

FINE BUT LIBERAL: THE ROMAN REVOLUTION AND THE ART SCENE OF ROME (1846-1849)

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ABSTRACT

This work intends to offer a contribution to the history of the artistic scene of Rome in the 19th century alongside the decline and fall of the Catholic theocratic regime in the Papal States by focusing on a specific moment of the city's history known as the "Roman Revolution", namely the years that went from the election of Pius IX (June 16, 1846) to the end of the Roman Republic (July 3, 1849). Indeed, the new Pope brought an unprecedented opening to active citizenship which is legit to identify as a cohesive mobilization of society due to the fall of access barriers to active citizenship and the flourishing of new opportunities for participation.

By simultaneously studying how the mobilization impacted the artists and how the artists interacted with the same, this work confides to provide an entirely fresh perspective regarding the social identity of the Roman artistic scene. The most original contribution to this history is here represented by the fortunate retrieval of the Pontifical Civic Guard archive, a urban militia enacted by Pius IX formed by middle-to-upper classes that, initially enacted for safe-keeping, eventually turned into radical agency and strongly determined the political agenda in its escalation towards national war. The Civic Guard registers which are analyzed in this study offered not only wide informations in regards to a "static" picture of the Roman bourgeoisie as it was by Summer 1847, but also to an "active" one, given that every specific involvement of individuals in the corp was also recorded. Assuming that at the intersection between these two order of informations lies the very core of what the Roman artists have been doing with the first, real chance to be active citizens within a participative political environment, such collective data forms a consistent framework within which explicit cultural statements in the forms of text, images and memberships may be addressed in well grounded terms.

Divided in three parts, each one respectively analyzing the 1846-1849 period in terms of political history, sociological analysis of the cultural scene and social history of arts, this dissertation shows that the mobilization and its cultural objects had a deep and permanent repercussion on the Roman scene. A transversal reading of the artworks here analyzed alongside the collective findings emerged from the Civic registers and other associative mechanisms, highlights the evidence for which the Roman Revolution brought to surface substantial differences inside the scene in the form of active process of discriminations mostly engendered by religion and nationalism. Such findings, according to the author, suggests to look at the 1848 watershed in the history of Italian arts under a different light: not only the “close-fit” assumption between political and artistic decadence of the Roman scene emerges as a poorly detailed explanation for the emergence of new pictorial styles, careers management and public’s reception of artworks; more than looking at these same developments as byproducts of market logics or of the emergence of further teleological narrative of “forms exclusive” progressive discourses (for an instance, the so-called “*pittori soldato*” and their production), more urgent questions are awaiting investigations in regards to the actual collective and individual interests in the *Risorgimento* endeavor by professionals in the arts, as also in social struggles. Whereas appearing as an “Italian patriot” became rapidly a fashionable strategy in promoting one artists’ production and identity after the 1848-1849, this dissertation presents instead several cases in which images and actions engendered some divergent and possible even opposing scenarios.

INTRODUCTION

This work intends to offer a contribution to the history of the artistic scene of Rome in the 19th century alongside the decline and fall of the Catholic theocratic regime in the Papal States. Despite scholarly treatments of Western art history have been largely occupied elsewhere, this specific topic is actually relevant not only for sheer descriptive ends, but also for broader cultural and social interests. Specifically unique were in fact the conditions under which the artistic scene of Rome came to develop itself alongside the political turbulence of the years between the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815) and the “Year of the Revolutions” (1848).

General histories of 19th century arts are used to brand Rome as a cradle of decadence and melancholic Classical persistence bound to ancient regime dynamics and heavy institutional meddling. Such a difficult dialogue with modernity is not regarded by this work as a liability, but rather as a rich point of view from which testing teleological narratives on the matter. Even the most “aestheticized” lines of reasoning have been in past decades incorporating elements of the social history of art in order to explain the deep transformations which visual arts went through during the 1800s and ground them in developments broader than a progressive and exclusive “dialogue of forms”. Classic works that substantially contributed to the explanation of paintings like T. J. Clark’s studies on Courbet, achieved findings by analyzing on first place the transformations in production, consumption, distribution, reception and conservation of arts that went alongside social developments towards what Eric Hobsbawm defined the “Age of Bourgeoisie”. Whereas such mechanisms may seem perfectly in place within “advanced” environments such as Paris, London or Vienna, one is left wondering if such structural axioms may be taken as comprehensive explanatory keys. More than treating specific circumstances as relevant fields for historical investigation,

national enclosures and their cultural contents seems to have mostly engendered preventions and assumptions.

