

A SLOW CONSTRUCTION PROJECT: NINETEENTH-CENTURY SCHOOL ARCHITECTURE THROUGH UNIVERSAL EXPOSITIONS

*Un proyecto de construcción lento:
la arquitectura escolar del siglo XIX a través de las exposiciones universales*

Valeria Viola*

Università Telematica “Giustino Fortunato” di Benevento (Italia)
<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4638-0294>

Keywords

History of Education
School Architecture
Nineteenth Century
Universal Expositions

ABSTRACT: This article aims to provide an updated overview on the developments in national school architecture during the early post-unification period through the highly heuristic perspective of universal expositions. These events represented a unique opportunity for the participating nations to assimilate—through observation—innovative and effective aspects of educational systems, pedagogical practices, and architectural spaces. The analysis is drawn primarily from the Italian delegates' reports—retrieved from the Library of the former Ministry of Industry, Handicrafts, and Commerce—, intended to enrich the current reflection on this subject, offering new insights and an updated bibliographic reference for further scholarly inquiry.

Palabras clave

Historia de la Educación
Arquitectura Escolar
Siglo XIX
Exposiciones Universales

RESUMEN: Este artículo actualiza los desarrollos de la arquitectura escolar nacional en el primer período posterior a la unificación italiana, adoptando la perspectiva de alto potencial heurístico que ofrecieron las Exposiciones Universales. Estos eventos constituyeron para las naciones participantes una valiosa oportunidad para observar y asimilar las innovaciones más eficaces en sistemas educativos, prácticas pedagógicas y configuraciones espaciales. El análisis se basa en los informes elaborados por los delegados italianos, consultados principalmente en la Biblioteca del ex Ministerio de Industria, Artesanía y Comercio, y pretende enriquecer la reflexión sobre el tema, ofreciendo nuevas claves interpretativas y una bibliografía actualizada.

1. INTRODUCTION

[...] Un'Esposizione universale è una gran scuola di mutuo insegnamento dell'universalità del genere umano. La riunione degli oggetti di tanti paesi, e la facilità grandissima di aver notizie ed informazioni di tutte le parti del mondo, offrono tale e tanta opportunità per fare degli studi, che in pochi giorni si può giungere a conoscere ciò che in altri tempi avrebbe richiesto lunghissimi viaggi e la vita di un uomo. (Cavour, Devincenzi, 1863, p. 4)

* **Correspondence to:** Valeria Viola. Università Telematica “Giustino Fortunato” di Benevento (Italia) – v.viola@unifortunato.eu – <https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4638-0294>

How to cite: Viola, Valeria (2025). «A Slow Construction Project: Nineteenth-century School Architecture through Universal Expositions», *Cabás*, 34, 138-152. (<https://doi.org/10.35072/27774>).

Received: 19 July, 2025; Final version: 15 October, 2025.

ISSN 1989-5909 / © UPV/EHU Press



This work is licensed under a
Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NonDerivatives 4.0 International

This contribution resumes the reflection on the heuristic potential of the theme of universal exhibitions, first presented at the III International Conference on School Material Culture, held in Macerata from 12 to 13 September 2017, titled *School of Modernity: School Furnishings and Teaching Aids on Display at the World Expositions*. The paper, which presented the outcomes of the research conducted on museums of industrial art and design and ornament journals widespread throughout Europe in the 19th century thanks to world exhibitions (Viola, 2015a; 2015b; Viola, 2018a), served as an opportunity to explore the possible developments such documentation could offer for a comparative investigation of an aspect then still largely unexplored: the architectural dimension of school space.

World expositions indeed represented a crucial arena for international comparison, promoting the modernization of school institutions, pedagogical practices, and —equally important— construction techniques and formal typologies of school buildings. The present contribution aims to update the analysis of national school architecture in the first four decades after Italian unification, considering the documentation relating to the education sections of the exhibitions. This documentation consists predominantly of printed sources, such as journals published specifically on the topic, illustrated albums, pedagogical journeys, and reports written by Italian scholars or members of study commissions dispatched to the events by the Ministry of Public Education (MPI) or by the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry and Commerce (MAIC)—which oversaw technical higher education and vocational training (Viola, 2016a). These sources were retrieved from the former MAIC library and the digital platform Google Books.

The research trajectory pursued, already outlined during the presentation in Macerata, has been shaped by the scientific framework developed since the 1980s by María del Mar del Pozo Andrés (1983), and later refined during the international seminar organized by the Centro Internacional de la Cultura Escolar (CEINCE) in Berlanga de Duero, Spain, in 2007, whose proceedings were compiled by Martin Lawn (2009). This line of inquiry has been further advanced at the national level since the early 2010s by scholars such as Juri Meda (2011, 2016), Fabio Targhetta (2010), Marta Brunelli (2018; 2020), Alberto Barausse (2020), and Francesca Pizzigoni (2022), who have, each in their own way, helped foster scholarly interest in the heuristic potential of universal and educational exhibitions in relation to pedagogical practices, school materiality, and the educational market.

This paper intends to further update the ongoing reflection on the topic of national school architecture during the early post-unification period by analyzing an expanded body of sources, now also including the growing body of literature specifically devoted to universal exhibitions from a historical-educational perspective. These studies are essential for measuring the influence that participation in such events exerted at the national level on the shaping of educational policies, the advancement of teaching practices, the dissemination of pedagogical museums, and for understanding how Italy «intendeva rappresentare sé stesso rispetto agli aspetti scolastico-educativi in queste vetrine internazionali» (Pizzigoni, 2022, p. 144). After presenting the topic of school architecture within the framework of current historiographical scholarship, the analysis will aim to highlight the heuristic potential of universal exhibitions. By tracking the recurrence of the entry dedicated to this theme within the examined sources, the study seeks to reconstruct —through a comparative perspective— the cultural legitimization process of educational architecture. Finally, the analysis will seek to assess the extent to which Italy's participation in these events contributed to shaping the earliest initiatives in support of the construction of the national school system and the definition of an architectural culture oriented toward education.

2. WORK IN PROGRESS. SCHOOL ARCHITECTURE WITHIN THE HISTORIOGRAPHICAL RESEARCH OF THE HISTORICAL-EDUCATIONAL FRAMEWORK

In the special double issue 12-13 of the journal *Historia de la Educación* (1993-94), Viñao Frago argued that school space represented «una cuestión desatendida o descuidada, como otras, tanto por la historiografía española como por la extranjera. Hay excepciones, por supuesto; pero son eso, excepciones» (Frago, 1993).

