DEVELOPMENTS IN EDUCATION OUTSIDE THE JESUIT 'COLLEGIUM MELITENSE'

by

Vincent Borg

A fair and reasonable assessment of the contribution to education in Malta, provided by the Jesuit College, has to take due account of the educational facilities that existed before the arrival of the Society of Jesus in Malta, as well as those that were available contemporaneously with their institution. Some studies in this regard have already been published (1), yet more research is still needed, whereby a more complete picture could be obtained.

The present work aims at an analysis of a fair amount of documentation which owes its origin to important ecclesiastical legislation directly connected with education in Malta. Thereby, certain aspects of educational facilities, present in the Maltese Islands from the last decades of the 16th century till the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from Malta in 1768, will emerge. This analysis will, moreover, provide a direct insight into the standard of education in Malta outside the Jesuit College and certain other established educational institutions (2).

ECCLESIASTICAL ENACTMENTS CONNECTED WITH EDUCATION IN MALTA

The Diocesan Synod of 1951

The acts of the Diocesan Synod, held by Bishop Fra Tomaso Gargallo

1. Antonio Leanza, I Gesuiti in Malta al tempo dei Cavalieri Gerosolimitani (Malta 1934); Pio Pecchini, 'Il Collegio dei Gesuiti in Malta': Archivio Storico di Malta, Vol. IX (1939), 129-202, 272-325; Jos. Cassar Pullicino, 'Pre-Jesuit Education': The Sundial, Vol. 4, No. 6 (1946), 14-18; Arthur Bonnici, The Teaching of Theology in the Jesuit College from 1592 to 1769 (Malta 1947); Vinc. Borg, 'On fixing the Foundation-Day date of our University': Seminariun Melitense, N.us X (1955), 57-70; Andrew P. Vella The University of Malta (Malta 1969). On the 10th November 1971, I gave a public lecture, at the Aula Magna of the University, entitled: "Higher Education in the Jesuit 'Collegium Melitense'; 1593-1769". The contents of this lecture, as well as the results of further research on this subject and other relevant material, are being prepared for eventual publication.

2. These other institutions include the municipal schools of Notabile and Gozo, as well as various other schools run by the Religious Orders. Thus the Dominicans were involved in teaching higher studies both at Valletta and at Vittoriosa (Andrew P. Vella, 'The University of S. Maria Portus Salutis': Journal of the Faculty of Arts, Vol. II [1962], 164-180; Mikiel Fsadni, Id-Dumnikani fil-Belt 1569-1619 [Malta 1971], 105-109; confer also Notes Nos. 52 and 53 of this study); similarly, the Franciscan Minor Conventuals were engaged in such teaching at Valletta (Bonaventura Fiorini, 'Il Convento di Valletta': Miscellanea Francescana 57 [Roma 1957], 95-117, and also 'I Minori Conventuali a Malta': Miscellanea Francescana 65 [Roma 1965], 305-348).
in 1591, record the earliest detailed local ecclesiastical legislation dealing with education in Malta. The more important of these enactments remained a dead letter. The said Bishop intended to establish a seminary and decreed its foundation during this synod. A document detailing the norms that where to govern life within this institution was also included in the records of this synod: this document, in its right, is quite an important paper of educational value (3). But Gargallo's seminary had to give way for the setting of a Jesuit College and it had to be shelved for the time being (4).

The same synod decreed some other legislation regarding education in Malta. School teachers, known as "Ludi Magistri", were given certain instructions wherein the particular duties of christian teachers, exercising their profession in Malta, were clearly outlined. Apart from teaching grammar as well as any other subject or subjects, teachers had to take care to impart a good grounding in christian doctrine to their students. Saturdays were to be devoted to this teaching. Moreover, whenever this was possible, on Sundays, after attendance at Vespers, they were expected to read to their students selections from christian literature. Those who were paid for their teaching had to do their best to fulfill this last mentioned duty. Classrooms were to be duly adorned and decorated with holy pictures for the edification of the students. Poor clerics and similar young men were entitled to receive their education free of charge. Any member of the teaching profession who dared not to abide by these enactments was liable to incur such penalties as the Bishop would deem it fit to decree (5).

A Profession of Faith

Gargallo's synod made no reference whatsoever to any other requirement demanded from teachers in Malta. However, after the last session of the Council of Trent, Pope Pius IV decreed that all Masters, Doctors, Rectors of Universities as well as all teachers, including those teaching grammar, whether ecclesiastics or laymen, had to make a profession of faith (6). The same Pope published a definite formula of this profession of faith in a papal Bull, "Inunctum Nobis", dated 13th November 1564.

3. Archivum Archiepiscopale Melitense (Secretariat), Synodus 1591-1629, Synodus 1591, 57v-60r. These norms have been published by Roberto Valentini in his study 'Scuole, Seminario, e Collegio dei Gesuiti in Malta 1467-1591': Archivio Storico di Malta, Vol. VIII (1936), 23-26.
5. AAM (Secretariat), Synodus 1591-1629, Synodus 1591, 53v-54r.
It is quite probable that, although Gargallo’s synod did not refer to this requisite, its implementation was being observed in Malta.

There are, so far, three instances when persons involved in teaching had to abide by this requirement a few years after Gargallo’s synod, and before the convocation of the next Diocesan Synod. All the three teachers were priests hailing from Valletta, Senglea and Attard (8). They made their profession of faith in 1618.

No direct reference was made to this same requisite in the next synod held by Bishop Fra Baldassare Cagliara in 1620. However, this synod presupposed that all teachers had been observing the above-mentioned papal requirement. Parish priests had to make sure that teachers practising within their parish boundaries had previously made their profession of faith. Signed testimonials had to be provided confirming the fulfilment of this condition. Otherwise, parish priests were expected to report immediately to the Bishop (9).

The enactments of the next synod, convened in 1625, are more specific regarding the profession of faith. The section dealing with the preservation, conservation and propagation of faith referred precisely to this requirement. All teachers, both ecclesiastics and laymen, even if they taught merely elementary subjects such as the three R’s, had to fulfil this duty (10).

All subsequent synods repeated this enactment (11). A copy of the profession of faith published by Pope Paul IV was incorporated in the acts of the Diocesan Synod held in 1668 (12). The archives of the Diocesan Curia furnish various instances recording the due compliance with this legislation. After obtaining their authorisation to teach, all candidates had to present themselves before the Bishop or his Vicar General to pronounce the profession of faith.

An Authorisation to teach

The granting of an authorisation or licence to teach involved, also, directly the local ecclesiastical authority. All persons under the Bishop’s

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8. AAM (Secretariat), Pastoral Visit 1618, 31r, 123v, 136r. As all the records of the pastoral visits are kept in the secretariat section of the Archdiocesan Archives, thereafter, the insert (Secretariat) will be omitted whenever these are quoted.

9. AAM (Secretariat), Synodus 1591-1629, Synodus 1620, unpaginated.

10. Ibid., Synodus 1625, 105r. According to this synod all preachers, teachers, doctors of Medicine and surgeons had to make this profession of faith.


jurisdiction, normally, had to be endowed with the latter's authorisation in order to be able to teach on their own, whether publicly or privately (13).

As far as 1588, Bishop Gargallo was keen in investigating and finding out who had granted permission to teach to various individuals at Vittoriosa, Senglea and Burmula. The result of these investigations brought to light the following data. There were, then, five schools at Vittoriosa, two at Senglea and none at Burmula. Three priests were in charge of three schools at Vittoriosa and each one had been duly authorised by the local ecclesiastical authority. The other two schools pertained to two notaries, Notary Placido Abel and Notary Andrea Albano. The former had been empowered to teach both by the civil and by the ecclesiastical authorities of the island, while the latter had no kind of authorisation. The two schools functioning at Senglea, similarly, had never received any authorisation whatsoever (14). Gargallo's intervention on this occasion implies that towards the end of the sixteenth century, the local ecclesiastical authority already exercised the prerogative to grant the faculty to teach. It is, however, also quite evident that civil authority had also been exercising that same right, as in the insistence of Notary Abel quoted above.

The 17th and 18th centuries witness a gradual growth and development in the Bishop's involvement regarding the granting of this licence. The Bishop's main concern seems to have been, originally, to secure thereby the due fulfilment of papal legislation regarding the profession of faith. Thus, as early as 1618, once a priest had been approved to teach, he had to proceed immediately to make his profession of faith (15). The records of Bishop Buenos' synod, held in May 1668, point in this same direction. Teachers who had been endowed with a licence to teach were in duty bound to make the said profession, otherwise, their licence would be revoked. The same revocation was decreed for those who did not produce within a month their authorisations, or at least, prove their existence from the Curia's records. In establishing these enactments, the synod stated clearly that these licences had been granted by the Bishop "A Nobis" (16). This indirect reference provides a valid clue to indicate that by 1668 the granting of the licence or authorisation to teach was deemed as a recognised prerogative of the local Ordinary of the Maltese

13. Those who were not under the Bishop's jurisdiction were not bound by the latter's legislation in so far as this did not regard the administration of sacraments within parish churches and ecclesiastical property pertaining to the diocese.
14. AAM, Pastoral Visit 1588, 19r-20r.
15. Same as Note No. 8.
16. RML, Ms 54, pp. 13-14.
Diocese. Its use, however, was closely related to the profession of faith.

The years following immediately after the 1668 synod contain extensive documentation in this regard. The "Suppliche" section of the Curia Archives begins with that year. This section contains copies of petitions addressed to the Bishops of Malta requesting various concessions. Among these petitions, there is quite a number seeking the Bishop's authorisation whereby both clergymen and laymen could open schools or start teaching.

The synod of Bishop Fra David Cocco Palmieri, held in April 1703, while it stressed, again, the relations that existed between the profession of faith and the licence to teach (17), it specified clearly the dependance of the latter from the local Bishop. This was affirmed during the second session of this synod. After referring to the establishment of the seminary, that had been successfully carried out earlier that year, the synod made a direct allusion to the need of authorised teachers in Malta. The Jesuit College and the new seminary could not cater for all the educational needs of the Maltese Islands. Yet, no one could teach or open any school without the bishop's authorisation. The synod specified this in clear and unmistakable terms. This authorisation was deemed to be the exclusive right of the Bishop. Moreover, this licence required certain determinate conditions. Candidates for the teaching profession had to be examined and be duly approved. Furthermore, their moral behaviour had to be beyond reproach (18). With this new legislation, the licence to teach was no longer conceived solely as a means whereby the ecclesiastical authority could secure the due fulfilment of the profession of faith. The Bishop felt it his duty, emanating from his prerogative to grant the said licence, to guarantee the attainment of adequate standards of qualifications in the candidates and thereby in the subjects to be taught.