The neglected status that Roman arts after the Restoration had acquired in the Italian has been for long largely dependent on a more general repulse over Western academic art.¹ But even when by the 1980s this *taboo* started to be overcome, Italian academic art had nevertheless remained mostly ignored, and Rome in the specifics, if we exceed very specific works on national communities or individual trajectories. The greatest merit behind the rediscovery of 19th century Rome as a relevant artistic centre must be acknowledged to the works of Stefano Susinno, posthumously coronated by the *Maestà di Roma* exhibition in 2003 which established itself as a scholarly landmark. It must be said, nevertheless, that the same Susinno had to face the evidence for which, starting from the 1830s-1840s, it becomes increasingly complex to maintain trace of those solid institutional and individual “pillars” (Canova, Thorvaldsen, Minardi, Massimo, Bartholdy, Catel,...) around which he had been able to develop his narrative. In such circumstances, he retrieved an explanatory key by simply reproducing a “close-fit assumption” that justifies artistic deterioration at the light of political decadence:

Con il procedere in senso nazionale e unitario della storia dell'Italia ottocentesca, Roma vede non soltanto tramontare la sua caratterizzazione universalistica in rapporto alla scena politica del tempo ma anche ridursi fino alla vanificazione il suo rango di capitale artistica o comunque di polo irrinunciabile in quell'intreccio di dialoghi con Parigi, Vienna o San Pietroburgo nel quale consisteva la sua specificità culturale.²

Such a statement, which probably any kind of literature review would today certificate after the amount of studies and materials emerged in the last decades in regards to the first thirty years of the century, provided a solution rather than a spur. Generic interpretations of the artistic production in Restoration Rome as a worthy mirror of the theocratic regime eminently pursued by Leo XII and Gregory XVI had proven in fact a persisting popularity, both removing art historians' interests away from the reiterative features of such stylistic currencies mostly at odds with Romantic forms and purposes, and providing political historians with a responding interdisciplinary framework which

¹ Boime A., *The Academy & French Painting in the Nineteenth Century*, New York 1971.

² S. Susinno, *La Pittura in Italia. L'Ottocento*, edited by E. Castelnuovo, Milan 1991, I, pp. 399-430. On Susinno in general see also *L'Ottocento a Roma. Artisti, cantieri, atelier tra età napoleonica e Restaurazione*, Milan 2009.

naturally accommodates theories elaborated outside of specific artistic environments. Unreferenced notions of aesthetic “quality” in regards to artworks, however, are not the object of this dissertation. If anything, as Susinno himself already underlined in first place, any interpretation must be built upon a specific scenario about which, since the lack of apt primary sources, little is still known. Whereas the ultimate surge of nationalism and modernity through the escalation of social conflicts and the decadence of religious institutions have been all regarded as counteragents to the “*Maestà di Roma*”, one is left wondering whether a dedicated and historically grounded investigation would either confirm, deny or rather simply brush simplifications away from available narratives, and see which kind of historical enquiries remains legit.

With the ambition of at least partially covering this empty space, this work focuses on a specific moment of the city’s history known as the “Roman Revolution”, namely the years that went from the election of Pius IX (June 16, 1846) to the end of the Roman Republic (July 3, 1849).

Notoriously, the new Pope brought an unprecedented opening to active citizenship which is legit to identify as a cohesive mobilization of society due to the fall of access barriers to active citizenship and the flourishing of new opportunities for participation.

By simultaneously studying how the mobilization impacted the artists and how the artists interacted with the same, this work confides to provide an entirely fresh perspective regarding the social identity of the Roman artistic scene. The most original contribution to this history is here represented by the fortunate retrieval of the Pontifical Civic Guard archive, a urban militia enacted by Pius IX formed by middle-to-upper classes that, initially enacted for safe-keeping, eventually turned into radical agency and strongly determined the political agenda in its escalation towards national war.

