

THE PUBLIC EDUCATION SYSTEM IN SOUTHERN ITALY (1806-1820)

F. PALLADINO

Florindo Palladino¹

¹*University of Molise, Department of Humanities, Social Sciences and Education, Campobasso, Italy*
E-mail: florindo.palladino@unimol.it

Abstracts

This contribution reconstructs the origins of the public education system in Naples, established during the period between the French Decade and the Bourbon Restoration. Following the school reform implemented in France during the Napoleonic government, a process of adaptation of the French model to the specificities of the territory began in Naples. The modern public education system was established in three distinct phases: during the government of Joseph Bonaparte (1806-1808), during the reign of Joachim Murat (1808-1815) and in the aftermath of the Second Restoration (1816). In the first phase, the school system that was to be completed in the Decreto Organico (henceforth DO) of 1811 came into being. The return of the Bourbons allowed for a consolidation of the education system through more accurate regulation.

Keywords: 19th century, Kingdom of Naples; Education; Napoleonic reformism

1 Introduction¹

The school reform implemented in France between 1802 and 1811 allowed for the creation of a centralised and hierarchical public education system, with a school system divided into three grades: primary, secondary and high. The reform aimed to regulate all educational institutions, both public and private, both laic and religious, with the objective of training students for a professional career through the attainment of a degree [1].

Following the reform implemented in France, a reform process was also initiated in the satellite states of the Kingdom of France, with the aim of translating the French model and adapting it to the territorial reality.

In the Kingdom of Naples, the modern public education system developed in three distinct phases: during the rule of Joseph Bonaparte (1806-1808), during the reign of Joachim Murat (1808-1815) and in the aftermath of the Second Restoration (1816).

As is well known, scholars agree in placing the expulsion of the Jesuits (1767) as the date of the birth of public education in the Kingdom of Naples and in considering the French Decade (1806-1815) as the period of scholastic reformism.

This thesis, however, supposes the use of an unexpressed axiom: ‘public’ as an element falling within the interest and organization of the State, whereby public education consequently becomes a function regulated by the State. In reality, the term ‘public education’ will take on such a meaning only from the Napoleonic era onwards and will impose itself in the course of the 19th century as a notion so self-evident that it will also be used to reread the historical events that preceded Napoleonic reformism, ignoring the 18th century approach that used the term ‘public’ to designate the collective schools open to the population that were opposed to the individual instruction given by private preceptors [2].

Napoleonic reformism thus stands as a watershed between *state public schools* and *schools open to the public* but run by religious orders and congregations, dioceses or private citizens in the previous century.

¹ It should be noted that the normative sources cited in the text are not included in the final bibliography, but are indicated in the footnotes. In addition, the titles of the decrees are cited in the original Italian.

2 The school system in the Kingdom of Naples (1806-1808)

In Naples, the first step towards the modernization of the educational institution took place during the two-year reign of Joseph Bonaparte (1806-1808) with the entrusting of education to the newly founded Ministry of Internal Affairs. The administrative reform of the state was the condition for the birth of a public school system [3].

It was Napoleon's reform process that fundamentally changed the eighteenth-century paradigm: entrusting education to the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the Kingdom of Naples, during the two-year period of Joseph Bonaparte, created an administrative and cultural school system on three levels: primary education, paid for by the municipalities [4] [5] [6]; secondary education, provided in financially autonomous colleges [7]; and higher education, paid for by the Treasury [8]. During the government of Joseph Bonaparte, a decree of 15 August 1806² reorganised primary education, following the provisions issued in France in 1793: compulsory opening of a primary school, for boys and girls, "in all towns, lands, villas and every other inhabited place", for the teaching of reading, writing, arithmetic, Christian doctrine and, for girls only, also the "women's arts" (Art. 1); teachers' and schoolmistresses' salaries paid by the municipalities (Art. 2); possibility of still using the individual method in municipalities with less than 3,000 inhabitants and compulsory use of the normal method for all the others (Art. 3). The following year, secondary education was reorganised with the Council of State's approval, on 30 May 1807, of the draft law presented by the Minister of the Interior, Miot, which provided for the foundation of two colleges in Naples, and one in each province (Art. 1): the boarding school, with a five-year cycle of studies, was preparatory to access, for the most deserving pupils, to higher education institutions: seminaries, military school, polytechnic school, school of fine arts, a boarding school for forensic training and one for medical training (Art. 35). These institutions, similar to the French special schools, were all being set up [9]. As far as public education was concerned, Joseph Bonaparte's government could go no further: the new French system of public education was launched with the application decrees of 1808, the very year of his departure for Madrid, leaving his successor Joachim Murat with a reform of the state and a layout of the school system that was the necessary prerequisite for applying the model of the *Université impériale* in Naples as well.

