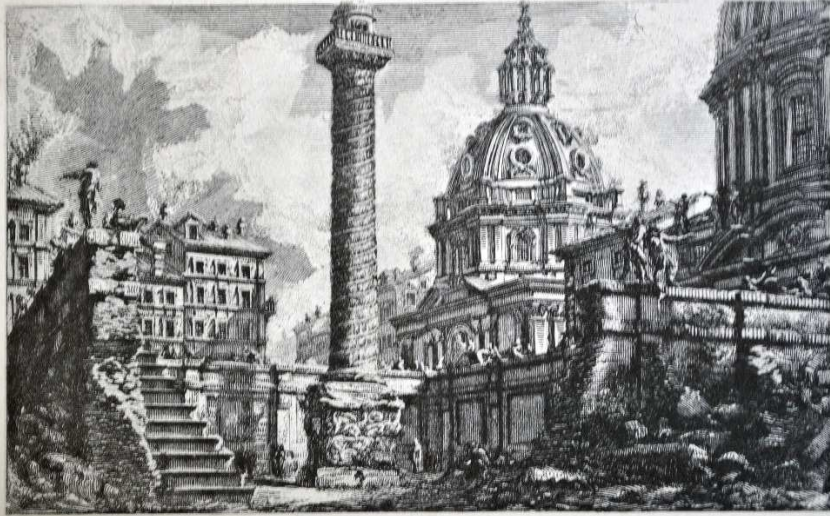
Mio carissimo Bob, ogni giorno nel periode delle feste il mio ricordo pé la cara scomparsa si fa più acuto.

In questo periodo certo ella era già ammalata ed io so che fu la mia lettera di auguri, quella che rimase per sempre senza risposta. E come deve essere triste per lei questo periodo.

In queste ricorrenze ci si accorge di più di essere soli!

Son lieta di sapere che il suo lavoro lo occupa sempre. Lo attendo per Aprile, senza fallo! E lo abbraccio di gran cuore

Jole



Piranesi Inc.

Roma - Chiesa di S. Maria di Loreto - Colonna Trajana

Roma
 21-22
 6-1
 4-1-XIX
 ROMANO
 POSTAL
 Stamp: A circular postmark from Roma, dated 21-22, 6-1, 4-1-XIX. A small circular stamp is also visible in the top right corner.

Art. 1. test
 Ferdinando Boberg
 Norr Mälarstrand 18
 Stockholm
 (Svezia)

Mio servizio Post ogni anno nel
 biennio alle poste. Il mio servizio
 la cosa temporaria si fa più
 Tu quest'anno ed io so che tu
 ampollata di acqua, quella che
 per sempre (triste per lei) quest'anno
 due anni (triste per lei) quest'anno
 in queste settimane si ti sempre
 più di una volta di sapere che il tuo
 tanto lo scudo sicuro - lo ottengo
 facile, senza fallo! È lo strumento di

Edit. B. Ripriet
 Con. I. Ripriet
 XVIII.

N°	(2.27)	Published	No
Date	March 8, 1941		
Addresser	Carlo Galassi Paluzzi	Receiver	Ferdinand Boberg
Archive	Nationalmuseum arkivet (Stockholm)	Paper	Ferdinand Boberg, EA:671:1, 'Brev från Galassi Paluzzi'
Note	Letterhead "Istituto di Studi Romani. Alto Patrono: S. M. Il Re d'Italia e di Albania Imperatore d'Etiopia. Presidente onorario: Il Duce"		

8 mar 1941 Anno XIX

*Prof. Ferdinand Boberg
U. Malarstrand, 18
Stoccolma (Svezia)*

*Caro professore,
Benché da noi la vita scorra perfettamente normale, come i Vostri stessi compatrioti dimoranti in Roma possono perfettamente farVi sapere, non voglio mancare di aderire al Vostro desiderio di rinviare all'anno prossimo la conferenza che ci avete fatto l'onore di prometterci.
Caro prof. Boberg, Voi però (permettetemi di dirVi) "vecchio italiano" e soprattutto "vecchio romano" come siete, perdetevi una eccellente occasione per vedere cosa sia l'Italia, oggi, mentre vi è una guerra che impegna l'avvenire di tutti i popoli d'Europa.
Potreste fare degli utilissimi confronti tra quella che avete conosciuto tanti anni fa e quella che è la realtà di oggi.
Comunque, nel '42 vedrete i risultati dopo la fase conclusiva.
Vi invio i più cordiali saluti*

(C. Galassi Paluzzi)



ISTITUTO DI STUDI ROMANI

ALTO PATRONO: S. M. IL RE D'ITALIA E DI ALBANIA IMPERATORE D'ETIOPIA

Presidente Onorario: IL DUCE

IL PRESIDENTE

8 - MAR. 1941 ANNO XIX

Roma, li

PIAZZA DELLA CHIESA NUOVA
PALAZZO DEI FILIPPINI - TEL. 53-552, 53-544

Prof. FERDINANDO BOBERG
U. Malarstrand, 18
STOCCOLMA (Svezia)

Caro Professore,

benché da noi la vita scorra perfettamente normale, come i Vostri stessi compatrioti dimoranti in Roma possono perfettamente farVi sapere, non voglio mancare di aderire al Vostro desiderio di rinviare all'anno prossimo la conferenza che ci avete fatto l'onore di prometterci.

Caro prof. Boberg, Voi però (permettete di dirVi) "vecchio italiano e soprattutto "vecchio romano" come siete, perdetevi una eccellente occasione per vedere che cosa sia l'Italia, oggi, mentre vi è una guerra che impegna l'avvenire di tutti i popoli d'Europa.

Potreste fare degli utilissimi confronti tra quella che avete conosciuto tanti anni fa e quella che è la realtà di oggi.

Comunque, nel '42 vedrete i risultati dopo la fase conclusiva.

Vi invio i più cordiali saluti.

(C. Galassi Paluzzi)

N°	(2.28)	Published	No
Date	July 2, 1941		
Addresser	Jole Venturi	Receiver	Ferdinand Boberg
Archive	Kungliga Bibliotek (Stockholm)	Paper	Ferdinand Boberg Papers, L57:3

Cortina d'Ampezzo – Ca' de Ries

Carissimo Bob, mi accorgo di aver lasciato trascorrere un gran tempo senza scriverle, e gliene chiedo scusa; ma ho avuto Ghino ammalato per parecchi giorni e poi ho dovuto tanto lavorare per preparare la nostra partenza.

Sono a Cortina, che forse lei conoscerà di nome. Il paesaggio è superbo e le Dolomiti coperte di neve fanno corona attorno alla nostra casa.

Ma c'è un'altra cosa che mi ha dato una grande emozione ed è il fatto che la nostra ospite, una pittrice veneziana, ha conosciuto la nostra grande Anna e ne parla entusiasticamente con me. Può capire la mia gioia! Il marito è un pianista di grande valore e così fa musica e mi accompagna anche a cantare. Se non fossero le preoccupazioni nelle quali credo sia tutto il mondo, direi di essere in paradiso.

A Roma si lavora sempre per l'esposizione universale

Spero di vederlo in quell'occasione.

Mi scriva e mi dica di Lei. L'abbraccio teneramente

2-7-41

Jole

Cortina d'Ampezzo - Ca' de Ries

Carissimo Rob, mi accorgo di aver lasciato
trascorrere un gran tempo senza scriverti, e
gliene chiedo scusa; ma ho avuto Ghino
ammalato per parecchi giorni e poi ho do-
vuto tanto lavorare per preparare
vostra partenza. LII
191
Sono a Cortina, che forse lei conosce di
nome. Il paesaggio è superbo e le Dolomiti
coperte di neve fanno corona attorno alla
vostra casa. Ma c'è un'altra cosa che mi ha

dato una grande euforia ed è il fatto che
la vostra ospite, una pittrice veneziana, ha
conosciuto la vostra grande Anna e ne parla
entusiasticamente con me. Puoi capire la mia
gioia! Il marito è un pianista di gran va-
lore e così fa musica e mi accompagna
anche a cantare. Se non fossero le preoc-
cupazioni nelle quali credo sia tutto il
mondo, direi di essere in paradiso.
A Roana si lavora sempre per l'esposizione universale.
Spero di vederlo in quell'occasione -
Mi scriva e mi dica di Lei - l'abbraccio teneramente
Joce

2 - 7 - 41

N°	(2.29)	Published	No
Date	January 9, [1942]		
Addresser	Jole Venturi	Receiver	Ferdinand Boberg
Archive	Nationalmuseum arkivet (Stockholm)	Paper	Ferdinand Boberg, EA:671:1, 'Brev från Ghino Venturi'

Roma – 9 gennaio

Caro amico,

la sua lettera è sempre una gioia per me ed ogni volta che sento quale sia ancora la sua attività non posso a meno che ammirarlo e ringraziare per lei la sorte che le ha elargito questo dono che le consente di riempire ancora la sua vita.

Sono ormai sette anni che la nostra adorata non c'è più ed ogni volta in questi giorni che furono quelli della sua malattia, io ricordo ogni parole che lei poi mi ha raccontato, ogni episodio della fine di quella creatura stupensa.

Le sue frasi di entusiasmo e di non mai indebolita ammirazione, mi riempiono di commozione profonda. Che gioia avere un così luminoso faro per rischiarare la via ormai buia e silenziosa.

Come vorrei volere il suo lavoro ed ammirare gli studi che avrà seguito magistralmente come sempre! Ma come fa la società a distribuirgli agli altri centri culturali? Ne fa fare delle stampe? Quando lei verrà in Italia, poiché sono certa che lei tornerà malgrado i suoi benedetti 82 anni!

Mi farà vedere i suoi lavori. Il ricordo di quegli acquerelli fatti a Tarquinia è incancellabile! E' stata una delle più belle cose che io abbia mai avuto davanti agli occhi. Si è poi completata la pubblicazione?

Spero tanto che sì. Che ne è di Boethius? Spero stia bene e lavori profittevolmente.

Noi per Natale abbiamo avuto a casa Renato. Così le feste non ci sono sembrate tristi. Donatella ha quasi 12 anni. E' veramente una signorinetta, graziosa e intelligente. Ghino è fuori città per lavoro.

Stiamo bene e pieni di fiducia nella vittoria dell'Asse.

Saluti cari e un abbraccio da Jole

Roma - 9 gennaio
 Caro amico, la sua lettera è sempre una gioia per me ed ogni volta che sent'qualche sua lettera, un'emozione mi si rievoca che ammiro e riverisco per la fede che le ha corrisposto questo dono che le consente di rivedere ancora la sua vita. Sono ormai sette anni che la vostra adorata non c'è più ed ogni volta in questi giorni io faccio quella sua malattia, io ricordo ogni parola che lei mi ha raccontata, ogni episodio della fine di quella creatura stupenda. Le sue frasi di ammirazione e di non mai indelebile ammirazione mi riempiono di commovente profonda. Che gioia avere un così sublime dono per far chiarire la via ormai trita e banale. Come ogni volta il suo nome

ed ammirare gli studi che ora esultano moralmente come sempre! Ma come per la società o districarsi agli altri centri culturali? Me fa fare delle domande? Quando lei sarà in Italia anche con certa che lei tornerà nel grado i suoi benedetti 88 anni! - Mi farei volere i suoi lavori - Il ricordo di quegli acquedotti fatti a base di acqua è inimitabile - è stato una delle più belle cose che io abbia mai viste davanti agli occhi - Sì è poi completata la pubblicazione? Sperando tanto di sì. Che ne è di Brothers? Sono stati bene e lavorati profittosamente. No per l'attuale abbiamo avuto a casa Renato. Per le feste una di suo sarebbe finta. Soudella ha quasi 19 anni - è sposata una giovanotta, graziosa e intelligente. Ghino è fuori città per lavoro. Sono bene e in 284 fiducia nella vittoria dell'Unione. Saluti cari e un abbraccio da Joli.

N°	(2.30)	Published	No
Date	July 11, [1942]		
Addresser	Jole Venturi	Receiver	Ferdinand Boberg
Archive	Kungliga Bibliotek (Stockholm)	Paper	Ferdinand Boberg Papers, L57:3

Roma – 11 luglio

*Mio carissimo Bob,
che gioia ricevere la sua lettera dopo un così lungo periodo di silenzio! E
le sue annotazioni su Anna sono commoventi come sempre e mi giungono
al cuore.*

*Leggo e rileggo le belle parole scritte sulla nostra adorata e nell'ammirare
l'omaggio di venerazione dedicato alla sua memoria, trovo che nulla è
troppo per la creatura elettissima.*

*Se lei ora è solo, perdutamente solo; dopo aver avuto per cinquant'anni
la fortuna di così grande compagna, può dirsi uno degli uomini più
fortunati che siano mai esistiti. In ogni istante di vita deve sentire la sua
presenza reale e i ricordi di lei possono riempire l'esistenza.*

*Non posso pensare che siano già trascorsi 7 anni da quando essa ci ha
lasciati. La sua memoria è così viva, che io posso riuscire ad illudermi
che un giorno o l'altro la rivedrò in questa nostra Roma che tanto amava.
Poi ho la fortuna di credere che la rivedremo e questo mi conforta un
poco del periodo di separazione che ancora ci resta.*

*Che fortuna aver avuto quei due quadretti da lei! Specie quello fatto alle
Lofoten mi mette proprio in contatto della sua anima ed io posso nella
contemplazione del bel paesaggio che tanto amava.*

*Mentre scrivo essa mi sorride dal suo ritratto ed ha come un nimbo d'oro
nei capelli. Proprio come la ricordo sempre.*

*Certo non tutti hanno avuto la fortuna di un così prezioso incontro nella
vita, e bisogna ringraziare la Provvidenza di averla messa sulla nostra
strada.*

*Sono tanto lieta di sapere che lei lavora sempre. Questo può riempire le
sue giornate ed unirla spiritualmente a lei.*

*Spero sempre che torni la pace nel mondo e che lei possa venire a trovare
la sua vecchia e fedele amica italiana. Non le dico quanto lo desidero!*

*Per fortuna stiamo tutti bene. Ghino lavora abbastanza malgrado la
crisi. Renato è venuto a casa recentemente in licenza di esami
(naturalmente andati benissimo)*

L'anno venturo farà il 5° anno e potrà cominciare a lavorare con suo padre. Ha molto senso d'arte e una buonissima cultura che lo aiuterà spero a farsi largo nella vita.