Cocco Palmieri's enactment regarding examinations codified a custom that had been introduced during the previous ten years. From 1693 onwards, almost each candidate had to undergo such an examination. The first among these was a foreign cleric, Onofrio Neri. Afterwards, this examination had become a normal procedure (19). The Bishop used to

18. *Ibid.*, p. 112. Sessio II, Cap. XI, § 8 and 9. According to a declaration made by the Congregation of the Council, Bishops could examine candidates for the teaching profession in so far as matters regarding faith, Christian doctrine and moral behaviour were involved (Lucius Ferraris, *op. cit.*, 441, 'Magister', § 6 and 7). The examinations held in Malta dealt also with the intellectual preparation and aptitude for teaching of these candidates.
19. Between 1693 and 1703, nine out of eleven applicants were subjected to this examination (AAM [Curia] Suppliche 1686-1706, 124v, 151v, 186r-v, 187r, 196r-v, 251v-252r, 337v-338r, 346r-v), the only two that were unexamined were Frenchmen. Even some of those, who had been appointed by the Grand Master as teachers of the municipal schools of Malta and Gozo, were examined by the ecclesiastical authority.
appoint an examiner for each applicant (20). Towards 1714, a new method was introduced. During that year, a general examination was held. All those who intended to embark in teaching had to sit for this examination (21). It is somewhat difficult to establish how long this new method was followed (22). In later years, however, a reversal to individual tests prevailed. There were exceptions when some individuals were not subjected to this examination, normally, on account of their qualifications. Following Bishop Alpheran de Bussan's death, however, it seems that while the See was still vacant, candidates were lucky enough to obtain their authorisations without undergoing any form of examination whatsoever. A good number availed themselves of this slackening off from the grips of the law (23).

The bishop's licence specified certain other conditions regulating where and what kind of teaching a successful candidate would be allowed to practise. Normally, teaching was restricted to one definite parish, although at times authorisations to cater for more than one parish were also granted. On certain occasions, these covered also the whole island or the entire diocese. The subject or subjects to be taught were chosen by the candidate himself. The examiner's report, however, decided whether he was fit to teach them. There were instances when the ecclesiastical authority deemed it suitable to impose certain restrictions on the candi-

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These were Don Agostino Debono (Cfr. Appendix A, Note No. 79), Don Domenico Azzopardi (Ibid., Note No. 133) and Don Giuseppe Vassallo (Ibid., Note No. 118), while Don Giuseppe Zerafa (Ibid., Note No. 213) was approved without being subjected to an examination. As the 'Suppliche' section of the AAM forms part of the 'Curia' division within these archives, whenever reference to this section is made, the insert ('Curia') will, hereafter, be omitted.

20. The first examinations, that are recorded, were carried out by the Canon Treasurer of the Cathedral. From 1696 onwards, Jesuit fathers were also, at times, commissioned by the Bishop to examine candidates. After 1715, these examinations were, normally, left in the hands of members of the diocesan clergy. During the 1750's and 1760's, the more prominent examiners were Don Aloisio Gauci and Don Francesco Wzzino.

21. "Faculatem concedimus usque ad generalem examen praescriptum in nostris edictis" — This condition was inserted in an authorisation given on the 28th September 1714 (AAM, Suppliche 1710-1721, 149v.) No mention of such an examination is found in an edict published by Bishop Cannaves on the 20th September 1714 or in any other edict in which reference to the teaching profession had been made (AAM [Curia]. Editti 1713-1721, unpaginated.)

22. Such an examination was still being held during the following year. An authorisation given on the 24th May of that year stated: "Concessa per annum dummodo accedat in generali examine" (AAM, Suppliche 1710-1721, 178r).

23. From July 1757 till February 1758, eleven candidates obtained their authorisations or renewals of authorisations without being examined (Cfr. Appendix A, Notes Nos. 179, 227, 234, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 245 and 247).
date’s choice following the recommendations of the examiner (24).

Another condition specified in the licence regarded its duration. Till the beginning of the 1690s, these were either given without any limitation of time or, at the utmost, with the insertion of the words “ad Beneplacitum”, meaning that the concession could be revoked at any time. With the 1690s, authorisations began to be given to last solely for one year. Thenceforth these had to be renewed every year. It is, however, very difficult to determine how far this condition was fulfilled. Until 1721, the above-mentioned “Suppliche” section of the Curia Archives does not record one single instance of such renewals. There is, however, the possibility that these could have been obtained orally and no records were kept of such renewals. The formula “ad Annum” disappears from 1716 onwards (25). The only limitations of time reappear in the 1740s, when once more the words “ad Beneplacitum” are met with in certain instances (26).

The data analysed have established the need of two fundamental requisites demanded from those who sought to start teaching on their own. These requisites were: (a) a profession of faith and (b) an authorisation to teach obtained from the Ordinary of the Diocese. Both requisites were incorporated at different times in local ecclesiastical legislation.

Before proceeding to investigate the documentation resulting from the direct application and implementation of these enactments, an attempt will be made to reconstruct certain developments in education till 1668, when the said documentation starts. Although the sources, so far available, are quite sporadic, nevertheless the details that have come to light are highly revealing.

THE YEARS BEFORE 1668

The best known school, existing in Malta before the arrival of the Jesuits, was the municipal school of Notabile. Apart from this school, there were others as well. References to such schools, functioning at Notabile and at Vittoriosa, are available in the records of the 1575 Apostolic Visit. It is beyond the aim of this study to furnish more details

24. Subdeacon Gius. Farrugia, though he petitioned to be authorised to teach also Moral Theology, his licence given in 1741 included only the teaching of reading, writing and grammar; similarly, Don Giov. Borg in 1750 was not authorised to teach grammar but solely reading and writing. The same restriction was made to Don Gabriele Caruana in 1754.
25. Cfr. authorisation given to Don Natale Grima in 1716 (AAM, Suppliche 1710-1721, 30v).
26. Cfr. for 1741: AAM, Suppliche 1714-1741, part II, 1011v, AAM, Suppliche 1741-1761, part I, 2v, 3r, 4r 5r-6v, 14r, 28v, 31r, 39v, 40r, 249v, 487v; for 1743: Ibid., 86v, 108v, 114r; for 1745: Ibid., 218r, 249r; for 1749: Ibid., 492r.
about these schools than those that have already been pointed out in other studies (27).

The records of the 1588 pastoral visit, already quoted previously, provide a detailed comprehensive account of schools existing within a definite area of the Maltese Islands before the turn of the 16th century. From investigations carried out on behalf of Bishop Gargallo resulted that there were five schools functioning at Vittoriosa and another two at Senglea. The five schools at Vittoriosa catered amongst them for elementary, grammar and legal education. Elementary education was followed in the school of Notary Andrea Albano, since it is clearly stated that he was teaching the “prima elementa”.

Notary Placido Abel is referred to as “professoris artis gramaticae”, meaning that he was teaching grammar within his school. Legal studies could have been pursued in the school of Don Giovanni Battista Spinola. The prefix attached to the latter’s name is, in fact, “utriusque iuris professore”. No details are given regarding the subjects taught in the other two schools, both of which had an ecclesiastic as teacher, namely, Don Michele Cap and Don Crispino de Caro.

Attendance at the schools of Notary Abel and Don Cap was quite numerous. Forty students frequented the former and fifty the latter. De Caro’s school had only eight students in all, while twelve students were at Spinola’s school. No statistical data are available regarding Albano’s school children. The two notaries gave their lessons at their own private residences. The two Maltese ecclesiastics availed themselves of two chapels existing within the cemetery of St Lawrence church for their teaching.

Students had to pay their teachers for lessons received. This results indirectly from a statement made on this occasion by Notary A’bano. He gave his lessons without receiving any remuneration from his students.

The two schools existing at Senglea were looked after by two priests, namely, Don Francesco Caruana and Don Bernardo Francese, who was the curate of the parish. No details are available regarding studies pursued in both schools. Their population, however, is known. There were twelve students at Caruana’s school and twenty at Francese’s. The former gave lessons in the church of St Julian’s, while the latter preferred to give them at his own house (28).

Thus, on the eve of the establishment of the Jesuit College, there were adequate educational facilities within the harbour area and due use was made of them. The statistical data of the school population resulting

28. AAM, Pastoral Visit 1588, 19v-20v.
from these details are indeed not at all negligible. In all there were one hundred and forty two students attending six out of the seven schools existing at Vittoriosa and Senglea. Taking into account that in 1658, there were ninetyseven students frequenting the Grammar and Humanities classes at the Jesuit Col’lege, the above statistics compare quite favourably indeed (29).

The establishment of the Jesuit College in 1592 did not solve at all the lack of educational facilities of those living in the central parts of the island. Bishop Fra Baldassare Cagliares, although he appreciated the contribution being provided by the Jesuits, nevertheless he was faced by the problem just mentioned and tried to surmount it. In the report presented to the Congregation of the Council on the occasion of his first Ad Limina Visit in 1615, he stated that, in order to ease down this acute problem, he had decided to found a seminary at Notabile where educational facilities would thereby be accessible to those who lived far away from the harbour area (30). The foundation of this seminary had been duly entered in the records of Notary Andrea Allegritto on the 8th August 1615 (31).

It has been rather difficult to establish how long this institution continued to survive. There is no reference to it in any of the records of the pastoral visits carried out by Bishop Cagliares himself from 1618 onwards (32).

In the meantime, however, other schools began to appear both within the harbour area as well as elsewhere. The earliest school functioning outside the harbour area, that has been traced so far, was found at Attard. Its master was Don Tomaso Tabone, he had been authorised to teach children in 1618 (33). During that same year, two other priests had obtained similar authorisations. One, Don Giuseppe Micallef was teaching at Valletta (34), and another, Don Domenico Cassar at Senglea (35).

Further information regarding ecclesiastics engaged in teaching is available in 1638. During that year a census of the maltese clergy had been compiled. In certain instances, details regarding the profession

29. A[rchivum] R[omanum] S[ocietatis] J[esu], Sicula 67, 16r. There were fifty-seven students attending the grammar class and forty the humanities class.
32. Bishop Cagliares' Pastoral Visits after 1618 are recorded in AAM, Cagliares Visite 1621, 1623, 1627, 1629-1630, 1631 con Constitutioni Synodo Gargallo.
33. AAM, Pastoral Visit 1618, 31r.
34. Ibid., 136r.
35. Ibid., 123v.
practised by some ecclesiastics have been included. From these details it results that six c’ergymen were teaching during that year; three at Valletta (36), one at Vittorio (37), one at the municipal school of Notabile (38) and another at the municipal school of Gozo (39).

