



The City of the Colonial Museum: The Forgotten Case of the *Mostra d'Oltremare* of Naples

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Abstract

The *Mostra d'Oltremare*, the great colonial exhibition that opened in Naples in May 1940 provides perhaps the most significant example of the evolution that took place in Italian colonial representations in exhibitions and fairs at home and abroad in the modern period. It was organized to celebrate the expansion of the Italian colonization by means of a multifaceted communication approach, abundance of financial resources, modern display techniques and the deployment of well-known propaganda methods to show the opportunities provided by Italy's overseas empire. Organized in the months following the conquest of Ethiopia, the *Mostra d'oltremare*, envisaged to be celebrated every three years, was presented as "the largest and most complete survey of the force of Italian expansion overseas, from Caesar to Mussolini". Indeed, rather than offering a narrowly focused presentation, the material was organized into different sections that presented the historical, geographical and economic dimensions of Italy's colonies, as well as offering a series of entertainment venues. The overall effect of this wide array of displays was a manifestly hybrid experience that quite literally transposed the colonial context into the metropolis.

Introduction

The *Mostra Triennale delle terre italiane d'Oltremare* (First Triennial Exhibition of Italian Overseas Territories, 1940) is one of the most spectacular examples of the exhibition of public and private colonial collections in Europe. The *Mostra d'oltremare* and its related imperial politics provide the final, and perhaps most meaning, example of the evolution that took place in Italian colonial representations in exhibitions and fairs at home and abroad. It was organized to celebrate the expansion of the colonized territory by means of a multifaceted communication approach, abundance of financial resources, modern display techniques and the deployment of all well-known propaganda resources concerning the opportunities of Italy's overseas empire.¹

The *Mostra d'Oltremare* was presented as the largest and most complete survey of the force of Italian expansion. Its aim was to contextualize Italy's colonial Empire in Africa in relation to the historical legacy of conquest and dominance in the region, thereby linking the accomplishments of Ancient Rome to the Fascist present. It was also the culmination of a process of development of colonial exhibitions in Italy and abroad that began around the time of Italy's initial colonial conquest of Eritrea in 1890, an evolution that, following Mussolini's rise to power, increasingly came under the influence of Fascist imperial politics.²

These representations were part of the Italian government's propagandistic effort to create a greater knowledge of these possessions and assert its image as a major colonial power in the international arena. These other activities, often undertaken with the participation of groups of colonial supporters like the *Istituto Coloniale Italiano*, included scientific, statistical and historical research expeditions, the organization of academic conferences, and the publication of books and periodicals reporting on the Italian colonies.³ Seen in this context, these exhibitions were a carefully measured political programme that responded to the lack of knowledge and interest of Italian society in its colonial empire in Africa.



Figure 1: Variant of the poster's main I Fiera Campionaria di Tripoli (1927). Published in *L'Italia Coloniale*, 12 (December 1926).

The intention of the Italian authorities was to raise support for its colonial activities by promoting awareness on the realities of the colonial process. This would effectively disarm preconceptions that Italy's colonies were barren lands with no natural or cultural value. However, these exhibitions were not solely intended to create popular support within Italy, as they were also aimed at the international public and particularly at other colonizing nations such as Britain and France. In this broader European context, these colonial displays can be understood as a metaphorical compensation for the complex of inferiority, which Italy, as the most recent colonizing nation, carried into the colonial enterprise, and a rhetorical expression of Italy's colonial destiny in Africa.⁴

The higher political stakes of this time are most clearly evident in Italy's representation at the *Exposition coloniale internationale*, held in Paris in 1931. This exhibition was the final in a series of international colonial exhibitions an event that enjoyed the participation of nearly all of the major colonizing nations. The exhibition was located in the Bois de Vincennes on the south-west edge of the city limits and organized in two distinct zones, the first being the Section métropolitaine which provided a transition from the city. The second zone was the park surrounding Lac Daumesnil, where the pavilions representing the colonial possessions of France, Belgium, Denmark, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal and the United States were set within a rambling natural landscape. One of the most significant aspects of the Italian participation in fairs and

exhibitions was to demonstrate its connection to the process of modernization of these territories, a development that was viewed as an extension of the economic system of metropolis. The Italian colonies were represented through displays that illustrated the accomplishments of private and government sponsored companies that were active in the exploitation of natural resources and the organization of local industries. Although the viability of these industries, and the colonial economy in general, can be questioned, these exhibitions promoted the image of prosperous territories that were being systematically developed according to metropolitan standards.⁵

Alongside these exhibits the results of the substantial financial investment by the Italian government in infrastructures were presented, such as the creation of new road networks, the improvement of water supply and health systems and the establishment of public institutions. While neither the political dimension of these exhibitions nor their role as propaganda can be dismissed, they were more than just visual presentations intended to encourage further economic development; indeed, they were a marketplace in which the products of Italy's colonial possessions were both put on display and at sale.

