

M ICAMT ICOM

ICAMT

49<sup>TH</sup> INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

2023

25–27 OCT 2023  
PORTO, PORTUGAL

PROCEEDINGS

UNDOING CONFLICT IN MUSEUMS  
Materiality and meaning  
of museum architecture and exhibition design

# CREDITS

## ICAMT 49TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE 2023

Undoing conflict in museums: materiality and meaning of museum architecture and exhibition design. Proceedings

## ISBN

978-989-9082-99-1

## ICAMT COORDINATION

Nana Meparishvili (Chair)  
Danusa Castro (Co-Chair)  
Eeva Kyllönen (Secretary)  
Alessandra Labate Rosso (Treasurer)  
Maddalena d'Alfonso (Board Member)  
Chang-Hwa Wang (Board Member)  
Marina Martin (Board Member)  
Marzia Loddo (Board Member)

## GENERAL COORDINATION

Alice Semedo (CITCEM-FLUP)  
Elisa Noronha (CITCEM-FLUP)  
Marta Rocha (CEAU-FAUP)  
Manuel Furtado Mendes (ULHT – Lisboa)

## EXECUTIVE COORDINATION

Cláudia Garradas (CITCEM-FLUP)  
Fabiana Dicuonzo (CITCEM-FLUP)  
Laura Pinheiro (FLUP)  
Louise Palma (CITCEM-FLUP)  
Sofia Carvalho (CITCEM-FLUP)

With collaboration of Catarina Carvalho (CITCEM-FLUP)

## SCIENTIFIC COMMITTEE

Alessandra Labate Rosso (ICAMT)  
Alice Semedo (CITCEM-FLUP)  
Chang-Hwa Wang (ICAMT)  
Danusa Castro (ICAMT)  
Eeva Kyllönen (ICAMT)  
Elisa Noronha (CITCEM-FLUP)  
Maddalena d'Alfonso (ICAMT)  
Marina Martin (ICAMT)  
Marta Rocha (CEAU-FAUP)  
Marzia Loddo (ICAMT)  
Nana Meparishvili (ICAMT)

## AUTHOR

ICAMT 49th International Conference 2023

## GRAPHIC DESIGN

Rita Mota

## WEBSITE

<https://id.lettras.up.pt/icamt2023porto/>

## ORGANISATION

ICOM  
ICAMT  
ICOM Portugal  
CITCEM/FLUP  
CEAU/FAUP

## HOST INSTITUTION

University of Porto

## MAIN PARTNER

Câmara Municipal do Porto

## PARTNERS

Casa Comum - Universidade do Porto  
Casa da Arquitectura – Centro Português de Arquitectura  
ESAD - Escola Superior de Artes e Design de Matosinhos  
esad—idea  
Câmara Municipal de Matosinhos  
Museu de História Natural e da Ciência da Universidade do Porto  
Museu Nacional Soares dos Reis  
Museu de Serralves

## SPONSOR

Sistemas do Futuro



This work is framed within the activities of CITCEM's research group "Education and Societal Challenges", and is supported by FCT – Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia, I.P. by project reference UIDB/04059/2020

**PARTICIPANTS**

Ana Paula Pontes  
Anna Helena Villela  
Barbara Bogoni  
Beatriz da Silva Takahashi  
Bob Gelderman  
Catarina Carvalho  
Cecilie Rørstad  
Charalampia Dimitropoulou  
Cheng-Yi Shih  
Chun-wei Fang  
Cláudia Garradas  
Danusa Castro  
Denise Pollini  
Dina Turkieh  
Elena Montanari  
Elizabeth A. Ronald  
Fabiana Dicuonzo  
Frode Pilskog  
Giovana Enham  
Giulia Sodano  
Giuseppe Resta  
Helen E. Martin  
Helena Barranha  
Hélène Verreyke  
Ilse Lindenbergh  
Inês Azevedo  
Irit Carmon Popper  
Jean François Milou  
Jiayi Chang  
Joana Mateus  
Karen Logan  
Louise Palma  
Luís Tavares Pereira  
Manuel Furtado  
Marco Borsotti  
Marina Martin  
Miok Cindy Choi  
Nadine Reding  
Nana Meparishvili  
Nuno Grande  
Peter Stohler  
Radomíra Sedláková  
Raffaella Trocchianesi  
Sofia Carvalho  
Vittoria Vaccaro  
Yatin Singhal