Another census of the diocesan clergy, similar to the previous one, furnishes further details regarding the year 1644. These details bring out the schools that were frequented by clerics or those whose master in charge was an ecclesiastic. The results obtained from this analysis manifest a steady progress in the spreading of education both within as well as outside the harbour area. There were seven schoo’s at Valletta, an elementary school (40) and six grammar schools (41). On the other side of the harbour, there were five grammar schools at Vittorio (42) and another one at Senglea (43). The rural areas of Malta, including Gozo, were not lagging far behind at this time with regard to elementary and grammar education. In Malta, Zebbug had two grammar teachers (44), while there was one in each of the following parishes, namely, Lia (45), Naxxar (46), Mqabba (47) and Zurrieq (48). Gozo had two such schools, both of them at Rabat. One was housed in the church of Santa Sábina (49) and another one in the augustinian priory (50), both having augustinian friars as teachers. All teachers at these schools, except the one at the elementary school of Valletta, were ecclesiastics.

36. AAM (Secretariat) Rolli del Clero 1634-1661, Rollo del 1638, 56v, 69v and 71v. These three clergymen were Don Tomaso Mallia, married cleric Matteolo Hagius and Don Salvatore Habela.
37. Ibid., 38v. Its teacher was Don Antonio Cavallino.
38. Ibid., 42v. Don Giacomo Azzopardi was in charge of the municipal school at that time.
39. Ibid., 113v. Married cleric Matteolo Haber was the Gozitan school master.
40. AAM (Secretariat) Rolli del Clero 1634-1661, Rollo del 1644, 177v.
41. The teachers of these six grammar schools were the following namely: Don Matteolo Azzupardo (Ibid., 161v, 189v, 215r, 256v, 266v, 271r and 281v); married cleric Matteolo Hagius, already mentioned in the 1638 census (Ibid., 188r); Don Domenico Mamo, he used to teach at St. Rocque’s church (Ibid., 256r); Don Domenico Michallef (Ibid., 192v, 207r); Don Giuseppe Michallef (Ibid., 256r) and Friar Bernardino, a Franciscan Minor (Ibid., 186r).
42. The masters at Vittorio were the following, namely: Filippo Bonnicc (Ibid., 199v), Don Antonio Cavallino, already mentioned in 1638 (Ibid., 143v, 153v, 154r-v, 158r, 177v, 179r, 211r-v, 267v, 281r), Don Ugonio Calavason (Ibid., 216v), Don Giacomo Gauci (Ibid., 186r) and Don Vincenzo Mangion (Ibid., 157v).
43. Don Gio. Domenico Zachra (Ibid., 155v, 212r, 214v).
44. Don Giulio Zammit (Ibid., 240r) and Don Giorgio Gatt (Ibid., 271r).
45. Don Pietro Hagius (Ibid., 271v).
46. Don Gio. Maria Sannut (Ibid., 193v, 197v, 206r, 216r).
47. The name of Mqabba’s school master is unknown. The reference to this school states that a certain Agostino Faison “va alla scola nella Micabiba” (Ibid., 284v).
48. Cleric Gio. Maria Spiteri (Ibid., 186v, 246r).
49. Ibid., 207r, 241v.
50. Ibid., 153r, 197v.
The same census presents an insight in the teaching of certain branches of higher studies that was already available in Malta at that time. The Jesuit College was mainly frequented for its lectures in Moral Theology or the "Casi di Coscienza" (51). The Dominican Priory of Porto Salvo at Valletta was the point of attraction for the teaching of Logic and Philosophy (52). Logic was also taught by the Dominicans at their Vittoriosa priory (53). Apart from the Dominicans, there were three members of the diocesan clergy who had their own schools for the teaching of Logic and Philosophy. They were established one in each of the three parishes on the other side of the harbour (54). The Augustinian friars had some members of the diocesan clergy frequenting their schools of Theology and Logic at Valletta and at Rabat (55). There is also reference to the existence of four schools catering for the study of Law. There were three at Valletta (56) and another one at Vittoriosa (57).

The panorama resulting from these various details is indeed quite satisfying. While the study of higher branches of learning was restricted to the harbour area, elementary and grammar education was already finding its way into rural districts.

The data analysed so far have been able to throw new light on educational developments in the Maltese Islands during particular years prior to 1668. An analysis of the contents of certain petitions forming part of the "Suppliche" section of the Curia Archives will reconstruct a

51. There were fourteen clerics following the study of Moral Theology at the Jesuit College (Ibid., 133v, 158v, 166v, 167r, 189r, 200r, 202v, 215r, 226v, 253v, 258v, 287r). There were, moreover, another fourteen clerics studying Grammar (Ibid., 174v, 178r-v, 188r, 228r, 241r, 246r, 252v, 270r 277v) and ten attended the Humanities class (ibid., 129r, 135r, 155r, 158v, 162r, 164r, 187r, 188v, 209v, 224v).

52. Thirteen clerics were studying Logic at the Dominican Friary in Valletta (Ibid., 145v, 146r, 156r, 162v, 196r, 207v, 210v, 247v, 262v, 263v, 264v, 274v) while another eight were studying Philosophy (Ibid., 138v, 158r, 166v, 184r, 187v, 218v, 269v, 280v). Two of these, namely Ant. Pace (Ibid., 166v) and Francesco Mamo (Ibid., 247v) were following, at the same time, the lectures in Moral Theology given at the Jesuit College.

53. Ibid., 186v.

54. Don Giacinto Xicluna taught Logic at Vittoriosa (Ibid., 134r); Don Ugonio Pulis taught both Logic and Philosophy at Senglea (Ibid., 154v, 186r, 265r, 290r); Don Cristino...... taught Logic at Burmula (Ibid., 17v).

55. One cleric was studying Theology at the Valletta priory (Ibid., 185v).

56. One cleric was studying Theology at the Augustinian Priory at Valletta (Ibid., 185r) and another two clerics were following the lectures in Logic given at the Priory of Rabat in Malta (Ibid., 211r, 255r).

57. Dr. Matteo Habela (Ibid., 133v, 156r, 159r).
minute chronological sequence of similar developments from 1668 onwards. Moreover, it will illustrate, at the same time, the implementation of the ecclesiastical enactments mentioned before.

THE YEARS FROM 1668 TO 1768

Before proceeding to analyse the said data, it is quite convenient to explain briefly the method followed in bringing out the more relevant aspects in educational development throughout the years 1668 to 1769.

Appendices A and B, annexed to this study, contain the more important details common to all petitioners seeking the bishop’s licence to teach. Appendix A groups together authorisations enabling the teaching of elementary subjects, Grammar and Humane Letters (58), while Appendix B is concerned with the teaching of Higher Studies (59). In each instance, the name of the petitioner has been inserted according to the year when he received his authorisation for the first time and also according to the place where, and the subject or subjects which he was authorised to teach. Renewals of licences have been included in the appendices solely whenever a change of place or subject to be taught had been involved. Full reference to renewals, however, is given in the notes of the two appendices.

These appendices have been divided in eight chronological groups (60). Thus rendering easier the right assessment of the various aspects of development noticeable during this rather very long span of years. The different localities, within each one of the chronological groups, have been arranged according to areas, namely: (a) the Harbour Area, that is Valletta, Burmula, Senglea and Vittoriosa; (b) Rural Malta, referring to the rest of the island; (c) Gozo; (d) the Diocese, including all authorisations that sanctioned teaching throughout the diocese and (e) Unknown locality, referring thereby to authorisations which did not specify the particular place where the petitioner had been authorised to teach.

Numerical Distribution of Authorisations

An over-all picture resulting from a perusal of the statistical surveys, following the above-mentioned appendices may be described as follows.

58. Elementary subjects, normally, included the three R’s, reading, writing and arithmetic. The medieval trivium formed the backbone of grammar and the humanities. With the study of grammar a student was to be sufficiently well acquainted with syntax, while, at a later stage, the study of the humanities, namely rhetorics and dialectics, helped him to be able to express himself in an elaborate and elegant form.

59. Higher studies included Philosophy, Theology, Laws and Medicine.

60. The eight chronological groups cover the following periods, namely: I = 1668-1680; II = 1681-1700; III = 1701-1720; IV = 1721-1730; V = 1731-1740; VI = 1741-1750; VII = 1751-1760; VIII = 1761-1768.
The last decades of the 17th century manifest a constant increase in the number of authorisations. This number, however, undergoes a series of decline throughout the first twenty years of the 18th century. Immediately afterwards, namely, during the 1720s, there has been such an increase in their granting, as to mark the highest number ever recorded in all the eight chronological groups. After this phenomenal growth, the 1730s register another decrease, followed, once more, with another upward rise. The number reached at this stage remained almost constant during the following twenty years, covering the sixth and seventh chronological groups. These alternating fluctuations reached their lowest ebb during the 1760s.

Certain historical events may explain some of these changes in the numerical distribution of authorisations, particularly those noticed within groups three and four.

The foundation of the Seminary in 1703, as well as the legislation enacted during that year's Diocesan Synod, which demanded an examination from all candidates for the teaching profession, may have restricted quite sensibly the number of licences granted thereafter. However it is quite possible that, during Bishop Fra Giacomo Cannaves' term of office (1713-1721), authorisations had been issued without keeping due records of their granting. An edict published by the said Bishop on the 20th September 1714, revoked all authorisations to teach that had been granted till then. Teachers had to appear before the Bishop if they meant to continue exercising their profession, so as to receive his instructions and to pronounce the profession of faith (61). Strangely enough, the “Suppliche” section of the Curia Archives records only one single renewal following this peremptory edict (62).

Another similar edict was issued after the death of Bishop Cannaves. In virtue of this edict, dated 4th July 1721, the Vicar Capitular, Fra Domenico Sciberras, revoked all authorisations to teach that had been obtained during Cannaves' episcopate. All persons concerned had to apply once more and were to submit themselves to be examined (63). Many of those, who applied on this occasion, stated in their petitions that they had already been teaching for many years (64). The “Suppliche” section, mentioned above, however, does not record the original authorisations that could have been granted to these. There is the possibility that

61. AAM (Curia), Editti 1713-1721, unpaginated, cfr. edict dated 20th September 1714.
62. AAM, Suppliche 1710-1721, 149v. This authorisation was granted to Don Francesco Mifsud and is dated 28th September 1714.
64. Cfr. Appendix A, from Note No. 93 onwards.
they may have obtained such licences orally and no records had been kept.

These data explain somehow the small number of authorisations recorded as being granted during the first twenty years of the 18th century.

The response given to the 1721 edict provides a conclusive answer to the sudden increase of authorisations registered during the 1720’s. Thirty nine licences, excluding renewals, had been issued immediately after the publication of this edict. This number forms almost two thirds of all authorisations obtained throughout the fourth chronological group, that is, thirty nine out of sixty two.