A second and equally important aspect of the Italian colonial representation in fairs and exhibitions was that they were an important vehicle for the representation of the indigenous cultures. These cultures were presented in both the content of these exhibits, which included ethnographic studies of the local populations and the display of their indigenous crafts, and their means of presentation. From a stylistic point of view, the pavilions were hybrids of the indigenous architecture and the architectural conventions of exhibition design, invoking a complex negotiation between indigenous and metropolitan worlds. The identity of the local populations was simultaneously being constructed by the norms of anthropology and ethnography, just as their indigenous craft production was being subjected to a substantial redefinition by the Fascist authorities. These exhibitions can thus be understood as an extension of the direct manipulation and control of the native body under the aegis of colonialism.

The complex interaction between the political, economic and representational discourses in these colonial displays creates a powerful trajectory that builds up toward the *Triennale d'oltremare*: the first section dealt with the history of Italian conquest dating back to the Roman period in a series of tightly knit urban spaces that blended a subtle historicism with contemporary industrial architecture. The geographic section represented the culture of Italy's colonies through an eclectic arrangement of indigenous buildings loosely interspersed in a highly contrived landscape that was designed to transport the visitor to the colonial context. The industrial and economic benefits of Italian colonialism were communicated through the architecture of the display areas and a system of presentation that followed a utilitarian approach - not unlike that used in regional trade fairs in Italy.

The city and the colonial space: the creation of the mostra in 1940.

One of the strongest aspects of the creation of the *Mostra* is its integration with the surrounding topography of the historically and culturally significant landscape of the Fuorigrotta district in Naples. However, in so doing, this urban proposal radically transformed the existing landscape through a systematic program of transplanting species from Italy's colonial possession. The result of this effort was a hybrid of the metropolitan and colonial landscapes.

The fusion of metropolitan and colonial contexts is evident in the design and layout of the *Triennale d'oltremare*. These qualities can be seen in the arrangement of the various pavilions, which were linked through a complex structure of streets, fountains and landscape that lent an excellent quality to the site that was suggestive of the colonial environment. On the other hand, the generous use of landscape and relaxed spatial planning of the *piano regolatore* of Carlo Cocchia and Luigi Piccinato reflects contemporary planning principles, which sought a well-balanced interaction between building and environment.

For the organization of the Exhibition, the Fascist regime made a great effort. Under the Presidency of the Ministry of *Africa Italiana*, Vincenzo Tecchio was appointed National Director at the head of the team work. Each sector benefited from the work of counselors, such as for instance Carlo Zaghi for the historical sector, Pietro Badoglio for military sector, Giovanni Guerrini and Giorgio Quaroni for the artistic project. Around the Exposition many initiatives were designed, in a pattern familiar in the Fascist period not only for colonial exhibitions. The Bylaws the Ente Autonomo “Triennale d’Oltremare” was approved by Royal Decree of April 4, 1938, No. 2215. For its establishment the project received contributions from many different institutions, such as the General Government Africa Orientale, the governments of Libya and Somalia, the City of Naples, Naples Province, the Provincial Council of Corporations of Naples, and the *Banco di Napoli*.