**STAFF**

Aline Monteiro Albuquerque  
Ana Freire Espingarda da Costa  
Ana Isabel Montes Pérez  
Ana Paula Gimenez de Godoy  
Beatriz da Silva Figueirinha  
Daiane Maria de Fátima da Silva  
Gabriel Quinhões Figueira Maia Ferreira  
Inês dos Santos Martins Batista  
Juliana Bioche  
Livia Fernanda de Souza Stevaux  
Matilde Castro de Faria Real  
Michelle Dona  
Samara Ribeiro Duarte  
Tomás Velasco Ribeiro

**PROCEEDINGS**

---

**I C A M T**

**49<sup>TH</sup> INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE**

**2023**

---

**UNDOING CONFLICT IN MUSEUMS**

**Materiality and meaning  
of museum architecture and exhibition design**

**25-27 OCT 2023  
PORTO, PORTUGAL**

<b>SUMMARY</b>	Pages
<b>WELCOME NOTE</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS</b>	<b>2</b>
<b>INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>PROGRAM</b>	<b>5</b>
<b>KEYNOTE SPEECHES</b>	
Keynote Speech 1	<b>9</b>
Keynote Speech 2	<b>15</b>
Keynote Speech 3	<b>21</b>
<b>KEYNOTE THEMES</b>	
Keynote theme 1 – Dealing with Conflict	<b>23</b>
Presentations	<b>24</b>
Posters	<b>52</b>
Keynote theme 2 – Symbols of Conflict	<b>57</b>
Presentations	<b>58</b>
Posters	<b>82</b>
Video	<b>84</b>
Keynote theme 3 – Processes and Conflict	<b>87</b>
Presentations	<b>88</b>
Poster	<b>100</b>
Video	<b>102</b>
Keynote theme 4	<b>105</b>
– Healing, Resistance and the Future	
Presentations	<b>106</b>
Posters	<b>118</b>
<b>CASE STUDIES</b>	<b>131</b>
<b>CONCLUSION</b>	<b>145</b>
<b>THE POWER OF CONFLICTS: IS THERE A LESSON TO BE LEARNED?</b>	
<b>TEAM</b>	<b>147</b>



**EXHIBITING THE OCCUPATION:  
HOW THE ITALIAN PRESENCE IN ALBANIA  
HAS BEEN REPRESENTED THROUGH  
EXHIBITIONS OVER THE LAST CENTURY**

Giuseppe Resta, Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade do Porto, Portugal

**ABSTRACT**

On the 17<sup>th</sup> of May 2020, the Albanian National Theatre in Tirana was demolished overnight, in the days of the first major lockdown due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The theatre was built in 1939, when the Italian military occupation of the Albanian territory was officially established, after decades of increasing influence on the local economy by the fascist regime. That day was the climax of a two-year-long protest against its demolition by local associations and international organisations. This event demonstrates the importance of debating on the contested material and immaterial traces that the Italian presence in Albania left behind, culminating with a military occupation during WWII.

This text surveys the exhibitions curated or organised by Italian institutions, with the aim of tracing the evolution of the colonial narrative from fascist propaganda to contemporary initiatives. Starting in the 1920s, the Italian *Ministero delle Colonie* opened trade exhibitions, ethnographic displays, and political and recreational events. During the occupation, Albania was featured in the *Mostra Triennale delle Terre Italiane d'Oltremare* (1940) and many other venues up to recent shows in Tirana.