Topographical Distribution of Authorisations

A topographical analysis brought to the limelight three different patterns resulting from three different parts of the Maltese Islands, namely, Valletta, Cottonera and Rural Malta, which, in this instance, includes also Gozo. It is quite obvious that authorisations included under the terms Diocese and Unknown locality had to be left out from this topographical analysis as in both instances, these do not specify the locality where teaching had been authorised (65).

Valletta formed the focal point where the greater number of authorisations were centred. During the first three chronological groups, half of the authorisations, given to specified localities in the Maltese Islands, went to Valletta. But this proportion was no longer maintained in subsequent years. Thenceforth, these decreased to one third, or even one fourth, of the total number in each group.

Cottonera, on the contrary, gained considerable prominence from 1721 onwards. Till then, an average of one eight of the above-mentioned authorisations were channelled to the three cities. Afterwards, there was such an increase that this proportion rose to one third during the fourth, fifth and eight chronological groups. Burmula had the lead from 1721 onwards, with Senglea marking also a progressive increase. Vittoriosa, on the other hand, did not keep pace with these two; it began to lose

65. Statistical data of these three areas according to the eight chronological groups:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>VIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Valletta</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cottonera</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Malta</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the importance it had enjoyed before (66).

Rural Malta, together with Gozo, did not fare too badly, compared with the harbour area. Although numerically the former were at a disadvantage with the latter, they however maintained an almost constant proportion throughout the first six chronological groups. An average ratio of almost three to two authorisations thereby resulted, the former number referring to the harbour area. The seventh chronological group marked a sudden change. The two figures almost change sides, the bigger digit siding now with Rural Malta! This increase had a short duration as it slowed down immediately during the following years (67). Thus the pattern resulting from Rural Malta presents this interesting comparison with the harbour area.

Moreover, certain parts of Rural Malta compared quite favourably with Cottonera both regarding the number of authorisations obtained as well as their distribution in the chronological groups. These were the three parishes of Qormi, Zebbug and Zurrieq. Gozo can, also, be included with them.

Incidentally, Zurrieq was the only place, apart from Valletta, that acquired, at least, one authorisation during each of the chronological groups. Qormi and Zebbug were on a par with Vittoriosa in so far as these three parishes lacked an authorisation only in one of the said groups. They were even better off than Burmula and Senglea, in this regard, since these two towns remained short of a licence during more than one group. Gozo fell in line with these two, regarding the distribution of its authorisations according to the different groups.

The other parishes of Rural Malta can be classified in three categories, namely:

a) Parishes that had been allotted a certain number of authorisations covering, at least, three chronological groups. These were Birkirkara, Lia, Luqa, Mqabba, Naxxar, Notabile, Siggiewi and Zejtun;

b) Parishes to which authorisations had been assigned only sporadically.

66. Authorisations obtained by each parish of Cottonera before and after 1721:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parish</th>
<th>Before 1721</th>
<th>After 1721</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Burmula</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Senglea</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vittoriosa</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

67. Exact ratio between the Harbour Area and Rural Malta:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>VIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harbour Area</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Malta</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
dically. This category includes Balzan, Gargur, Gudja, Ghaxaq, Mosta, Rabat, Tarxien and Zabbar, none of which had obtained authorisations during more than two chronological groups;

c) Parishes that were never granted an authorisation during all these years. These were rather few in number, namely, Attard, Ding’i, Kirkop, Qrendi and Safi.

This topographical distribution points out that while the harbour area obtained the lion’s share, nevertheless, the more important centres of the Maltese Islands had become duly furnished with certain educational facilities throughout these hundred and one years. Education, during this period, kept on spreading itself, slowly but steadily, outside the urban sectors of Malta.

**Subjects Taught**

The teaching of Grammar and Elementary subjects formed the major part of the requests contained in the petitions of candidates. Grammar was included in almost ninety per cent of these petitions. Moreover, it maintained the most prominent position in each one of the chronological groups. On various occasions, its teaching was coupled with that of another subject, or even more, in the one and same authorisation. The exclusive teaching of elementary subjects was relatively small, amounting to eight per cent of the total number of licences granted. These subjects, quite frequently, were combined with the teaching of Grammar (68).

Towards the middle of the 18th century, a new method in the teaching of grammar was introduced in Malta. Candidates, who were versed in this method, received good recommendations from their examiners (69). It seems that it had been introduced at the Seminary, from where it found its way elsewhere (70). In 1759, on various occa-

68. Cfr. the Statistical survey annexed to Appendix A. Apart from the subjects mentioned both in this Appendix and in its statistical abstract, at times, the authorisations included also certain other particular subjects, such as plain chant, French, merchantile arithmetic etc. References to these subjects have been inserted in the notes of Appendix A.

69. In 1752, Don Francesco Wzzino, reporting on the examination of deacon Gio. Maria Vella, from Luqa, stated that the latter was “pienamente istrutto nel nuovo metodo della Gramatica appreso nel Seminario” (AAM, Suppliche 1741-1761, part II, 641v); in another similar report regarding deacon Giovanni Camilleri, from Burmula, who was examined in 1753, Wzzino insisted that the said candidate “deve seguire il nuovo metodo come l’aveva appreso dal Sac. Don Michele Angelo Vella che è stato alunno nel Seminario” (Ibid., 710r).

70. The references to the seminary in the previous note are quite clear.
sions, reference is made to a particular textbook for the teaching of grammar (71). It had been written by Don Giovanni de Rossi (72). During that year the magisterial printing press had issued a reprint of de Rossi’s “Donato”. Its use, moreover, was imposed on all teachers exercising their profession at Va’letta (73). The ecclesiastical authorities insisted also on its use (74). It is quite probable that this textbook formed the backbone of the new method that had been introduced some years before.

Notwithstanding the predominance of Grammar, a gradual addition of other subjects, as well, is noticeable. Humane Letters, which had been taught within the Jesuit College since its early beginnings and quite probably also at the municipal school of Notabile, in 1686 found another master, namely Don Celestino Farrugia who was authorised to teach them at Burmula (75). In 1700, he transferred his school to Va’letta (76). The first decades of the 18th century manifest further interest in Humane Letters. Four teachers obtained authorisations to teach them together with Grammar (77). In 1716, Don Sisto Gambino had a school dedicated entirely to their teaching, catering for the three cities (78). Thereafter, they continued to maintain the importance they had attained. In the 1750’s, eight licences authorised their teaching, which number formed almost one sixth of the authorisations granted during that decade (79).

Apart from this interest in lower studies, some candidates began to foster also the teaching of certain branches of higher learning, namely, Philosophy, Moral and Scholastic Theology. Before 1721, there were only three sporadic authorisations involving such teaching. In 1668, a sub-deacon was authorised to teach Philosophy and Theology at Vittoriosa (80). Three years afterwards, a similar authorisation was issued to a priest enabling him to teach the same subjects throughout the whole

71. AAM, Suppliche 1741-1761, part II, 1172v, 1281v. Cfr. also Appendix A, Note No. 248.
72. Giovanni de Rossi, _Le Declinazioni de’ Nomi e Cojugazione de’ Verbi ossia il Donato_. The magisterial printing press issued a third reprint of this textbook in 1783. A copy of this reprint is available at the Royal Malta Library.
73. In the examiner’s report, regarding deacon Giuseppe Romano (1760), the following detail had been inserted: “sono pero di sentimento, che debba il medesimo servirsi in tale insegnamento del Donato del de Rossi nuovamente stampato in questa magistrale stamperia siccome è stato ordinato a tutti i maestri di questa Città Valetta” (AAM, Suppliche 1741-1761, part II, 1172v).
74. _Idem_, Romano had been authorised to teach outside Valetta, namely at Vittoriosa. The same condition had been imposed on cleric Lorenzo Mallia who was authorised to teach at Zurrieq (Ibid., 1281r-v). Cfr. also Appendix A, Note No. 248.
76. Ibid., Note No. 72.
77. Ibid., Notes Nos. 76, 82, 87 and 89.
78. Ibid., Note No. 88.
79. Ibid., Notes Nos. 223, 229, 234, 237, 244, 265, 266, 270.
After a stretch of almost thirty years, in 1720, a priest from Zebbug was authorised to teach Philosophy in his parish (82). After 1720, the teaching of Philosophy acquired a certain momentum. On various occasions, it was coupled with other subjects, including both Grammar as well as the Theological sciences. Although the names listed in Appendix B amount to a small number, when compared with those forming the respective corresponding chronological groups within Appendix A, they present quite a relevant proportion (83).

The diffusion of authorisations relating to higher studies confirms the widening of interest that they were attracting. In 1644, their availability outside religious houses was very limited. There were then solely three priests engaged in the teaching of Logic and Philosophy within the three cities (84). From 1721 onwards, various licences authorising their teaching at Valletta, Cottonera and in other places in Malta as well as in Gozo, were granted (85).

The total absence of authorisations, regarding certain other branches of higher studies, gives rise to serious doubts as to whether the legislation requiring the bishop's licence to teach had been fully observed. In 1644, there were, at least, four individuals involved in the teaching of Law (86). It is indeed difficult to imagine that its teaching had been extinct throughout all the years that had been analysed (87). This may

81. Ibid., Note No. 2.
82. Ibid., Note No. 2a. In 1723, Don Mamo abandoned the teaching of Philosophy and obtained a licence to teach Grammar only (Cfr. Appendix A, Note No. 135).
83. The following statistics give the ratio established between authorisations to teach lower education (elementary subjects, grammar and the humanities) and higher education. It is quite obvious that these statistics exclude authorisations which did not specify the subject or subjects to be taught by the candidate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>I</th>
<th>II</th>
<th>III</th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>VIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lower Education</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Higher Education</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

84. Cfr. Note No. 54.
85. Distribution of authorisations to teach higher studies from 1721 onwards within the harbour area and in rural Malta:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>IV</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>VI</th>
<th>VII</th>
<th>VIII</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Harbour area</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural Malta</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

86. Cfr. Note No. 56.
87. Some sporadic references testify that such studies continued to be available in Malta during these years. In 1699, cleric Silvestro Gio. Batt. Paolucci stated, in a petition, that he was following the "studi di Theologia e di Legge" at Valletta (AAM, Suppliche 1686-1706, 647r-v). Similarly, in 1714, cleric Pasquale Hagius sought to be allowed to wear "l'abito corto per poter attendere allo studio di Teologia e legale" (AAM, Suppliche 1714-1741, part I, 10r-v).
mean that some teachers could have deemed themselves exempt from the onus of such an authorisation.

The teaching of certain branches of higher studies, outside established institutions belonging to Religious Orders, increased at a time when their learning was acquiring new importance. In 1727, the Jesuit College was enhanced with the faculty to confer academic degrees on its students (88), while the Dominican Studium of Valletta received a similar authorisation two years later (89).