Donatella ha dodici anni; è una piccola signorina, buona e intelligente. Come si vede le cose vanno abbastanza bene; purché la pace torni nel mondo presto e mi consenta di riabbracciare il caro Bob!

Saluti affettuosi da Ghino, dai ragazzi. Da me col più caldo "grazie" per le preziose memorie, un abbraccio amichevole

Jole

Roma - 11 luglio
Mio carissimo Tot, che Gioia riceve
la sua lettera dopo un così lungo
periodo di silenzio! E le sue famo-
sissime e un'emozione commovente come
leggo e rileggo la bella parte sentite
sulla vostra opera, e nell'
ammirare l'omaggio di riverenza
dedicato alla sua memoria. Trovo che
nulla è troppo per la creatura eletta.
Ma. Se lei ora è solo, perduto
solo; dopo aver avuto per cinque anni
in la fortuna di così grande em-
pago, può dirsi uno degli uomini
più fortunati che siano mai
esistiti. Tu qui istante di vita
due vent'anni. La tua presenza vale
e i ricordi di lei possono riempire

l'assistenza. Non posso pensare che siano già
passati 7 anni da quando una
lei ha lasciato la sua memoria
è così viva che io posso rivivere
ed illudermi che un giorno o l'altro
la rivedrò in questa vostra Roma
che tanto amava. Poi ho la fat-
tura di credere che la rivedremo
e questo mi conforta un poco di
quello di separazione che ancora
mi resta. Che fortuna aver avuto
qui due gabaretti di lei! Specie
quello fatto alle Lofoten mi mette
proprio in contatto della sua anima
ed io provo rimpicciola nella ex-tem-
plare del bel paesaggio che tant
amava. Mentre scrivo questa mi sorride
dal suo ritratto ed ha come un rimbomb
d'oro sui capelli. Proprio come la rivedo

sempre. Certo non tutti hanno avuto
la fortuna di un così prezioso
momento nella vita, e bisogna mi-
gliorare la provvidenza (di averla
nessa sulla nostra strada -
Sono tanto lieta di sapere che lei
lavora sempre - Questo può riempire
le sue giornate, ed aiutarlo spi-
ritualmente a lei.
Spero sempre che torri la pace
sul mondo e che lei possa vivere
a trovare la sua vecchia e fedele
amica italiana. Non le dico
quanto lo desidero!
Per fortuna siamo tutti
- bene - Giulio lavora abbastanza
malgrado la crisi - Renato è
veduto a casa recentemente in
cura di crisi (naturalmente assisti-
tissimo)

L'anno migliore sarà il 5° anno
e potrà incominciare a lavorare
con suo padre - Ha molto senso
d'arte e una bellissima cultura
che lo aiuterà spero a farsi largo
nella vita.
Donatella ha dodici anni; è una
piccola signorina, buona e intelligente.
Come vede le colle siamo abbonati
tra due; purché la pace torri al
mondo presto e mi esenta di
riabbracciare il caro Bot!
Saluti affettuosi da Giulio, dai
ragazzi - Da me col più
caldo, grazie, per le preziose
news, e un abbraccio amichevole.
Ma



3. Erik Gunnar Asplund

N°	(3.1)	Published	No
Date	October 23, 1930		
Addresser	Plinio Marconi	Receiver	Erik Gunnar Asplund
Archive	Ark Des (Stockholm)	Paper	Erik Gunnar Asplund papers, Box AM8802-06.
note	Letterhead by the Italian magazine <i>Architettura e arti decorative</i>		

23 October 1930

Geehrter Kollege

Da unsere Zeitschrift "Architettura ed Arti Decorative" die Absicht hat einen Ausatz über die internationale Arkitekture Ausstellung zu veröffontlichen, die is verflossenen September in Budapest startgefunden hat zur Vorführung der besten dort ausgestellten Werke, bitte ich Sie höflichst an unsere Zeitschrift in via Michelangelo Caetani N°32 Roma-zwei oder drei photographien und einen Plan der folgenden von Ihnen bei dieser Gelogenheit ausgestellten Werke zu schicken.

Bibliothèque municipale. Stockholm

Die Stockholm Ausstellung 1930

Aus typographischen Gründen bitte ich Sie das oben ganannte material nicht später als bis zum 10 November zu senden mit vielem.

Dank im voraus ergebenst.

DER DIREKTOR DER ZEITSCHRIFT

Arch. Plinio Marconi

ASSOCIAZIONE ARTISTICA FRA I CULTORI D'ARCHITETTURA

RIVISTA DI "ARCHITETTURA E ARTI DECORATIVE,,

CASA EDITRICE D'ARTE
BESTETTI & TUMMINELLI
VIA MICHELANGELO CAETANI, 32
ROMA TELEFONO 37-97

23 OCTOBER 1930

Geehrter Kollege

Da unsere Zeitschrift "Architettura ed Arti Decorative" die Absicht hat einen Aufsatz über die internationale Architecture Ausstellung zu veröffentlichen, die im verfloessenen September in Budapest stattgefunden hat zur Vorführung der besten dort ausgestellten Werke, bitte ich Sie höflichst an unsere Zeitschrift in Via Michelangelo Caetani N°32 Roma-zwei oder drei Photographien und einen Plan der folgenden von Ihnen bei dieser Gelegenheit ausgestellten Werke zu schicken.

Bibliothèque municipale Stockholm.
Die Stockholmer Ausstellung 1930

Aus typographischen Gründen bitte ich Sie das oben genannte Material nicht später als bis zum 10. ^{November} l. m. zu senden mit vielem Dank im voraus ergebend.

DER DIRECTOR DER ZEITSCHRIFT

Arch. Stanio Geronzi

N°	(3.2)	Published	No
Date	June 5, 1931		
Addresser	Alberto Sartoris	Receiver	Sven Markelius
Archive	Ark Des (Stockholm)	Paper	Erik Gunnar Asplund papers, Box AM8802-06.
note	Letter given to Asplund by Sven Markelius (see 3.4)		

Avskrift

*Architetto Alberto Sartoris
Chateau de Glèrolles
RIVAZ (Vaud) Suisse.*

Ce 5 juin 1931.

Cher ami,

Sans nouvelles de vous, depuis le dernier envoi de clichés pour projections lumineuses, je me permets de vous communiquer mon adresse définitive et de vous signaler que je prépare, pour la Maison d'Editions ULRICO HOEPLI, de Milan, un important ouvrage sur l'architecture moderne internationale, qui sera le premier livre de ce genre publié en Italie.

Je pense que vous voudrez bien m'envoyer au plus vite quelques-uns de vos documents architecturaux afin que je puisse les insérer dans mon volume, qui contiendra les oeuvres des plus significatifs représentants de la nouvelle architecture.

Volci ce qu'il me faut de vous:

- 1. Des photos de réalisations et de cet projets.*
- 2. Den plans de ces réalisations et projets.*
- 3. Un ou deux détails de construction*

Par la meme occasion, je vous prie de bien vouloir indiquer à vos autres collègue a suédois dont j'ignore l'adresse: Sven Wallander, Eskil Sundhal, Gunnar Asplund, Uno Ahrén etc. qui travaillent dans lá sphère moderne, que je leur serait infiniment reconnaissant de m'envoyer au plus vite leurs documents.

Vu que l'éditeur me presse de lui envoyer toutes les photos qui composeront mon livre, je vous demande de satisfaire à mon vif désir en m'adressant vos photos et plans si possible avant le 20 JUIN, car mon ouvrage doit déjà être mis en vente cet automne prochain.

Dans l'attente de vos bonnes nouvelles, de votre prompt envoi ainsi que de ceux de vos collègues que vous voudrez bien interpeler en mon nom, je vous remercie mille fois et vous prie de croire, cher Collègue et ami, à l'assurance de ma plus profonde considération.

ALBERTO SARTORIS

Avskrift.

architetto Alberto Sartoris
Chateau de Glérolles
R I V A Z (Vaud) Suisse.

Ce 5 juin 1931.

Cher ami,

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Voici ce qu'il me faut de vous:

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2. Des plans de ces réalisations et de projets.
3. Un ou deux détails de construction.

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Dans l'attente de vos bonnes nouvelles, de votre prompt envoi ainsi que de ceux de vos collègues que vous voudrez bien interpeler en mon nom, je vous remercie mille fois et vous prie de croire, cher Collègue et ami, à l'assurance de ma plus profonde considération.

ALBERTO SARTORIS

U R G E N T .

N°	(3.3)	Published	No
Date	June 18, 1931		
Addresser	Erik Gunnar Asplund	Receiver	Alberto Sartoris
Archive	Ark Des (Stockholm)	Paper	Erik Gunnar Asplund papers, Box AM8802-06.
note	Answer to letter 3.3		

18 juni 1931.

*Her Architekt Alberto Sartoris
Chateau de Glèrolles
RIVAZ /Vaud/ Suisse.*

Auf Ihr durch Architekt Markelius empfangenes Ansuchen um Ueberlassung einiger Bilder von meinen Arbeiten übersende ich beliegend 6 Stück Photographien vom Hauptrestaurant auf der Stockholmer Ausstellung 1930.

Ich bitte die Photographien nach erfolgter Anwendung wieder an mich zurück senden zu wollen.

Mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung

18 Juni 1931.

Herr Architekt Alberto Sartoris
Chateau de Glérolles
R I V A Z /Vaud/ Suisse.

Auf Ihr durch Architekt Markelius empfangenes
Ansuchen um Ueberlassung einiger Bilder von meinen Arbeiten
übersende ich beiliegend 6 Stück Photographien vom
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Ich bitte die Photographien nach erfolgter
Anwendung wieder an mich zurück senden zu wollen.

Mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung

N°	(3.4)	Published	No
Date	October 24, 1932		
Addresser	Richard Rothschild	Receiver	Erik Gunnar Asplund
Archive	Ark Des (Stockholm)	Paper	Erik Gunnar Asplund papers, Box AM8802-06.
note	Letterhead: "Dipl. Ing. Richard Rothschild Arkitekt. Berlin W30, Bamberger strasse 28, Telefon 86 Cornelius 0842"		

Den 24-10-32

*Her Architekt E. G. Asplund
Reger. G. 40
Stockholm.*

Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege!

Für das in dem italienischen Verlag "DOMUS" erscheinende Buch über moderne mobil "IL MOBILE MODERNO RAZIONALE IN ITALIA ED ALL'ESTERO", bin ich beauftragt das schwedische Fotomaterial zusammenzustellen. Ich wäre Ihnen, sehr geehrter Herr Kollege, daher ausserordentlich dankbar, wenn Sie mir zu diesen Zweck Fotos von Ihren Möbeln zur Verfügung stellen könnten.

Es soll sich bei diesen Fotos möglichst um neuere Arbeiten handeln. Es ist nicht notwendig, dass die Aufnahmen einen ganzen Raum darstellen; es werden im Gegentel Fotos einzelner Möbel und von Gruppen von 2 bis 3 Möbelstücken bevorzugt, da vor allem das Einzelstück gezeigt werden soll. Aus diesem Grund wären mir auch genz kurze Angaben über Material und eventuelle besondere Funktion der Möbel sehr erwünscht. Gute Aufnahmen ganzer Räume sind aber durchaus nicht ausgeschlossen.

Da das genannte Buch noch zu Weihnachten erscheinen soll, ist die Zeit zum Sammeln und Sichten des Materials leider sehr knapp, und ich wäre Ihnen daher ausserordentlich verbunden, wenn Sie mich möglichst umgehend wissen lassen könnten, ob und mit welchem Material von Ihnen ich rechnen darf, und wann die Fotos hier sein können.

*Ihren baldigen Nachrichten mit grossem Interesse entgegensehend,
zeichne ich*

*mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung
und kollegialen Grüsseen*

DIPL.-ING. RICHARD ROTHSCHILD
ARCHITEKT

BERLIN W 30
HAMBERGER STRASSE 28
TELEFON 84 CORNEIUS 0842
den 24-10-32.

Herrn Architekt E.G.Asplund
Reger.g.40
Stockholm.

Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege!

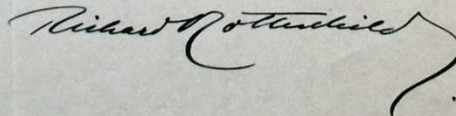
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Ihren baldigen Nachrichten mit grossem Interesse entgegensehend,
zeichne ich

mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung
und kollegialen Grüssen



N°	(3.5)	Published	No
Date	June 3, 1933		
Addresser	Roberto Aloi	Receiver	Erik Gunnar Asplund
Archive	Ark Des (Stockholm)	Paper	Erik Gunnar Asplund papers, Box AM8802-06.

Monsieur,

Ayant en préparation un volume sur l'art décoratif moderne international (ameublement de la maison) je vous prie de bien vouloir m'envoyer au plus tôt possible quelques photographies de votre nouvelle production. Si vous avez des amis architectes qui s'occupent de l'ameublement je vous prie de m'envoyer l'adresse que je serai bien content de leur publier les travaux.

Je vous renverrai les photos dès que j'aurai les clichés.

Sûr de vous avoir parmi mes collaborateurs je vous prie de me répondre en tout cas. Je vous remercie beaucoup et vous présente mes sincères salutations.

Votre tout dévoué

Aloi

3-6-1933



ROBERTO ALOI
VIA A. SANGIACOMO, 15
MILANO

Monsieur,

Ayant en préparation un volume sur
l'art décoratif moderne international
(ameublement de la maison) je vous prie
de bien vouloir m'envoyer au plus tôt
possible quelques photographies de
votre nouvelle production. Si vous
avez des amis architectes qui s'occupent
de l'ameublement je vous prie de m'en
voyer l'adresse que je serai bien content
de leur publier les travaux.
Je vous renverrai les photos dès que j'au-
rai les clichés.