3 The system of public education in the *Decreto Organico* (1811)

Following the reform implemented in France with the 1806 law and the 1808 decrees, public education commissions were also set up in the satellite states of the Empire, starting in 1809, with the task of formulating plans to reform public education in order to adapt the French model to the different territorial realities: Joseph Bonaparte set them up in Spain, Louis Bonaparte in the Kingdom of Holland, Joachim Murat in that of Naples and similar measures also appeared in the Duchy of Warsaw [10].

The Neapolitan Commission, established on 27 January 1809, was composed of: Vincenzo Cuoco, Giuseppe Capececiatro, Melchiorre Delfico, Bernardo Della Torre and Tito Manzi [11, pp. 229-235]. The Commission presented the Draft Decree for Public Instruction, entrusting the Report to Cuoco, but the Council of State, in its session of 3 November 1809, rejected the Project on the grounds that "the mechanism of education proposed for the Kingdom of Naples" was not "the same as that adopted in the Empire of France" and ruled that it should "to model it on this and thus have the same unity of principle and action, so that everything destined for the public education of the Kingdom forms but one and the same body, the parts of which, scattered in different places according to need [...] recognize only one source from which they all emanate, a source that is to be understood as established in the Capital of the Kingdom" [10, p. 231].

² *Collezione delle leggi, de' decreti e di atti riguardanti la pubblica istruzione promulgati nel già Reame di Napoli dall'anno 1806 in poi*, 3 vol., Napoli, Stamperie del Fibreno, 1861-1863, vol. I, p. 3 (henceforth CLDAPI).

It is clear and evident, then, what was the model to be looked to for reform in the Kingdom of Naples: the *Université impériale*, the system of public education that was able to create the “single body” that the 1806 institutive law laid at the basis of the reform of public education in Imperial France. The Project, presented to the council by Cuoco, appeared dissimilar to the imperial mechanism on two vital issues, which can be summarised as follows: a different administrative organization, which did not guarantee “unity of principles and action”, and the presence in the Kingdom of as many as four universities, instead of the single Neapolitan University, which was desired as the “sole source”. Having wrecked the Project, the Minister of the Interior Giuseppe Zurlo promoted a new design, now lost, which, subjected to numerous rehashes by the Commission called upon to revise it, under the strong influence of Cuoco, was reduced from the initial 102 articles to only 37 in the Organic Decree for Public Education, passed on 29 November 1811. The scholastic reform implemented with the 1806 law and the subsequent 1808 decrees ensured France a public education system that was administratively centralised and verticalised, with an order prospectively divided into three grades, aimed at regulating all institutes, both public and private, both lay and ecclesiastical, aimed at professional training anchored to the qualification through the mechanism of academic grades.

In the Kingdom of Naples the path was substantially similar. Having separately reformed the primary school by decree on 15 September 1810³, the DO⁴ explicitly and unequivocally defined in its first article: public education is that placed “under the control and supervision of the government”. It followed that public education was to be provided in the University of Naples, in the lyceums and in “other educational establishments” (Art. 2). Finally, the DO, in listing the series of measures, put forward a clear and categorical concept that could not be ideologically subjugated, nor eluded in substance: public education is that placed under the control and supervision of the government.

As part of this foundation of public education, the DO expressly introduced two grades of secondary schools and identified the “first grade of secondary schools:

1. in those royal colleges that will not be converted into lyceums;
2. in similar establishments that will be made by municipalities or private individuals.