The Teachers

The preponderance of clergymen in teaching is all too evident from the contents of Appendices A and B. About eighty eight per cent of authorisations enlisted in these appendices were assigned to them. Their predominance is present in each chronological group. The remaining twelve per cent formed the laymen's share of the authorisations, which, indeed, is not a negligible portion. Thus a ratio of three laymen for every twenty two clergymen results (90).

Laymen were at their best during the third and the sixth chronological groups, when they obtained more than twenty per cent of the authorisations. Some of the laymen, moreover, taught certain subjects that were not usually available in Malta (91).

89. Andrew P. Vella, The University of S. Maria Portus Salutis: Journal of the Faculty of Arts, Vol. II (1962), 171-173.
90. The following statistics give the number of authorisations given to ecclesiastics and to laymen.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Priests</th>
<th>Ecclesiastics</th>
<th>Clerics in Major Orders</th>
<th>Clerics in Minor Orders</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Laymen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>91.89</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>92.93</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>17.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>73.33</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>88.88</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>91.66</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>79.17</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20.83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>80.00</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>93.33</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
91. In 1701, Pietro Dù Rosel was authorised to teach French (Appendix A, Note No. 75), while the following year, Antonio Pelletier obtained a similar authorisation (Ibid., Note No. 77). Giuseppe Ciarlet was enabled to teach navigation in 1711 (Ibid., Note No. 83). The teaching of Arabic, Syriac and Turkish was included in Gius. Gellier's authorisation granted to him in 1725 (Ibid., Note No. 139). Lorenzo Seychel, in 1740, was authorised to teach merchantile arithmetic (Ibid., Note No. 172).
Priests formed the main bulk of the ecclesiastics engaged in teaching. One hundred and eighty eight authorisations, out of a total of two hundred and fifty eight assigned to clergymen, were given to priests. The remaining seventy were distributed almost equally among clerics in Major and in Minor Orders. Almost all clergymen were members of the diocesan clergy.

The review of these statistical data may lead one to conclude that too many churchmen, priests in particular, were dedicating their time to teaching. A scientific conclusion in this regard can only be reached wherever it is possible to have the exact number of priest-teachers practising during a definite year or years, thereby to establish their proportion with the statistics of the diocesan clergy. The years 1721 to 1723 offer this possibility. The statistical data of the maltese diocesan clergy are available from an analysis of the records of the Pastoral Visit carried out in 1722-1723 (92). The actual number of priest-teachers results from the response given to the Vicar Capitular’s edict issued in 1721 (93). The addition of all new authorisations granted during the two following years provides the total number of priest-teachers that were practising between 1721 and 1723.

The data obtained from this analysis (94) point out that in Malta, out of every eighteen priests, one was engaged in teaching. This proportion was higher in Gozo where there was an average of one in every sixteen. It is interesting to note that four of the five priests teaching in the sister island were parish-priests (95).

These results manifest that in the early 1720s, the number of priest-teachers was relatively low, even though they dominate the field of education in the Maltese Islands. The proportion, established on this

92. The records of the pastoral visit carried out during 1722 and 1723 give a complete list of the members of the diocesan clergy attached to each parish. The statistical data provided here are based on these details.

93. In this instance, renewals of authorisations obtained before 1721 have also been included, since each such renewal indicated the presence of a teacher.

94. The results obtained from the analysis mentioned in Notes Nos. 91 and 92 are synthesised in the following diagram:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Malta</th>
<th>Clerics in Major Orders</th>
<th>Clerics in Minor Orders</th>
<th>Gozo</th>
<th>Priests and Clerics in Major Orders</th>
<th>Clerics in Minor Orders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Diocesan Clergy 1722-1723</td>
<td>751</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>29</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Clergymen Teachers 1721-1723
  - 39
  - 2

95. Cfr. Appendix A, Notes Nos. 120, 121, 122 and Appendix B, Note No. 7.
occasion, is even lower than that which existed eighty years before, namely, at the time of the compilation of the 1644 census of the diocesan clergy. The proportion then was one priest-teacher for every twelve priests resident in the island (96). This decrease may have been due to the intensive growth of the diocesan clergy, particularly, those ordained to the priesthood. This progressive increase of the clergy continued to gather momentum after the 1720s. The marked decrease in the proportion of priest-teachers, already registered, may have been widened still further as an outcome of this continued numerical growth of the diocesan clergy (97), since the number of authorisations issued after the 1730s was rather constant during the next two decades.

Conclusion

The implementation of two ecclesiastical enactments, intimately correlated to each other, has been providential in furnishing important details regarding the development of education in the Maltese Islands. This development indicates that, apart from the Jesuit College and other similar institutions, there were in Malta, at the same time, other smaller subsidiary entities which helped to ease down the needs that could hardly be catered for by the said establishments. These smaller schools could have been quite useful in a progressive spreading of learning throughout the Maltese Islands.

96. An analysis of the 1644 census of the Diocesan clergy gave the following statistics:
Priests and Clerics in Major Orders: 308,
Clerics in Minor Orders: 601,
Clergymen engaged in teaching: 12 priests and 1 cleric.
(AAM, [Secretariat], Rolli del Clero 1634-1661, Rollo del 1644, passim).

97. From details provided by the records of the pastoral visit carried out between 1758 and 1760, results that there were in Malta 933 priests and clerics in Major Orders and 475 clerics in Minor Orders. These data do not include ecclesiastics living at Notabile, Rabat and Dingli, as these were not included in the records of the said pastoral visit. At Gozo there were 149 priests and clerics in Major Orders and 44 clerics in Minor Orders (AAM, Pastoral Visit 1758-1760, parts I and II, passim).
AUTHORISATIONS TO TEACH FROM 1668 TO 1768

APPENDIX A

AUTHORISATIONS TO TEACH ELEMENTARY SUBJECTS, GRAMMAR AND HUMANE LETTERS

Abbreviations

A = Arithmetic; Ab = Abacus; G = Grammar; H = Humane Letters;
NS = Subject or subjects authorised to teach unspecified;
R = Reading; W = Writing.

These abbreviations are, at times, coupled together to indicate that the person concerned had been authorised to teach those subjects at the same time.

Group I — 1668 - 1680

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>RW/NS</th>
<th>Authorised Teachers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1668</td>
<td>Valletta</td>
<td>RW</td>
<td>Don Alessandro Incontri (1).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NS</td>
<td>Don Simone Hagius (2), Don Bernardino Dingli (3).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Senglea</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>Don Marco Parmisciano (4).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zebug</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>Don Simone Mangion (5).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1669</td>
<td>(Valletta)</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>Don Grazio Camilleri (6).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zurrieq</td>
<td>G</td>
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<td>Don Romano Habela (14), Don Giovanni Maria Bonello (15).</td>
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1. AAM, Suppliche 1668-1684, 40r.
2. Ibid., 20v.
3. Ibid., 17r.
4. Don Parmisciano had already been teaching for eighteen years (Ibid., 23r).
5. Ibid., 24v. His authorisation was renewed in 1678 (Ibid., 620v). Don Mangion was a graduate in Theology (STD), (AAM Pastoral Visit 1692-1698, 333r).
6. AAM, Suppliche 1668-1684, 151r-v. Although here it is not stated that he lived at Valletta, this results from the records of the 1671 Pastoral Visit (AAM, Pastoral Visit 1671, 30v).
6a. AAM, Suppliche 1668-1684, 177v.
7. Ibid., 254v.
8. Ibid., 377r.
7a. Ibid., 470r. He was also authorised to teach Philosophy and Theology.
9. Ibid., 531r.
10. Ibid., 567v.
11. Ibid., 573v.
12. Ibid., 568r.
13. Ibid., 581v-582r. His authorisation was renewed in 1678 (Ibid., 614v).
14. Ibid., 615v-616r.
15. Don Bonello had already been engaged in teaching at Mosta and Naxxar since 1667 (Ibid., 616r-v).
DEVELOPMENTS IN EDUCATION

Valletta (Cont.)
  Don Carlo Borg (16), Don Domenico Frendo (17), Don Domenico Micallef (18), Don Cesare Sciberras (19), cleric Giuseppe Casha (20) and cleric Giacomo Fardella (21).

Senglea
  NS Giovanni Battista Scicluna (22).

Birkirkara
  G Don Giovanni Felici (23).

Qormi
  G Don Giovanni Maria Borg (24) and Don Salvatore Magro (25).

Rabat
  G Don Antonio Farrugia (26).

Siggiewi
  G Don Andrea Butigeg (27).

Zebbug
  G Don Maruzzo Vassallo (28) and Don Pasquale Galea (29).

Zurrieq
  G Don Pietro Saliba (30).

Gozo
  G Don Honorato Ghaimardo (31).

Group II — 1681 - 1700

1685 Valletta
  G Don Giovanni Calleja (35).

Gozo
  NS Don Ferdinando Bonnici and Gaetano Borg (36).

1679 Vittoriosa
  NS Don Giulio Cavallino (32).

Mqabba
  G Don Andrea de Brincat (33).

Notabile
  G Don Romano Habela (34).

16. Don Borg had already a three years experience in teaching (Ibid., 618v).
17. Don Frendo had been teaching throughout the previous sixteen years (Ibid., 615r).
18. Don Domenico Micallef must have been one of the more proficient teachers at that time. He had already been teaching for forty years (Ibid., 618v).
19. Don Sciberras had been teaching for five years (Ibid., 615v).
20. Ibid., 616r.
21. Ibid., 617r.
22. Ibid., 618v.
23. Ibid., 619v-620r. Don Felici was curate at Birkirkara in 1687. He was also a graduate in Theology (AAM, Pastoral Visit 1685-1687B, 607r).
24. Don Borg had been teaching for thirteen years (AAM, Suppliche 1668-1684, 617r-v).
25. Don Magro had been teaching since 1655 (Ibid., 619r). Moreover, he was a graduate in Theology, namely a STD, (AAM Pastoral Visit 1667-1668, 637r).
26. AAM, Suppliche 1668-1684, 620v.
27. Ibid., 616v-617r.
28. Don Vassallo had been teaching for four years (Ibid., 620r). In 1699, he was still engaged in teaching (AAM, Pastoral Visit 1699-1700 ab Alia, 69v). He retired from teaching sometime towards the end of 1701 or the beginning of 1702 (AAM, Suppliche 1686-1706, 346r).
29. AAM, Suppliche 1668-1684, 620v. He graduated doctor in both laws (JUD) at the University of Rome on the 29th October 1643 (Archivio di Stato, Roma, Università 246, 126r).
30. AAM, Suppliche 1668-1684, 616v.
31. Ibid., 615r.
32. Don Cavallino had been teaching for many years. On this occasion he was authorised to teach both at Vittoriosa as well as elsewhere (Ibid., 625r).
33. Ibid., 624v.
34. Don Habela had already been authorised to teach at Valletta in 1678. Since the Grand Master honoured him with teaching at the municipal school during this year, he received the Bishop’s authorisation for this new assignment (Ibid., 623v).
35. AAM, Pastoral Visit 1685-1687B, 166v.
36. Idem.
37. Ibid., 587v.
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<td>Don Mario Sayd (66), cleric Mario Avolio (67), cleric Giovanni Rainieri (68), Baldassare Cammizaro (69), Tomaso Casha (70) and Pietro Rotunda (71).</td>
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<td>Don Gioacchino Camilleri (74).</td>
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**Group III — 1701 - 1720**