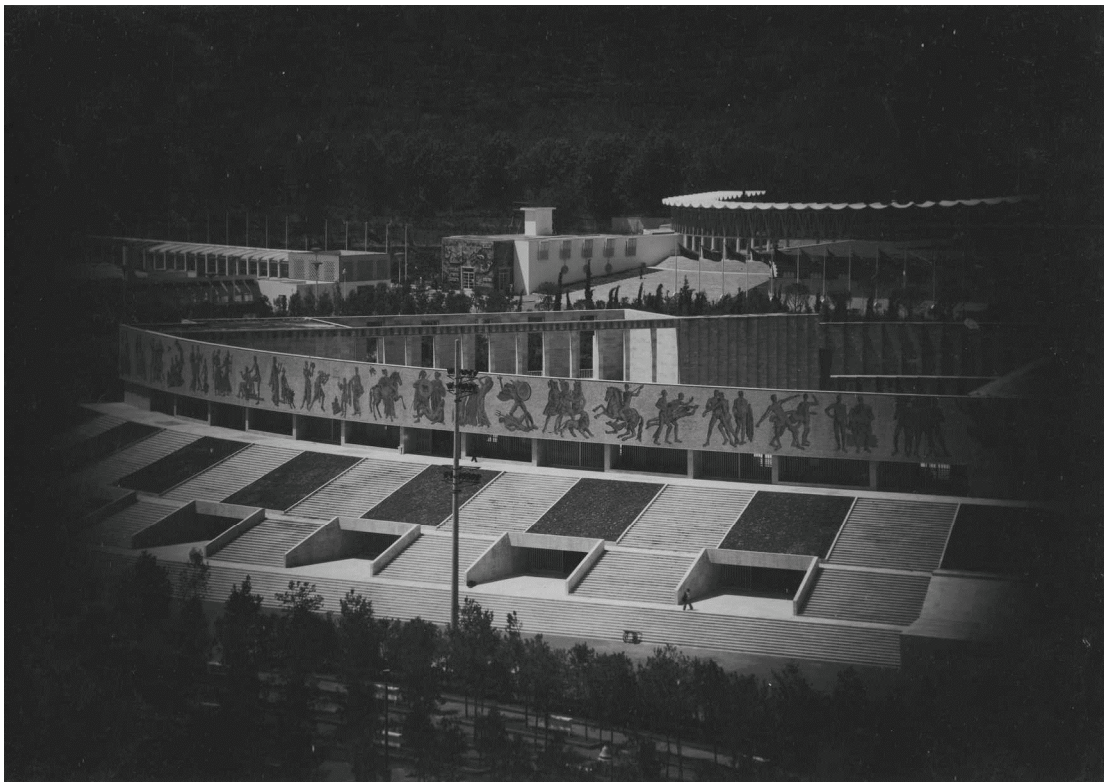


Figure 2: Naples, *I Mostra triennale delle terre italiane d'Oltremare* (1940), The Arena Flegrea view from the terrace of the tower P.N.F. Archivio Plinio Marconi (Rome).

Naples, in the Interwar period, was historically and geographically disconnected from the debate in the field of art and architecture. The *Triennale d'Oltremare* offered the city the chance to develop a unique concept on territorial planning, on the role of the city as well as on the

ephemeral architecture and art features.⁶ The exhibition was not only conceived as the finalization of the intervention in the urban district Fuorigrotta but, mainly, as a future vision for the renewal the whole city.⁷ The *Mostra* became the amplifying core of the function of Naples in relation to activities closely related to the life of the empire: it was thought of as a real "idea of the city" whose trade and touristic sectors where going to play a key role.⁸

In the *Mostra*, both in 1940 and in 1952, after the post-war reconstruction, architecture and art played a fundamental role, not only in the general project, but also in the specific exposition choices, with the intent to reach full comprehensibility of its contents. The wide range of experiences undertaken by the designers of the *Mostra d'Oltremare* exhibitions, nowadays documented by a few fragments that have survived, became an exemplary model for an Italian exposition-design.⁹

These recurring subjects, combined with the mandatory standard display apparatus, did not restrain some artists and architects from achieving high-quality instances. The propaganda campaigns of the thirties and forties in Italy were mainly based on a couple of aesthetic tendencies: the first one on the model of the Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution (1932),¹⁰ inspired by the experimental futuristic art and implemented through the extensive use of photomontages and typographic techniques on high plasticity, large size, expositive elements; the other one, a little later, inspired by the rationalism, was promoted by those artists and architects working in Milan Triennial Expositions, on the basis of the international examples of some artists such as Persico, Nizzoli, Terragni and Pagano.¹¹