Sur de vous avoir parmi mes collabo-
rateurs je vous prie de me répondre en
tout cas. Je vous remercie beaucoup
et vous présente mes sincères salutations.

Notre tout dévoué

Aloi

3-6-1933

N°	(3.6)	Published	No
Date	June 7, 1933		
Addresser	Gio Ponti	Receiver	Erik Gunnar Asplund
Archive	Ark Des (Stockholm)	Paper	Erik Gunnar Asplund papers, Box AM8802-06.
note	Letterhead Italian publishing house "Editoriale Domus S.A."		

*Milano 7-6-1933.XI
Via S. Vittore, 42*

*Architekten professor
E. G. Asplund
Tekniska Högskolan
Stockholm (Svezia)*

*Monsieur,
M.lle Tyre Lundgren, dans le but de nous aider à faire connaître dans les milieux intellectuels de votre pays l'actuel mouvement artistique italien, a bien voulu nous donner votre adresse en même temps que celles de plusieurs autres personnalités des milieux intellectuels de Suède.*

Nous nous permettons donc de vous envoyer quel-ques exemplaires de notre revue DOMUS que nous nous flattons pourront vous intéresser, car entre votre art moderne si noble et si expressive, et notre renouvellement existent certainement des affinités spirituelles.

Et nous vous serions bien obligés si vous, en diffusant DOMUS parmi les classes cultivées de Suède, vouliez contribuer avec nous à faire connaître cet aspect nouveau des arts italiennes.

Agréez, Monsieur, nos remerciement et nos salutations les plus distinguées.

Ponti

EDITORIALE DOMUS S.A.

T E L E F O N I
DIREZIONE E AMMINISTRAZIONE 42-251
CONTABILITÀ E REDAZIONE 490-123

MILANO 7-6-1933.XI
VIA S. VITTORE, 42

NELLA RISPOSTA RIFERIRSI A

TELEGRAMMI: DOMUS-MILANO

ARKITEKTEN PROFESSOR
E.G. ASPLUND
TEKNISKA HÖGSKOLAN
S T O C K H O L M (SVEZIA)

TELEGRAMMI: DOMUS-MILANO

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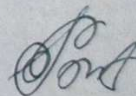
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Nous nous permettons donc de vous envoyer quelques exemplaires de notre revue DOMUS que nous nous flattons pourront vous intéresser, car entre votre art moderne si noble et si expressive, et notre renouvellement existent certainement des affinités spirituelles.

Et nous vous serions bien obligés si vous, en diffusant DOMUS parmi les classes cultivées de Suède, vouliez contribuer avec nous à faire connaître cet aspect nouveau des arts italiennes.

Agréés, Monsieur, nos remerciements et nos salutations les plus distinguées.



N°	(3.7)	Published	No
Date	October 15, 1934		
Addresser	Richard Rothschild	Receiver	Erik Gunnar Asplund
Archive	Ark Des (Stockholm)	Paper	Erik Gunnar Asplund papers, Box AM8802-06.
note	Letterhead: "Ing. Riccardo Rothschild Architetto Milano Via Olindo Guerrini 14, Telefono num. 263-125"		

Den 15-10-34

*Her Architekt Prof. E. G. Asplund
Regeringegatan 40
Stockholm*

Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege!

Für den Verlag Ulrico Hoepli, Mailand, bereite Ich zur Zeit ein Buch über "EDIFIZI DI RITROVO" vor, in den in der Hauptsache der Bau von Theatern, Kinos, Konzertsälen und ähnlichen Versammlungsstätten behandelt wird. Das Werk hat, im Gegensatz zu bisherigen Veröffentlichungen auf diesem Gebiete, vorwiegend technischen Charakter. Es sollen zunächst die Elemente der Planung eingehend untersucht werden, und zu diesem Zwecke wird ein möglichst reichhaltiges Material von Grundrissen und Schnitten der wichtigsten neueren Bauten auf diesem Gebiete zusammengetragen und verglichen werden. In weiteren Abschnitten werden dann die spezifischen konstruktiven Fragen erörtert, und schliesslich sollen auch alle Spezialanlagen behandelt werden.

Da die technischen Erörterungen sich möglichst auf Konstruktionsbeispiele von in den letzten Jahren ausgeführten Bauten stützen sollen, wäre ich Ihnen ausserordentlich verbunden, wenn Sie mir zu diesem Zwecke entsprechendes Material über Ihre Arbeiten freundlich zur Verfügung stellen wollten. In erster Linie benötige ich Konstruktionszeichnungen von für die angegebene Gattung von Bauten wesentlichen oder charakteristischen Details, ferner möglichst klare Grundrisse und Schnitte (hierbei sind natürlich auch nicht ausgeführte

Projekte von grossen Interesse!); selbstverständlich ist auch instruktives Fotomaterial sehr erwünscht.

Der Verlag Ulrico Hoepli garantiert für die pünktliche und vollständige Rücksendung des mir freundlichst überlassenen Materials sofort nach Erscheinen des Buches. Ausserdem hat der Verlag sich lebenswürdiger Weise bereit erklärt, Ihnen für die leihweise Ueberlassung Ihres Materials ein Gratisexemplar Ihres Werken zur Verfügung zu stellen.

Die sedung des erbetenen Veröffentlichungsmaterials bitte ich Sie an Arch. Riccardo Rothschild presso Ulrico Hoepli, Corso Vittorio Emanuele 7, MILANO zu richten; Sonstige Korrespondenz wollen Sie der Einfachheit halber bitte an meine Privatadresse senden. Indem ich Ihnen im Voraus für Ihre lebenswürdige Unterstützung meinen herzlichsten Dank Sage, verbleibe ich

*mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung
und kollegialen Grüsseen*

ING. RICCARDO ROTHSCHILD
ARCHITETTO

M I L A N O
VIA OLINDO GUERRINI 14
TELEFONO NUM. 263-125

den 15-10-1934

Herrn Architekt Prof. E.G. Asplund
Regeringsgatan 40
S T O C K H O L M

Sehr geehrter Herr Kollege,

Für den Verlag Ulrico Hoepli, Mailand, bereite ich zur Zeit ein Buch über "EDIFICI DI RITROVO" vor, in dem in der Hauptsache der Bau von Theatern, Kinos, Konzertsälen und ähnlichen Versammlungsstätten behandelt wird. Das Werk hat, im Gegensatz zu bisherigen Veröffentlichungen auf diesem Gebiete, vorwiegend technischen Charakter. Es sollen zunächst die Elemente der Planung eingehend untersucht werden, und zu diesem Zwecke wird ein möglichst reichhaltiges Material von Grundrissen und Schnitten der wichtigsten neueren Bauten auf diesem Gebiete zusammengetragen und verglichen werden. In weiteren Abschnitten werden dann die spezifischen konstruktiven Fragen erörtert, und schliesslich sollen auch alle Spezialanlagen behandelt werden.

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mit vorzüglicher Hochachtung
und kollegialen Grüessen

Arch. Riccardo Rothschild

N°	(3.8)	Published	No
Date	September 4, 1939		
Addresser	Alberto Sartoris	Receiver	Erik Gunnar Asplund
Archive	Ark Des (Stockholm)	Paper	Erik Gunnar Asplund papers, Box AM8802-06.
note			

*Alberto Sartoris,
Architecte R.I.B.A. et S.B.U.A.M.*

*Chateau de Glérolles,
RIVAZ (Vaud) Suisse.*

4 septembre 1939.

*Monsieur l'architecte E. G. Asplund,
Regeringsgatan 40, Stockholm.*

*Monsieur et cher Confrère,
je dois donner pour l'impression, à fin octobre 1939, la troisième édition
—entièrement refaite— de mon grand ouvrage « Les éléments de
l'architecture fonctionnelle ».
J'aimerais beaucoup publier, comme dans les deux éditions précédentes,
une belle section suédoise. Pouvez-vous m'envoyer au plus vite, et comme
par le passé, une documentation concernant vos dernières œuvres ?
Vous savez combien je tiens à ce que la Suède soit bien représentée dans
mon livre et je vous prie, par conséquent, de bien vouloir prendre ma
demande en considération et me communiquer que vous m'enverrez
bientôt la documentation requise.
Dans cette attente, je vous prie de bien vouloir me pardonner le
dérangement que je vous procure et croire, Monsieur et cher Confrère, à
l'expression de mes sentiments les meilleurs.*

Alberto Sartoris

*P.S. N'oubliez pas d'indiquer, au verso des photos, très lisiblement,
votre nom et vos prénoms (E...,G...) et la date de construction de vos
œuvres. A.S.*

Alberto Sartoris ,
architecte R.I.B.A. et S.B.U.A.M.

Château de Glérolles ,
R I V A Z (Vaud) , Suisse .

4 septembre 1939 .

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la date de construction de vos oeuvres .

A.S.

N°	(3.9)	Published	No
Date	November 25, 1939		
Addresser	Roberto Aloï	Receiver	Erik Gunnar Asplund
Archive	Ark Des (Stockholm)	Paper	Erik Gunnar Asplund papers, Box AM8802-06.
note			

Dear Sir,

By order of the Publisher Ulrico Hoepli of Milan I am Just compiling a book entitled "Modern Funeral Architecture".

The work will belong to the series of Contemporary Architecture issued by the same Publisher and will be of international character.

The volume has been divided into four parts:

1st: Monumental funeral Architecture (monumental tombs, ossuaries etc.)

2nd: Funeral chapels

3rd: Little monuments (columns etc.)

4th: Funeral decorations (architectural sculpture, panes, mosaics bronzes etc.

In view of the above you would oblige me very much by submitting at your earliest convenience some photographs of your works. Every photograph should be accompanied by a plant and an elevation designed with the pen as well by a brief but exact description.

As I must deliver all the material to the Publisher within the end of the year I shall esteem it a favour if you kindly let me have your reply, whatever it is, as soon as possible. The photographs and the drawings shall be sent back to you as soon as the clichés are ready.

*Hoping you will see your way to comply with my request,
I thank you in advance for your courtesy and beg to remain
yours sincerely
Aloï*



Milan, 26 NOV. 1939

Dear Sir,

By order of the Publisher Urico Hoepli of Milan I am just compiling a book entitled "Modern Funeral Architecture".

The work will belong to the series of Contemporary Architecture issued by the same Publisher and will be of international character.

The volume has been divided into four parts :

- 1st: Monumental funeral Architecture (monumental tombs, ossuaries etc.) *Crematori*
- 2nd: Funeral chapels
- 3rd: Little monuments (columns etc.)
- 4th: Funeral decorations (architectural sculpture, panes, mosaics, bronzes etc.)

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yours sincerely

Aloi

N°	(3.10)	Published	No
Date	November 25, 1939		
Addresser	Roberto Aloï	Receiver	Erik Gunnar Asplund
Archive	Ark Des (Stockholm)	Paper	Erik Gunnar Asplund papers, Box AM8802-06.

Monsieur,

Je vous joins lettre de collaboration et je vous serai très reconnaissant si vous m'enverrez aussi les photographies du crématoire que vous avez achevé près de Stockholm.

Agréez, Monsieur, mes salutations distinguées et mis remerciements

Aloï

Milan le 25 Novembre 1939

ROBERTO ALOI VIA A. SANGIORGIO 15 - MILANO

Monsieur,

Je vous joins la lettre de collaboration et je vous serai très reconnaissant si vous m'envoyez aussi les photographies du crématoire que vous avez achetés près de Stockholm.

Agitez, Monsieur, mes salutations distinguées et mes remerciements

ALOI

Milano le 25 Novembre 1939

N°	(3.11)	Published	No
Date	January 26, 1940		
Addresser	Roberto Aloï	Receiver	Erik Gunnar Asplund
Archive	Ark Des (Stockholm)	Paper	Erik Gunnar Asplund papers, Box AM8802-06.

Cher Architecte,

Comme je suis en train de mettre en pages mon livre je vous prie de bien vouloir m'envoyer au plus tôt les photographies les plantes et la description du Crématoire que vous venez d'achever près de Stockholm pour lequel je vous ai déjà écrit le 25 Novembre 1939.

Dans l'attente agrééz, Monsieur, mes salutations distinguées.

Aloï

Milan le 26 janvier 1940

ROBERTO ALOI VIA A. SANGIORGIO 15 - MILANO

Cher Architecte,

Comme je suis en train de mettre
en pages mon livre je vous prie
de bien vouloir m'envoyer en
plus tôt les photographies les
plans et la description du
Cimetière que vous venez d'a-
chever près de Stockholm pour
lequel je vous ai déjà écrit le
25 novembre 1939

Dans l'attente agréer, Mon
Sieur, mes salutations distinguées

ALOI

Milano le 26 janvier 1940

N°	(3.12)	Published	No
Date	February 3, 1940		
Addresser	Erik Gunnar Asplund	Receiver	Roberto Aloï
Archive	Ark Des (Stockholm)	Paper	Erik Gunnar Asplund papers, Box AM8802-06.

February 3rd, 1940.

*Mr. Roberto Aloï,
Via A. Sangiorgio 15,
Milano*

Dear Sir,

I have received your letters concerning the book "Modern Funeral Architecture". I should be very glad to send you photographs etc. of the new crematorium here in Stockholm, but the buildings will not be completed before May or June this year and it is impossible to take photographs before that time.

I send you two pictures of a model of the crematorium, made three years ago, it has been very much changed, so I don't think you could use them. I even send:

two photographs and a drawing of a "Forest chapel" I build 19 , pictures of two private mausoleums, model photograph of a new crematorium in Gothenburg I am going to build now.

I am sorry I cannot give you better material just now.

I remain, dear Sir,

Yours sincerely

February 3rd, 1940.