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<td>Antonio Pelletier (77).</td>
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<td>Don Giovanni Maria Gatt (78).</td>
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<td>Don Agostino Debono (79).</td>
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<td>1707 Tarxien</td>
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<td>Don Domenico Fiamengo (81).</td>
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64. AAM, Pastoral Visit 1699-1700 ab Alia, 534v.
67. *Idem*. His authorisation was renewed in 1721 (AAM, Suppliche 1714-1741, part I, 68r), in 1723 (*Ibid.*, 219r-v) and in 1741 (AAM, Suppliche 1741-1761, part I, 6r-v). In 1721, he stated that he had been teaching since 1692.
68. AAM, Pastoral Visit 1699-1700 ab Alia, 476r. His authorisation was renewed in 1721 (AAM, Suppliche 1714-1741, part I, 78v-79r) and in 1723 (*Ibid.*, 218v). In these renewals, however, he was authorised to teach Humane Letters.
69. AAM, Pastoral Visit 1699-1700 ab Alia, 476r.
70. *Idem*. Authorisation renewed in 1721 (AAM, Pastoral Visit 1722-1723, 70r-v).
71. AAM, Pastoral Visit 1699-1700 ab Alia, 476r.
72. He had already been authorised to teach at Burmula in 1686, cfr. above.
73. Don Zirafa was also a doctor in sacred theology (AAM, Pastoral Visit 1699-1700 ab Alia, 568v).
75. AAM, Suppliche 1686-1706, 299v.
76. Vasta hailed from Naples. The Canon Treasurer of the Cathedral who examined Vasta stated, in his report to the Bishop, that there were many similar teachers at that time in Valletta, Nevertheless the Bishop gave his authorisation which was to last for one year (*Ibid.*, 337v-338r).
78. A priest with this name had been authorised to teach throughout the diocese in 1673, Don Gatt, on this occasion, petitioned to be authorised to teach at Zebbug since Don Maruzzo Vassallo had retired from teaching and there was a sore need of a teacher of grammar (*Ibid.*, 346r-v).
1686 Burmula GH Don Celestino Farrugia (38).
Gharghur NS Don Giovanni Maria Gafa' (39).
Mqabba G Don Giorgio Schembri (40).
Naxxar NS Don Giulio Bezzina (41).
1691 Burmula G Subdeacon Alessandro Fiteni (42).
Unknown RWA Ignazio Cascin (43).
1693 Vittoriosa RWG Cleric Onofrio Neri (44).
Balzan G Don Ferdinando Bonnici (45).
Naxxar G Don Domenico Sammut (46).
Qormi G Don Giovanni Paolo Haxixa (47) and Don Giovanni Calleja (48).
Siggiewi G Don Stefano Camilleri (49).
1694 Valletta G Cleric Giuseppe Farrugia (50), cleric Isidoro Dellore (51),
Subdeacon Domenico Zammit (52), Don Giuseppe Portelli (53), Don Baldassare Sammut (54), Baldassare Fasano (55)
and Lutio Ricci (56).
Vittoriosa G Don Pietro Zirafa (57).
Notabile G Deacon Domenico Azzopardi (58).
1695 Mosta RG Don Grazio Deguara (59).
1696 Lia G Don Giuseppe Calleja (60).

38. Ibid., 96v.
39. Ibid., 409r.
40. Ibid., 246v-247r.
41. Ibid., 446r.
42. AAM, Suppliche 1686-1706, 80v-81r.
43. Ibid., 80v.
44. Ibid., 101v-102r. He was authorised to teach at Vittoriosa where there was lack
of teachers at that time.
45. AAM, Pastoral Visit 1692-1698, 289r. He had already been authorised to teach at
Valletta in 1685.
46. Ibid., 238r.
47. Ibid., 317r.
48. Idem. He was still teaching in 1699 at Qormi (AAM, Pastoral Visit 1699-1700 ab
Alia, 113r).
49. AAM, Pastoral Visit 1692-1698, 362v-363.
50. Ibid., 417r.
51. Idem.
52. Idem.
53. Idem. His authorisation was renewed in 1700 (AAM, Pastoral Visit 1699-1700, ab
Alia, 476r).
54. AAM, Pastoral Visit 1692-1698, 417r.
55. Idem.
56. Idem.
57. Ibid., 449r. Don Zirafa had graduated doctor in sacred theology. In 1700, he
was provost of the Oratory of St. Philip at Vittoriosa (AAM, Pastoral Visit 1699-1700 ab
Alia, 565r).
58. AAM, Suppliche 1686-1706, 124r-v. Don Azzopardi was appointed master in charge
of the municipal school during that year. His authorisation was renewed in 1721
when he was still teaching there (AAM, Pastoral Visit 1722-1723, 95r).
59. AAM, Suppliche 1686-1706, 151v.
60. Ibid., 186r-v.
1711 Zurrieq  GH  Don Pietro Paolo Formosa (82).
1714 Diocese RWAb  Giuseppe Ciarlet (83).
Unknown G  Don Francesco Mifsud (85).
1715 Valletta G  Don Ludovico Farrugia (86).
Vittoriosa H  Don Sisto Gambino (88).
1716 Valletta GH  Don Natale Grima (89).

Group IV — 1721 - 1730
1721 Valletta G  Don Angelo Loretta (90), Don Alessandro Mangani (91),
Don Gio. Batt. Sagona (92), Don Domenico Xicoluna (93) and
Tomaso Francesco Casha (94).

Burmula S  Don Giovanni Callus (99) and Don Natale Farrugia (100).
Senglea GH  Don Maurizio Attard (102) and Don Gio. Batt. Zerafa (103).

82. AAM, Suppliche 1710-1721, 70r.
83. Ciarlet was also authorised to teach navigation (Ibid., 67r-v).
84. AAM, Suppliche 1714-1741, part I, 7v-8r.
85. AAM, Suppliche 1710-1721, 149v.
86. Ibid., 177r-178r.
Don Pace was also authorised to teach plain chant on this occasion (Ibid., 173r-174r).
87. Don Gambino was authorised to teach in any one of the three cities (AAM, Suppliche 1714-1741, part I, 45v-46r).
88. AAM, Suppliche 1710-1721, 309v, his authorisation was renewed in 1721 (AAM, Suppliche 1714-1741, part I, 71v-72r) and in 1723 when it is stated that he had been teaching for many years (Ibid., 218r-v).
89. Ibid., 68r.
90. Ibid., 75r. Don Sagona was authorised to teach also Philosophy.
91. Ibid., 75r. From his petition results that he had been teaching for twenty years.
92. Ibid., 74r-v. This is quite probable a renewal of an authorisation granted in 1700. The name, however, is somewhat different. In 1700, it was Tomaso Casha. Another renewal of this authorisation was enacted in 1723 (Ibid., 217v-218r). In this instance, Casha stated that he had been teaching for forty three years. This seems to be an obvious indication that the person concerned is the same one authorised to teach already in 1700.
93. Ibid., 77v-78r; renewed in 1723 (Ibid., 218v). In 1700, Ranieri had already been granted the faculty to teach grammar at Valletta.
94. Ibid., 77r-v.
95. Ibid., 101v.
96. Ibid., 82r-v.
97. Ibid., 69r-v.
98. Ibid., 79v-80r. His authorisation was renewed in 1722. On this occasion, he stated that he had been teaching “i principii di grammatica” for twenty six years (Ibid., 207r).
99. Ibid., 75r; renewal in 1722 (Ibid., 206r-v).
100. Ibid., 76r-v; renewal in 1722 (Ibid., 209r-v).
101. Ibid., 80v; renewal in 1722 (Ibid., 209v-210r).
**DEVELOPMENTS IN EDUCATION**

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<td>Senglea</td>
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<td>Antonio di Barro (104).</td>
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<td>Don Mich. Angelo Bezzina (105) and Don Tomaso Sayd (106).</td>
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<td>Don Pasquale Hagius (107).</td>
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<td>Don Domenico Sammut (108).</td>
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<td>Notabile</td>
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<td>Don Giuseppe Grech (109).</td>
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<td>Don Archangelo Dingli (111).</td>
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<td>Zebugg</td>
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<td>Don Giuseppe Archangelo Mamo (114).</td>
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<td>GOZO:</td>
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<td>Don Angelo Formosa (115).</td>
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<td>Friar Onofrio Falzon OFM Conv. (116), Don Mattia Spiteri (117) and Don Giuseppe Vassallo (118).</td>
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<td>Nadur</td>
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106. *Ibid.*, 81r, renewed in 1722 (*Ibid.*, 210r-v). In 1721, both Bezzina and Sayd had been teaching for a period of five years.
107. *Ibid.*, 68v-69r. Don Hagius was also authorised to teach Philosophy and Moral Theology.
110. *Ibid.*, 96r. His authorisation was renewed in 1722. On this occasion he was also authorised to teach plain chant (*Ibid.*, 208v).
111. *Ibid.*, 70v-71r. In a renewal of this authorisation granted in 1723, the teaching of Moral Theology was also included (*Ibid.*, 237v).
112. *Ibid.*, 82r-v. The teaching of plain chant was also included in a renewal of this authorisation granted in 1723 (*Ibid.*, 237r).
113. *Ibid.*, 65r-v. A deacon with a similar name had been already authorised to teach in 1702.
114. *Ibid.*, 67v, renewed in 1723. The teaching of plain chant was included in this renewal (*Ibid.*, 236r).
116. *Ibid.*, 97v, renewed in 1723. On this occasion, it is stated that he had been teaching grammar for seven years (*Ibid.*, 247r).
117. *Ibid.*, 84v-85r. He was also authorised to teach Moral Theology.
118. *Ibid.*, 84r-v, renewed in 1723. Don Vassallo was then, teaching at the municipal school of Gozo (*Ibid.*, 245v-246r).
120. Don Hasciach was parish priest of Gharb. His authorisation included also the teaching of Philosophy (*Ibid.*, 95v).
121. He was parish priest of Nadur (*Ibid.*, 84r-v).
122. Don Pace was parish priest of Xaghra (*Ibid.*, 85r-v).
123. *Ibid.*, 64r, he hailed from Birkirkara. At times he is referred to as a graduate in Theology (AAM, Pastoral Visit 1699-1700 ab Alia, 280v), while on another occasion he is styled as Doctor in both Laws (AAM, Pastoral Visit 1692-1698, 89r).
Diocese (Cont.)  NS  Don Antonio Fenech (124).
Unknown   G  Deacon Aloisio Gauci (125) and cleric Giuseppe Casha (126).
          H  Don Giovanni Sammut (127).
          WAb  Fra Baldassare del Fiore (128).
1722  Burmula  G  Don Domenico Callus (129).
Senglea    G  Don Giuseppe Bezzina (130).
          RW  Bartolomeo Farrugia (131).
Zabbar    G  Don Geronimo Pulis (132).
Diocese    G  Don Domenico Azzopardi (133).
1723  Luqa    G  Don Marc. Antonio Mifsud (134).
1724  Valletta  G  Deacon Antonio Camilleri (136).
1725  Unknown   G  Aloisio Vella (137).
          RW  Giuseppe Gellel (138).
1726  Valletta  G  Don Gio. Paolo Balzan (139).
Vittoriosa  RWG  Deacon Francesco Bezzina (140).
Unknown   G  Cleric Alessandro Nicosia (141).
          GH  Don Paolo Gilestri (142).
1727  Valletta  GH  Don Emmanuele Camilleri (143).
1728  Valletta  G  Don Giuseppe Ruggier (144).