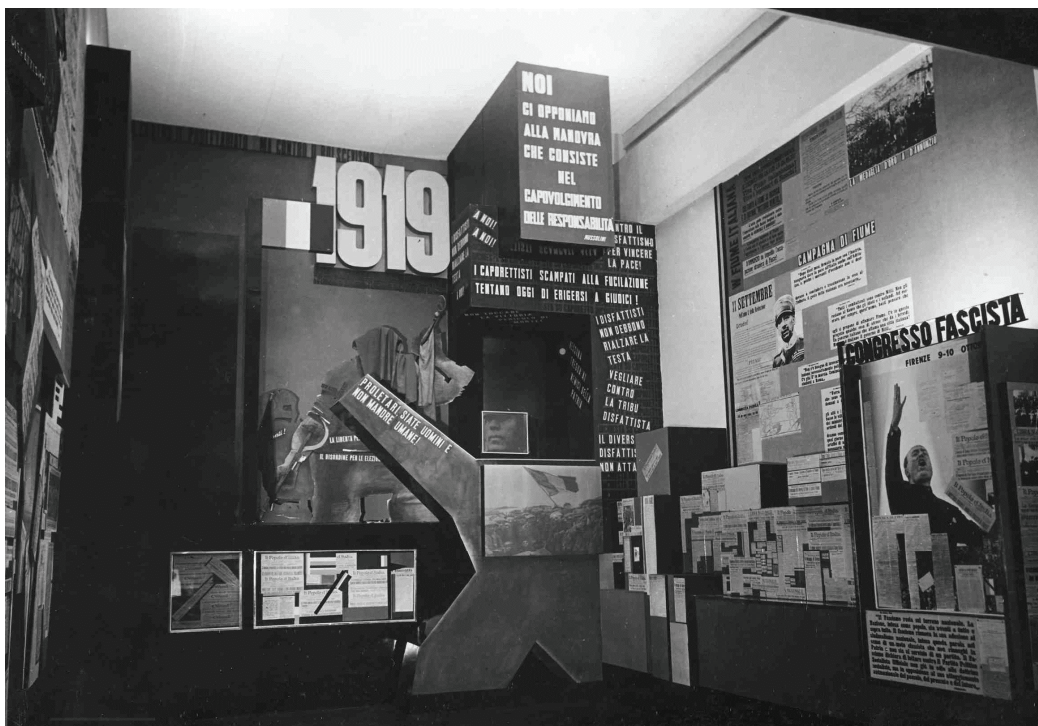


Figure 3: Marcello Nizzoli, Dante Dini, *Mostra della rivoluzione fascista*, a wall of two rooms dedicated to 1919, Wolfsoniana (Genoa).

The *Mostra d'Oltremare* was designed and built according to the model of the Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution (1932). It created a thematic exhibition and a subdivision into several sections,

each one devoted to a particular aspect of the Exposition themes. An historian and one or more artists or architects collaborated in the design of each section and accompanied the whole construction. By comparing the iconographic and textual documentation of the Naples Triennial in 1940, three specific types of exhibitions are detected.¹²



Figure 4: Naples, *I Mostra triennale delle terre italiane d'Oltremare* (1940), *Ritmi Africani*, composition of different materials designed by Enrico Prampolini and realized by Tullio Mazzotti on Ristorante della piscina. Museo di Fotografia Contemporanea (Cinisello Balsamo, Milan), fondo Patellani.

A major exhibition dedicated to the cult of Roman civilization, characterized by a dual propagandistic objective: the glorification of the Roman Empire, in close relationship with the foundation of the new Italian Empire, and the epic fascist conquest of overseas territories¹³.



Figure 5: Naples, *I Mostra triennale delle terre italiane d'Oltremare* (1940), visitors in the hall of the Caesars in the Pavilion Roma. Museo di Fotografia Contemporanea (Cinisello Balsamo, Milan), fondo Patellani.

Colonial exhibitions concerned, mainly, the geographical sector and were characterized by the overall eclecticism of the collections: memorabilia and photos of explorers, weapons and local products, objects, all were selected and exposed with the purpose of demonstrating the wealth of the conquered territories, as well as the existence of new territories, ready to be conquered by the "Italian genius".



Figure 6: Naples, *I Mostra triennale delle terre italiane d'Oltremare* (1940), *Africa Orientale Italiana* exhibition (Cubo d'oro). Museo di Fotografia Contemporanea (Cinisello Balsamo, Milan), fondo Patellani.

The core elements of these exhibits were pictures and photo-mosaics, which not only covered the entire walls of the expo pavilions, but were incorporated into the architecture, becoming an integral part of the exhibition design. The geographical section contained the anthropological and ethnographic documentation: each exposition was intended to show the life of the different regions of the Empire, from Africa to Albania and the Dodecanese Islands. Within each territorial partition, the variety of the social and material life was deployed¹⁴.