Italy was no exception. Only a few and sporadic studies have been devoted to school architecture, even after the outbreak of the French historiographical revolution at the end of the 1990s, sparked by the works of Julia (1996) and Chervel (1998). This historiographical shift definitively displaced a history of education based primarily on theories and the study of official documentation, advocating instead for an approach attentive also to material culture (Sani, 2023). Within this renewed scholarly landscape, the school building gradually began to attract the attention of researchers. More often than not, however, it was traversed hastily, without due regard, as scholars were eager to reach the “classroom,” the “spazio educativo per eccellenza” (Viola, Miceli, 2016, p. 83), regarded as a privileged site for studying disciplines, teaching practices, and the historical-educational heritage (Meda, 2011, 2013).

In truth, there are not many schools to be explored, particularly from the first four decades following Italian unification. In the absence of school buildings designed with specific architectural criteria, it was common for “the school” and “the classroom” to coincide. The national educational architectural heritage was mainly concentrated in large urban centres exhibiting an uneven and non-widespread distribution across the territory. The long-standing cultural deficit that hindered the development of a distinct educational architectural identity in Italy, coupled with the scarcity of financial resources, encouraged la logica e la pratica dell’adattamento dei locali già esistenti» (Andreassi, Viola, 2024, p. 601).

Nonetheless, for the purposes of our inquiry, it is crucial not to overlook the fact that the school premises —whether purpose-built or adapted— always reflect the socio-cultural context to which they belong, as well as the idea and significance that the school institution has held within the collective imagination. At the same time, buildings designed specifically for educational use, characterized by particular construction standards and structured into spaces functionally related to teaching, always mirror the pedagogical, hygienic, and political conceptions of their time.

El espacio-escuela no es sólo un «contenedor» en el que ubica la educación institucional, esto es, un escenario diseñado desde presupuestos exclusivamente formales en el que se «sitúan» los autores que intervienen en el proceso de enseñanza-aprendizaje para ejecutar un repertorio de acciones. La arquitectura escolar es también por sí misma un programa, una especie de discurso que instituye en su materialidad un sistema de valores, como los de orden, disciplina y vigilancia, unos marcos para el aprendizaje sensorial y motórico y toda una semiología que cubre diferentes símbolos estéticos, culturales y aún ideológicos. Al mismo tiempo, el espacio educativo ha reflejado obviamente las innovaciones pedagógicas, tanto en sus concepciones generales como en los aspectos más técnicos. (Escolano, 1993, p. 100)

When integrated into the urban fabric, the school building has conveyed —and continues to convey— to the community the role that the state, at the time of construction, attributed to education. Its external facades prefigured the function of discipline and control that contemporary educational policy intended to exercise within its walls, ultimately positioning the school as a kind of three-dimensional educational manifesto

addressed to the citizenry. Martin Lawn, revisiting the work of Markus (1996), emphasized that school buildings exerted moral authority through architectural symbols and that the distribution of space marked the hierarchical roles of its actors. Particularly insightful is Lawn's observation, drawn from Hamilton, that school space reflects "riflesso delle idee sociali sulle istituzioni e sull'educazione, create per promuovere, ad esempio, la produzione di massa e l'efficienza sociale" (Lawn, 2023, pp. 495-496). It follows that the school, in its architectural dimension, functioned —and still functions— as an effective pedagogical device akin to any other. This was already noted by Escolano:

El edificio-escuela, como es bien sabido, ha servido de estructura material para colocar el escudo patrio, la bandera nacional, las imágenes y pensamientos de hombres ilustres, los símbolos de la religión, algunas máximas morales e higiénicas, la campana y el reloj...Ello expresa toda una instrumentación de la escuela al servicio de los ideales nacionales, religiosos y sociomorales. (Escolano, 1993, p. 108)

This concept was reiterated more recently within the Italian scholarly context by Carmela Covato, who asserted that school spaces express "una precisa connotazione sociale della prassi formativa e trasmettono, fra l'altro, il valore che, in ogni tempo, i ceti dirigenti hanno dato al ruolo dell'istruzione e della scuola" (Covato, 2016, p. 16).

Despite the stimulating nature of such reflections, they have failed to attract widespread interest among scholars in the field. Another reason for the scarcity of studies devoted to school architecture likely lies in the limited willingness of historians to "[...] integrar puntos de vista profesionalmente distantes tales como el médico-higienista, el arquitectónico, el pedagógico y el político-administrativo" (Viñao, 1993-94, p. 13). Only from the early 2010s did the national bibliography on the subject begin to include, alongside the few references found in the school surveys promoted by the Ministry of Public Instruction —such as those by Giacomo Cives (1960) and Tina Tomasi (1981)— some titles in the form of essays and articles, notably those by Lorenzo Cantatore (2001; 2004). These contributions, marked by a multidisciplinary approach, helped sketch an initial floor plan of the State school.

Although slower than other aspects of the school's material culture, scholarly interest in the subject has grown over time, partly influenced by the aforementioned Iberian research spearheaded by Viñao Frago (1993) and Escolano (1993), and especially since the establishment of the Sociedad Española para el Estudio del Patrimonio Histórico-Educativo (SEPHE) in 2004. This model later inspired the foundation of the Società Italiana per lo Studio del Patrimonio Storico Educativo (SIPSE) in 2017 (Brunelli, 2017).

The VII Scientific Meeting of SEPHE, titled *Espacios y patrimonio histórico-educativo* and held in Donostia-San Sebastián from June 29 to July 1, 2016, marked a clear turning point in the development of scholarly discourse on the topic. It constituted a major opportunity for international exchange, also attended by Italian researchers who offered insightful local contributions, useful for assessing the territorial specificities of school architecture and its divergence from and/or adherence to national building standards (Cantatore, 2016; D'Ascenzo, 2016; Viola, 2016b). Viñao Frago, in his introduction to the volume of conference proceedings, stated that school space was no longer "una cuestión desatendida o descuidada":

Entendemos que la vida de los sujetos históricos transcurre en un tiempo y en un espacio. No obstante, la historiografía, en general, ha priorizado el tiempo como material del oficio de historiador. Sin embargo, en las últimas décadas, el espacio se ha introducido en el quehacer de los historiadores e historiadoras, no como un mero contexto territorial o referencial, sino como un objeto sustancial del discurso histórico. A esta nueva forma de entender la historia han contribuido los planteamientos

interdisciplinarios e historiográficos centrados más en analizar las relaciones de poder en los espacios que en el tiempo. El espacio, por lo tanto, forma parte ya de las tareas de los historiadores e historiadoras, también en el ámbito de trabajo de la educación. (Viñao Frago, 2016, p. 21)