The first mention of the Civic Guard institution in regards to the artistic scene dates back to the years between 1863 and 1865, when the Dutch painter and sculptor Jan Philip Koelman (1818-1893) published a diary of his stay in Rome, where he lived continuously from 1844 to 1857 before going back to The Hague and join the local Academy of Art as a teacher.³ Koelman describes the re-establishment of the Civic Guard as a profoundly impacting event for the artistic world of Rome as he perceived it. Beside detailing a variety of specific reactions by his many friends and colleagues, he also specifies that the fourth battalion of the army (the one related to the *Campo Marzo* district) was "composed exclusively by artists “ and that " the regiment was under the

³ M. L. Trebiliani, *Prefazione* in J. P. Koelman, “*Memorie Romane*”, Rome 1963, pp. v-xix.

command of Prince Aldobrandini, younger brother of Prince Marcantonio Borghese, a gentleman, a supporter of the fine arts, the right commander then for a group of artists”⁴. Leaving for now aside the question on whether this statement is actually true or not, it’s worth to underline that while describing the aftermaths following the end of the Republic, he mentions the destruction of the Civic Guard “lists” operated by the Republican government in order not to give any information about the conscripts and their weapons to French police.⁵ So more than the fate of these “lists”, which are actually today stored by the *Archivio Storico Capitolino* in Rome, Koelman’s statement highlights the possibility that these materials may have contained some dangerously sensitive information. Indeed, the Civic Guard registers which are analyzed in this study offered not only wide informations in regards to a “static” picture of the Roman bourgeoisie as it was by Summer 1847, but also to an “active” one, given that every specific involvement of individuals in the corp was also recorded. Assuming for now that at the intersection between these two order of informations lies the very core of what the Roman artists have been doing with the first, real chance to be active citizens within a participative political environment, such collective data forms a consistent framework within which explicit cultural statements in the forms of text, images and memberships may be addressed in well grounded terms.

This work is composed by five chapters divided in three parts. In the first (Chapter 1), we will introduce a comprehensive historical account of the events that brought to the introduction of the Pontifical Civic Guard in 1847, detailing what it was and to what meanings that institution was associated to by the day of its re-enactment, alongside an overview on the political history of the Papal States after the Restoration. Pius IX’s election and the breaking effects that it brought were in fact the product of a long-standing history of failed attempts by some sparse political groups trying to pressure the Papal government in order to provide the means for a political evolution, possibly making some steps towards a modern State organization. Upon this ground, the social mobilization ignited in 1846 operated on a rather differentiated civil body and thus in the second part of this chapter I will build up political themes and associative mechanisms which were active and retrievable by then, when the strict boundaries of the Roman society started to be overcome. The call to civil society, was in fact mostly addressed to those professional and intellectual areas that in

⁴ Koelman 1963, v.I, p. 116.

⁵ Koelman 1963, v.II, p. 478.

more “nationally advanced” areas like France and England were exactly at the head of the bourgeoisie revolutions.

Once the socio-political background is made clear, in the second part we will start by detailing the artistic scene, grossly describing its identity after the Congress of Vienna and specifically seeking to retrieve elements which may or may not let us consider the Roman artists as a specific social class holding some coherent interests in political agency (Chapter 2). Upon this surface, we will then introduce a quantitative analysis conducted upon the twelve general registers of the Civic Guard, containing biographic profiles and informations on active service about every member of the corp. The analysis will be conducted upon a dataset composed by entries relative to every artists of Rome, so that these may be collectively investigated in regards to social placement, spatial distribution, professional clusters, familial and religious bonds, status recognition, military involvement and explicit anti-governmental agency.