As in earlier colonial exhibitions, real natives were an essential element, craft shops, houses and public places reproductions evoking the atmosphere of Africa. Such simulations of scenes of African life were intended to seduce visitors emotionally.



Figure 7. Naples, I Mostra triennale delle terre italiane d'Oltremare (1940), Pavilion Libya, Moorish café Archivio Melkiorre Melis (Bosa, Oristano).

The result consisted in a number of living shows, not intended to clarify the multiplicity the actual complexity of relationships in daily-life, but to depict the African countries as exotic lands for deeds and adventures. The merchandise exhibits, concerning mainly the production and work sectors, offered communicative, plastic-iconic inventions and unexpected space articulations. These exhibits, contained in permanent buildings divided into five sub-sectors, were meant to show both the economic situation of the Italian colonies and examine their reinforcing role in the Italian national plan for self-sufficiency.



Figure 8. Naples, I Mostra triennale delle terre italiane d'Oltremare (1940), Alfa Romeo exhibition, Sector production and work, installation of Carlo Cocchia. Archivio Luce (Rome).

The exposition made the recurrent comparison between the pre-existing situation and the colonial one. The methodology used in the exhibition was based on a combination of data, photo-mosaics and decorative panels showing simulations of their production environments and the effects of "modernizers" on the traditional technologies.

The variety of exhibits of the Naples Triennial, either in a colonialist formulation or produced according to the logic of "spectacular" modernist settings and organized following the experimental peculiarities of the Futuristic movement, were not far away from the typical "propaganda aesthetics" intended for the dissemination of fascist myths and for the education of the masses: in those particular cases the exhibits were aimed at the exaltation of the myth of the Empire and of the colonial conquest. In such a context the exhibited documents were converted into purely symbolic elements capable of producing emotional reactions; the visitor was immersed in successive waves of environmental reconstructions, images, documents, photographs, stylized silhouettes, models, sculptures, murals, giant and mosaic photographs recalling places, events and protagonists of the colonial achievement.¹⁵

Taking into account the results of the documental investigations, carried out on the primary project of the exhibition space organization, it emerged the extent to which the whole complex was built with the substantial criterion of a "unity of the arts" as the fundamental assumption for determining the Exhibition Imagery.

The *Mostra d'Oltremare* developed its own brand of strong symbolic and evocative imagery, which perhaps exceeds the value of the architecture itself. Conceived in a historical context in which every creative act has to be a political gesture, its primary aim was to impress the observer

through its visual impact and seductive impression. The arts were organically integrated into architectural constructions as an essential contribution to most of the features. The exhibition's project was linked to decorative one and involved both the *architetti integrali* (full-architects) coming from the most prestigious Italian Schools and the leaders of the "Sarfatti movement" as well as Roman and Neapolitan artists, not excluding the Futurists. For this reason the main connotation of the *Mostra d'Oltremare* was not only the intrinsic architectural quality of the buildings, as the last twenty-years historiography tends to support: it had moreover a vital role in contemporary art and culture as it was one of the largest exhibition ever. It did not take place only on walls as traditional art exhibitions, (however the latter were implemented too) but it was meant with evocative and educational objectives towards the sharing of unambiguous principles.

To support the commemorative program, the historical documentation on a variety of fields together with painting, sculpture and decorative artworks, situated outside and inside the buildings and pavilions, provided symbolic or illustrative visual atmosphere. The arts were organically integrated into architectural constructions, defining their peculiar characteristics.¹⁶ In the *Triennale d'Oltremare* in 1940, the original quest for balance between architectural structures and works of art, emerged, giving birth, in some cases, to a style characterized by a claimed creative spontaneity, but which was actually functional in communicative terms to the context in which it would be embedded in the building. About 120 artists were invited to collaborate in the production of the artistic decoration of the *Mostra d'Oltremare*. An impressive repertoire of sculptures, wall paintings, large mosaics, interior decorations, ceramic carpets and panels was created and although it was almost completely destroyed shortly after, it did however gave a strongly artistic imprinting.¹⁷ Only a few works of this vast heritage remain, nowadays, since most of it, unfortunately, was destroyed by various historical and human events that affected the whole exhibition space in the subsequent years.