The research strand on school memory (Yanes Cabrera, Meda, Viñao, 2017; Brunelli, Meda, Pomante, 2019; Meda, Paciaroni, Sani, 2024) has prompted scholars to view the school building as a site of social construction, of practices and collective representations specific to the communities in which it is embedded. Architecturally defined schools, within contemporary historiographical inquiry, now represent:

fonti materiali che, integrate con quelle tipiche della documentazione amministrativa, politica e teorica, oltre ad agevolare la comprensione delle pratiche educative del passato, consentono di ricostruire le realtà vissute e rielaborate nella memoria individuale e collettiva permettendo di entrare in relazione con gli immaginari educativi condivisi dalle diverse generazioni. (Viola, 2018b, p. 254)

The school, in its material dimension, constitutes a highly complex subject within historiographical reflection due to the multiplicity of interpretative layers it offers, being at once a tangible asset and a repository of meaning, a space, and a place. The school building is configured as a space in its three-dimensional physical structure; it becomes a place when a process of social and cultural construction, meaning attribution, and symbolization occurs within it (Viñao, 1993, p. 19). This premise allows for a better assessment of the heuristic contribution provided by studies on world expositions. Through the analysis of relevant documentation, it is possible to reconstruct the process by which school architecture gained recognition within the educational culture of the time, tracing the theme's recurrence across various editions of these events. Moreover, the consultation of this documentary corpus helps shed light on the extent to which the observations conducted by more advanced countries during such events influenced the formulation of the educational project of the first national state an initiative to be implemented, wherever possible, within buildings whose architectural design expressed an Italian identity.

3. SCHOOL BUILDING AS SEEN THROUGH THE UNIVERSAL EXHIBITIONS

The following pages aim to outline the trajectory of the process by which school building asserted itself within educational culture in the early post-unification period, noting the presence and recurrence of the theme within the programmes of the universal expositions. At the same time, through an examination of the reports by Italian delegates, a comparative analysis to understand the differing degrees of importance ascribed to school architecture by the various participating countries will be provided. This reflection will be useful in assessing the extent to which the 'model' countries in the field of school architecture influenced the decisions made by national educational policy. The latter began to feel more strongly the need to provide buildings specifically designed and constructed (Daprà, 1986, p. 77) for school use especially after participating in the universal expositions, which for a long time represented one of the few channels whereby national builders and educators could stay updated in the field of school construction. The Regulation for elementary education of 1860 had proven ineffective at regulating and, in many cases, even initiating, the work on the state school building sites. Various factors hindered the construction of the State school: the financial constraints of the municipalities, the lack of an educational architectural culture among national builders, and the general difficulty that the school continued to encounter in establishing itself in the collective imagination as the primary educational agency. For a long time, schools were far from being those "salubri, con molta luce, in luoghi tranquilli e decenti per ogni riguardo, e adatte per

ampiezza al numero degli allievi obbligati dalla legge a frequentarle". Arising in premises adapted for the purpose, it was also very difficult to ensure separation between female and male classes; it was utopian to hope for the provision of a "grande sala od una tettoia attigua per la ricreazione" or for "cortile fornito dei principali attrezzi occorrenti agli esercizi ginnastici". An additional impediment lay in the absence of a comprehensive economic investment plan to support the Casati Law and the absence of penal provisions for potential non-compliance (Daprà, 1986, p. 78). Furthermore, the protracted procedures required for school construction likewise impeded the advancement of scholarship in school architecture, a fact underscored by the Public Works Law of 20 March 1865, which encompassed roads, railways, telegraphs, waterways, ports, lighthouses, public edifices, and the conservation of art monuments, yet conspicuously omitted any provision for schools (Daprà, 1986, pp. 83-84). The reality, therefore, was far from resembling that envisaged by the regulation and even further from that of the Northern European countries, showcased in the pavilions of the universal expositions through three-dimensional models, floor plans, and designs. It should be emphasized that the process of affirming school architecture was gradual throughout Europe, following the more general process affecting education as a whole.

The first exhibitions held in London in 1851 and in Paris in 1855 had not even planned a section dedicated to education. At the Paris exposition, furniture and educational books were included in the group of industries related to science and teaching. Things began to change starting with the London Exhibition of 1862, in whose programme appeared Class XXIX entitled Educational Works and Appliances. But it was within the programme of the 1867 Paris Universal Exhibition that a significant step was recorded: Group 10 would collect "Oggetti esposti specialmente allo scopo di migliorare la condizione fisica e morale delle popolazioni". This specification amounted to a declaration of the recognized status of education as a factor of civil, social, and economic progress, which forced governments to pay greater attention to issues related to educational practices and their spaces. Descriptions of schools, especially at the outset, were almost always entrusted to reports accompanied by floor plans, rarely to three-dimensional models; in most cases, the theme of the buildings appeared as a complement to other aspects more strictly related to education in general and to didactics. The impression one gets when comparing the exposition reports is that the pace of the process affirming school architecture was always set by the model countries, especially those of Northern Europe, which acted as a stimulating factor in the advancement of construction sites in the participating states. Carderera, author of the text *La Pedagogía en la Exposición Universal de Londres en 1862*, asserted that attention to educational architecture was stronger in the more advanced countries, while in others there was a tendency to address the issue according to the principle of adaptation.

Donde esta enseñanza prospera, las escuelas se hallan instaladas en locales mas o menos lujosos, pero propios y adecuados a su objeto, contruidos a costa de enormes é incalculables sumas, que en países menos adelantados e consumen en obras de lujo, en cuarteles y en pertrechos de guerra, o en teatros y lugares de recreo. (Carderera, 1863, p. 141)

From the Spanish report, for example, it emerges that England witnessed an increase in the number of buildings constructed for educational use which, like other public buildings, were characterized by elegant and restrained lines. The often sumptuous architecture, made possible by private donations, was criticized by Carderera on the grounds that resources useful for erecting a greater number of buildings were allocated to a single one. This architectural care, however, did not represent a constant throughout Europe. In northern countries such as Belgium and Switzerland, schools had a simple and economical character. France, which boasted numerous newly built schools, some of them in sumptuous forms, recommended simplicity and economy in their construction (Carderera, 1863, pp. 148-149). The Netherlands, through regulations and other official provisions, advocated for school buildings to be modest in form and rigorous

with respect to hygiene criteria (Carderera, 1863, p. 142). In the ideal ranking drawn up by the Spanish delegate, the podium was occupied by Prussia:

Tal es la importancia que tiene en Prusia la casa de escuela que la ley descende á describirla, estableciendo las condiciones que debe reunir, condiciones copiadas al pie de la letra en la mayor parte de nuestros tratados de pedagogía. (Carderera, 1863, pp. 141-142)

The typical burdens of a newly formed state justified Italy's general unpreparedness, particularly in the educational sector:

Poco favorables eran las circunstancias de Italia al prepararse la Exposicion universal para pensar en la educacion y la enseñanza, asuntos que de suyo requieren tranquilidad y calma. (Carderera, 1863, p. 115)

Indeed, Italy's participation in the 1862 exposition represented, more than anything else, an opportunity to make its debut on the international political and economic stage as a united state and to begin learning, through observation, from those states that boasted virtuous educational models. The two ministries responsible for education, namely the MPI and the MAIC, adopted the practice of organizing "viaggi pedagogici" documented and disseminated through monographic volumes or in the pages of ministerial bulletins by special envoys belonging to the school policy and pedagogy sector. The reports were to serve as a fundamental tool for national educational policy to identify the effective examples to imitate and the corrective actions to undertake, based on the observation of the prodigy states in the educational field. School building emerged as one of the most difficult fields to manage since, as Cantatore asserted, there was no:

adeguato sistema di strutture edilizie costruite con l'apposito intento di fare scuola e di accogliere i bambini per favorirne un rapporto sereno e gioioso con l'istruzione e l'educazione. Molte scuole pubbliche erano per lo più ospitate in locali d'affitto originariamente concepiti come residenze private (appartamenti angusti, sporchi, privi di aria e di luce) o, nei casi più fortunati, furono collocate in spazi in ex conventi espropriati agli ordini religiosi soppressi. (Cantatore, 2021, p. 115)

It was evident that, at the universal expositions, Italy had much to observe and little to showcase. Pietro Donna, envoy to the Paris exposition of 1867, indeed wrote:

A questo cimento l'Italia non era in grado di presentarsi con decoro [...] che molti Comuni italiani considerano le scuole come cosa di lusso [...] che pochissimi sono i popolani disposti a rinunciare ad un fiasco di vino nella settimana, per mettere in comune quei pochi soldi, a fine di fondare e mantenere una scuola [...] (*L'Italia alla Esposizione Universale di Parigi nel 1867*, 1868, p. 329)

This situation widened the gap with a country like Prussia, which confirmed its podium position even for the Paris edition. Vittorio Cosse thus described the village school model that had earned Prussia a gold medal:

La casa esposta dal Ministero prussiano è una scuola completa. È composta di un solo piano, elevato rispetto al suolo da alcuni gradini. Il disegno che ci è stato fornito e che accenna a una scala indica che questa installazione, pur essendo completa in sé, può tuttavia essere ampliata. L'edificio, semplicissimo ma ben distribuito, si apre con un vestibolo che dà accesso da un lato alla scuola e dall'altro all'appartamento del maestro. L'alloggio, ridotto alle dimensioni più modeste, si compone di una sala

da pranzo, di una cucina, di un dormitorio e di un gabinetto da lavoro. È difficile fare di meno. La sala destinata alla classe è un parallelogramma lungo dieci metri, largo sei, alto altrettanto, ben aerato e illuminato, arredata con tavole e panche per gli allievi, un banco elevato su un piccolo palchetto per il maestro, una lavagna su un cavalletto per le composizioni e due busti: uno del re di Prussia, l'altro della regina Augusta. (*L'Esposizione Universale del 1867 illustrata*, 1868, p. 535)

It should be emphasized that in Italy, during the first post-unification decades, the configuration of school spaces could not represent a priority in the face of the more urgent problem of the shortage of schools, mainly resulting from the municipalities' difficulty in building and maintaining them. In 1870, only 1200 out of 7000 municipalities had premises suitable for hosting a school (Viola, 2018c, p. 69). Italy welcomed the new decade with the majority of schools in a state of perpetual emergency, where pedagogical principles succumbed to a condition of poverty and ignorance difficult to remedy, as evidenced by the following excerpt from "Il Nuovo arredamento scolastico" published in *Patria e Famiglia* in 1870:

Girate pei nostri villaggi per andare in cerca della scuola, là dove pure esiste una scuola, e la troverete per lo più rintanata in qualche sozza topaja, fra le sozzure villereccie e le impurità delle stalle e spesso persino nella bettola. Talvolta è nell'unica stanzuccia ove dorme il maestro o la maestra che appiè del loro notturno giaciglio e fra la fuligine del camino da cucina si veggono accatastate poche scapigliate creature, condannate ad apprendere l'alfabeto, ora fra le rigidezze invernali di mal difese pareti, ed ora fra l'afa ammorbante di una specie di carcere cellulare. (*Patria e Famiglia*, 1870, p. 66)

More than ten years after national unification, the reality described in the periodical was common to many contexts, especially in the most backward areas where the value of secular and state education struggled to take root among the population. By 1873, it was common in Italy for the teacher not to be recognized and respected as the parish priest was and for the Church to be considered "come l'edificio più splendido che v'abbia in tutto il paese" while the school was "una catapecchia" (Garelli, 1873, pp. 39-40). At the universal exposition in Vienna in the same year, national school building languished just like the rest of the education sector. Aristide Gabelli wrote:

All'Esposizione di Vienna, a quella sterminata Esposizione, dove i confronti sono pure tutt'altro che facili, non passò, né avrebbe potuto passare inosservata la differenza grande che corre fra la mostra scolastica italiana e quella degli Stati germanici. La differenza è tale da non richiedere studio o attenzione per essere avvertita, balzando da sé agli occhi anche di coloro che gironzano per il Palazzo dell'industria e per gli edifici di quel misero Prater, così crudelmente sboscato e denudato, per semplice passatempo. A chiunque, dopo molto peregrinare e andar vagando, sia accaduto di affacciarsi alle esposizioni del gruppo XXVI della Germania e dell'Austria, e poi a quella del medesimo gruppo appartenente all'Italia, non parve sicuramente che si riferissero neppure allo stesso soggetto e alla stessa materia, tanto poco l'aspetto delle une rammenta quello dell'altra, e tanto è diversa l'impressione che ne riceve il visitatore. La sola cosa in cui si vedano convenire e accordarsi si riduce a quel numero XXVI scritto sopra le porte, promettitore menzognero di impressioni simili destinato a farne notare ancora più la troppa disparità. (*L'Esposizione Universale di Vienna del 1873 illustrata*, 1873, p. 394)

In any case, the Vienna exposition contributed to drawing the attention of Italian school policy to all aspects of education, including spaces. The Viennese exposition:

L'attenzione generale si dirige sempre più verso l'educazione e l'istruzione della generazione attuale. Lo stesso popolano sente istintivamente che è necessario

prendersi cura dei figli e si occupa con molto zelo di procurar loro una buona istruzione facendoli frequentare le scuole. È un segno dei tempi. Quasi tutti i giornali, piccoli e grandi, secondano l'inclinazione generale e trattano le questioni pedagogiche del giorno. Ma dove la grande importanza data all'educazione e all'istruzione era affatto manifesta, si fu all'Esposizione di Vienna, dove quasi tutti i popoli del mondo, anche i cinesi, vi si fecero rappresentare e si sforzarono di far risaltare nel modo più ricco questa parte della loro produzione intellettuale. (*L'Esposizione Universale di Vienna del 1873 illustrata*, 1873, p. 572)

From this moment onward, the school building began to gain greater recognition and significance. The special programme of the Viennese exposition of 15 January 1872 stipulated that the illustration of each category of school objects should begin with the school premises. Italy deemed it appropriate to represent only popular schooling through “modelli di edifici scolastici nelle dimensioni naturali”, because it was recognized as having “universalissima importanza” due to being “nel più intimo connesso col paese e col popolo e cerca di adattarsi pienamente alla diversità degli stessi” (*Relazioni dei giurati italiani sull'Esposizione Universale di Vienna del 1873*, 1873, p. 38). For all other schools, “piante e vedute istruttivamente disposte” would be of greater service. In a footnote to the programme text, it was stated:

Sarebbe da preferirsi: per piani di scuole superiori una scala di 1/100 della grandezza effettiva, vale a dire di un centimetro per metro; per piani di scuole medie e popolari una scala di 1/50; per piani generali d'interi gruppi di edifici scolastici, giardini botanici, ecc., una scala di 1/200; e finalmente come misura unitaria pel formato dei disegni 0.25 m. di lunghezza per 0.18 m. d'altezza. (*Relazioni dei giurati italiani sull'Esposizione Universale di Vienna del 1873*, 1873, p. 38)

Bonghi, deputy to the national Parliament, professor at the University of Rome, and member of the Superior Council of Public Education, wrote that Italy had conceived its exhibition «in maniera diversa da quella che avevano fatta gli altri Governi», which had employed «modelli in legno, o piante in grandissime tavole degli edifici, e nel rimanente gli oggetti stessi usati nelle scuole» (*Relazioni dei giurati italiani sull'Esposizione Universale di Vienna del 1873*, 1873, p. 23). Italy did not exhibit «né i mezzi d'insegnamento, né la mobilia delle scuole» nor «una notizia riassuntiva dello stato, delle condizioni, dell'organizzazione dei vari gradi d'insegnamento nel Regno», but for each «una statistica generale o speciale, cioè una gran mole di libri, relazioni». This modus operandi highlighted the great distance in terms of educational progress between our country and others such as Austria and Germany. Bonghi looked especially to countries like France, which had presented the theme of education, giving proper space to school building. He was particularly astonished by the city of Paris, which had provided:

[...] più ordinata e piena rappresentazione delle sue scuole, che nessun' altra città abbia fatto o potesse fare. Vi si vedeva il tipo d'un gruppo scolastico, che comprendeva una scuola di fanciulli, una di fanciulle, un asilo. Il modello era al cinquantesimo del vero, e aveva due annessi, l'uno inteso ad indicare la distribuzione del pian terreno, l'altro quella del 1° piano. Poi v'erano aggiunte con riduzione al 10° una sala di classe di codesto gruppo colla sua mobilia; e del pari, fornita di questa, la sala d'esercizio dell'asilo. Vi si vedeva altresì il modello al 10° del magazzino della mobilia scolastica, del materiale d'insegnamento, e della fornitura di classe, un'utile istituzione, che qualche gran comune in Italia, quello di Napoli, per mo' d'esempio, potrebbe imitare con frutto. Poi il modello d'una sala di disegno e delle sue dipendenze colla mobilia, nelle stesse proporzioni. Le piante di molte altre scuole comunali, costruite dal 1860 al 1873, erano riprodotte con fotografie a 5 millesimi, e con altre si rappresentavano le sale d'asilo e le scuole, mentre i bambini v'attendevano allo studio, e la mobilia di esse. De' banchi e delle panche di scuole ad altezza mobile, introdotti, per prova, nelle scuole

superiori, si vedevano in un modello ridotto altresì al decimo. Dei Collegi municipali e delle scuole superiori municipali eran presentate le piante. (*Relazioni dei giurati italiani sull'Esposizione Universale di Vienna del 1873*, 1873, p. 9)

It was now clear to Italian envoys that observing the progression of construction work in model countries in the sector was not enough; it was necessary to train domestic builders capable of assigning an explicitly educational purpose to their constructions. This would have been possible if the science of building for education had been included within the broader training and updating programme reserved for national education staff, which Bonghi envisioned being delivered through a museum institution. The future minister envisaged this institute based on the model of the Permanent exhibition of educational materials established by the Vienna Municipal Council in 1872, «inteso a raccogliere, a comparare costantemente tutti gli oggetti che sono adatti a far parte d'un'esposizione universale» starting from «piante delle migliori scuole che si costruiscono negli Stati civili di Europa e di America» (*Relazioni dei giurati italiani sull'Esposizione Universale di Vienna del 1873*, 1873, p. 33). The idea was also to adapt to the needs of MPI schools the museum model already experimented with in Italy by the *Museo Industriale di Torino*, established by Royal Decree of 23 November 1862 n. 1001 by the MAIC, born with the goal of «promuovere l'istruzione industriale ed il progresso delle industrie e del commercio» (Viola, 2018a, p. 253). By Royal Decree of 15 November 1874, in agreement with Gaspare Finali, minister of the MAIC, Bonghi, new minister of Public Instruction, established the Museum, to which would later be added a publication «venduta per picciolo prezzo ad ogni altro, tutta scolastica» entitled *Giornale del Museo d'Istruzione e di Educazione* (Barausse, 2020; Cantatore, 2020; Brunelli, 2020). Its widespread circulation throughout the national territory would have guaranteed the diffusion of the contents and the results of the permanent exhibition, enhancing its formative effectiveness (*Giornale del Regio Museo d'Istruzione e di Educazione*, 1, p. 2). In Bonghi's vision, the Museum and the Journal were intended to address the lack of specialized expertise in the management of educational matters, a deficiency that had become evident through participation in international expositions.