In these there must be at least four professors, i.e. two in grammar, one in rhetoric, and one in philosophy and mathematics” (Title III, *Collegi*, Art. 13), including seminaries in this grade, albeit dependent on diocesan authority (Title III, *Collegi*, Art. 14). The second degree was made up of the lyceum with annexed boarding school, divided into four different addresses: literary, mathematical, medical, juridical (Title IV, *Licei*, Art. 18) and the subjects taught in the colleges remained common to the four addresses (Title IV, *Licei*, Art. 16). The substantial difference between the French lyceum and the Neapolitan lyceum, which had become a semi-university, arose from the compromise between Cuoco’s project, which envisaged four universities, and Zurlo’s project, which envisaged only one, so much so that four lyceums - one for each university course - were envisaged in each of the macro-areas into which the provinces were grouped: 1) the provinces of Bari, Otranto and Basilicata; 2) the three provinces of Abruzzo; 3) the two provinces of Calabria; 4) the provinces of Molise, the province of Capitanata, Terra di Lavoro, Principato Ultra and Principato Citra (Title IV, *Licei*, arts. 15 and 19); while the city of Naples, which was granted a special privilege as the capital of the Kingdom and therefore not incorporated into any macro-area, was assigned two lyceums⁵.

³ CLDAPI, vol. I, pp. 81-83. The decree introduced several novelties compared to the 1806 decree: compulsory primary education, extension of the normal method in every municipality, the municipality’s obligation to provide premises and teaching materials, entrusting the smaller municipalities to parish priests, setting a minimum wage for teachers and, to relieve municipal coffers, proposing a monthly school tax [4] [5].

⁴ CLDAPI, vol. I, pp. 230-238.

⁵ CLDAPI, vol. I, pp. 19-20.

Following the French model, the education system encompassed all forms of education: public and private, secular and ecclesiastical institutes, according to a hierarchy that placed the lycée at the top, followed on the same level by those colleges already established by law in 1807, and private institutes (secular or ecclesiastical), flanked by seminaries⁶.

At this point, the structural interventions aimed at organising the secondary school were exhausted and the need arose to revise the last stage of the education system, putting the University on a par with the French one: five faculties (Humanities and Philosophy; Mathematics and Physical Sciences; Medicine; Law and Theology) were envisaged (DO, Title V, arts. 22-28) five faculties were envisaged (Humanities and Philosophy; Mathematical and Physical Sciences; Medicine; Law and Theology); it was decided to entrust the teachers of Mineralogy, Botany and Astronomy, respectively: the Museum of Mineralogy (founded in 1801), the Botanical Garden (founded in 1807) and the nascent Astronomical Observatory (1812); in addition, modern scientific laboratories were planned (DO, Title V, Art. 29); three special schools and the establishment of a normal school in Naples for the training of ‘professors’ were announced (DO, Title V, Art. 33).

The last and fundamental measure, the keystone of Napoleon’s system, was the institution of the three academic degrees entrusted exclusively to the University (DO, Title VI), revoking all privileges of conferring degrees, granted to the ancient Colleges of Doctors [8, pp. 479-483] [12, 85-90].

Having assigned the management, control and supervision of education to the State; created the secondary sector; reorganised the university sector, which was entrusted with the control of academic degrees for the attainment of the degree, the system was crowned, along the lines of the French regulation, by the *Regolamento per la collocazione dei gradi della facoltà*⁷, a fundamental act that made it possible to correlate the degree with careers and professions, putting an end to the era of art guilds and colleges of professions.

The Regulations, decreed on 1 January 1812, prescribed the paths to attain the three doctoral degrees (approval, licence and degree) and sanctioned the degrees (approval certificate, licence diploma and degree) required to exercise functions and professions, degrees and titles according to the schematic summary below (Tables 1 and 2):

Tab. 1. Attainment of doctoral degrees

Faculty	Approval	Licence	Degree
Literature and Philosophy (LF)	Minimum age 16 years	Approval and 1 year university course	Examination after showing the Licence obtained at least 1 year ago
Physical and mathematical sciences	Certificate in LF; 2 years of a high school course or one year of a university course	Approval and 1 year university course	Licence obtained at least 1 year ago
Medicine	Certificate in LF; 3 years of high school course or one year of university course	Approval and 1 year university course	Examination after showing the Licence obtained at least 1 year ago
Jurisprudence	Certificate in LF; 3 years of high school course or one year of university course	Approval and 1 year university course	Licence and 1 year university course
Theology	Certificate in LF; 3 years of seminar course and be at least 21 years old	Approval and two-year university course	Licence and 1 year university course

⁶ On the observation that an “essential part of public education had been lacking since the seminaries of the various dioceses were closed, or remained abandoned”, in 1812, Matteo Galdi, newly appointed Director of P.I., proposed a strengthening, in number and financial resources, of the seminaries since “Art. 14, Title III of the Law of 29 [*Decreto Organico*] suggests that the Seminaries of the Dioceses will be considered in the number of secondary schools”, (Matteo Galdi al Ministero per gli Affari Interni, *Interesse da prendere per i seminari del Regno*, Napoli 1 luglio 1812, in CLDAPI, pp. 278-281).