The simultaneous use of the "sisters" arts complemented the role of architecture in communicating meaning. The whole ornamental project was the core of the event and could be considered as an emblematic episode of that period, in which the government experimented with the ambitious path towards a social and political art through the use of the "great decorations". In the *Mostra d'Oltremare*, the governmental patronage of this public art, allowed the artists belonging to the *Sindacato Fascista di Belle Arti* (Fascist Fine Arts Union) but also the artists that were not part of a union, to participate in the large and small imagery development for the Exposition.¹⁸



Figure 9: Naples, I Mostra triennale delle terre italiane d'Oltremare (1940), *la costruzione dell'impero attraverso il lavoro*, mural painting by Tommaso Cascella. Wolfsoniana (Genoa).

Carlo Cocchia provided a compositional balance between "architectural nudity" and "decorative excess" in the design of the restaurant's pool, where this architect and Futurist painter, offered an original interpretation of the theme of "Mediterraneanism". In the building, the ceramic decorations produced at the factory Posillipo, had a crucial role in characterizing the interior of the restaurant. The ceramic decorations (internal and external) of buildings and pavilions, which "expressed themselves" through traditional craftsmanship and confirmed the compatibility of those with modern settings, can be regarded as the most significant and original contribution of the *Mostra*, to the controversy on the relationship between art and architecture.¹⁹

In the spaces of the *Mostra*, the original and innovative development of a dialectical relationship between architecture and ceramic decoration satisfied the communicative and functional request, and would influence artistic expression and the promotion of material design. As Italy entered the Second World War, the *Mostra* closed less than one month after its opening, suffering in the subsequent years many damages due to the incessant bombings over the city of Naples. The bombardments in August 23th, and 26th, 1943, seriously affected the area of the Triennial.

The functioning and vocation of the museum exhibition complex in Naples had been defined since its creation: its duration, the public, the spectacular combination of educational and recreational purposes, the scope and logic of a path that would make the content readable and understandable, it was a matter of pride for the citizens of Naples to make express in that

ephemeral event the dream of the colonialist drive, that it was to recreate every three years, becoming progressively an open-air museum.

Ave Fenix: the Mostra reborn (1952)

The *Mostra* reopened in 1952 with its new name *Prima Mostra Triennale del Lavoro Italiano nel Mondo* (First Triennial Exhibition of Italian Work in the World). It was strongly characterized by the connection between art and architecture. The new aim of the Exhibition was to create a center for the documentation of achievements by Italian workers overseas. This function was accompanied by the promotion of tourism and promotion of the economy still tied to the lands overseas. The Exhibition in fact had to reconstruct those economic and cultural ties with Africa, Asia and America that those had with the city of Naples; the first edition, opened on 8 June 1952 by the President of the Republic Luigi Einaudi, was dedicated to North America.

It lacked, however, the ideological and financial push of the previous "commitment" that had enabled the realization of the great decorative project in 1940. Relevant artistic interventions, with the initial project in mind were carried out by some of the same artists that had realized decorations and artworks for the 1940 edition contributed to the restoration of the *Mostra*, with a variety of intervention and art productions.

The most important works produced for the 1952 edition were conceived as subsidiary of the architecture. The program of the Exhibition was deployed by using environmental sceneries arranged with photographs supplemented by display strategies such as historical vestiges, paintings, sculptures and ceramics, metals and precious stones, tapestries, drawings, etching, dioramas, figured maps and diagrams, agricultural equipment, engines and various other models.²⁰

The interior arrangements had, on one hand, still a rhetoric expressionistic character and, on the other, a modern disposition with large utilization of chromed tubular elements and cages, as exhibition support with allusions to the Bauhaus figurative repertoire as well as the so-called Swedish style, especially for teak furniture and lamps. This demonstrates that the broad phenomenon of "rebirth" of the great decoration continued in the second post-war period and not only in the most important cities as Milan and Rome. In this context, the external and internal great wall decorations used in the *Mostra d'Oltremare* spaces can be considered as the last "step" on an artistic path related to the decorations and the monumental realizations in Italy, which developed in the thirties and forties of the twentieth century.²¹

As mentioned above, the ceramic decorations of buildings and pavilions were compatible with modern settings. After the devastations of the war, in 1952, Carlo Cocchia used ceramic decorations not just as a "comment" to spaces and buildings, but to develop a new identity of the *Mostra* in the reconstruction of the exhibition complex and completion of the ornamental cycle. The sculptor and ceramist Giuseppe Macedonio was involved in decorating the circular crowns of a big fountain: the *Esedra*. He covered the vast area of the fountain, over 1000 square meters, using irregular fragments of copper-green and cobalt-blue majolica tiles. From those, weaving ceramic figures emerged that, from the two extremities of the fountain, gradually thickened towards its central point.