The first exhibitions were essential devices to support Italian territorial claims, built on the argument of an alleged Mediterranean tradition of the area, reunited once again under the “Roman” identity flag. The political-ideological nature of the artistic productions, the biased historical discourses around the myth of Roman origins, and the aesthetics employed in such events formed a strong narration that lasted much longer than the military presence on the territory. Taking this case as an example, we will see how exhibitions were instrumental to the authoritarian regime in the identity-building process; how contested narratives can be twisted in the contemporary political debate; and to what degree this heritage can be considered a shared legacy by both parties, the coloniser and the colonised.

**BIO**

**GIUSEPPE RESTA** is a Researcher at the Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade do Porto (PORTofCALL project). He previously held teaching positions at Yeditepe University, Istanbul (2021-23) and Bilkent University, Ankara, TR (2019-21) as an assistant professor, at Politecnico di Bari, Bari, IT (2019) as an adjunct professor, and at Polis University, Tirana, AL (2017) as a lecturer. Resta received his Ph.D. in architecture from Università degli Studi Roma TRE, Roma, IT (2017) and his M.Arch from Politecnico di Bari, Bari, IT (2013). He is the owner and curator of Antilia Gallery (IT) and co-founder of the architecture think tank PROFFERLO Architecture (IT-UK). Resta has been architecture editor at *Artwort Magazine* and [Artwort.com](http://Artwort.com). His work has been published in architectural journals such as *The Plan Journal*, *STUDIO*, *Lunch journal*, *FAM*, *Architecture and Urban Planning*, *Inflection*. His latest books are “Journey to Albania: Architectures, expeditions and landscapes of tourism” (Accademia University Press, 2022) and “The City and the Myth” (Libria, 2023). Resta is a co-leader of the COST Action CA18126 “Writing Urban Places” and a member of the COST Action CA18137 “European Middle Class Mass Housing”.

**EXHIBITING THE OCCUPATION:  
HOW THE ITALIAN PRESENCE IN ALBANIA  
HAS BEEN REPRESENTED THROUGH  
EXHIBITIONS OVER THE LAST CENTURY**

Giuseppe Resta, Faculdade de Arquitectura da Universidade do Porto, Portugal

**INTRODUCTION**

Exhibitions were one of the pillars of Mussolini's propaganda strategy, aimed at supporting the ongoing colonial narrative in association with the interests of the national building industry (Cianfarani, 2020). What is Albania's role in all this? How was architecture communicated during the occupation, and how has the narration evolved until today?

In the twentieth century, Italy held a strong influence on the country, spanning from a full-fledged military occupation to scientific collaborations. Officially, the Italian occupation lasted only five years (1939-43), but the factual interest in Albanian affairs precedes the turn of the century and continues to these days. As a matter of fact, the problem of accompanying the military action with a new narrative became central to the propaganda. This produced a wide range of cultural initiatives involving publications of all kinds, movies, scientific explorations, and exhibitions.

After Albania declared its independence from the Ottoman Empire in 1912, a new phase of westernisation took place. During the First World War, the country was transformed on the battlefield. A group of patriots led by Ahmed Zogu, future president of the First Republic and later king of the Albanian kingdom (1928-1939), re-established order in 1920 to create a central government based in Tirana (Porfido & Resta, 2022). However, this instability attracted the attention of Austria, France, and Italy. The economic and political interests were manifold (Ministero della Guerra, 1915). The Italian government first created the conditions to steer domestic politics by leveraging on infrastructural works through loans from state-owned agencies (Iaselli, 2004, 2013); later, the Mussolini administration seized power and treated Albania as one of the regions of the kingdom.<sup>1</sup>

The fascist propaganda portrayed the country as a land of opportunities. Similar to what happened in the Agro Pontino, agricultural centres and reclamation works followed 1927

Mussolini's announcement that "Italy must be ruralised", determining renewed attention to the rural areas and population growth policies (Parlato, 2002). Those Italians who started to migrate to Albania following State guidelines, hence legally, were considered proper colonists; others entered the country illegally (Vietti, 2012). All contributed to a climate of foundational civilisation.

**THE INVENTION OF A SHARED  
MEDITERRANEAN TRADITION**

In several European countries, as a response to the formation of nation-states, the end of the nineteenth century is permeated with debates on what is to be included or excluded from the supposed identity of a population. This is done by defining a common historical memory based on flexible interpretations of heritage (Biddiss, 1994). Hence, the roots of national culture had to be grounded on invented traditions (Hobsbawm, 1992).