⁷ CLDAPI, vol. I, pp. 239-258.

Tab. 2. Qualifications required to exercise functions and professions

Faculty	Approval coupon	Licence Diploma	Degree
Literature and Philosophy	Primary school teachers (if parish priest, approval in theology sufficient)	Professors in colleges Public school teachers	University professors High school teachers Special school teachers
Jurisprudence		Private professors	Court Judges Royal Prosecutors Prosecutor University professors Teachers of lyceum
Medicine		Private professors	Doctors Surgeons* University professors Teachers of lyceum
Physical sciences and Mathematics		Professors in colleges Private professors	University professors Teachers of lyceum Architects**
Theology			Archbishops Bishops Vicars Canons Parish priests*** University professors

*Only if assigned to the army or serving in hospitals

** Only if court experts or directors of public works

***Only if parish priests of municipalities with a population over ten thousand inhabitants

The Arts and Philosophy degree was the starting point for any further course of study and corresponded to the basic teachings common to the four university courses: once obtained, one could follow university courses in high schools or in the faculties of the Neapolitan university, at the end of which one would obtain the respective coupons in the four courses, which allowed access to the other two degrees - licence and degree - that could only be obtained by attending courses taught in the university⁸.

For engineering education, a different path was planned, with the establishment of the School of Bridges and Roads and, for the military career, the Military Academy was organised; while, in order to offer a path aimed at technical professional training, which was obviously not part of the academic ranks, the School of Arts and Crafts was established.

In the implementation phase following the promulgation of the 1812 Rules, the titles obtained prior to the institution of the new system were regularised: the “ancient privileges”, the Rules stated, had to be converted into titles authorised by the Royal University of Naples (Art. 66-67) during the years 1812 and 1813, “without justifying that they had studied at the University itself, in the lyceum, or in the seminaries” (Art. 66), but simply certifying that they had passed the respective examinations for the degree required. Those who were already exercising a profession or office without possessing any degree could remedy the situation by undertaking to obtain it within the next six years (Art. 67). Regarding the administrative set-up, in the French system there were three distinct administrations: central, academic and prefectural for the control and functioning of the entire school system; the Neapolitan system was different and was the point of greatest contrast between Zurlo and Cuoco: the former aspired to create a body of administrative officials, on the French inspectorate model; the latter aimed to create an enlightened intelligentsia. Cuoco’s approach, outlined in these terms by Minister Zurlo, prevailed in the Council of State:

⁸ The minimum limit of 16 years to obtain approval in Humanities (Tab. 1) corresponded to the minimum age at which one could leave high school: the entire course, in optimal situations, lasted eight years and one could not enter it before the age of eight.

“It was thought in the first place useful that public instruction [should be entrusted] to the general class of scholars and not to a particular body of clerks, which had been proposed at other times under the name of inspectors. This idea gave rise to the project of a college of *giury* composed of the scholars of each province, who would periodically judge the state of the Statutes, the progress of the pupils, the prizes to be distributed” [11, p. 232].

The central administration was entrusted to the *Direzione Centrale di Pubblica Istruzione* (henceforth DGPI), a body dependent on the Ministry of the Interior, which was flanked by the *Giury di contabilità*, intended to supervise the administration and economy of educational establishments; and the *Giury di revisione* called to assess school performance on the basis of the “compositions periodically sent by the colleges and lyceums” [11, p. 232]. An *Giury d’esame* was to be set up in each province to supervise education. The two presidents of the *Giury di contabilità* e il *Giury di revisione*, and the president of the *Giury di esame* in Naples constituted the board of the DGPI.

Having fixed the functions by DO, the *Regolamento provvisorio per il Giury della pubblica Istruzione*⁹ regulated their activities. The *Giury* were composed of: a president, appointed by the royalty, and vice-president, pro-president and members, appointed by the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The structure of the *Giury* had three levels: the president, a man trusted by the government; vice-presidents and pro-presidents chosen for their cultural and moral qualities (Title I, Articles 3 and 4).

The *Giury d’esame* consisted of a president, a vice-president and six members who formed a committee divided into three sections: science, literature and languages. Pro-Presidents were also provided for in the districts of the province (Title II, Art. 12).