125. AAM, Suppliche 1714-1741, part I, 76v-77r. On this same occasion, he was also authorised to teach Philosophy.
127. *Ibid.*, 71r-v. It seems that he had already been authorised to teach grammar in the diocese in 1712, he was, then, still a subdeacon. In his petition, however, he stated that by 1721 he had been already teaching for four years.
133. *Ibid.*, 208r. He had already been authorised to teach at Notabile, where he was in charge of the municipal school since 1694.
138. Gellel was also authorised to teach Siriac, Arabic and Turkish (*Ibid.*, 367r).
140. *Ibid.*, 403r.
142. Gilestri had just then arrived from Rome (*Ibid.*, 401r).
143. *Ibid.*, 453r. In 1736, he is referred to as Doctor in both Laws (AAM, Pastoral Visit, 1736-1740, p.122). His authorisation was renewed in 1741 (AAM, Suppliche 1741-1761, part I, 2v-3r).
144. His authorisation included also the teaching of Philosophy and Theology (AAM, Suppliche 1714-1741, part I, 487v-488r).
**DEVELOPMENTS IN EDUCATION**

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**Group V — 1731 - 1740**

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147. AAM, Suppliche 1714-1741, part II, 509r.

148. AAM, Pastoral Visit 1728-1729, 719r.

149. AAM, Suppliche 1714-1741, part II, 519v.

150. Debono was also authorised to teach Philosophy (*Ibid.*, 520v).


152. His authorisation included also the teaching of Theology (AAM, Suppliche 1714-1741, part II, 595r).

153. *Ibid.*., 574r.


156. *Ibid.*., 608r-v. In 1759, he was still engaged in teaching (AAM, Pastoral Visit 1758-1760, part II, 30r-v).

157. AAM, Suppliche 1714-1741, part II, 606v-607r.

158. *Ibid.*, 652r-v. Although this source does not state that he resided at Valletta, this however results from elsewhere (AAM, Pastoral Visit 1728-1729, 240v and Pastoral Visit 1744-1751, 739v).

158a. AAM, Suppliche 1714-1741, part II, 659v.


163. Don Faison was authorised also to teach Moral Theology (*Ibid.*, 703v-704r).


166. Don Spiteri was authorised to teach also Philosophy and Theology (AAM, Suppliche 1714-1741, part II, 801r-v), renewed in 1741 (*Ibid.*, 1011v).
1740 Valletta GH Don Diego Busset (167).
   " NS Deacon Cleoardo Mamo (168).
Burmula GH Don Felice Demarco (169).
   " NS Deacon Giuseppe Fiteni (170).
   " RW Lorenzo Seychel (172).
Dioceze GH Cleric Giuseppe Farrugia (174).

Group VI — 1741 - 1750

1741 Valletta G Don Francesco Alferan (173) and Don Giuseppe Grech (176).
   " RWG Don Giuseppe Attard (177).
   " RW Francesco Zarb (178) and Giovanni Falson (179).
 (Valletta) G Don Ludovico Attard (180), Don Giovanni Botero (181),
     Don Gio. Batt. Cachia (182) and Don Gaetano Vella (183).

167. This authorisation enabled also Don Busset to teach Rhetorics and Moral Theology
 (Ibid., 963r-964r).
168. Ibid., 931r-v.
169. Don Demarco, on this occasion, was also authorised to teach Rhetorics, Philosophy
 and Theology (Ibid., 918r). According to a reference to him in 1780, he was a Doctor
 in Theology. (AAM, Pastoral Visit 1771-1781, 352r). In 1760, on returning back to
 Malta, after he had been teaching for seven years in Rome, he was granted a
 renewal of this authorisation (AAM, Suppliche 1741-1761, part II, 1193v).
170. AAM, Suppliche 1714-1741, part II, 955v-956r.
171. Don Vella was also authorised to teach the same subjects included in Demarco's
 authorisation (Ibid., 932r-v).
172. It is interesting to note that Seychel was also authorised to teach Merchantile
 Arithmetic (AAM, Pastoral Visit 1758-1760, part II, 108v).
173. AAM, Suppliche 1714-1741, part II, 917v.
174. He was granted the same authorisation given to Don Demarco and Don Vella (Ibid.,
 986v-987r).
175. AAM, Suppliche 1741-1761, part I, 249r.
176. Ibid., 28r-v. Don Grech had already been authorised to teach at Naxxar in 1722.
177. Ibid., 5r.
178. Ibid., 1r-v.
179. Ibid., 5v-6r, renewed in 1757 (AAM, Suppliche 1741-1761, part II, 906r-v).
180. AAM, Suppliche 1741-1761, part I, 3v-4r. Don Attard is included among the
 clergy of Valletta in the records of Bishop Alperhan's third pastoral visit (AAM,
 Pastoral Visit 1744-1751, 740r and 750r).
181. Don Botero had already been teaching for eight years (AAM, Suppliche 1741-1761,
 part I, 1v-2r). His residence at Valletta results from the records of the pastoral
 visit mentioned in the previous note (AAM, Pastoral Visit 1744-1751, 740r and
 750r).
182. Don Cachia had been teaching for the same number of years as Don Botero (AAM,
 Suppliche 1741-1761, part I, 3r-v). His presence at Valletta is attested by the same
 records quoted in the last two instances (AAM, Pastoral Visit 1744-1751, 740r).
183. AAM, Suppliche 1741-1761, part I, 40r. Once more, the presence of this priest at
 Valletta results from the same records just quoted (AAM, Pastoral Visit 1744-1751,
 742r). Don Vella graduated Doctor in both Laws (JUD) at the University of Rome on
 the 20th August 1736 (Archivio di Stato, Roma, Università 224, folio unnumbered).
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<td>Subdeacon Ignazio Saverio Mifsud</td>
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<td>1743</td>
<td>Burmula</td>
<td>Don Giovanni Caruana</td>
<td>(195)</td>
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<td>1743</td>
<td>Senglea</td>
<td>Matteo Debono</td>
<td>(196)</td>
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<td>B'Kara</td>
<td>Don Raffaele Debono</td>
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<td>Zurrieq</td>
<td>Salvatore Piscopo</td>
<td>(198)</td>
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<td>Don Francesco Zarb</td>
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<td>1745</td>
<td>Zebbug</td>
<td>Don Giuseppe Borg</td>
<td>(202)</td>
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184. AAM, Suppliche 1741-1761, part I, 2r-v. In his petition he stated that he had been teaching for two years. According to the records quoted previously, he was a resident of Valletta (AAM, Pastoral Visit 1744-1751, 739v).

185. AAM, Suppliche 1741-1761, part I, 249v.

186. AAM, Suppliche 1714-1741, part II, 987r-v.

187. Ibid. 1007v-1008r. His residence at Rabat results from the records of Bishop Alphe- ran's third pastoral visit (AAM, Pastoral Visit 1744-1751, 86r).

188. AAM, Suppliche 1714-1741, part II, 975r.

189. AAM, Suppliche 1741-1761, part I, 6r-v.

190. His authorisation included also the teaching of Moral Theology (Ibid., 39v). He may be the same person already mentioned in 1740.

191. AAM, Suppliche 1714-1741, part II, 1008v.

192. Don Bonnici had already been teaching during the previous sixteen years (AAM, Suppliche 1741-1761, part I, 4v-5r).

193. Debono had already been authorised to teach grammar in 1729 (Ibid., 30v-31r).

194. Ibid., 113v-114r. He was also authorised to teach Philosophy. Three years later, namely on the 16th September 1746, Mifsud graduated Doctor in both Laws (JUD) at the University of Rome (Archivio di Stato. Roma. Università 224. folios unnumbered).

195. AAM, Suppliche 1741-1761, part I, 67v-68r.

196. Ibid., 130r-v.

197. He was authorised to teach at B'Kara and the surrounding villages (Ibid., 108r).

198. Ibid., 86v.

199. Ibid., 121r-v.

200. Ibid., 184r-v. He was the son of Mario Avolio who had been teaching at Valletta since 1692.

201. AAM, Pastoral Visit 1744-1751, 325v.

202. Ibid., 346r.

203. AAM Suppliche 1741-1761, part I, 217v-218r. A priest with a similar name had been authorised to teach at Senglea in 1741.
204. His authorisation included also the teaching of plain chant, Philosophy and Theology (*Ibid.*, 273r-v). His presence at Valletta results from the records of Bishop Alpheran's third pastoral visit (AAM, Pastoral Visit 1744-1751, 744v).

205. AAM, Suppliche 1741-1761, part I, 350-351r.

206. *Ibid.*, 586r-v. Twelve years later, he was at Burmula (AAM, Pastoral Visit 1758-1760, part II, 85v).

207. AAM, Suppliche 1741-1761, part I, 321r-v.

208. Notary Bonavia was also authorised to teach Philosophy (*Ibid.*, 329v-330r).

209. Don Salzedo hailed from Pantelleria. He was authorised to have a school at Burmula and at Senglea (*Ibid.*, 378r).


211. *Ibid.*, 599v-600r.


213. Don Zerafa had been entrusted with teaching at the municipal school of Notabile (*Ibid.*, 467v).

214. *Ibid.*, 549r-v. During the fourth pastoral visit of Bishop Alpheran de Bussan he resided at Notabile (AAM, Pastoral Visit 1751-1756, 72r).

215. Cleric Menna was also authorised to teach Philosophy and Theology (AAM, Suppliche 1741-1761, part I, 491r-v).

216. His authorisation was restricted to private tuition only (*Ibid.*, 502r-v).


221. *Ibid.*, 527r.