Basta di fatti entrare in parecchie delle scuole appartenenti ai Comuni più meritevoli di elogio per la cura e la spesa che mettono in esse, per convincersi, come tutto ciò, che oggi in una scuola è oggetto di molti studi e ricerche per rispetto a' modi in cui dev'essere fatto, costruito, apparecchiato, è presso di noi determinato più volte senza veruna competenza, o scelto a caso e come se non desse luogo a dubbio di sorta, ovvero col consiglio del libraio più vicino, o del legnaiuolo abituale di casa. (*Giornale del Regio Museo d'Istruzione e di Educazione*, 1, p. 5)

School constructions represented an «important argument» in the periodical's programme. In issue four of 15 February 1876, the editorial team announced to readers the publication of «una serie di studi e di notizie» on the theme in order to «far conoscere le cure avute, le disposizioni date e le regole seguite in tale riguardo presso di noi e presso le nazioni più colte». The illustration of the care taken so far by the national government was entrusted to Engineer Bongiovannini, also author of the in-depth study dedicated to primary school buildings contained in issue eight of the same year. The intent was to make the journal a venue for comparison capable of collecting «di buon grado gli appunti e le altre indicazioni» coming from architects, teachers, and administrations and of providing those from the «commissione tecnica addetta al Museo» (*Giornale del Regio Museo d'Istruzione e di Educazione*, 4, p. 100). Despite the presence of the Museum and the circulation of the Journal, Italy failed to present itself competitively even at the subsequent Paris exposition of 1878, which devoted so much space to the problem of school building.

In questo campo l'Italia non è ancora in grado di partecipare all'Exposition, ma pedagogisti, ingeneri, architetti e medici seguono con interesse quanto viene proposto dai più avanzati stati europei. (Daprà, 1986, p. 108)

France still occupied a vanguard position on the matter, as demonstrated by the extensive treatment dedicated by *La revue général de l'Architecture et des Travaux publics* in 1880. For Antonino Parato, Italy, however, was no less. In the Christmas issue of 1878 of *Del maestro elementare italiano e dell'educatore*, national progress was recorded by highlighting, in the author's view, some of the most exemplary cases—namely, a number of Turin schools which, like their French counterparts, featured classrooms illuminated from above through continuous clerestory windows. The quality of national school building was represented by more than 50 drawings of school buildings sent from various Italian cities, such as those «del Collegio Camerini, dell'asilo Primo di Bologna, il palazzo delle scuole di Palermo, di alcune scuole di Milano». Indeed, the album sent by the Municipality of Turin, to which a school topographical map was attached, «non gli parve superato da altro in qualsiasi delle sezioni straniere» (*La mostra didattica italiana nell'Esposizione di Parigi*, 1878).

The certain fact is that in 1878 the good examples of school building in Italy still had an episodic character. It was precisely in 1878, in fact, that the theme of school building was addressed in a more decisive and organic manner through the enactment of Law 18 July n. 4460 entitled *Dell'intervento dello Stato in favore dell'edilizia scolastica*, intended to assist municipalities with loans and credits in constructing new school buildings. The measure, which enshrined the principle of state involvement in school building initiatives, proved to be inconclusive—much like the subsequent ones. Nonetheless, the measure was of considerable importance, as it triggered a period of vigorous legislative activity aimed at expanding the school building infrastructure—an effort which, over time, came to reflect an increasing attention to shaping a national architectural identity.

Minister Bonghi, with circular no. 441 of 1875 entitled *Sussidi e prestiti ai Comuni per la costruzione di edifici scolastici*, communicated to the prefects the full support of the MPI to ensure that every inhabited centre was equipped with suitable school premises. The Royal Decree No. 5808 of 11 November 1888 finally approved the first Regulation and technical-hygienic instructions for the execution of Law 8 July 1888 on school buildings, followed by the Technical-Hygienic Instructions concerning the drafting of projects for the construction of new school buildings approved by R.D. no. 5808 of 11 November 1888, which more strongly marked the MPI's tendency to characterize the morphology and organization of school spaces in a pedagogical sense (Viola, 2018c, p. 71). A frequently unattained objective. Despite the efforts, the infrastructure struggled to develop adequately and to assume dignified and uniform characteristics. In the Report to H.E. the Minister of Public Instruction, on Elementary Education in the academic year 1895-96, it is stated:

Le leggi del 18 luglio 1878 e dell'8 giugno 1888 intendevano agevolare ai comuni la costruzione di nuovi edifici scolastici e l'ampliamento ed il restauro di quelli già esistenti; ma né esse, né i regolamenti per la distribuzione di sussidi destarono, specialmente in alcune parti del Regno, quella gara di domande che era lecito sperare. (*Bollettino Ufficiale del Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica*, 1897)

Work on the national school's construction site remained in progress, and Italy seemed distant from securing a place among the winners of the peaceful competitions of progress that the expositions represented.

4. CONCLUSIONS

This rapid excursion, whose aim has been primarily to emphasize the complexity and high research potential of the source apparatus relating to the universal expositions for the study of school building, draws to a close. In particular, the reflection has sought to highlight the multiple levels of interpretation offered