Italian fascism developed a colonial narrative based on the Mediterranean at the time of the Roman Empire, the so-called *romanità*.<sup>2</sup> This was the invented tradition to be publicised domestically. Archaeological bulletins, the commemorative stamp of Aeneas in Butrint, "Virgil's cruise" dedicated to the places explored by the Trojan hero, and several other initiatives aimed to relocate the differences between the two countries as a historical accident to be compensated.

The *romanità* debate also involved architectural elements, especially at the beginning of the 1930s when the regime favoured austere forms over eclecticism. One example is the argument between Marcello Piacentini and Ugo Ojetti on the use of pilasters and architrave system instead of columns and arches, in which the former prevailed because of the simplified aesthetics (Piacentini, 1933).

The consensus-building program passed through infrastructural works and new towns. The popularisation of the operations in Albania was first disseminated in Italy through the press. In the mid-1920s, the news covered mainly Italian archaeological missions in Albania (Gilkes, 2003), also documented by scientific publications, conferences, and *Istituto LUCE* newsreels. In Albania, *Gazeta Shqipëtare*, the local branch of the Italian newspaper *Gazzetta*



*del Mezzogiorno*, was founded in 1927. In August 1933, news in Albanian started to be broadcast from across the Adriatic Sea, from Bari's EIAR station. Later, the first LUCE short films and *cinegiornali* were screened in Italy, primarily aimed at publicising the infrastructural works carried out by the Italian-funded agency SVEA (Godoli, 2012).

Because the *romanità* was a staged tradition, exhibitions were crucial venues where new stories could be told. As we will see, the approach was that of a total work of art, an integration of architecture, visual arts, and graphic design.

### ITALIAN EXHIBITIONS DURING THE OCCUPATION

The regime designed fairs and exhibitions as places where the Italian population would have tangible contact with distant territories. Their placement, the architectural features, and the exhibition design metaphorically represented their political posture towards different territories. Indeed, exhibitions reflected a much broader discourse on communicating colonial claims. In an all-encompassing regime like the Duce's, any minor decision had to follow precise aesthetic guidelines (Avcı Hosanlı & Resta, 2022; Besana, Carli, Devoti, & Prisco, 2002).

The first logical venue was Bari's *Fiera del Levante*, as it was the closest to Tirana. Starting from its opening in 1930, Albania participated on a yearly basis until 1939. Two dedicated pavilions were designed within a general layout drafted by Arch. Augusto Corradini (La Sorsa, 1931). The *Fiera* accommodated an "oriental village" in which various nations to the East of Italy were represented with stereotypical characters. This process of visual appropriation employed the architectural lexicon of an idealised distant land, with an Islamic milieu, to be normalised. The first Albanian pavilion showed more eclectic decorations: pilasters at the corner intersections, recessed panes on the façade, and two large *trifore* shaded with latticework elements similar to a mashrabiya. It was later renovated to accentuate the eclectic decorations. The first exhibition, in 1930, aimed at presenting photos of scented landscapes and beautiful panoramas (La Sorsa, 1931). In the 1932 edition, there was also a painting of King Zog, local products on show, and visuals portraying the infrastructural works in which "bridges, buildings, and streets give an idea of the great development that is

progressing in the allied kingdom"<sup>3</sup> (Bollettino Quotidiano, 1932).

The second pavilion reflected the changed relationships with the country in 1939. It was designed by Gerardo Bosio, the leading architect of the Tirana office in which regulatory plans for Albanian cities were drafted (Resta, 2019). The building adopted a dominating position in visual and physical terms,<sup>4</sup> in line with the changed sensibility of the fascist regime towards architecture in the late 30s (Fig. 1, a). It was a pure rectangular parallelepiped, alluding to a military defensive tower. Bosio drew a structure made of sandstone, with a *bugnato* cladding, sat on a stepped podium, and next to a Skanderbeg<sup>5</sup> statue. The only architectural elements were a large monumental entrance, a series of small openings around the volume, and a crenelation-like top. Interestingly, this was seen as a morphological synthesis between the Venetian control towers installed on the Balkan coast under *La Serenissima* rule (1392–1797) and the local tower house typology *kulla* (Castiglioni, 1945). The interiors and the content of the exhibition were personally curated by the Undersecretary for Albanian Affairs Zenone Benini, hence as a close emanation of political messages. On the walls was a photomontage of military scenes and working people.