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Via A. Sangiorgio 15,
M i l a n o.

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pictures of two private mausoleums,
model photograph of a new crematorium in Gothenburg I am going
to build now.

I am sorry I cannot give you better material just now.

I remain, dear Sir,

Yours sincerely

N°	(3.13)	Published	No
Date	February 12, 1940		
Addresser	Roberto Aloi	Receiver	Erik Gunnar Asplund
Archive	Ark Des (Stockholm)	Paper	Erik Gunnar Asplund papers, Box AM8802-06.

Cher Architecte,

*J'ai bien reçu les photographies et je vous en remercie.
 Je désirerais avoir une description et la plante de la « Forest chapel »
 Je regrette que vous n'ayez pas encore fini les crematoires, mais si vous
 voulez, lorsqu'ils seront prêts envoyez-moi les photographies que je
 pourrai les faire publier sur une revue d'architecture italienne.
 Veuillez agréer, Monsieur, mes salutations distinguées*

Aloi

Milan le 12 février 1940

ROBERTO ALOI VIA A. SANGIORGIO 15 - MILANO

Cher Architecte,

J'ai bien reçu les photographies
Et je vous en remercie.

Je désirerais avoir une descrip-
tion et le plan de la "Forest
chapel".

Je regrette que vous n'ayez pas
encore fini les crematoires,
mais si vous voulez, lorsqu'ils
seront prêts, envoyer - moi les
photographies que je pourrai
les faire publier sur une
revue d'architecture italienne.

Veuillez agréer, Monsieur
mes salutations distinguées

Aloi

Milano le 12 février 1940

N°	(3.14)	Published	No
Date	January 27, 1941		
Addresser	Roberto Aloï	Receiver	Asplund's studio
Archive	Ark Des (Stockholm)	Paper	Erik Gunnar Asplund papers, Box AM8802-06.

Cher Architecte,

Mon ami Gustav Schlyter m'a envoyé le numero de « Konstrevy » dédié au nouveau crematoire de Stockholm et j'en ai publié quelques photographies dans mon livre « Architecture Funéraire Moderne »; mais comme la revue est ecrite en suedois je ne peux pas comprendre la description.

J' ai su que l'Architecte Aeplund est mort, et comme je crois avoir vu que vous avez collaboré je m'adresse à votre courtoisie pour avoir les explication dont j'ai besoin pour ma publication.

Avant tout veuillez me dire ai vous avez collaboré pour mettre votre nom aussi avec celui de M. Asplund, ensuite je desirerais avoir la légende des illustrations publiées à pagea 5,7,8 de la revue « Konstrevy », en francais ou en anglais, et 20 ou 30 lignes dactylographiés (toujours en francais ou en anglais) de description technique sur la construction (matériaux employés, salles de cérémonie, services, fours employés, ~~surface en mètres carrés etc.~~)

Seulement j'aurais besoin de cele au plus tot possible, par avion, car le livre eet déjà en typographie et on est en train de l'mprimer.

Les autres photographies que vous m'avez envoyezet dont j'en ai utilisés une partie pour mon livre, je vous les renverrai toutes dès que le volume sera publié.

Sur de votre courtoisie je voue en remercie beaucoup et dans l'attente je vous présente mes salutations distinguées

Aloï

Milan le 27 Janvier 1941

Cher Architecte,

Mon ami Gustav Schlyter m' a envoyé le numero de "Konstrevy" dédié au nouveau Crematoire de Stockholm et j' en ai publié quelques photographies dans mon livre " Architecture Funéraire Moderne"; mais comme la revue est écrite en suedois je ne peux pas comprendre la description.

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Seulement j' aurais besoin de cela au plus tot possible, par avion, car le livre est déjà en typographie et on est en train de l' imprimer.

Les autres photographies que vous m' avez envoyez et dont j' en ai utilisés une partie pour mon livre, je vous les renverrai toutes dès que le volume sera publié.

Sur de votre courtoisie je vous en remercie beaucoup et dans l' attente je vous présente mes salutations distinguées

Aloi

Milan le 27 Janvier 1941

4. Bruno Zevi

N°	(4.1)	Published	No
Date	December 4, 1939		
Addresser	Cyril Sjöstrom	Receiver	Bruno Zevi
Archive	Bruno Zevi Archive (Rome)	Paper	Serie 4.01.01 'Cyril Sjöstrom', Folder 5
Note	Letter of Raccomandation		

December 4th 39

*Bruno Zevi has worked in my office for about three months before
continuing his studies at the Architectural Association school of
Architecture. He is a been + intelligent student
his work shows great promise*

Cyril Sjöstrom

CYRIL SJOSTROM ARCHT. & CIVIL ENGR.
7, BEDFORD SQUARE, LONDON, W.C.1
T. 41-1105-4820

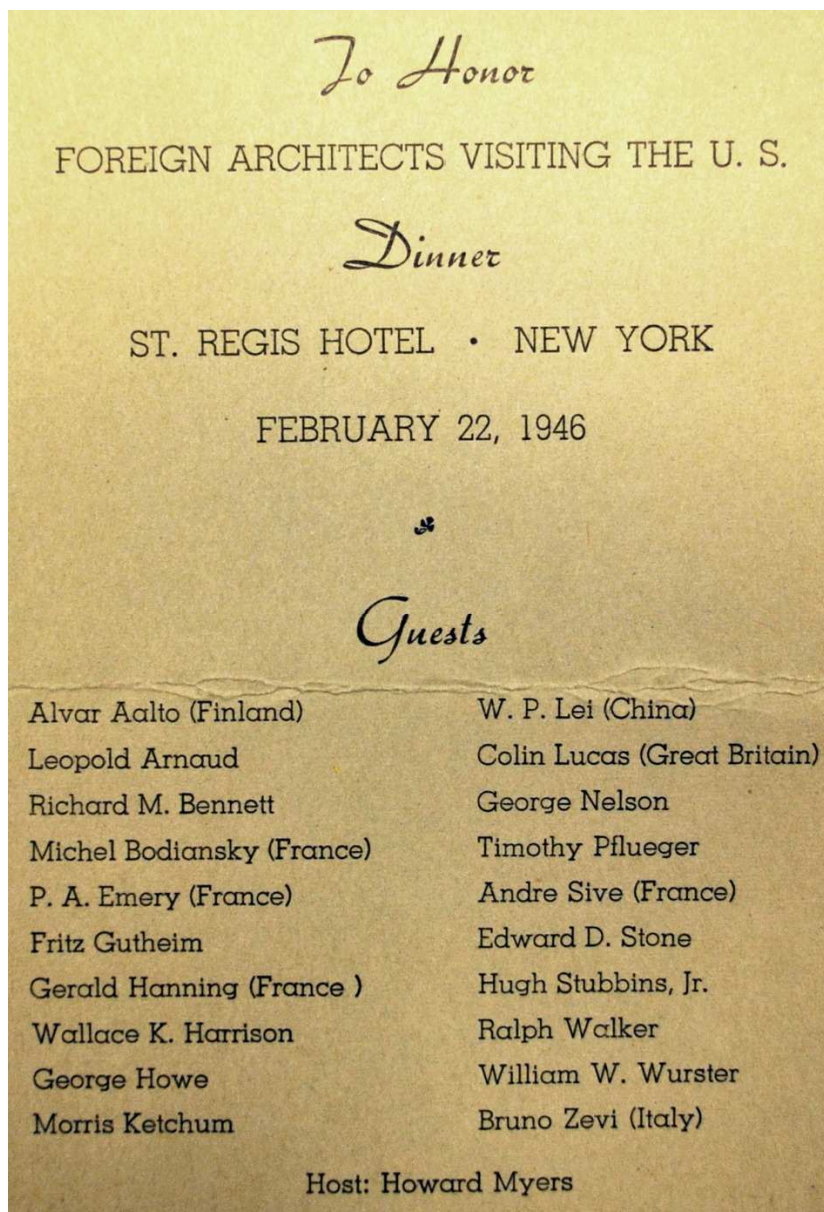
Dec. 4th 39

Bruno Zevi has worked in my office
for about three months before continuing
his studies at the Architectural Association
school of architecture.

He is a keen & intelligent student
& his work shows great promise.

Cyril Sjostrom.

N°	(4.2)	Published	No
Date	February 22, 1946		
Addresser	USIS	Receiver	Bruno Zevi
Archive	Bruno Zevi Archive (Rome)	Paper	Serie 07.01 'Convegni e conferenze 1935- 1946', Folder 59
Note	Invitation to the official dinner of the Foreign architects visiting the US		



To Honor

FOREIGN ARCHITECTS VISITING THE U. S.

Dinner

ST. REGIS HOTEL • NEW YORK

FEBRUARY 22, 1946

•

Guests

Alvar Aalto (Finland)	W. P. Lei (China)
Leopold Arnaud	Colin Lucas (Great Britain)
Richard M. Bennett	George Nelson
Michel Bodiansky (France)	Timothy Pflueger
P. A. Emery (France)	Andre Sive (France)
Fritz Gutheim	Edward D. Stone
Gerald Hanning (France)	Hugh Stubbins, Jr.
Wallace K. Harrison	Ralph Walker
George Howe	William W. Wurster
Morris Ketchum	Bruno Zevi (Italy)

Host: Howard Myers

N°	(4.3)	Published	No
Date	November 8, 1951		
Addresser	Giulio Einaudi	Receiver	Bruno Zevi
Archive	Bruno Zevi Archive (Rome)	Paper	Serie 6.04.01 'Editor correspondence-Italian editors', Folder 58
Note	Letterhead: Giulio Einaudi editore (Turin) Discussion		

Torino, 8 novembre 1951,

*Dott. Bruno Zevi
Via Nomentana 150
Roma*

Caro Zevi, ho avuto la tua relazione sulla "Collana storica di Architettura" e te ne ringrazio. Pur nella sua brevità, essa tocca i problemi fondamentali della collana e ne indica i limiti attuali: ma pecca forse per un eccesso di sfiducia nelle possibilità d'uno sviluppo futuro, così che l'indirizzo e il programma restano appena abbozzati o accennati in forma di esigenza. Anche l'ottima idea di fare una serie di volumi più agili sull'aspetto architettonico-urbanistico delle città italiane, rischia, a mio avviso, di perdere molto del suo valore se non viene considerata entro un programma di più ampie e organiche prospettive.

Ma ti espongo in ordine le mie osservazioni e le mie proposte.

Il proposito di "colmare una lacuna della cultura italiana", a di "inserire l'architettura nella cultura", come tu dici, è certo molto ambiziosa e praticamente irrealizzabile, se inteso nel senso di pubblicare esclusivamente opere originali di alto livello critico e scientifico.

Convengo con te che non è facile trovare studiosi all'altezza di un tale compito ed in numero sufficiente ad alimentare essi soli la collana.

Ma riconosciuta questa difficoltà (che d'altronde non si lamenta solo per l'architettura), mi pare eccessivo ripiegare subito su un programma di minima, su una routine che abbia la sola prospettiva di qualche occasionale corpo fortunato; o volgersi a iniziative come quelle delle guide architettonico-urbanistiche che, molto brillante e attraente in se stessa, pone però il problema di un sensibile mutamento d'indirizzo o addirittura quello della creazione di una nuova collana.

A mio avviso esiste tutta una serie di possibilità intermedie, che potremo realizzare organizzando la collana in una forma più articolata e meglio rispondente alle necessità nostre e del pubblico a cui ci rivolgiamo.

La collana potrebbe dunque essere pensata come ripartita in tre settori di attività: a) studi critici originali, italiani o stranieri; b) volumi di informazione; c) testi.

Per studi critici originali intendo volumi come quelli già editi di Argan e di Morisani e come alcuni di quelli in programma (Sitte-Howard, Il teatro greco di Paolo Verzone, Alvar Aalto di Ignazio Gardella, ecc.)

Estenderei la ricerca anche a opere di carattere più generale eventualmente da tradurre. Questo è il settore per il quale la ricerca di buoni volumi è più difficile: perciò mi pare che si debba fare ogni sforzo per non lasciar decadere i contratti già conclusi (quelli che ci interessano) e per concluderne dei nuovi. S'intende che sarà meglio non prendere in considerazione i lavori a carattere troppo erudito o provinciale o certe monografie troppo chiuse e particolari. Questi "saggi" di architettura dovrebbero costituire la linea maestra della collana.

Propongo poi dei "volumi di informazione", non solo per la difficoltà obiettiva di tenerci sempre a un livello critico-storico elevato, ma anche per rispondere a una necessità che mi pare assai sentita.

In sostanza questi volumi dovrebbero limitarsi a fornire materiale ben selezionato e ben presentato all'eventuale studioso e in genere a quanti si occupano di architettura. I modelli non mancano: comunque lo schema del volume potrebbe essere: biografia dell'autore (o storia del movimento considerato), bibliografia, descrizione delle opere, e tavole (in gran numero) con didascalie che orientino nella lettura delle illustrazioni. Non credo sarebbe difficile trovare collaboratori per una serie di volumi del genere. Dico "serie" perché evidentemente l'iniziativa ha un senso solo se considerata nella prospettiva di almeno dieci-quindici volumi, sia pure a pubblicarsi in diversi anni.

Quanto ai "testi", per intenderci basterà ricordarti due proposte che tu stesso hai fatto: il Burckhardt, e l'Autobiografia di Wright. Occorrerebbe trovare almeno quattro titoli di testi classici, e altrettanti di moderni ritenuti fondamentali.

Inutile dirti, a questo punto, che concepisco i tre settori della collana non come distinti e giustapposti, ma come complementari. Questa ripartizione dovrebbe permetterci di muoverci più liberamente e insieme di assolvere allo scopo della collana rispondendo alle diverse esigenze che esso presuppone.