The powers of the president of the *Giury d’esame* ranged from that of “habitual inspector of all the public education establishments in his province”, to the task of seeing to it that ‘all the regulations both of discipline and teaching, as well as of economy’ were “exactly carried out”, reporting continuously to the Director General. In effect, this figure was identified as “the intermediate body between the Director himself and the heads of the various establishments in the province” (Art. 33).

The Vice-Presidents and Pro-Presidents were assigned the task of supervising all schools in the province (Title II, Art. 13).

The regulations prescribed six meetings per year, three of which were held at the beginning, middle and end of the school year.

In the examination sessions in lyceums and colleges (scheduled in November, April and September), three members of the *Giury* were to be appointed, according to their respective sections: language, literature and science, and they were to assess the pupils, subjecting the examinee to written and oral tests on subjects proposed at the discretion of the president, who was also to attend the examinations in secondary schools or delegate a pro-president.

The pyramid structure, spread from the centre to the periphery, thus also added administrative and control features to the new “education system” rigidly constructed according to the Napoleonic approach: officials and control bodies were not simply branches in the provinces of the state presence, but also, and above all, the functionaries and guarantors of compliance.

4 Regulation (1816)

With the return of the Bourbons to government, a policy of Restoration was initiated, led by Minister Luigi de Medici, the soul of the government of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, intent on recovering the reformist work of the Decade in a “state system that was no more than the Napoleonic or administrative state” [13, p. 6]:

⁹ *Regolamento provvisorio per Giury della Pubblica Istruzione*, Napoli, Tip. Angelo Trani, 1812.

On the other hand - observes W. Maturi - the absolutism of the state had to be imposed on the new secular ruling classes. To confront them with police measures Medici did not want to because he was alien to violent means, nor could he because of international contingencies.

And so he thought of removing the strong-headed leaders (Zurlo, Poerio, Winspeare, who were exiled), of taming most of them with moderation, keeping them in office, with an enlightened state action and, in the meantime, with the alliance with the Church, preparing new generations more docile, more malleable, more obedient to the government's directives.

The medium for this re-education of the country was to be public education, pervaded by a confessionalist spirit; but, since it was an instrument for the health of the state and not an end in itself, it was to be directed by secular state bodies" [13, p. 10].

In this political framework, "public education - suggested the President of Public Education, Ludovico Loffredo, to the sovereign - if well directed, will be more useful to the king than his army" [14, p. 189]. The school system continued to depend on the Ministry of Internal Affairs, within which the administrative body for the direction of Public Education was retained, renamed the *Commissione di Pubblica Istruzione* (henceforth CPI), which was given all the functions of the previous DGPI¹⁰, but the programme already drawn up by Giuseppe Zurlo, aimed at creating a single centralised structure for management and control, was implemented: abolished the *Giury*, an inspection body of twelve officials was created, the General Inspectors of Public Education, "destined to watch over the execution of the statutes and regulations of the Royal Lyceums and Colleges, of the Secondary Schools of the Kingdom, as well as to attend to the discipline and teaching of the boarding schools and public schools" (*Istruzione per gli ispettori generali della Pubblica Istruzione*, Art. 1)¹¹.

At a peripheral level, district inspectors and district inspectors were instituted in 1816 for the control and supervision of primary schools¹², and the intendants, assisted by sub-intendents, were given those functions of promotion, management and control of the Public Education in the territory, previously carried out by the *Giury d'esame*¹³, constituting a direct administrative channel between the centre and the periphery, through the use of civil servants revolving around the intendant as the representative of the State.

The general framework for the acquisition of the three academic degrees was fully reconfirmed with the *Regolamento per la collocazione de' gradi dottorali* enacted in 1815¹⁴, introducing a few changes aimed at streamlining the path to the degree required to exercise certain professions.

The physiognomy of university education also remained anchored to the DO, with the Statutes for the *Statuti per la R. Università* (March 1816)¹⁵: the five faculties of the previous period were confirmed, but the number of professorships was increased. The dean remained at the head of the faculties and the university was governed by the college of deans, chaired by the rector, who was elected by the teaching staff, and the scientific structures that had already been set up in the Decade¹⁶ were strengthened.

In the secondary sphere, the *Statutes* of lyceums, colleges and Secondary Schools (February 1816) and the *Regolamento per le scuole private e i pensionati* (July 1816) were promulgated¹⁷.