224. Don Borg had graduated in Theology. His authorisation included the teaching of Philosophy, Scholastic and Moral Theology (AAM, Suppliche 1741-1761, part II, 657r). It is quite probable that he is the same person authorised to teach at B’Kara in 1748.

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<td>Don Felice Salzedo (209).</td>
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<td>Mqabba</td>
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**Group VII — 1751-1760**

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<td>1752</td>
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<td>Don Felice Borg (224).</td>
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225. *Ibid.*, 602r-v. In 1728, he lived at Valletta. At that time he was still a cleric (AAM, Pastoral Visit 1728-1729, 24r).

226. AAM, Suppliche 1741-1761, part II, 641r-v.


228. Pulis was a conventual chaplain of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem (*Ibid.*, 725r).

229. *Ibid.*, 788v. In 1579, he was residing at B’Kara (AAM, Pastoral Visit 1758-1760, part II, 30r).

230. AAM, Suppliche 1741-1761, part II, 771v-772r.


234. AAM, Pastoral Visit 1758-1760, part I, 185v.

235. AAM, Suppliche 1741-1761, part II, 878v.

236. Caruana’s authorisation enabled him also to teach Rhetorics, Philosophy and Theology (*Ibid.*, 892r-v).

237. Bonnici had graduated Master in Philosophy as well as Doctor in Theology at the Jesuit College of Valletta. His authorisation enabled him to teach also Philosophy (*Ibid.*, 899r-v).


243. Don Montebello is referred to, later, as Doctor in Theology (AAM, Pastoral Visit 1758-1760, part II, 518r).

244. *Ibid.*, 690r.

245. AAM, Suppliche 1741-1761, part II, 898r.


1759 Valletta G Don Giuseppe Arnaud (248), Don Clemente Belan (249), Don Raffaele Cassar (250), Don Filippo Grimani (251) and Don Gio. Batt. Magrì (252).

Vittoriosa G Cleric Salvatore Cachia (253).

Ghaxaq G Don Paolo Sillato (254).

Siggiewi G Don Teodoro Balzan and Don Giovanni Psayla (255).

Tarxien G Don Giuseppe Grech (256).

Zebbug RWG Don Raffaele Ellul (257).

Zejtun G Cleric Michael Angelo Xerri (258).

Zurrieq G Don Francesco Spiteri (259).

Gozo G Friar Salvatore Cumbo OFM Conv. (261), cleric Gio. Batt. Camilleri (262), cleric Carmelo Dandalona (263), and cleric Francesco Sapiano (264).

Dioceze GH Cleric Gio. Maria Gaucci (265) and cleric Francesco Mizzi (266).

Unknown G Cleric Benedetto Mallia (266a).

Vittoriosa G Cleric Saverio Falso (267).

Gozo G Deacon Giuseppe Romano (268).

Diocese H Don Francesco Grech (270).

248. Don Arnaud and the following four priests were given the necessary authorisation to teach on certain conditions. An essential condition was that they had to use De Rossi's Donato or Latin Grammar. All the group had been teaching without having obtained the bishop's authorisation (AAM, Pastoral Visit 1758-1760, part I, 186v).

249. Idem.

250. Ibid., 185v.

251. Ibid., 186r.

252. Idem. A cleric with this same name had been authorised to teach grammar in the diocese during 1750.

253. Ibid., 66r-v.

254. AAM, Pastoral Visit 1758-1760, part II, 448v.

255. Ibid., 334v.

256. Don Grech had graduated Doctor in Theology as well as Master in Philosophy (AAM, Suppliche 1741-1761, part II, 1030v). He may be the same priest already authorised to teach at Naxxar in 1721 and at Valletta in 1741.

257. Ibid., 1037v.

258. AAM, Pastoral Visit 1758-1760, part II, 611r.

259. Spiteri was also authorised to teach Philosophy and Theology (Ibid., 480r-481r).

260. Ibid., 1063v-1064r.

261. AAM, Pastoral Visit 1758-1760, part II, 696v.

262. Idem.

263. Idem.

264. His authorisation included also the teaching of Philosophy (AAM, Suppliche 1741-1761, part II, 1105v).

265. A similar authorisation as the previous one (Ibid., 1104v).

266. Same authorisation as in Note No. 264 (Ibid., 1063v-r).

267. Ibid., 1105v-1104v.

268. Ibid., 1172r-v.

269. AAM, Pastoral Visit 1758-1760, part II, 696v.

270. AAM, Suppliche 1741-1761, part II, 1184v. In 1757, a priest with this same name had been authorised to teach at Senglea.
DEVELOPMENTS IN EDUCATION

Diocese (Cont.) G Subdeacon Giovanni Bonnici (271).

Group VIII — 1761 - 1768

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<td>Don Lorenzo Abela (275).</td>
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<td>Deacon Pietro Paolo Mizzi (277).</td>
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<td>1766</td>
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<td>Subdeacon Gioacchino Pace and cleric Fortunato Micallef (278).</td>
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<td>Don Stanislao Rizzo (284) and Don Giuseppe Xara Bonanno (285).</td>
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271. Subdeacon Bonnici had graduated Doctor in Theology at the Jesuit College in May 1760. This authorisation enabled him to teach also Philosophy and Theology (Ibid., 1184r-v).

272. Cleric Mallia was a Doctor in Theology. He was authorised to teach also both Philosophy and Theology (Ibid., 1281v).

273. Fra Agius was a conventual chaplain of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. He was school master of the deacons of his Order. Moreover, he had already been approved to open a public school in Rome (AAM, Suppliche 1762-1776, part I, 68r-v).

274. Ibid., 194v-195r.

275. Ibid., 258v. According to the records of Bishop Labini’s first pastoral visit, Don Abela was a Doctor in Theology (AAM, Pastoral Visit 1781-1782, 404r).

276. His authorisation enabled him also to teach Philosophy (AAM, Suppliche 1762-1776, part I, 361v-362r).

277. Ibid., 361v.

278. These two ecclesiastics planned to open a school together and to teach also, apart from grammar, Philosophy and Scholastic Theology. The Bishop granted them the necessary authorisation (Ibid., 439v).

279. The following year, it seems, that Micallef left his companion and decided to embark on the teaching of Humane Letters, Rhetorics, Philosophy and Theology all by himself! (Ibid., 496v-v).

280. Plain chant, Rhetorics and Philosophy were included in the authorisation granted, on this occasion, to Don Borg (Ibid., 489v-490r). He may be the same person authorised to teach at Burmula in 1750.

281. Ibid., 498r.

282. Xerri was a graduate in Theology as well as in Philosophy (Ibid., 449v-450r).

283. Ibid., 562r.

284. Don Rizzo was a graduate in Theology (Ibid., 545r-v).

285. Ibid., 567v-568r.
### Abbreviations

A = Arithmetic; Ab = Abacus; G = Grammar; H = Humane Letters;
NS = Subject or subjects authorised to teach unspecified;
R = Reading; W = Writing.

Roman Numbers indicate the chronological groups.

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ABBENDIX B

AUTHORISATIONS TO TEACH HIGHER STUDIES

Abbreviations

MT = Moral Theology;  Ph = Philosophy;
ST = Scholastic Theology;  T = Theology.

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1. Subdeacon Michallef’s authorisation did not include teaching of any elementary subjects, Grammar or the Humanities (AAM, Suppliche 1668-1684, 21v).
2a. AAM, Suppliche 1710-1721, 716v-717r.
4. Ibid., No. 107.
5. Ibid., No. 118.
6. Ibid., No. 120.
7. Don Alessandro Aquilina was parish priest of Sannat. In his petition he styled himself “Professore della S. Teologia (AAM, Suppliche 1714-1741, part I, 7r). In 1714, he had been assigned by the ecclesiastical authorities the lectureship in Moral Theology at the Collegiate Church of Gozo (AAM, Suppliche 1710-1721, 119v-120r). He was not involved in teaching Grammar or the Humanities.
9. Ibid., No. 111.
10. Ibid., No. 144.
11. Ibid., No. 150.
12. Ibid., No. 152.
13. Ibid., No. 163.
14. Ibid., No. 166.
DEVELOPMENTS IN EDUCATION

1740 Valletta MT Don Diego Busset (15).
Burmula PhT Don Felice Demarco (16).
Diocese PhT Cleric Giuseppe Farrugia (18).

Group VI — 1741 - 1750
1743 Valletta Ph Subdeacon Ignazio Saverio Mifsud (19).
1746 (Valletta) PhT Don Salvatore Pace (20).
1747 Luqa Ph Notary Giuseppe Bonavia (21).
1749 Unknown PhT Cleric Antonio Menna (22).

Group VII — 1751 - 1760
1752 Valletta PhMTST Don Felice Borg (23).
1757 Valletta PhT Don Giovanni Caruana (24).
,, Ph Subdeacon Salvatore Bonnici (25).
1759 Zejtun PhT Don Francesco Spiteri (26).
Gozo Ph Cleric Gio. M. Gauci (27) and cleric Francesco Mizzi (28).
,, PhT Cleric Francesco Sapiano (29).
Diocese Ph Cleric Benedetto Mallia (30).
Unknown Ph Cleric Saverio Falsom (31).
1760 Diocese PhT Subdeacon Giovanni Bonacci (32).

Group VIII — 1761 - 1768
1761 Zurrieq PhT Cleric Lorenzo Mallia (33).
1765 Vittoriosa Ph Don Giovanni Xuereb (34).
1766 Valletta PhST Subdeacon Gioacchino Pace and cleric Fortunato Micallef (35).
1767 Valletta PhT Subdeacon Fortunato Micallef (36).
,, Ph Cleric Giuseppe Xerri (37).
Zejtun Ph Don Giovanni Borg (38).

15. Ibid., No. 167.
16. Ibid., No. 169.
17. Ibid., No. 171.
18. Ibid., No. 174.
19. Ibid., No. 194.
20. Ibid., No. 204.
21. Ibid., No. 208.
22. Ibid., No. 215.
23. Ibid., No. 224.
24. Ibid., No. 234.
25. Ibid., No. 237.
26. Ibid., No. 259.
27. Ibid., No. 265.
28. Ibid., No. 266.
29. Ibid., No. 264.
30. Ibid., No. 266a.
31. Ibid., No. 267.
32. Ibid., No. 271.
33. Ibid., No. 272.
34. Ibid., No. 276.
35. Ibid., No. 278.
36. Ibid., No. 279.
37. Ibid., No. 282.
38. Ibid., No. 280.
## STATISTICAL ABSTRACT OF APPENDIX B

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MT = Moral Theology; Ph = Philosophy; ST = Scholastic Theology; T = Theology.

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