The main room hosted a large model of Tirana according to the new fascist plan, and archaeological material extracted from the ongoing campaigns. It was an ideal connection between the Roman past and the fascist future. The rest of the exhibition presented the richness in raw material in the Albanian Alps (Pollastri, 1939) and ethnographic information on the local customs.

Building on the same rhetoric of the *Fiera*, Albania was presented in May 1940 at Napoli's *Mostra Triennale delle Terre Italiane d'Oltremare*. Tellingly, the poster shows the feet of a person wearing caligae<sup>6</sup> and stepping on a stone-paved road. The pavilion confirmed the same organisational structure (coordination by Benini and design by Bosio, in collaboration with Arch. Pier Nicolò Berardi) and precisely the same architectural features mentioned above. However, the Napoli pavilion was much bigger and equipped with custom artworks produced by relevant artists (Fig. 1, b). The uniform structural pace of the framework was integrated

with displays and representations, exhibited in a linear fashion as a series of episodes composing the overall narration of the fascist initiatives in Albania. Again, predominantly military involvement, raw material extraction, infrastructural works, and urbanisation. At the centre was another large model of Tirana. The *Triennale* pavilion achieved the optimal integration between built and narrative space, presenting itself as the quintessential display of *romanità*. Goods and objects were framed in monumental scenes, capable of communicating a sense of power and well-being. The architectural composition of the two pavilions was not only an isolated exhibition project, but a small-scale experimentation of what Bosio would later build in full scale in the capital. The Casa del Fascio, today's Polytechnic School of Tirana, shows symmetry, proportions, *bugnato* cladding, and many additional details that the Florentine architect tested in Bari and Naples.

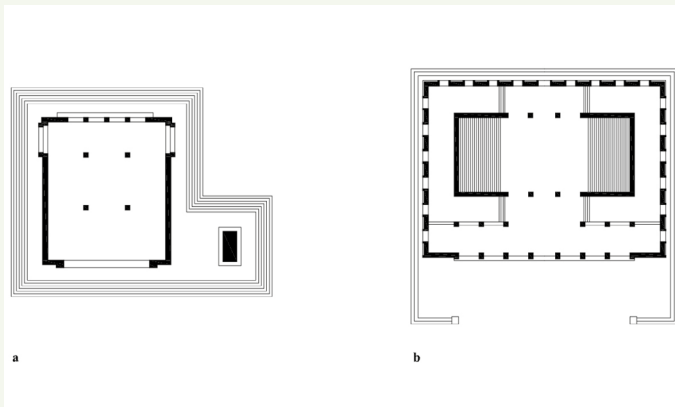


Fig. 1. Plan of the Albanian pavilions at the Fiera del Levante (a) and Mostra Triennale delle Terre Italiane d'Oltremare (b), drawings by the author on the base of archival material

The Second World War interrupted most of the international exhibitions, including Roma's Expo of 1942. Minor exhibitions were organized in Tirana in 1942 (the *Mostra del Libro e della Cultura italiana dell'epoca fascista* and the travelling exhibition *Mostra Mobile del Fascismo*) and in 1943 (the *Mostra dell'Artigianato albanese*).

### ITALIAN EXHIBITIONS AFTER THE OCCUPATION

On the 17<sup>th</sup> of May 2020, the Albanian National Theatre in Tirana was demolished overnight, in the days of the first major lockdown due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The theatre was built in 1939 by Arch. Giulio Bertè

and represented the climax of a two-year-long protest against its demolition by local associations, and international organisations. This episode demonstrates the importance of debating the contested material and immaterial traces that the Italian presence in Albania left behind. Although the theatre embodied the Italian occupation, the fact that it was being repurposed by the artists' community *Art House* flipped its meaning for the city as a centre for experimentation (Lunghi & Scardi, 2020). The contested heritage of colonial past is then rarely a binary decision of keeping or destroying, but it should be analysed in its individual stories.