Ho lasciata per ultima la questione delle guide urbanistico-architettoniche delle città italiane. L'idea mi pare veramente ottima e sono lieto di sentire che puoi trovare le persone capaci di costituire un apposito ufficio di redazione. Vorrei farti però osservare che una serie di questo tipo o dovrebbe essere pubblicata a parte, o finirebbe inevitabilmente per costituire una collana nella collana (che sarebbe, evidentemente, un danno e non un vantaggio). La soluzione più adatta a inserire la proposta nel programma della "Collana storica", mi pare questa: pubblicare due volumi che contengono ognuno tre (o più) profili di città italiane, scelte tra quelle più tipiche (per esempio, una città industriale, un porto, un centro agricolo, una città "storica", una città nuova, ecc.).

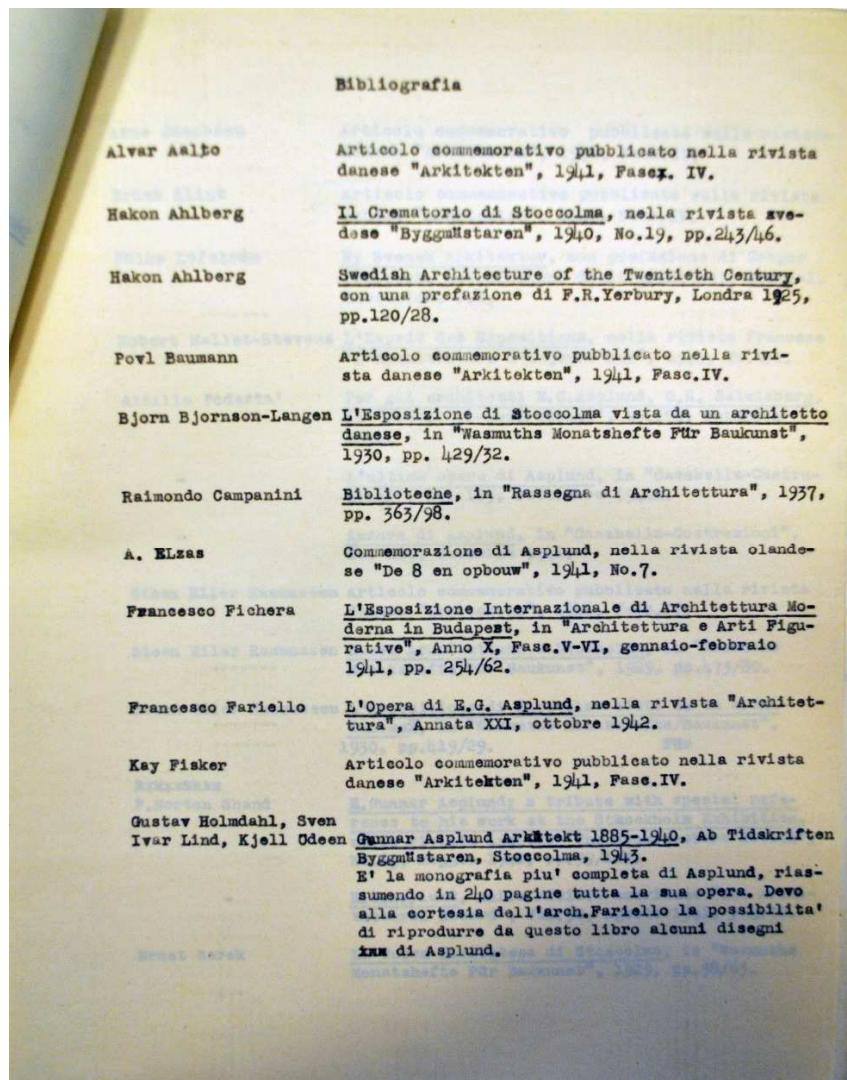
Credo che avremmo due volumi di grande interesse e assai utili allo sviluppo della collana "Storica"; e questo senza pregiudizio della "serie", che potremmo sempre studiare di fare a volumetti separati ed eventualmente in altra sede e con caratteristiche diverse. Culturalmente ed editorialmente mi pare che sarebbe meglio iniziare con due buoni volumi complessivi. Cosa ne pensi?

Per tornare all'impostazione della collana, ti prego di dirmi il tuo parere su quanto ti ho scritto e di dirmi anche se saresti disposto a stendere un programma sia pure sommario secondo le linee generali che ti ho proposto.

Ringraziandoti nuovamente, ti invio i più cordiali saluti.

Giulio Einaudi

N°	(4.4)	Published	No
Date	No date [1947-1948]		
Addresser	Bruno Zevi		
Archive	Bruno Zevi Archive (Rome)	Paper	Serie 6.03.05 - Manoscritto, Folder 25
Note	Draft version of the bibliography included in Zevi's book "Erik Gunnar Asplund" (1948). He writes: "Sven Ivar Lind. His 1943 volume is the most complete book on Asplund. I owe to the courtesy of the architect Fariello the possibility of reproducing some Asplund's drawings from this book."		



N°	(4.5)	Published	No
Date	December 23, 1999		
Addresser	Michele Capobianco		
Archive	Bruno Zevi Archive (Rome)	Paper	Serie 10.03 – Lettera C, Folder 72
Note			

Caro professore,

Fra qualche giorno entriamo nel terzo millennio:

Gradisci I miei auguri immensi e un abbraccio grande.

Mi è venuto in mente poco fa, l'episodio di un giorno ormai così lontano nel tempo: la primavera del 1955. Ero tornato da poco dal mio lungo soggiorno svedese. Ero partito per Stoccolma nel 1951 con i primi tuoi libri editi in quel tempo. De Luca e Cocchia vollero portarmi da te, a Roma, in Via Nomentana: pensavano –dissero- che per me sarebbe stato importanti conoscerti.

Eri nell'ingresso del tuo studio, seduto al posto della signora Gaudiosi: proprio di fronte alla porta d'ingresso.

De Luca mi disse di mostrarti i disegni dell'ultimo mioprogetto: i disegni di una villa per un medico napoletano che avevo conosciuto a Stoccolma: li guardasti commentando: sono tutti in grado di disegnare un buon progetto.

Restai muto.

E' passato circa mezzo secolo.

Stamattina mi è venuto in mente questo episodio. E, allora, ho detto a me stesso che sarebbe stato giusto ricordami di te.

Di nuovo un grande abbraccio.

Michele Capobianco

L'architettura

cronache e storia

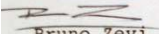
26 dicembre 1999 ✓

direzione e redazione

via Nomentana, 150
00182 Roma
Tel. 06 86320684 - Fax 06 8603662

Prof. Michele Capobianco
N a p o l i

Contraccambio con grande affetto gli "auguri immensi" e l'"abbraccio grande". Ricordo il nostro primo incontro circa mezzo secolo fa. Sui disegni avevo ragione. Ma tu hai dimostrato di non essere solo un brillante progettista, ma un autentico architetto. Ricordi? Benissimo. Ma siamo sulla breccia. Con il numero di gennaio, la rivista punta sulle 30.000 copie. E i tascabili dell'Universale hanno un successo eccezionale. Nel nuovo millennio, dobbiamo essere insieme piu' che in questo. D'accordo? Un gelido saluto alla Signora. A te: tutto


Bruno Zevi



Canal & Stamperia Editrice - Santa Croce Ca' Leoni, 2180 - 30135 Venezia - Tel. 041 719868 - Fax 041 718033 - E-mail: canal@tin.it

Caro professore,

fra qualche giorno entriamo nel terzo millennio:

gradisci i miei auguri immensi e un abbraccio grande.

Mi è venuto in mente, poco fa, l'episodio di un giorno ormai così lontano nel tempo:

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De Luca e Cocchia vollero portarmi da te, a Roma, in via Nomentana: pensavano - dissero - che per me sarebbe stato importante conoscerti.

Eri nell'ingresso del tuo studio, seduto al posto della Signora Gaudiosi: proprio di fronte alla porta d'ingresso.

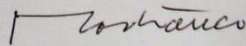
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Restai muto.

E' passato circa mezzo secolo.

Stamatina mi è venuto in mente questo episodio. E, allora, ho detto a me stesso che sarebbe stato giusto ricordarmi di te.

Di nuovo un grande abbraccio.



5. Swedish Institute (SI)

N°	(5.1)	Published	No
Date	March 21, 1947		
Addresser	Piero Bottoni	Receiver	Bengt Gate
Archive	Riksarkivet (Stockholm)	Paper	Svenska Institutet Arkivet, Deposit 2, Box 2
Note	Contract between the Ottawa Triennale and the Swedish Section represented by Bengt Gate.		

Ottava Triennale di Milano 1947

Avskrift

21 Marzo 1947

Arch. Bengt Gate

Nybrogatan 7 II

Stockholm

In relazione all'adesione ufficiale che Governo del Vostro Paese ha dato alla TB - ottava Triennale di Milano ed alle intese sin qui intercorse tra Voi, nella Vostra qualità di Commissario svedese per la T8, ed il sottoscritto Commissario straordinario, legale rappresentante della Triennale, allo scopo di concretare una partecipazione della Svezia alla T8 ed in particolare di allestire nel Palazzo dell'Arte una sezione ufficiale esclusivamente dedicata al Vostra Paese, resta fra noi convenuto quanta segue

1) lo spazio nel quale sarà allestita la sezione svedese per la T8 sarà quello compreso nel settore segnato in rosso nella pianta allegata che fa parte integrante della presente, per una superficie di mq. 101.03 nelle sale del Palazzo al primo piano

2) la Triennale consegnerà il locale costituente la sezione con le pareti divisorie già eseguite in intonaco civile, il soffitto ed il pavimento in ordine. Da parte Vostra, il locale sarà, alla fine dell'Esposizione consegnato nelle stesse condizioni nelle quali sarà stato ricevuto

3) la cifra complessiva da corrispondersi da parte Vostra alla Triennale, per l'occupazione dell'area suddetta e per i lavori elementari

indispensabili per predisporre l'allestimento della Vostra Sezione, è costituita come segue

- a) affitto area occupata mq. 101.03 per L. 1000 al mq. = L. 101.030*
 - b) pareti divisorie in gesso mq. 100.10 per L. 3 500 al mq. = L. 350.350*
 - c) velario mq. 101.03 per L. 1000 al mq = L. 101.030*
 - d) tinteggio pareti mq. 218.75 per L. 120 al mq. = L. 26.247,60*
 - e) verniciatura serramenti mq. 50 per L. 500 al mq. = L. 3 750*
 - f) ceratura, lamatura e pulizia pavimenti mq. 101.30 per L. 150 al. Mg. = 15 195*
- totaleL. 597.602,60*

4) il pagamento di detta somma da parte vostra avverrà in ragione del versamento del 50% della somma entro il giorno 15 aprile p.v. Il versamento residuo sarà da Voi effettuato all'inaugurazione dell'Esposizione che avverrà nella terza decade di maggio con riserva di comunicarvi la data esatta

5) la Triennale provvederà far trovare agli organizzatori della Sezione svedese un impianto elettrico efficiente. Le eventuali modificazioni o derivazioni dell'impianto e gli eventuali impianto speciali col consumo dell' energia elettrica derivante dagli impianti speciali stessi saranno a Vostra carico;

6) i lavori di sistemazione della Vostra Sezione dovranno essere iniziati al più presto, tenendo conto che la nuda area per la nuda area per la medesima è pronta completa di muri per la fine del corrente mese. La Vostra Sezione dovrà essere allestita definitivamente e completamente almeno entro il giorno 15 Maggio;

7) per i lavori di sistemazione della sezione la Triennale metterà a disposizione degli organizzatori 2 uomini di fatica per le operazioni di disimballo, trasporto casse e, ecc.

8) restano naturalmente a carico degli organizzatori svedesi le spese di trasporto, spese doganali degli arrenamenti ed oggetti da esporsi, sia per il viaggio io di andate che di ritorno;

9) la partecipazione della Svezia alle due Sezioni internazionali "Mostra internazionale dei materiali e metodi di costruzione" resta soggetta alle norme generali ed alle quote di partecipazione previste dal regolamento

e dalle norme a suo tempo comunicate de parte della Triennale. Le quote di partecipazione a queste due sezioni, saranno regolate a parte.

Per tutte le altre modalità relative alla partecipazione della Svezia, si fa riferimento al regolamento generale dell'esposizione ed alle norme sulla partecipazione della Nazioni straniere, già in vostre mani.

La presente lettera di impegno viene redatta in duplice originale. Il tutto con la planimetria allegata, viene firmato dal sottoscritto arch. Bengt Gate, Commissario svedese alla T8 e dal sottoscritto Commissario straordinario dell'Ente Autonomo Triennale.

Distinti ossequi.