by this type of sources for investigating the school building both as a material space and as a place of representation of the political and educational identity of each participating country. Within the «il grande teatro del mondo» (Escolano, 2023, p. 141), set up within the exposition palaces, the competitors, utilizing three-dimensional reproductions or floor plans, succeeded in conveying to visitors the extensive scope of the importance they ascribed to education. This practice long aroused in Italy a feeling of inadequacy and frustration that persisted beyond its debut as a united state at the 1862 London Exhibition. Until the end of the century, Italy always had much to observe and little to showcase. The analysis of the recurrence and the space dedicated to the theme of school building, carried out with a comparative lens through the reading of programmes and reports by Italian and foreign envoys to the expositions, returns the image of the national school construction site as stationary or at least slow. From the envoys' reports it emerges that the pace of the work was influenced by the slow cultural and political process of affirming the secular state school. At present, the data derived from this documentary corpus, though substantial, are insufficient to delineate the architectural features of a building representative of Italian state education, unlike what is possible, for instance, for the Northern European countries. In conclusion, the sources examined are crucial for gaining insight into the broader evolution of school building practices of the era and for discerning how construction directives from more advanced nations were assimilated and adapted by others. The focus of this discussion intends to underline how participation in the universal expositions inevitably influenced the formulation of architectural provisions adopted by Italian educational policy. Furthermore, it contributed to disseminating a culture that favoured the development of architecture specifically designed for educational use, serving the pedagogical needs and instruction of the Italian population.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Andreassi, R., Viola, V. (2024). "La rappresentazione del patrimonio storico-scolastico attraverso la voce dei maestri". En A. Ascenzi, G. Bandini, C. Ghizzoni (eds.), *Il patrimonio storico-educativo come fonte per la Public History of Education: Tra buone pratiche e nuove prospettive* (pp. 598-613). Eum.
- Barausse, A. (2020). "Mostre didattiche, musei pedagogici e musei scolastici in Italia dall'Unità all'ascesa del fascismo. Nation building tra processi di scolarizzazione, modernizzazione delle pratiche didattiche e relazioni internazionali". En A. Barausse, T. de Freitas Ermel, V. Viola (eds.), *Prospettive incrociate sul Patrimonio Storico Educativo* (pp. 109-150). Pensa Multimedia.
- Brunelli, M. (2017). "La recente costituzione della Società Italiana per lo studio del Patrimonio Storico-Educativo (SIPSE)". *History of Education & Children's Literature*, XII(2), 653-665.
- Brunelli, M. (2018). "Cataloghi commerciali dei materiali scolastici e collezioni storiche dei sussidi didattici. Nuove fonti per la storia dell'industria per la scuola in Italia (1870-1922)". *History of Education & Children's Literature*, 13(2), 469-510.
- Brunelli, M. (2020). "Esposizioni Universali, musei pedagogici e modernizzazione educativa". En M. Brunelli, *Alle origini del museo scolastico. Storia di un dispositivo didattico al servizio della scuola primaria e popolare tra Otto e Novecento* (pp. 14-20). Eum.
- Brunelli, M. (2020). *Alle origini del museo scolastico. Storia di un dispositivo didattico al servizio della scuola primaria e popolare tra Otto e Novecento*. Eum.
- Cantatore, L. (2001). "Architettura per l'infanzia in Roma Capitale: i nuovi edifici del Comune 1878-1912". En G. Alatri, E. Ansovini, L. Cantatore (eds.), *Trucci, Trucci, Cavallucci... Infanzia a Roma tra Otto e Novecento. Catalogo della Mostra, Roma, 9-28 ottobre 2001* (pp. 78-109). Palombi.

- Cantatore, L. (2004). "La casa della scuola tra eclettismo e razionalismo: l'edilizia scolastica nella Roma degli anni venti". En G. Alatri, L. Cantatore, C. Covato (eds.), *A passo di marcia: l'infanzia a Roma tra le due guerre. Catalogo della mostra (Roma, Museo di Roma in Trastevere, 4 marzo-25 aprile 2004* (pp. 39-46). Palombi.
- Cantatore, L. (2016). "School buildings in Rome: the capital of Italy (1878-1912)". En P. Dávila, L. M. Naya (eds.), *Espacios y patrimonio histórico-educativo* (pp. 305-318). Erein.
- Cantatore, L. (2020). "Il MuSEd di Roma Tre fra passato e presente. Con inediti di Giuseppe Lombardo Radice e Mauro Laeng". En A. Barausse, T. de Freitas Ermel, V. Viola (eds.), *Prospettive incrociate sul Patrimonio Storico Educativo* (pp. 248-270). Pensa MultiMedia.
- Cantatore, L. (2021). "La 'casa de la escuela' en las primeras décadas de Roma Capital". *Historia y Memoria de la Educación*, (13), 113-147. <https://doi.org/10.5944/hme.13.2021.27131>
- Carderera, M. (1863). *La pedagogía en la Exposición Universal de Londres de 1862*. Imprenta de Victoriano Hernando.
- Cavour, G. B., Devincenzi, G. (1862). *Relazione al Ministero d'Agricoltura, Industria e Commercio dei Regii Commissarii Generali del Regno d'Italia presso l'Esposizione Internazionale del 1862*. W. Trounce.
- Chervel, A. (1998). *La culture scolaire: une approche historique*. Belin.
- Cives, G. (1960). *Cento anni di vita scolastica in Italia. Ispezioni e inchieste da Gino Capponi a Giuseppe Lombardo Radice*. Armando.
- Covato, C. (2016). "Luoghi e non luoghi nella storia dell'educazione". *Rivista di storia dell'educazione* (3), 16.
- D'Ascenzo, M. (2016). "Tales and experiences of school spaces: a choir of voices, between unification and fascism in Bologna (Italy)". En P. Dávila, L. M. Naya (eds.), *Espacios y patrimonio histórico-educativo* (pp. 245-258). Erein.
- Daprà, M. (1986). "La fondazione dell'edilizia scolastica in Italia. Contributo per un'analisi storica (parte prima)". *Edilizia scolastica e culturale*, n. 2-3, pp. 108-133.
- Degeorge, H. (1880). "Les édifices scolaires à l'Exposition universelle de 1878". *Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics* (4.^a série, 7), 14-61.
- Del Pozo Andrés, M. del M. (1983). "Presencia de la pedagogía española en las Exposiciones Universales del XIX". *Historia de la Educación*, 2, 165-172.
- Garelli, V. (1873). *La scuola di campagna. Proposta di un nuovo ordinamento che assicuri d'aver buoni maestri ed una istruzione utile al progresso morale e materiale de' campagnoli fatta da un disertore dal contado il quale desidera di farvi ritorno* (pp. 39-40). Tip. e Lib. S. Giuseppe.
- Gaspar da Silva, V. L., de Souza, G., Castro, C. A. (eds.) (2023). *Cultura materiale della scuola in prospettiva storica: Scritture e possibilità* (Tomo II). Editora da Universidade Federal do Maranhão.
- Il Nuovo Arredamento Scolastico (1870). *Patria e famiglia. Giornale dei congressi pedagogici compilato e diretto da Giuseppe Sacchi a nome della Società Pedagogica Italiana* (fasc. XV-XVI), 66.
- Julia, D. (1996). "Riflessioni sulla recente storiografia dell'educazione in Europa". *Annali di storia dell'educazione e delle istituzioni scolastiche*, 3, 119-147.
- L'Esposizione Universale di Vienna del 1873 illustrata* (1873). Sonzogno.