¹⁰ The CPI, established by Royal Determination of 2 August 1815, had the same powers as the suppressed DGPI by ministerial decree of 16 August 1815 (CLDAPI, vol. I, pp. 325-326).

¹¹ Circolare ministeriale 14 febbraio 1816, in CLADPI, vol. I, pp. 361-364.

¹² These inspection figures, although all belonging to the ecclesiastical branch, as the archive documentation attests, mitigated the influence of the diocesan ordinaries and parish priests, who were entrusted with primary education in 1816 [15, pp. 27-52].

¹³ Circolare 25 ottobre 1815, in Archivio di Stato di Campobasso, Intendenza di Molise, b. 989, f. 77.

¹⁴ Archivio di Stato di Campobasso, b. 989, f. 77.

¹⁵ *Statuti per la R. Università degli Studi del Regno di Napoli*, 12 Marzo 1816, in CLDAPI, vol. I, pp. 424-442.

¹⁶ In a report of 2 September 1815, President Cardito asked for the powers of the newly established CPI to be extended, only succeeding in obtaining control of the university's scientific structures; see CLDAPI, vol. I, pp. 330-336.

¹⁷ The regulation of public institutes was already carried out by the Napoleons in 1812, with the *Regolamenti pei Licei, Collegi, e scuole secondarie*, printed by Angelo Trani in Naples.

The complex system of macro-areas envisaged by the DO, which was supposed to provide each of them with four university courses (medicine, law, mathematical and physical sciences, and literature) installed in as many high schools, remained only on paper due to insurmountable financial difficulties and the lack of coordination between the centre and the periphery: out of the 17 planned high schools, only three were actually opened, in the four years of Murat's government following the launch of the DO: the Salvatore in Naples, without university professorships due to the presence of the Athenaeum; the medical high school in Salerno and the legal high school in Catanzaro; all the others remained colleges as established by law 140/1807¹⁸.

The *Statuti pe' Reali Licei*¹⁹, therefore, reconfirmed the DO approach, but dropped the scheme of macro-areas and structured a curriculum, defined by Title I, articulated in 16 chairs, entrusted to the same number of teachers, which managed to contain an entire secondary course and all the university courses: this approach would be difficult to understand without first illustrating the keystone of the system, contained in Title II, subtitled "doctoral degrees" and Title III, devoted to "examinations for conferring doctoral degrees".

In the first article of Title II, the cornerstone of the lyceum curriculum was laid down: "In the royal lyceums one can only receive degrees of approval and licence in law, in the physical and mathematical sciences, in medicine, and in philosophy and literature" (Title II, Art. 7). The first article of Title III listed the "examinations to obtain the degrees of approval and licence [that] will be taken in the licei before the Commissions formed by the professors" (Table 3):

Tab. 3. Examination Boards for Approval and Licence Degrees

Commission	Disciplines
Law Commission	Philosophy, Ethics and People's Law
	Kingdom Law and Civil Procedure
	Criminal law and procedure
Commission of Physical and Mathematical Sciences	Synthetic mathematics
	Analytical mathematics
	Mathematical physics
	Experimental physics
	Natural history
Medicine Commission	Anatomy and Physiology
	Theoretical and practical surgery
	Antepractice of medicine
	Practical medicine
	Chemistry and Pharmacy
Literature and Philosophy Commission	Philosophy, Ethics and People's Law
	Rhetoric and the Greek language
	Sublime Latin language

¹⁸ San Carlo alle Montelle and Caravaggio (Naples); Maddaloni (Terra di Lavoro); Avigliano (Basilicata), Cosenza and Corigliano (Calabria citra), Monteleone and Reggio (Calabria Ultra), Lecce (Terra d'Otranto), Bari (Terra di Bari); Lucera (capitanata); Teramo (Abruzzo ultra I) and Sulmona (Abruzzo ultra II) [9, p. 85].

¹⁹ *Statuti pei Reali Licei*, decreto 14 Febbraio 1816, CLD API, vol. I, pp. 365-342.

Which professions these commissions were qualified for, what the candidates' examinations should cover, and how they were to be examined had already been outlined in the Regulations of the Doctoral Degrees in conjunction with the Regulations of the Royal University.

Since it was required to grant approval certificate and licence diploma to which precise disciplinary contents corresponded, the lyceum was provided with the corresponding chairs and a consequent curriculum, set out in Title I of the *Statuti*, which we can summarise as follows (Tab. 4)

Tab. 4. Authors and texts to be adopted in the Licei and Colleges of the Kingdom. Source: *Statuti pei reali licei, collegi e scuole secondarie* (1816). Our elaboration.