Figure 2: Naples, *Mostra d'Oltremare*, particular of the ceramic decoration of the fountain Esedra realized by Giuseppe Macedonio in the 1952. Photo G. Arena 2011.

This decoration was preceded by extensive preparatory work to select the majolica elements (accurate investigation on the harmony of forms and colours with respect to the architectural environment). It fits into the surrounding greenery as a magnificent, vibrantly coloured, sculptural composition. On the four "levels" of overlapping ceramic walls of the large semicircle of the fountain, Macedonio gave life to the myth of the birth of man and the myth of love, using an artistic language full of metaphysical references.²² The continuous search, aimed at harmonizing the decorative elements and buildings, was applied also to the botanical garden greenhouses, designed by Carlo Cocchia. Those greenhouses, regarded as a prototype of rationalist language, were "supplemented" in 1952 by a large tiled panel located at the entrance, a shining decoration made by the ceramist Diana Franco.

The decoration that was harmonically inserted among the greenhouses volumes represented a floral composition with vivid colorful effects. The majolica, from the Factory Pinto, in Vietri sul Mare, was used for the inside covering of the entrance portico as well as inside the Wildlife Park to decorate several pavilions and animal cages.

Evidence of this conspicuous intervention remains today in a few compositions, two of them are signed: the first one is a twelve tiles panel with a light background where the mythological theme Orpheus, the animal enchanter, is set on a playful style, down left signed: "V. PINTO - VIETRI"; the second one, created by Giovannino Carrano, placed above the ticket-office, was an eighteen tiles line with a light-blue background, represented the landing Noah's ark animals. Among the animals a characteristic donkey is present, borrowed by the Sardinian landscape imagery, dear to Dölker and the Kowaliska. The panel first tile is down left signed: "V. PINTO - VIETRI" and in the last one, low right signed: "GIOVANNINO".²³ The art-architecture strict connection in the reconstruction of the *Mostra*, (1952) is also demonstrated by the external mural decorations, later destroyed, by Renato De Fusco for the Latin America Pavilion (formerly Pavilion of the Bank of Italy) and Guido Tatafiore, at the entrance of the Credit and Insurance

Pavilion (formerly Pavilion of Italian Expansion in the East) and in the exhibition space reserved to the Southern Italy Regions and Industry (former Pavilion of the Maritime Republics).

Today, the Exhibition faces dual activities, one of an exhibition center and one of a great open air museum, a complex and delicate coexistence which still awaits solutions to correct fruition of the pavilions and artistic heritage.