*IL COMMISSARIO STRAORDINARIO
architetto Piero Bottoni*

5 000
26 000
121 000
207 000

Avskrift

21 Marzo 1947

arch. Bengt Gate
Nybrogatan 7 II
Stockholm

In relazione all'adesione ufficiale che il Governo del Vostro Paese ha dato alla TS - Ottava Triennale di Milano - ed alle intese sin qui intercorse tra Voi, nella Vostra qualità di Commissario svedese per la TS, ed il sottoscritto Commissario straordinario, legale rappresentante della Triennale, allo scopo di concretare una partecipazione della Svezia alla TS ed in particolare di allestire nel Palazzo dell'Arte una sezione ufficiale esclusivamente dedicata al Vostra Paese, resta fra noi convenuto quanta segue:

- 1) lo spazio nel quale sarà allestita la sezione svedese per la TS sarà quello compreso nel settore segnato in rosso nella pianta allegata che fa parte integrante della presente, per una superficie di mq. 101.03 nelle sale del Palazzo al primo piano;
- 2) la Triennale consegnerà il locale costituente la sezione con le pareti divisorie già eseguite in intonaco civile, il soffitto ed il pavimento in ordine. Da parte Vostra, il locale sarà, alla fine dell'Esposizione, consegnato nelle stesse condizioni nelle quali sarà stato ricevuto;
- 3) la cifra complessiva da corrispondersi da parte Vostra alla Triennale, per l'occupazione dell'area suddetta e per i lavori elementari indispensabili per predisporre l'allestimento della Vostra Sezione, è costituita come segue:

a) affitto area occupata mq. 101 03 per L. 1 000 al mq.	= L.101 030
b) pareti divisorie in gesso mq. 100 10 per L. 3 500 al mq.	= L.350 350
c) vealrio mq. 101.03 per L. 1000 al mq.	= L.101 030
d) tinteggio pareti mq. 218 75 per L. 120 al mq.	= L. 26 247 60
e) verniciatura serramenti mq. 7,50 per L.500 al mq.	= L. 3 750
f) ceratura, lamatura e pulizia pavimenti mq. 101 30 per L. 150 al.mq.	= 15 195

Totale.....L.597.602,60
=====

- 4) il pagamento di detta somma da parte Vostra avverrà in ragione del versamento del 50% della somma entro il giorno 15 aprile p.v. - Il versamento residuo sarà da Voi effettuato all'inaugurazione dell'Esposizione che avverrà nella terza decade di maggio, con riserva di comunicarVi la data esatta;

- 5) la Triennale provvederà a far trovare agli organizzatori della Sezione svedese un impianto elettrico efficiente. Le eventuali modificazioni o derivazioni dell'impianto e gli eventuali impianti speciali col consumo dell'energia elettrica derivante dagli impianti speciali stessi saranno a Vostra carico;
- 6) i lavori di sistemazione della Vostra Sezione dovranno essere iniziati al più presto, tenendo conto che la nuda area per la nuda area per la medesima è pronta completa di muri per la fine del corrente mese. La Vostra Sezione dovrà essere allestita definitivamente e completamente almeno entro il giorno 15 Maggio;
- 7) per i lavori di sistemazione della sezione, la Triennale metterà a disposizione degli organizzatori 2 uomini di fatica per le operazioni di disimballo, trasporto casse, ecc.;
- 8) restano naturalmente a carico degli organizzatori svedesi le spese di trasporto, spese doganali degli arrenamenti ed oggetti da esporsi, sia per il viaggio di andata che di ritorno;
- 9) la partecipazione della Svezia alle due Sezioni internazionali "Mostra internazionale dei materiali e metodi di costruzione" resta soggetta alle norme generali ed alle quote di partecipazione previste dal regolamento e dalle norme a suo tempo comunicate da parte della Triennale. Le quote di partecipazione a queste due sezioni, saranno regolate a parte.

Per tutte le altre modalità relative alla partecipazione della Svezia, si fa riferimento al regolamento generale dell'Esposizione ed alle norme sulla partecipazione delle Nazionistraniere, già in Vostre mani.

La presente lettera di impegno viene redatta in duplice originale. Il tutto, con la planimetria allegata, viene firmato dal sottoscritto arch. Bengt Gate, Commissario svedese alla TS, e dal sottoscritto Commissario straordinario dell'Ente Autonomo Triennale.

Distinti ossequi.

IL COMMISSARIO STRAORDINARIO
architetto Piero Bottoni

N°	(5.2)	Published	No
Date	May 15, 1947		
Addresser	Gian Giacomo Galligo	Receiver	Bengt Gate
Archive	Riksarkivet (Stockholm)	Paper	Svenska Institutet Arkivet, Deposit 2, Box 2
Note	Letterhead: Ottava Triennale di Milano 1947		

*Dr. Orlando Billig
Istituto svedese
Via S. Agostino 1
Firenze*

15 Maggio 1947

OGGETTO: Visita operai svedesi alla T8.

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Sicuramente la cosa è a sua conoscenza.
Interesserebbe ora a noi di organizzare una serie di visite degli operai
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saluti.*

*IL SEGRETARIO REGGENTE
(dr. Gian Giacomo Galligo)*

Allegati: 1

ottava Triennale di Milano 1947

esposizione internazionale
delle arti decorative
e industriali moderne
e dell'architettura moderna

uffici: palazzo dell'arte al parco
Milano
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T8

ESPRESSO

Dr. Orlando Billig
Istituto Svedese
Via S. Agostino, 1
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15 Maggio 1947

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OGGETTO: visita operai svedesi alla T8.-

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IL SEGRETARIO REGGENTE
(dr. Gian Giacomo Galigo)

Gian Giacomo Galigo

Allegati: 1

**citare nella risposta sigla, numero
ed oggetto della presente.**

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Dal Corriere d'Informazioni di Mercoledì=Giovedì 14=15 Maggio 1947

OPERAI SVEDESI OSPITI DELL'ITALIA

Genova 14 Maggio,

Una commissione delle Trade Unions svedesi sarà a Genova il 20 Maggio prossimo, ospite dell'Associazione nazionale dei lavoratori e dell'Ente provinciale del Turismo. Scopo del viaggio è la conclusione di alcuni accordi che permetteranno il soggiorno di un gruppo di operai svedesi nella riviera ligure. In base alle trattative finora svolte, potrebbero venire in Italia circa 1800 operai svedesi in scaglioni di duecento al mese. Essi saranno ospiti della cittadina di Sestri Levante in una grande villa che è attualmente allestita allo scopo.

Dal Corriere d'Informazioni di Mercoledì-Giovedì 14-15 Maggio 1947

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6. Franco Albini

N°	(6.1)	Published	No
Date	March 21, 1947		
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***Mostra di Arte Contemporanea di Stoccolma – 1952
Organizzata per conto della Biennale di Venezia
Allestimenti Arch.tti Franco Albini e Franca Helg. Milano.***

Per le sale destinate alla pittura e alla scultura l'allestimento si è limitato a sistemare dei velari che diffondessero più uniformemente la luce e addobbasero un poco le sale.

Nella grande sala della scultura, opera di Arturo Martini, di Massacurati e il grande cavallo di Marino. In alto, dal plafone della cornice sotto le finestre, dei teli di tarlatana bianca; alle pareti degli stendardi di tarlatana rosa e verde.

Nel corridoio d'ingresso: in primo piano scultura di Melli, in fondo sculture di Lardera. In alto, nel senso del percorso, tarlatana verde sospesa a dei trapezi neri. Il percorso dalla grande sala della scultura a quella della pittura è segnato da un telo di tarlatana rosa, che allaccia le due sale.

In tutte le sale della pittura i leggeri e parziali velari sono in tarlatana bianca.

Le antenne nere che sostengono gli unici due Modigliani della Mostra fanno parte del materiale, studiato secondo un sistema componibile e trasformabile da Albini, prestato dalla Direzione del Servizio Antichità, Belle Arti e Storia del Comune di Genova.

Le tre salette dell'arte decorativa sono allestite con lo stesso materiale del Comune di Genova. Le pareti sono tinteggiate in grigio scuro; la tarlatana bianca scende verticalmente lungo le pareti ed è raccolta in alto attorno a un anello di compensato. I tavoli rotondi, appesi ai montanti neri, sono ricoperti di carta viola. Le poltrone che contengono le stoffe sono in malacca, eseguite dai F.lli Bonscina su disegno di Albini, Colombini e Sgrelli.

Le lampade sono di Arteluce di Milano e di Arredoluce di Monza.

La rampa di discesa al sotterraneo è rivestita con della tarlatana bianca, arricciata e fissata al soffitto e alle pareti con delle bacchette di legno verniciate in nero. Il pavimento è verniciato in rosso. Le stoffe sono della Manifattura M.I.T.A. de Ponis di Nervi, in fondo bassorilievi in ceramica di Leoncillo.

Nel sotterraneo è sistemata una mostra fotografica dell'architettura contemporanea italiana. Il materiale fotografico era stato raccolto e ordinato per una precedente esposizione del Gruppo Italiano dei CIAM. I pannelli fotografici sono montati su elementi smontabili che concedono di articolare i pannelli stessi in molte direzioni. Le vetrine, lungo i lati maggiori del sotterraneo, sono schermate da fogli di carta, forati e no, in modo da limitare i campi vuoti attorno agli oggetti esposti. I toni della carta sono: bianco, grigio chiaro, grigio scuro, bleu, nero e rosso. Le pareti perimetrali sono tinteggiate in nero, i pilastri in azzurro, le travi in bianco e il soffitto in rosa. Per terra, attorno alle basi dei pannelli fotografici, piastrelle smaltate di Gabbianelli.

CHRONOLOGY: Italy – Sweden (1895-1965)

1860: The 'Scandinavian Circle' (*Skandinavisk Föreningen*) for Artists and Scientists is founded in Rome.

1895: First International Art Exhibition in Venice, later known as *Biennale*. The Scandinavian section obtains a considerable critical success, also thanks to Vittorio Pica, who openly praises it.

The new *Emporium* magazine is founded in Bergamo.

1899: Ugo Ojetti is sent by the newspaper *Corriere della Sera* to Norway, to follow the Duke of Abruzzi's preparations for the expedition to the Arctic Circle.

Ferdinand Boberg is appointed a member of the commission of the 3rd International *Biennale*.

1900: Vittorio Pica visits the Finnish pavilion at the Universal Exposition in Paris and he positively judges the work of Akseli Gallen-Kallela.

Inauguration of the exploratory mission of the Duke of Abruzzi at the Arctic Circle, and, even if the mission is only partially successful, it has great visibility in the Italian press.

1901: At the *Biennale*, Vittorio Pica talks about a 'Nordic Obsession', in order to describe certain latest trends among Italian artists.

1902: Turin, *First International Exhibition of Modern Decorative Art*. Ferdinand Boberg is in chief of the Swedish section, and Vittorio Pica is one of the journalists responsible for the reviews of the Exhibition.

In the article "Il problema dell'architettura moderna," Pica affirms the central role of Swedish and Finnish's architecture –represented by Ferdinand Boberg and Eliel Saarinen– in the pursuit of modernity.

1905: Ferdinand Boberg is in chief of the Swedish Room at the Venice Art Biennale.

1906: Vittorio Pica publishes a long article on Ferdinand Boberg's work in *Emporium*.

1907: Boberg is in chief of the Swedish Exhibition in Venice.

1908: Vilhelm Lundström, professor of Latin philology at the Göteborg University, gives to his students the opportunity to follow the 'Latin philology and Roman antiquities' course in the Italian capital.

1909: Vittorio Pica visits the *Konstindustriutställningen* in Stockholm, designed by Ferdinand Boberg.

Boberg is the head of the Swedish Exhibition at the Venice *Biennale*. The section includes Anders Zorn's solo exhibit.

1910: Ugo Ojetti takes a trip in which he explores the culture of Sweden and Finland. In particular, he meets Ferdinand Boberg in Stockholm.

The futurist artist Aurturo Ciacelli moves to Stockholm, after his marriage (in Italy in 1909) with the Swedish artists Elsa Ström.

1911: Vittorio Pica is appointed the head of the foreign sections of Fine Arts at the 1911 International Exposition in Rome. Moreover, Pica begins to write the first Italian monography on Swedish modern art, including painting, sculpture, decorative art and architecture, thanks to the rework of its published articles.

First letters of Vittorio Pica to the artists Richard Bergh and Erik Lindgren, which lasted until 1913.

1912: New Swedish pavilion in the *Biennale* Gardens, designed by Ferdinand Boberg, which included Anna Boberg's solo exhibit with 45 paintings.

At the Göteborg Conference of History and Philology, prof. Vilhelm Lundström suggests, the establishment of a Swedish Institute in Rome.

1914: Akseli Gallen-Kallela, with the help of Pica and Anders Zorn, has his solo exhibition at the *Biennale*. The show includes a model of the dome of the 1900 Finnish Pavilion in Paris, made in collaboration with Eliel Saarinen, who is also in charge of the preparation of Gallen-Kallela's Venetian exhibition.

The Swedish Pavilion in Venice, built by Boberg in 1912, is purchased by the Netherlands, which will keep it until 1954. At the 1914 Biennale, Boberg is in charge of the Swedish section for one last time.

1915: Vittorio Pica publishes the first Italian book on Swedish art: *Arte ed Artisti nella Svezia dei giorni nostri* (Bergamo: Bestetti e Tumminelli, 1915). Pica broadens the Swedish architects' panorama including buildings by Erik Lallerstedt, Lars Israel Wahlman, Isac Gustav Clason, Carl Bergsten, Ivar Tengbom, Ragnar Östberg and Torben Grut.

Ferdinand Boberg closes his architectural firm.

Arturo Ciacelli opens in Stockholm the first modern art gallery, the *Nya Konstgalleriet*.

1917: In December Guido Balsamo Stella exhibited at the *Allmänna Konstföreningen* in Stockholm.

1919: Vittorio Pica publishes a long article on Boberg's sketches of Stockholm, and he shows his deep regrets for the Swede's early retirement.

1920: In Venice, Vittorio Pica replaces Antonio Fradeletto as the *Biennale* Official Secretary. He will be in charge until 1926, for four editions.

In November, the *Italienska Utställningen* in Stockholm opens at the Liljevalchs Konsthall, organized by an Italian and a Swedish committee. Among the protagonists we recall Guido Balsamo Stella, his Swedish wife Anna Åkerdhal and his friend Maja Sjöström, collaborator of Ragnar

Östberg (also among the organizers). Arduino Colasanti, at the time director general of Italian Fine Arts, arrives in Stockholm to officially open the exhibition.

In November, the counter-exhibition on modern art opens at Grevmagnigatan 6, arranged by Arturo Ciacelli.

1921: Marcello Piacentini publishes the long article 'Il momento architettonico all'estero' (*Architettura e Arti Decorative* 1, 1921), a large panorama on foreign modern architecture, in which Sweden is in the foreground.

The *Italienska Utställningen* in Stockholm (even reviewed in the Italian press, in *Architettura e Arti Decorative*, thanks to an article by Balsamo Stella himself) closes in May with great public success.

1923: Arturo Ciacelli opens the first nightclub in Stockholm, at the same address: the *Grotta Azzurra*, two floors below the street level. The place becomes also the headquarters of the first 'Italian Circle' in Stockholm and, in general, a reference point for foreign artists in the city.