Colonial exhibitions are part of the immaterial traces left behind. The Albanian case is quite unique because the postwar period relegated the country to an extremely isolated status, under Stalinist dictator Enver Hoxha (Fischer, 1999). Foreign visitors were generally not allowed, or "tested by the daily requirement to undertake up to six hours work on a collective farm in return for the privilege of staying in the country" (Hall, 1984, p. 547).

His decision to limit cultural influences from foreign countries was lifted only towards the end of the regime<sup>7</sup> (Bishku, 2013). Italy was one of the first nations to restore cultural ties, though the issue of studying the early twentieth-century architectural heritage was a slippery one.

The main governmental body for the organisation of exhibitions, among other cultural activities of promotion of Italian culture abroad, is the *Istituto Italiano di Cultura* (ICC). It was founded in 1926, as an outpost of the regime propaganda abroad, and reformed several times, until today's operational autonomy under the umbrella of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Mancini Palamoni, 2020). In Albania, the ICC functioned as one of the offices of the Italian Embassy, with a limited degree of action, until it moved to a dedicated location in 1999.

In the same years, architectural historians inaugurated studies on Italian colonial architecture in Albania. First, Gresleri, Massaretti, and Zagnoni (1993) published a volume on *terre d'oltremare* (overseas territories), recently expanded and revised. The design activity of Italian architects in Albania was exhibited, in collaboration with the Albanian ICC, in *La presenza italiana in Albania nella prima metà del XX secolo* (Tirana

2004), *Architettura moderna italiana per le città d'Albania. Modelli e interpretazioni* (Tirana 2012), and *Sulle tracce dell'Italia in Albania* (Tirana 2014). But more exhibitions opened in Roma, Firenze and Bari (i.e., *L'amicizia tra Italia e Albania: passato, presente, futuro* in Roma in 2006, *La presenza italiana in Albania. La ricerca archeologica, la conservazione, le scelte progettuali* in Bari and Roma in 2016).

Indeed, the first relevant monographic volume was the catalogue of the 2004 exhibition, curated by Giusti (2004), followed by the catalogue of the 2006 exhibition (Giusti, 2006). Articles and chapters mainly covered the case of Tirana, until 2012, when publications included minor cities and towns as well as co-authorships of Italian and Albanian researchers (Giacomelli & Vokshi, 2012; Menghini, Pashako, & Stigliano, 2012). An essential work on thematic archival indexing was conducted by Silvia Trani in 2007.

The 2014 exhibition is probably the most relevant until today, with broad institutional support. Five Italian universities and the Polytechnic School of Tirana collaborated in the curatorship of the contents, spread across the same Italian buildings that were the object of the studies. On the same days, the restoration of the National Bank of Albania, designed in 1938 by Arch. Vittorio Ballio Morpurgo, opened to the public and the event was accompanied with a scientific conference (*Ambasciata d'Italia a Tirana*, 2014).

Overall, the three exhibitions mainly presented original archival material, surveys, 3D reconstructions, and typological analyses of the projects. Less evident was the effort in critically addressing the Italian influence today, and attempt maybe a revision of the sources. As we have seen with the demolition of the National Theatre, this uncertainty on the contested heritage leaves gaps that could be exploited in many ways. As an example, the theatre will be replaced with one designed by the Danish office BIG, plus buildings to be developed in the same area.

The Italian exhibitions retained a rather conservative position and rarely addressed the wider public. Also, the composition of contributors showed a large majority of Italian scholars. The design was flat, made of panels loaded with information and technical drawings. Sometimes directly sourced from Master's or doctoral theses. The many details presented in the texts made intellectual positions hard to understand, somehow at the other extreme

from the assertive magniloquent vocabulary adopted in the original fascist pavilions. The words "traces" and "presence" are the most recurrent in the briefs and the titles. The former explains the act of discovery of something that was interrupted; the latter rewords "occupation" with a more diplomatic term.