Notes

- ¹ F. Stocchetti, 'La Triennale d'Oltremare', *Le Vie d'Italia* 7, 1938), 832–836; L. De Lillo, 'Potenza imperiale dell'Italia fascista nei riflessi della Prima Mostra delle Terre d'Oltremare', *L'illustrazione Italiana* 28, 1940, 103–106 ; A. Pozzi, 'Orme di legionari sulle Terre d'Oltremare', *Le Vie d'Italia* 6, 1940, 601–614.
- ² The first colonial exhibitions were held in Milan and Genoa in 1895 and then in Ravenna in 1904 and Florence in 1906. All of these exhibitions were organized by the *Ministero degli Affari Esteri*. Although Somalia became a colony in 1905, they only presented the colony of Eritrea. For a fairly complete listing of these exhibitions, see: N. Labanca, *L'Africa in vetrina, storie di musei e di esposizioni coloniali in Italia*, Treviso, 1992, p. 35.
- ³ It was not until a year after the initial conquest of the North African colonies of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica in 1911 that the Italian government created the Ministero delle Colonie (1912) and that Italy's participation in colonial exhibitions and its propaganda efforts related to its colonies was coordinated by a centralized authority. See: N. Labanca, *Oltremare, storia dell'espansione coloniale italiana*, Bologna 2002.
- ⁴ J. Wright, *Libya*, London, 1969, pp. 120–121.
- ⁵ N. Labanca, *Una guerra per l'impero, memorie della campagna d'Etiopia 1935–36*, Bologna, 2005.
- ⁶ A. Dal Pozzo Gaggiotti, 'Cenni sulla Mostra', *Emporium* 548, 1940, 57–58.
- ⁷ A. Assante, *Funzione mediterranea del porto di Napoli*, Napoli, 1941; A.M. Puleo, 'Piano regolatore e progetti architettonici nella Mostra Triennale delle Terre Italiane d'Oltremare', *ArQ* 3, 1990, 74–84.
- ⁸ Giornale Luce B1308, *Italia: Napoli, I lavori di preparazione per la Mostra d'Oltremare*, 25/05/1938; Giornale Luce B1644, *Italia: Napoli, I lavori della Triennale d'Oltremare visti in occasione del Congresso Demografia e Statistica indetto a Napoli*, 27/12/1939; Giornale Luce B1684, *Italia: Napoli, "Scoperte archeologiche nella zona della Mostra Triennale delle Terre d'Oltremare"*, 08/03/1940; Giornale Luce B1685, *Italia: Napoli, "S.E. Ciano visita la Mostra Triennale delle Terre d'Oltremare"*, 08/03/1940; Giornale Luce C0031, *Triennale d'Oltremare, "S.M. il Re imperatore inaugura a Napoli la Mostra delle Terre Italiane d'Oltremare"*, 17/05/1940; Giornale Luce C0032, *Nove Maggio a Napoli, "Le cerimonie e le feste per la Triennale d'Oltremare. S.M. il Re imperatore inaugura un nuovo collegio della Gil, l'Istituto nazionale dei motori e la nuova sede del Banco di Napoli. Rievocazione celebrativa del centenario delle Ferrovie Italiane"*, 17/05/1940.
- ⁹ E.A. Mostra d'Oltremare, *I Mostra Triennale delle Terre Italiane d'Oltremare. Napoli 9 maggio-15 ottobre 1940-XVIII. Guida*, Napoli, 1940.
- ¹⁰ D. Alfieri, L. Fredi, *Mostra della Rivoluzione fascista. Guida storica*, Bergamo, 1933.
- ¹¹ A. Pica, *Storia della Triennale 1927–1957*, Milano, 1957; A. Pansera, *Storia e cronaca della Triennale*, Milano, 1975.
- ¹² P. Marconi, 'Prima Mostra delle Terre Italiane d'Oltremare', *Architettura* 1–2, 1941), 1–7.
- ¹³ A. Maiuri, 'Il segno di Roma alla Mostra delle Terre d'Oltremare', *L'illustrazione Italiana* 22, 1940, 34–38.
- ¹⁴ Bruno Ernesto Lapadula Archive (Rome), *Padiglione Libia*, designed for the architect B. E. Lapadula, 10 tables, 19 drawings; documents, 36 tables architect Florestano Di Fausto; Archive Central State (Rome), Presidenza del Consiglio dei Ministri, years 1937–1939, dossier *Mostra Triennale delle Terre Italiane d'Oltremare*, case 2483.
- ¹⁵ G. Arena, *Visioni d'Oltremare. Allestimenti e politica dell'immagine nelle esposizioni coloniali del XX secolo*, Napoli, 2011, pp. 117–145.
- ¹⁶ G. Arena, 'Allestimenti e apparati decorativi alla Mostra d'Oltremare: Melkiorre Melis e il Padiglione Libia', *Napoli Nobilissima II*, Napoli, 2001, 137–152.
- ¹⁷ M. Biancale, 'La prima Mostra Triennale delle terre italiane d'Oltremare', *Le Arti* I, 1940, 54–57.
- ¹⁸ L. Malvano, *Fascismo e politica dell'immagine*, Torino, 1988; E.R. Papa, *Bottai e l'arte: un fascismo diverso? La politica culturale di Giuseppe Bottai e il Premio Bergamo (1939–1942)*, Milano, 1994.
- ¹⁹ G. Salvatori, *Nelle maglie della storia. Produzione artistico-industriale, illustrazione e fotografia a Napoli nel XX secolo*, Napoli, 2003, 51–82.
- ²⁰ G. Russo, *La Mostra d'Oltremare*, Napoli, 1952.
- ²¹ P. Belfiore, 'A Oriente e a Occidente di Napoli nel 1952. La rinascita della Mostra dopo la guerra', *ArQ* 14–15, 1996, 257–264.
- ²² G. Napolitano, *Nuove identità, la ceramica vietrese protagonista del Novecento*, Napoli, 2011.
- ²³ V. Pinto, *Giovannino ceramista vietrese*, Salerno, 1997.

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