- L'Italia alla Esposizione Universale di Parigi nel 1867. Rassegna critica, descrittiva, illustrata* (1868). Tipografia dei Successori Le Monnier.
- La mostra didattica italiana nell'Esposizione di Parigi (1878, 13 novembre). *Del Maestro elementare italiano e dell'Educatore*, XV(2).
- Lawn, M. (2023). "La materialità dinamica dell'educazione scolastica: insegnanti, tecnologie, routine e lavoro". En V. L. Gaspar da Silva, G. de Souza, C. A. Castro (eds.), *Cultura materiale della scuola in prospettiva storica: Scritture e possibilità* (Tomo II, pp. 19-34). Editora da Universidade Federal do Maranhão.
- Lawn, M. (ed.) (2009). *Modelling the Future: exhibitions and the materiality of education*. Symposium Book. <https://doi.org/10.15730/books.71>
- L'Esposizione Universale del 1867 illustrata: Pubblicazione internazionale autorizzata dalla Commissione Imperiale dell'Esposizione* (1867). Sonzogno.
- Meda, J. (2011). «'Mezzi di educazione di massa'. Nuove fonti e nuove prospettive di ricerca per una 'storia materiale della scuola' tra XIX e XX secolo». *History of Education & Children's Literature*, 6(1), 253-280.
- Meda, J. (2013). "La conservazione del patrimonio storico-educativo: il caso italiano". En J. Meda, A. M. Badanelli (eds.), *La historia de la cultura escolar en Italia y en España: balance y perspectivas* (pp. 167-198). Eum.
- Meda, J. (2016). *Mezzi di educazione di massa: saggi di storia della cultura materiale della scuola tra 19° e 20° secolo*. Franco Angeli.
- Meda, J., Paciaroni, L., Sani, R. (eds.) (2024). *The school and its many pasts*. Eum.
- Meda, J., Pomante, L., Brunelli, M. (2019). "Memories and public celebrations of education in contemporary times: presentation". *History of Education and Children's Literature*. XIV, 1, 2019, 11-21.
- Pizzigoni, F. D. (2022): *Tracce di patrimonio. Fonti per lo studio della materialità scolastica nell'Italia del secondo Ottocento*. Pensa Multimedia.
- Pizzigoni, F. D. (2024). La scuola italiana e i suoi oggetti didattici all'Esposizione Universale di Parigi del 1878: "viaggio di andata" e "viaggio di ritorno". En M.C. Morandini and F.D. Pizzigoni. *Objects that travel in time. The commercial circulation of educational objects between the 19th and 20th centuries* (pp. 301-325). Pensa Multimedia.
- Programma. (1875, 15 novembre). *Giornale d'Istruzione e di Educazione*, 1(1).
- Relazione a S. E. il Ministro dell'Istruzione Pubblica sull'istruzione elementare nell'anno scolastico 1895-96. (1897, 29 novembre). *Bollettino ufficiale del Ministero dell'Istruzione Pubblica. Parte non ufficiale*, 24 (2, Suppl. al n. 47), 8-11.
- Relazioni dei giurati italiani sulla Esposizione Universale di Vienna del 1873* (1873). Regia Stamperia.
- Suppellettile scolastica (1876, 15 febbraio). *Giornale d'Istruzione e di Educazione*, 1(4)
- Targhetta, F. (2010). "'Uno sguardo all'Europa'. Modelli scolastici, viaggi pedagogici ed importazioni didattiche nei primi cinquant'anni di scuola italiana". En M. Chiaranda (ed.), *Storia comparata dell'educazione. Problemi ed esperienze tra Otto e Novecento* (pp. 155-166). FrancoAngeli.
- Tomasi, T. (1982). "Da Matteucci a Corradini. Le inchieste sulla scuola popolare nell'età liberale". *Problemi e momenti di storia della scuola e dell'educazione. Atti del I Convegno Nazionale del Centro Italiano per la Ricerca Storico-Educative* (Parma, 23-24 ottobre 1981), 123-147.

- Viñao, A. (1993-1994). "El espacio escolar. Introducción". *Historia de la Educación*, 12-13, 17-74.
- Viñao, A. (2016). "Los espacios escolares ¿cómo abordar un objeto polifacético y multiforme?". En P. Dávila, L. M. Naya (eds.), *Espacios y patrimonio histórico-educativo* (pp. 25-59). Erein.
- Viola, V. (2015a). "Drawing for the nation. The role of drawing classes in the construction process of the national identity and industry (1861-1891)". *History of Education & Children's Literature*, 10, 391-404.
- Viola, V. (2015b). "'I musei di carta'. Le riviste e i manuali di disegno editi in Italia dall'Unità alla fine del XIX secolo". En J. M. Hernández Díaz (ed.), *La prensa pedagógica de los escolares y estudiantes: su contribución al patrimonio histórico educativo* (pp. 555-567). Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca. <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1ht4vt5.45>
- Viola, V. (2016a). "Il segreto della ricchezza degli altri paesi è la scienza, è l'istruzione tecnica". *Percorsi di formazione tecnica e professionale nell'Italia dell'Ottocento*. Biblioteca del Centro di documentazione e ricerca sulla storia delle istituzioni scolastiche, del libro scolastico e della letteratura per l'infanzia dell'Università degli Studi del Molise. Pensa MultiMedia.
- Viola, V. (2016b). "'The school house'. History and evolution of the urban and rural school building in Italy during the fascism". En P. Dávila, L. M. Naya (eds.), *Espacios y patrimonio histórico-educativo* (pp. 377-389). Erein.
- Viola, V. (2018a). "Il museo artistico e industriale di Giuseppe Barone di Baranello". *Rivista di Storia dell'Educazione*, 5, 247-264.
- Viola, V. (2018b). "Gli spazi della memoria scolastica: Prime riflessioni sugli edifici scolastici come luoghi di apprendimento e monumenti attraverso un excursus storico dall'Unità d'Italia alla caduta del fascismo". En S. González, J. Meda, X. Motilla y L. Pomante (eds.), *La práctica educativa: historia, memoria y patrimonio* (pp. 251-262). Salamanca: FahrenHouse.
- Viola, V. (2018c). "Processi di scolarizzazione e spazi rurali: l'edilizia scolastica per le scuole rurali". En A. Barausse y M. D'Alessio (eds.), *Processi di scolarizzazione e paesaggio rurale* (pp. 65-92). Pensa MultiMedia.
- Viola, V. (2020). "Un problema di 'spazio'. Alcune riflessioni storiografiche sull'edilizia scolastica in Italia tra Otto e Novecento". En A. Barausse, T. de Freitas Ermel, V. Viola (eds.), *Prospettive incrociate sul Patrimonio Storico Educativo* (pp. 471-493). Pensa Multimedia.
- Viola, V., Miceli, V. (2016). "'In iscuola meglio che in casa'. L'edilizia delle scuole rurali durante il ventennio fascista. Primi risultati di uno scavo documentario". *Rivista di Storia dell'Educazione*, 2, 83-89.
- Yanes-Cabrera, C., Meda, J., Viñao Frago, A. (eds.) (2017). *School memories: New trends in the history of education* (pp. 1-9, introduzione). Springer. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-44063-7>