The body of archival research on Italian Architecture in Albania is today mature, and the archival material has been examined consistently in publications and theses, especially affiliated with universities in Firenze, Roma, and Bari. However, the unfoldings of the Italian contested heritage are in that phase of much-needed dissemination, in order to open public debates on mainstream media but also chats among acquaintances. This phase needs bold curatorial approaches and a not-so-academic approach to exhibition design in an attempt to re-elaborate the documentary and iconographic material accumulated over the years.

## NOTES

1. It should be noted that Albania did not retain the status of a colony, but that of an Italian region. Indeed, it was officially part of the "kingdom" and not of the "empire", to which other colonies were subjected (Ciano, 1996).

2. There is a frequent reference to the Roman Empire as an ideal destination for a renewed centrality of Italy in the Mediterranean. The prime minister Merlika Kruja, in the speech dated April 12th 1939, with which the Parliament offered the Albanian crown to the Italian king Vittorio Emanuele III, stated that "the union of the kingdom of Albania with fascist Italy in the framework of the Empire of Rome is an event of historical importance" (Kruja, 1943, p. 36).

3. The text has been loosely translated as "allied kingdom". However, in the original version, the Albanian Kingdom is addressed as *amico* ("friend"), highlighting the privileged status of Albania.

4. In contrast with the location of the previous pavilion, it was not placed together with other foreign countries because Albania was in the process of becoming part of the Italian territory.

5. Skanderbeg is the Albanian national hero who fought the Ottoman Empire in the fifteenth century.

6. Military sandals worn by Roman foot soldiers.

7. The communist rule of Enver Hoxha spanned between 1944 and 1985, with his death. Until 1992, Ramiz Alia guided a transition phase that led Albania to reconnect with Europe, the USA, and the Middle East right after the end of the Cold War.