Chairs	Disciplines	Authors and textbooks
1°	Catechism of Religion and Morals	Printed Catechism for use in primary schools
	Italian grammar	Soave, <i>Grammatica</i>
	Practical arithmetic	Practical arithmetic for primary schools
2°	Application of the grammatical rules of the Italian language to the classics, with grammatical analysis	Boccaccio, Casa, Firenzuola
	Sacred history	Sacred history for public education
	Geography	Luigi Galanti, <i>Geografia</i>
3°	Latin Grammar	Portoreale, <i>Compendium</i>
	Italian language composition exercises	[no indication, as this is an exercise]
	Secular history	Secular history [no other indication]
	Mythology	Tomeo, <i>Mitologia</i>
4°	Application of the grammatical rules of the Latin language to the classics with grammatical analysis	Portoreale, <i>Grammatica latina</i> ; Classici: Fedro; Nipote; Cicerone, <i>Epistole</i> ; Cesare, <i>Commentari</i> ; Virgilio, <i>Egloghe e Georgiche</i>
5°	Humanity with an explanation of the classical prose writers and poets who are most elevated in style and sentiment, noting the graces and precision by which they are distinguished	Portoreale, <i>Grammatica latina</i> ; Classics: Cicerone, <i>Uffizii e Orazioni</i> ; Virgilio, <i>Eneide</i>
	Grammar of the Greek language	Portoreale, <i>Grammatica di lingua greca</i> ; <i>Nuovo Testamento</i> ; <i>Silloge</i>
	Roman Antiquities	Salvatore Aula, [<i>Antiquatum romanarum epitome</i>]
	Greek Antiquities	Oliver Goldsmith, [<i>Compendio della storia greca</i>]
6°	Rhetoric	Majelli, <i>Istituzioni oratorie</i> ; classics: Sallustio, Livio, Tacito
	Italian and Latin poetry	Orazio
	Application of grammatical rules to Greek classics, with grammatical analysis	Classics: Isocrate, Omero, Demostene
7°	Philosophy	Soave, <i>Istituzioni</i>
	Natural right	Eineccio, <i>Elementi del diritto di natura e delle genti</i>
	Truths of the Catholic Religion	“[the professor] will give a treatise on the truth of the Catholic religion”
8°	Synthetic mathematics	Flauti e Giannattasio
	Analytical mathematics	Bossut; Fergola, <i>Sezioni coniche analitiche</i> ; “[the professor] will correct his lectures with Lagrange, Eulero, Monge ed Hachette, e con Biot; per la Meccanica, Fergola”
	Mathematical physics	
9°	Chemistry Pharmacy (demonstrations in the chemistry laboratory)	Sementini, <i>Istituzioni</i> ; “[the professor] will correct his lectures with Mojon; Adet, Brugnatelli; Thompson; Berthollet e Movillon-Lagrange”

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10°	Natural history	“Millini; [the professor] corrects his lectures for zoology with Buffon and Lacepede’s supplement, with Dumeril and Cuvier, and those for mineralogy with Brougnart, Haüy, Vernier, Breislak, Melograni”
11°	Civil procedure	“Civil Laws of the Kingdom in force”
12°	Criminal procedure	“Criminal Laws of the Kingdom in force”
13	Anatomy Physiology	Francesco Cerio Grimaldi, <i>Elementi di anatomia</i> ; “[the professor] will accompany his lectures with Goemmering, Bichat, Boyer, having in mind Gall’s findings on the structures of the brain”
14°	Theoretical surgery Practical surgery Obstetrics	Richter, <i>Istituzioni</i> ; “[the professor] will accompany his lectures with Monteggia, Richerand”.

The first six chairs of the curriculum provided the cultural elements of the education, hinged on the humanistic tradition (reimposed by the Jesuits with the Ratio studiorum matured at the end of the 16th century and recovered for the Napoleonic lyceum with the 1809 decree) structured in the three progressive courses of Grammar, Humanities and Rhetoric. Only after this literary apprenticeship did the more abstract contents of the seventh and eighth chairs follow: Philosophy, Mathematics and Physics.

The next eight chairs more appropriately grouped together the university and vocational teaching provided by the legal, medical or scientific course of study; while the fourth, literary course, which had already been abundantly absorbed into general education, did not need a further chair among the university ones.