During the celebrations for the Göteborg Jubilee, the Swedish commission manages to organize the first IFHTP (*International Cities and Town Planning*) Congress, particularly dedicated to popular housing and planning, in which Giovanni Broglio and Alessandro Schiavi take part with examples from the Milan ICP.

The British Frank Yerbury and Howard Robertson are invited to visit the Göteborg Jubilee. Particularly pleased by the event, the two English start a series of trips to the North, the results of which will be reported in *The Architect and Building News*.

First *International Exhibition of Decorative Arts* in Monza. Commissioners of the Swedish section are Gregor Paulsson and Anna Åkerdhal (Balsamo Stella's wife, among the promoters of the 1920 *Italienska Utställningen*).

1924: The textile artist Maja Sjöström, once completed the work for the Stockholm Stadhus, permanently moves to Rome.

1925: *Exposition internationale des Arts Décoratifs et industriels modernes*. The Swedish pavilion, designed by Carl Bergsten, is positively welcomed.

Erik Wettergren publishes *L'art modern decoratif in Suede*, as Paris exhibition catalog.

Gio Ponti will recall (years later in 1955) that he was particularly impressed by the quality of Swedish products on display in this occasion.

Hakon Ahlberg publishes with a French and an English publisher, *Swedish Architecture of the Twentieth Century*, an important milestone of the critical success of Swedish Architecture in England.

In March, the *Swedish Institute of Classical Studies* in Rome is finally established, on the initiative of Crown Prince Gustaf Adolf of Sweden, an archaeologist and a great lover of classical studies. The prince is also appointed President of the Institute's Board of Direction (at that moment located at the Royal Palace in Stockholm), until his ascent to the throne in 1950. Other appointments are Prof. Nilsson (secretary), treasurer director Axel Hallin and Axel Boëthius, director of the office in Rome (Via del Boschetto 68). Among the offered possibilities, the Institute provides a series of scholarships for Swedish students (especially philologists, historians, artists and architects) in Italy and it also organizes study trips.

The *Istituto di Studi Romani* is founded in Rome under the direction of Carlo Galassi Paluzzi. The official voice of the institution is the magazine *Roma*.

1926: The land and the Oakhill building in Djurgarden, designed by Ferdinand Boberg for Prince Wilhelm of Sweden in 1907, is purchased by the Italian State. From this moment forward, Boberg's palace is the seat of the Italian embassy in Sweden.

Erik Gunnar Asplund is in Rome, visiting his friend Maja Sjöström.

Ragnar Östberg receives the RIBA gold medal and in November, Howard Robertson published a series of articles on this Swedish master.

1927: *Skandinavisk Konstutställning* in Rome organized by Axel Boëthius at the Dinesen pension. With Maja Sjöstrom and Bo Beskow.

The artist Maja Sjöstrom starts helping Princess Victoria in the interior design of *Villa Svezia* in Rome and *Villa Caprile* in Anacapri, the latter located a few steps from the famous *Villa San Michele* by Axel Munthe. At the same time, Maja is also involved in the interior design of the *Scandinaviska Föreningen* in Rome, the first institution established in the capital in 1860.

Foundation of *Svensk-Italienska Föreningen* in Göteborg.

On May 31st, the *Third International Decorative Arts Exhibition* opens in Monza. Sweden is present with the Orrefors glassware.

1928: The Stockholm Library opens in Stockholm, based on a project by Erik Gunnar Asplund.

In September, Vittorio Pica, in a letter addressed to his friend Alberto Martini in Paris, sends his personal greetings to the architect Boberg and his wife Anna, also in Paris at that moment.

Ferdinand Boberg spends the winter (from October to March 1929) in Rome to assist and report some of the archaeological excavations in Rome, Ostia and Pompeii. Boberg's plan is to create a series of watercolors and drawings, entitled 'Roman views unveiled by the Mussolini excavations', financed with the help of Axel Boëthius and the *Swedish Institute* in Rome. At the end, a series of twenty large watercolors are presented directly to Mussolini, as a personal gift from Ferdinand Boberg.

Ferdinand and Anna Boberg participate, together with a large group of older Swedish artists, to the International Art Collection organized by Arturo Martini in favor of his friend Vittorio Pica.

The *Swedish Institute of Classical Studies* in Rome moves to Via Merulana 247, on the top floor of Palazzo Brancaccio, not far from Santa Maria Maggiore.

1929: *Domus* (issue n.10) publishes the house in Florence designed by Anna Balsamo Stella. The house, after Anna's death, was donated (but not accepted) to the Swedish Academy.

Axel Munthe (1857-1949) publishes, in English, *The story of San Michele*, an autobiographical novel that tells the story of the construction of his Villa in Capri, a famous meeting place for foreign artists in the Italian small city.

1930: Marcello Piacentini publishes *Architettura d'oggi*, in which he confirms the positions on Swedish Architecture already expressed in the 1921 article.

Stockholmsutställningen directed by Erik Gunnar Asplund in collaboration with Sigurd Lewerentz. Among the honorary guests, is included the Italian critic Margherita Sarfatti.

The IV *Triennale* of Monza opens on May 11th. Sweden is present with Orrefors and Nordiska Kompaniet glassware.

In October, Plinio Marconi writes to Erik Gunner Asplund in order to have some material to publish in *Architettura e Arti Decorative*, on the Stockholm Library and Exhibition.

1931: On January 21, at a conference entitled 'Modern Architecture', held at the Fascist Institute of Culture in Florence, Giovanni Muzio shows 44 images of which the first 5 concern 5 Swedish architects: Ivar Tengbom (Konserthuset), Ragnar Östberg (crematorium in Helsingborg), Carl Bergsten (Swedish pavilion at the 1925 Paris Exposition) and Erik Gunnar Asplund (Stockholm Library and the 1930 Exhibition pavilions).

On August 1, Giovanni Muzio sends a postcard to Plinio Marconi (at that moment in the editorial board of *Architettura e Arti Decorative*) from Stockholm, showing the new library by Erik Gunnar Asplund.

From September 9 to October 4, Ascanio Colonna, Filippo Caffarelli and Margherita Sarfatti are in charge for the organization of a new modern Exhibition in Stockholm *Nutida Italiensk Konst*, which it does not include

a section on Architecture. Ferdinand Boberg is an honorary guest of the exhibition.

1932: In April, the exhibition with 85 watercolors by Ferdinand Boberg (depicting Swedish Monuments), opens in Rome, at the Associazione Artistica dei Cultori d'Architettura. Margherita Sarfatti and Axel Boëthius, among others, participate to the conference.

Second Roman Exposition for Ferdinand Boberg, at the Museum of Rome entitled 'Vita Romana in the 19th century'. The exhibition includes works by F.B. May and other artists (also Boberg himself) who had visited Italy, provided by the Nationalmuseum collection (like Gustav Wilhelm Palm, Egron Lundgren, Carl Johan Billmark, Fredrik Scholander).

1933: in the March issue, Giuseppe Pagano, the new director of *Casabella*, publishes a long article on the Helsingborg Concert Hall by Sven Markelius.

On May 6, the V *Triennale* opens, for the first time in Milan, in the Palazzo dell'Arte by Giovanni Muzio. Sweden is present, as on other occasions, with Orrefors glassworks with works by Simon Gate and Edward Hald. According to the opinion of the Italian critic Agnoldomenico Pica, the Nordic countries start here to establish their primacy in the field of decorative arts, always 'validly defended even in the successive Triennials'. The section of the 'World Architecture Exhibition' includes works by Sweden, Finland and Norway. At the show is sent, as a Swedish correspondent, the artist Maja Sjöstrom, who lives in Rome since 1924.

On June 7, Gio Ponti writes to Erik Gunnar Asplund, offering him a free subscription to the Italian magazine *Domus*.

1934: In the spring, the textile artist Märta Måås-Fjetterström is visiting Rome for a month, during which she meets with her friend Maja Sjöstrom.

1935: Anna Boberg, dies in January. After the event, Ferdinand begins a correspondence with some of his Italian friends, such as Margherita

Sarfatti and Ghino Venturi, a Roman architect of Pisan origin, close to Marcello Piacentini.

In *Casabella* (n.90), Edoardo Persico published the first article in Italy on the master Alvar Aalto, on the Paimio Sanatorium.

On September 23, the XIII *International Congress of Architects* opens in Rome. Ivar Tengbom, future designer of the Institute of Classical Studies in Rome, and Sven Ivar Lind, arrive in Rome as representatives of Sweden. During the congress, they are invited to visit some of the cities of the Agro Pontino (including Littoria), recently inaugurated by Mussolini.

On 19 December 1935, Maja Sjöstrom participated, as a personal friend of Benito Mussolini, at the inauguration of the Pontinia colony, in the Pontine countryside.

1936: the new director of the *Swedish Institute of Classical Studies* in Rome, Einar Gjerstad, is looking for a new location for the institute. In early March, Maja Sjöstrom proposes, in a completely unofficial manner, the Villa Svezia, owned by the Swedish royal family. However, Gjerstad interests' are directed towards the areas close to Villa Giulia, where other similar institutions have already arisen, such as the Dutch, Romanian, Belgian and Austrian.

On May 31, the VI Triennale opens in Milan. The Swedish Orrefors receives the jury grand prize. Sweden is also represented in the 'International Architecture Exhibition' of the *Triennale* along with Denmark, Finland and Norway.

Ragnar Östberg participates in Rome to the *Convegno delle Arti*, led by Marcello Piacentini, on the topic 'Relations between Architecture and the other Visual Arts', 25-31 October 1936 at the Royal Academy of Italy.

In England, *Faber & Faber* publishes both *Pioneers of the modern Movement* by Nikolaus Pevsner and the essay *Sweden: the Middle way* by Marquis Childs.

1937: On January 22, the Swedish government, upon Einar Gjerstad's invitation, makes a formal request to have assigned an area in the Italian capital, for the construction of a branch of the Swedish Institute of Classical Studies in Rome. The chosen area is located in Valle Giulia, at Via Omero, on the same lot on which the US pavilion was built during the 1911 *International Exposition* in Rome.

On March 16, the Italian State accepts the Swedish proposal, granting exemption from taxes and customs duties for the construction materials and the necessary furniture. However, the Italian offer imposes several clauses, including the beginning of the construction by April 1 (1938) and the concession, in return, by the Swedish state of an area for the construction of an *Italian Cultural Institute* in Sweden.

Ferdinand Boberg publishes *Italienska studier*, with a preface by Axel Boëthius.

Francesco Fariello, Ludovico Quaroni and Saverio Muratori take part in the competition for an Auditorium at Villa Borghese (Rome) and for the E42 Convention Center (second level competition), evidently inspired by Asplund's project.

In London, Erik Gunnar Asplund is appointed a honorary member of the RIBA.

On July 2, the commission for the Institute in Rome entrusts Ivar Tengbom for the project.

In October, Tengbom is in Rome to study the area *in situ*. On this occasion, he meets his friend Oscar Sitte, who had been practicing at Tengbom's studio and who was, at that moment, involved in the construction of the Austrian Institute, which was being built a few hundred meters from Via Omero.

The first draft sketches of the Swedish Institute in Rome are dated December 17, presented and discussed at the Board of Directors meeting at the Royal Palace in Stockholm between Christmas and New Year.

1938: the Tengbom project for the Italian Institute of Culture in Rome is presented to the Italian authorities on February 28. On this same occasion, the designer also receives the formal assignment for the realization of the building, including the external works and interior decoration.

From May 3 to 9, Adolf Hitler is visiting Rome. Among the organizing committee is Maja Sjöström.

Ivar Tengbom receives the RIBA gold medal.

On June 30, Ivar Tengbom presents the final project for the Swedish Institute of Rome. The project is approved by the Italian authorities on July 26.

In July, *Architettura* publishes a long article by Francesco Fariello on the urban developments of the city of Stockholm.

Letters between Ghino Venturi's wife and Ferdinand Boberg, who praises his effort for the *Svenska bilder*.

In November, the construction works of the Italian Institute of Culture in Rome begins.

1939: Journey to Sweden, Denmark and Finland by Giuseppe Pagano Pogatschnig and Ignazio Gardella.

In Stockholm, it is organized the *XVII International Housing and Town Planning Congress*, dedicated to 'Housing for special groups'. For Italy, the only representative is engineer Giuseppe Gorla, director of the Milan IACP. The experience is reported in Italian by the magazine *Urbanistica*.

In May and then again in November, Ivar Tengbom is in Rome to follow the construction site in Via Omero.

Saverio Muratori participates in the Competition for the 'Prison City of Rome', with a project that openly quotes Asplund's Library.

1940: Between the end of April and the beginning of May, the Swedish Institute definitively moves from its former headquarters in Palazzo Brancaccio to the new building, still not completely furnished in Via Omero. The furniture is entrusted to the major Swedish designers of the time: Carl Malmsten (1888-1972) for the design of the most representative areas, offices and homes; Elsa Gullberg (1886-1894), Märta MååsFjetterström (1873-1941) and finally Maja Sjöström (1868-1961) for the tapestries. The latter is also entrusted with a sort of supervision of the works, since she is the only one that resides permanently in Rome, in a moment in which the trips were not so safe.

At the VII *Triennale* of Milan (the last until 1947, due to the war), the Orrefors manufacture received the jury's grand prize.

In late spring, Tengbom is back in Rome to look at the finished building, but without furniture. The new furniture –realized between Italy and Sweden– starts to be delivered only during the summer.

On 6 August, the 'Stockholm builds' exhibition opens at MOMA, with illustrative photographs by George Everard Kidder Smith and texts by Elisabeth Mock (from the MOMA's Department of Architecture).

On August 8, the new director of the Swedish Institute of Classical Studies, Erik Sjöqvist, arrives in Rome.

On October 20, Erik Gunnar Asplund dies in Stockholm at the age of 55.

1941: Galassi Paulucci, the founder of the Institute of Roman Studies, invites Ferdinand Boberg to give a lecture in Rome on his work as an architect. Because of the war, the opportunity will fade.