## REFERENCES

- Ambasciata d'Italia a Tirana. (2014). Sulle tracce dell'Italia in Albania. Retrieved from [https://ambtirana.esteri.it/ambasciata\\_tirana/it/ambasciata/news/dall\\_ambasciata/architettura.html](https://ambtirana.esteri.it/ambasciata_tirana/it/ambasciata/news/dall_ambasciata/architettura.html)
- Avci Hosanlı, D., & Resta, G. (2022). Building a Nation, Building a Modern Capital City: A Comparative Study of Ankara's and Tirana's First Master Plans. *IDEALKENT*, 12(34), 1693-1721. doi:10.31198/idealkent.980111
- Besana, R., Carli, C. F., Devoti, L., & Prisco, L. (Eds.). (2002). *Metafisica Costruita. La Città di fondazione degli anni Trenta dall'Italia all'Oltremare*. Milano: Touring Club Editore.
- Biddiss, M. (1994). Nationalism and the Moulding of Modern Europe. *History*, 79(257), 412-432. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/24422387>
- Bishku, M. B. (2013). Albania and the Middle East. *Mediterranean Quarterly*, 24(2), 81-103. doi:10.1215/10474552-2141908
- Bollettino Quotidiano. (1932). *Bollettino Quotidiano*(1).
- Castiglioni, B. (1945). Problemi geomorfologici dell'Albania. *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana*, 10(2), 88-104.
- Cianfarani, F. (2020). The Fascist Legacy in the Built Environment. In K. B. Jones & S. Pilat (Eds.), *The Routledge Companion to Italian Fascist Architecture: Reception and Legacy* (pp. 10-53). Abingdon: Routledge.
- Ciano, G. (1996). *Diario 1937-1943*. In R. De Felice (Ed.). Milano: Rizzoli.
- Fischer, B. J. (1999). *Albania at war, 1939-1945*. West Lafayette, IN: Purdue University Press.
- Giacomelli, M., & Vokshi, A. (Eds.). (2012). *Architetti e ingegneri italiani in Albania*. Firenze: Edifir.
- Gilkes, O. J. (Ed.) (2003). *The theatre at Butrint : Luigi Maria Ugolini's excavations at Butrint 1928-1932 (Albania antica IV)*. London: British School at Athens.
- Giusti, M. A. (2004). *Architettura italiana in Albania nel secondo Ventennio del Novecento*, catalogo della mostra, Tirana 25 Aprile-10 maggio 2004. Milano: Idea Books.
- Giusti, M. A. (2006). *L'amicizia tra Italia e Albania: passato, presente, futuro*, catalogo della mostra, Roma 21-29 novembre 2006. Roma: Graphisoft.
- Godoli, E. (2012). Progetti per la SVEA (Società per lo Sviluppo Economico dell'Albania): documenti dagli archivi di Luigi Luiggi e Guido Fiorini. In M. Giacomelli & A. Vokshi (Eds.), *Architetti e ingegneri italiani in Albania* (pp. 59-71). Firenze: Edifir.
- Gresleri, G., Massaretti, P. G., & Zagnoni, S. (1993). *Architettura italiana d'oltremare 1870-1940*. Venezia: Marsilio.
- Hall, D. R. (1984). Foreign tourism under socialism the Albanian "Stalinist" model. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 11(4), 539-555. doi:[https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383\(84\)90047-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/0160-7383(84)90047-1)
- Hobsbawm, E. (1992). *The Invention of Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Iaselli, L. (2004). L'espansione finanziaria dell'Italia in Albania (1925-1943). *La Banca Nazionale d'Albania e la SVEA. Rivista di Storia Finanziaria*(12), 65-104.
- Iaselli, L. (2013). Le relazioni finanziarie tra Italia e Albania (1925-1943). Il ruolo della Banca Nazionale d'Albania. Paper presented at the *L'Albania indipendente e le relazioni italo-albanesi (1912-2012)*, Atti del Convegno in occasione del centenario dell'indipendenza albanese, Roma.
- Kruja, M. M. (1943). *L'Albania nell'Ordine Nuovo*. Albania - Shqipni, 3(2), 34-39.
- La Sorsa, S. (1931). *Puglia, Bari, Prima Fiera Del Levante*, Illustrato d'Epoca. Bari: Favia.
- Lunghi, L., & Scardi, G. (2020). The demolition of Tirana's National Theatre. Retrieved from <https://www.domusweb.it/en/art/2020/05/28/the-demolition-of-the-national-theatre-of-albania-in-tirana.html>
- Mancini Palamoni, G. (2020). Profili organizzativi e lingua italiana: gli istituti di cultura e le accademie. *Aedon*, 133-141. doi:doi:10.7390/98491
- Menghini, A. B., Pashako, F., & Stigliano, M. (2012). *Architettura moderna italiana per le città d'Albania. Modelli e interpretazioni*. Tiranë:

Botimet Dudaj.

Ministero della Guerra. (1915). Albania. Guida militare. Roma: Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore.

Parlato, G. (2002). Le Città nuove degli anni Trenta tra ruralismo e modernizzazione. In R. Besana, C. F. Carli, L. Devoti, & L. Prisco (Eds.), *Metafisica Costruita. La Città di fondazione degli anni Trenta dall'Italia all'Oltremare* (pp. 63-68). Milano: Touring Club Editore.

Piacentini, M. (1933). Gli archi, le colonne e la modernità di oggi. Risposta ad Ugo Ojetti per la polemica su Le Colonne e gli Archi. *La Tribuna*.

Pollastri, F. (1939). Albania in 10 cartine dimostrative al milionesimo. Roma: Tipografia Failli.

Porfido, E., & Resta, G. (2022). *Journey to Albania: Architecture, expeditions, and landscapes of tourism*. Torino: Accademia University Press.

Resta, G. (2019). *Atlante di progetti per l'Albania. La città e il territorio nel primo Novecento*. Melfi: Libria.

Vietti, F. (2012). *Hotel Albania. Viaggi, migrazioni, turismo*. Roma: Carocci.