This structure of lyceum could grant two academic degrees: approval certificate and licence diploma, qualifying candidates to pursue administrative careers or the exercise of professions according to the regulations of the academic degrees²⁰. The last degree, the bachelor’s degree, a necessary title for access to the highest offices and the exercise of liberal professions, could only be awarded by the University of Naples.

The *Statuti* did not omit to regulate: the functions and roles of the staff (rector, vice-rector, prefect of order, dormitory prefects and teachers); the didactic and pedagogical organisation (duration of the course of study, school calendar, lesson timetable; discipline and internal life of the boarding school); the determination of staff salary scales and the regulation of the economic and administrative management of the institute. With regard to textbooks (Table 4), the *Statuti* warned that the works indicated were provisional, pending texts “compiled by order of the Government, so that education may be uniform and progressive” (Title I, Art. 5). By decree of the same date, 14th February 1816, the *Statuti pe’ college e per le scuole secondarie*. The curriculum college corresponded exactly, in terms of progression and content, to the first eight chairs of the lyceum, with the option of being able to amalgamate some subjects, allowing only six chairs in the college.

Lastly, the role and function of secondary schools was established, placed at the expense of the municipality: “Secondary schools are considered to be all those where teaching cannot receive the determined extension of boarding schools, and where the course of studies cannot be equally methodical and progressive”²¹, making it much easier to open such schools since it allowed the ministry to propose the type of course and number of chairs according to local needs and finances. The approach taken with DO to the public education system was

²⁰ The examination commissions were in charge of proposing the questions, but were not to express an opinion on the assessment: “the judgement of admission to doctoral degrees, or of refusal, is reserved for the faculties of the Royal University of Studies” (Title II, Art. 19).

²¹ *Statuti pe’ college e per le scuole secondarie*, Part Two, Title VI, Art. 26, in CLDAPI, vol. I, p. 420.

confirmed, the physiognomy of the public institutes was redesigned, and a few months after the *Statuti* were issued, the *Regolamento per le scuole private e i pensionati* (10 July 1816)²² were also passed, subjecting them too to state control: prescribed the obligation to submit to the CPI the “plan of literary, scientific and moral instruction” and the possession of the academic degrees of the teachers, and only at a later stage and relative control, the CPI could apply to the Ministry of the Interior for authorisation and the issuing of the licence, subject to annual renewal²³. In order to guarantee the “uniformity of method and doctrine, each licensed teacher [...] [was] to preferably use the books [...] printed for the use of public education” (Art. 12), and each school or boarding school was subject to the “supervision and protection” of the CPI²⁴.

Within this framework, the education channels: public (high school, college and secondary schools) and private (lay and ecclesiastical), were complementary, and to them we must add, from the 1920s onwards, the third channel: the seminaries reopened and re-established, since the concordat of 1818.

5 Conclusions

Salvatore Bucci, in 1976, outlining the framework of historical-educational studies dedicated to the educational institutions of the Napoleonic period, lamented the lack of organic works able to account for the “renewal of the school” that took place in the first decade of the nineteenth century by Bonapartean reformism, despite the ‘differences in the application of the French school system in Italy’ [16, p. 17]. Almost fifty years later, the observation is still relevant.

Our work has attempted to partially fill this gap for southern Italy, in the context of a renewed historiographical interest in the processes of modernization at the hands of Napoleonic reformism [17] [18], by showing how the systemic approach of Neapolitan education was a consequence of the translation of the French system.

The composite course of research provided the framework for the modernisation process of education initiated in Naples. The educational reform implemented in three stages ensured the Kingdom a public education system that was administratively centralised and verticalised, with a system prospectively divided into three orders (primary, secondary and higher), in which the lyceum took on the role of the apex of the secondary segment and the base of the higher segment.

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²³ Excluded from this obligation were teachers of: “calligraphy, rudiments of reading and writing, practical arithmetic, local geography, mercantile writing, and foreign languages”, who were required to undergo an examination before the inspector general, for schools and boarding schools based in Naples, and in the provinces “directed to the intendants and sub-intendents to be examined by those who will be destined for the purpose” (Art. 4).

²⁴ Excluded from the ‘supervision and protection of the Commission of Public Instruction’ were schools intended to impart “the arts of drawing, provided they do not teach science, to learn theoretical principles, and Academies of fencing, dancing, and other gymnastic exercise” (Art. 19).

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