The conclusion of the Swedish Institute in Rome does not escape the fascist authorities and, from this point on, many inaugural proposals with Mussolini arrives at the new director Sjöqvist. He tries to avoid this eventuality, answering that the Prince of Sweden –the honorary president

of the Institute— is unable to travel due to the war. At the same time, Erik Sjöqvist says he does not feel capable of representing his country on such an important occasion, useful to a new reintegration of the relationships between Italy and Sweden, which in the meantime had declared its neutrality in the conflict.

The *Italian Institute* is founded in Stockholm, on an initiative of a group of Italian and Swedish industrialists, under the direction of Alessandro De Masi, in order to promote: the language, literature and history of classical art, assisting translators and organizing events of interest.

First edition of Roberto Aloï's book for Hoepli *Architettura funeraria moderna*, which includes several Swedish examples.

1942: The *Svensk-Italienska Föreningen* in Göteborg passes under the control of the *Italian Institute of Culture* in Stockholm.

1943: Giuseppe Sartoris publishes *Gli elementi dell'Architettura funzionale*, including a large section dedicated to Nordic Architecture.

In September, *Architectural Review* publishes a monographic issue on Sweden.

Gio Ponti publishes an article about the Ericsson factory by Ture Wennerholm on *Stile*.

1946: on May 7, the architect Ferdinand Boberg dies in Stockholm at the age of 86.

1947: The VIII *Triennale*, directed by Piero Bottoni, focused on the Postwar Reconstruction, opens in Milan on May 31. The Swedish section, funded by the Swedish Institute, is headed by Bengt Gate (commissioner and artistic director) and Elof. Eriksson (Chairman of the Committee). Winner of the jury prize are: the Swedish Cellulose Sundvall (large windows and wall coverings); the Standard kitchen complex designed by Carl Malmsten (Hyresgästernas Sparkasse); Bengt Gate; the Orrefors company with pieces by Simon Gate, Edward Hald, Nils Lindberg, Sven

Palmqvist, Edwin Ohrström and Bruno Mathsson, with his deckchair (company Karl Mathsson).

The Swedish Institute publishes the volume *Come la Svezia cerca di risolvere il suo problema degli alloggi*, as Swedish catalogue for the Milan Triennale.

Ivar Tengbom is appointed a member of the 'Accademia di San Luca'.

In December, Piero Maria Lugli arrives in Göteborg, to carry out a six months internship in Sweden, thanks to a scholarship from the Swedish Institute. After three months he moves to Stockholm.

1948: In February, Piero Bottoni, responsible for the last Triennial, began a correspondence with the SAR architects (architect Ancker, Bengt Gate, S. Lindgren). Between March and April of the same year, a long correspondence begins between the Swedish architects and Bottoni, relating to his imminent departure for Sweden.

Between June and July, Piero Bottoni visits Sweden.

Between July 24 and 30, the VII CIAM is held in Bergamo.

Bruno Zevi publishes, for *Il Balcone*, the first Italian monograph by Erik Gunnar Asplund, overshadowing the role of his first 'neoclassical' production.

The cultural association 'Amici della Svezia' is established in Rome, with a second headquarters in Milan.

1949: Between the end of 1948 and the first months of 1949, Piero Maria Lugli takes care of the monographic issue 'Aspetti dell'Urbanistica svedese' in *Rassegna critica di Architettura*, official journal of the Faculty of Architecture in Rome.

In August, the architect Jan Wallinder is in Rome, at the Swedish Institute of Classical Studies, for a period of study. In the same period, the Crown

Prince visits the new headquarters for the first time, organizing a reception together with the four professors who had directed the Institute until then.

On the September issue of Swedish *Byggmästaren*, Piero Maria Lugli publishes a long article on Contemporary Italian architecture.

Italian magazines like *Comunità*, *Urbanistica*, *Metron* (among others) starts to be interested in Swedish large-scale residential architecture projects, as a valid source for the INA CASA plans.

The CIAM VII opens in Bergamo, directed by the Italian group. The Swedish delegation is made by Sven Markelius and Backström & Reinius.

Beginning of the correspondence between Erik Wettergren (head of the Nationalmuseum) and Rodolfo Palucchini (of the Venice Biennale) to find a new home for Sweden in the Venetian gardens.

1950: In March, *Byggmästaren* publishes a long article by Jan Wallinder of his study sketches of the small town of Vitorchiano (Lazio).

Piero Maria Lugli works at the publication of the address book *Piano incremento occupazione operaia: Case per lavoratori 2. Suggestioni, esempi e norme per la progettazione urbanistica*. (Rome: Danesi, 1950), including numerous examples of Nordic architecture, especially Swedish and Danish.

1951: The IX Triennale opens on May 12, and the Swedish section receives great praise. The organization, still held by the Swedish Institute, is chaired by Erik Wettergren (for the organizing committee) and Gotthard Johansson (for the executive committee). The jury, of which Karl Olof Stefansson is vice-president, rewards, among others, the Swedes Stig Lindberg, the Orrefors glassworks and Bengt Gate. Among the invited guests in Italy for the occasion are the Swedes Backström & Reinius.

On June 6, in Milan, the conference of the vice-consul of Sweden, Karl Olof Stefansson, took place at the International Club headquarters at the

Albergo Marino and La Scala on the theme 'Social achievements in Sweden.'

Hilda Selem is selected by the Swedish Institute for its scholarship, during which she will work six months in Sweden.

On November 2, the architect Michele Capobianco, scholar in Stockholm, presents a research on 'Naples' life and its architecture'.

1952: The 'Swedish Week is organized' in Rome at the Open Gate Club. On February 12, prof. Salvatore Sibilio holds a conference entitled 'Italian reflection in Swedish history and literature'.

During the same festival, on February 17, the architect Piero Maria Lugli gives a lecture entitled 'Architecture and Construction in Sweden'.

The sculptor Carl Milles is in Rome, guest of Maja Sjöström.

In December, the Swedish architect Ture Wennerholm sends to Gio Ponti the first project sketches of the Italian Institute in Stockholm.

1953: Carl Milles, famous sculptor and collaborator of Tengbom since the twenties, returning from a long period in the United States, donates the bronze sculpture 'Solglitter' (Bagliore del Sole) to the Swedish Institute of Culture in Rome, which the position in fountain in the main courtyard of the building. In the garden of the Institute are also placed, in storage by the City of Rome, a series of ancient Roman archaeological finds.

On February 18, Ture Wennerholm sends a letter to Gio Ponti in which he clarified the constraints that the project must respect and the characteristics of the building in relation to the place.

In March 1953, Gio Ponti presents the first hypothesis for the Stockholm Institute. Between spring and summer of the same year, starting from this first hypothesis, Ponti draws up two versions of the same project of the Institute (Project A, in spring and Project B, in summer). While he is taken from Project B, Ponti also defines two other further variants (D and C) that will develop from the early months of 1954.

The *Italian Institute of Culture* in Stockholm is called to organize the 'Italian month' in Sweden. From March 6 to April 6, once again at the Liljevalchs Konsthall, Franco Albini and Franca Helg arrange the Italian art exhibition (*Nutida Italiensk konst*), with a section on contemporary art (curated by Roberto Pallucchini and Umbro Apollonio), artistic craftsmanship and architecture. The exhibition catalog is edited in collaboration with the Nationalmuseum. Gio Ponti, Franco Albini, Franca Helg, Ignazio Gardella and Carlo de Carli take part in the exhibition.

From March 23 to April 4, the 'Italian Product Exhibition' is organized at the Nordiska Companiet.

From April 16 to 23, Piero Portaluppi is visiting Stockholm with students. Carlo Doglio, together with the 'Canavese technical group,' is visiting Sweden.

The architect Alex Kandell designs an 'unofficial' plan to locate, in the Venetian gardens, a new Swedish pavilion between the Danish and the Czechoslovakian ones.

In October, an exhibition on the mosaics of Ravenna is organized in Göteborg.

On November 6, Gio Ponti is called by the Italian Institute in Stockholm for a conference entitled '... some ideas directing modern architecture'.

In December, in *Byggmästaren*, Hilda Selem publishes an article dedicated to contemporary Italian architecture, in which she presents the works of Pier Luigi Nervi.

1954: Final demolition of the biennial pavilion built by Boberg in 1912 and assigned to Holland in 1914.

In April, Gio Ponti concludes the definition of Project D, the third variant in chronological order of the project for the Institute of Culture in Stockholm.

On August 28, the X *Triennale* is inaugurated, in which Sweden participates successfully. Otto Skold is named the president of the organizing committee, while the general commissioner is Eva Benedicks. The director of the jury, Carlo de Carli, rewards Gustavsberg Porslinsfabrik, Orrefors glasbruk, Stig Lindberg and Edwin Ohrström.

1955: *Konstrevy* publishes an article on 'Italiensk nutida arkitektur', by Torbjörn Olsson. Reinforced concrete engineering works are of great interest.

Italo Insolera is selected by the Swedish Institute for the annual scholarship, to spend a six month period in Sweden. He will give up his departure due to his father's sudden death in 1956.

In Rome, between April and May, the exhibition of 'Contemporary Nordic Art' takes place at Palazzo delle Esposizioni.

In September, Gio Ponti concludes the fourth variant (Progetto D) for the Italian Institute of Culture in Stockholm.

1956: Giorgio Gentili is selected by the Swedish Institute for the annual scholarship, to spend a six month period in Sweden.

In October the construction site for the Italian Cultural Institute in Stockholm begins, based on a project by Gio Ponti and Pier Luigi Nervi (for the auditorium structure). The construction management is entrusted to the Swedish architect Ture Wennerholm.

1957: George Emerald Kidder Smith publishes the volume *Sweden Builds*.

At the XI *Triennale*, Sweden is present with an exhibition prepared by the Swedish Institute.

The RESO, a company owned by the Swedish trade unions, buys a large stretch of pine wood outside Castiglione della Pescaia (GR), to build a holiday village, eventually named 'Riva del Sole.' In the same year, the engineer Igino Chiellini and his wife, the architect Maria Cittadini, realize the project of the structure.

1958: inauguration of the Italian Institute of Culture in Stockholm by Gio Ponti in collaboration with Ture Wennerholm.

Alfredo Lambertucci visits Denmark (Aarhus and Copenhagen).

The journey to the North by the young members of the Academy of San Luca: Paolo Marconi, Gianfranco Caniggia, Adelaide Regazzoni and others visiting the architecture of Sweden and Denmark.

Official competition for a new 'Norden' Pavilion (Finland, Norway and Sweden) in Venice. In the competition are invited: Klas Anshelm, Sverre Fehn and Reima Pietila.

On November 24, the Italian Institute of Culture officially opens in Stockholm.

1959: Michele Capobianco publishes the second Italian monograph on Erik Gunnar Asplund, *Asplund e il suo tempo*.

On February 27, Gottard Johansson comments the results of the competition for the Venice Pavilion on the *Svenska Dagbladet*, a Stockholm newspaper, in which openly praises the simplicity and effectiveness of the project by Sverre Fehn, declared the winner.

1960: The RESO structure is inaugurated in Castiglione della Pescaia (GR), a project by two Italians, openly inspired by Swedish architectural and urban planning.

At the XII Triennale, Sweden is present with an exhibition prepared by the Swedish Institute.

The architect Ferruccio Rossetti starts working on the expansion project of the Italian Institute of Culture in Stockholm.

1961: The exhibition 'Italian Culture of today' (*Italiensk konst*) opens with the sections of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture and Decorative Arts from August to September. The traveling exhibition crosses the whole of

Northern Europe: from March to April it is hosted at the Louisiana Museum in Copenhagen; in May, the exhibition arrives in Göteborg; from August 5 to September 10 the exhibition is hosted at the *Svea Galleriet* in Stockholm. Between the end of September and November 12, the exhibition is in Turku and Helsinki (supervised by the Helsinki Institute of Culture, directed by Roberto Wis).

The Swedish Institute publishes the advertising pamphlets: Simon Jensfelt, *Modern Swedish Housing*; Arthur Hald, *Swedish Design*; Thomas Atmer and Björn Linn, *Contemporary Swedish Architecture*.

On May 8, the Swedish National Society of Road and Water Builders invited Pier Luigi Nervi and other architects (Elias Cornell) for a conference.

The architect Leonello Papini is selected by the Swedish Institute for the annual scholarship, to spend a six month period in Sweden.

Italo Calvino is invited to hold a series of conferences in Oslo, Bergen, Göteborg and Uppsala, Copenhagen and Aarhus.

Between 1961 and 1963, Ivar Tengbom was appointed by the Swedish Institute in Rome to draft the enlargement project.

1962: Between spring and autumn, the expansion works of the Italian Cultural Institute in Stockholm are carried out, based on a project by Ferruccio Rossetti.

Sven Markelius receives the RIBA gold medal.

The Göteborg University writes to Pier Luigi Nervi to get his availability for a conference. Nervi must refuse for commitments and, in his place, he calls Riccardo Morandi.

On September 15, the architect Piero Gazzola (Verona), intercedes for the assignment of a scholarship for the restoration of monuments at the

Faculty of Rome, conferred for the first time to a Swedish interested in the topic.

From November 19 to 24, at the Göteborg University, the Student Association in collaboration with the Italian Institute of Culture, organizes the 'Italian Week' followed by the 'Italian Product Exhibition'. During the 'Italian week', Riccardo Morandi is invited for a conference entitled 'On modern concrete and prestressed concrete projects, illustrated by numerous projections' (in collaboration with the Stockholm Polytechnic).

Gio Ponti gives a lecture at the Italian Institute of Culture, entitled 'This is the greatest time in history, for architecture'.

The construction of Sverre Fehn's pavilion at the Biennale –new official home of the Nordic countries in Venice– is concluded.

1963: between 1963 and 1964, Tengbom realizes the expansion of the building of the Swedish Institute of Classical Studies in Rome.

1965: Stefano Ray publishes *L'architettura moderna nei paesi scandinavi*.