In the third and last part we will turn, at last, to specific cultural analysis by operating some selected vertical enquiries about individually relevant cases. Whereas in the second part the investigation aimed at retrieving quantitative evidences, here we look for qualitative answers. These will first be divided into two large groups: those visual texts, individual and associative endeavors which emerged as inclusive/included phenomena consistent with the mobilization (Chapter 3), and those which represented instead an exclusive/excluded reactions, either voluntarily or forced (Chapter 4). The findings will thereafter be checked at the light of the last phase of the Revolution, when the mobilization was not anymore a coherent movement of society (Chapter 5). After Pellegrino Rossi’s murder, the end of Pius IX’s myth and the Republican turn, the Roman Revolution walked within an entirely transformed setting that represented too many departures from the pre-1846 setting to call the whole process a coherent development. The mobilization, as we will see, was in fact first of all structured upon a tangle of political, national and religious agendas whose ambiguity engendered on first place a comprehensive movement of a civil body which was actually unequal and fractured in many regards. Although these contradictions slowly came on surface throughout the Revolution, the degree of participation and sharing of interest that transversally cut most of the Roman population since the entering of Pius IX, allows to control available historical interpretations upon a uniquely relevant historical frame.

CHAPTER I

The Civic Guard and the social mobilization of Rome

1.1 - The Civic Guard heritage: an overview

If one understands the very same basic concept of a Civic Guard in its etymological roots - the idea of armed citizens guarding *their* city - these were ordinary features within the early modern communes of Europe, with a strong presence in Central and Northern Italy.⁶ Although by the 12th century ⁷ such forms of civic militia were not specifically addressed as a commonly spread phenomena, these relied anyways on a long and basically shared process of geographical accounting that, alongside the shaping of territories after feudal pertinences, it started to increasingly devolve police and defense services and their costs to inhabitants who were living and working in the cities.

⁸ As such, the urban population increasingly turned to alternative strategies in order to achieve

⁶ Mundy, J. H., *Europe in the High Middle Ages 1150-1309*. London, 1973, pp. 263-270; Ascheri, M., *Le città-Stato. Radici del municipalismo e del repubblicanesimo italiani*, Bologna, 2006.

⁷ Mallett, M. E., *Mercenaries and Their Masters in Renaissance Italy*, London, 1974, pp. 1-51.

⁸ Sbriccoli, M., "Legislation, Justice and Political Power in Italian Cities, 1200-1400", in *Legislation and Justice: The Origin of the Modern State, 13-18th centuries*, edited by A. Padoa Schioppa, Oxford, 1997, pp. 37-55.

military primacy. In fact, with the developments in military defensive architecture against the rising use of firearms,⁹ even a largely outnumbered and lightly trained body of defenders was able to contain an attacking army. Civic militias were also occasionally armed in formations and employed as regular infantries in spite of the individualistic knight-oriented conception of war offense during late middle ages. A relevant precedent was in this sense inaugurated with the Battle of Legnano, where a league of forces from some gathered cities of Northern Italy managed to defeat Friedrich Barbarossa and the Holy Roman Empire in 1176.¹⁰ It is prospectively interesting to notice that even such a determinant, famous and rhetorically recurrent war event was actually fought by two armies which included only around 3.000 men each.¹¹ This somehow points at how even marginal advantages in terms of numbers were possibly determinant in deciding a battle outcome, and thus how well suited citizen-soldiers were definitely able to make a difference.

Being the militias functionally tied to the local scope of their duties, their internal composition was directly mirroring already existing social structures¹². In this sense, the major consequence of the social transformations that came to happen under the pressure of early modern developments was actually to increasingly substitute those civic militias with mercenaries. In fact, as merchants, artisans and all those professionals which thrived alongside the development of urban civilization begun to increasingly specialize and redefine their roles in the community, the military duties started to become a liability to which the increasing availability of capitals offered an adaptive answer. By the half of 14th century, under the pressure of economic factors and the Black Death, those early civic militia were largely replaced with ventures captains¹³. In turn, the war affair started to become a profession¹⁴, thus attracting cadets and capitals from aristocracy whose resources and specialization, alongside banks' support, played a determinant role in the increasingly troubled political balance of the Italian peninsula.

⁹ De Seta, C., "Le mura simbolo della città", in *La città e le mura*, edited by C. De Seta e J. Le Goff, Rome-Bari 1989, pp. 11-57; Pollak, M., *Cities at War in Early Modern Europe*, Oxford, 2010, pp. 61-95.

¹⁰ See Volmer, E., *Il Carroccio* [italian edition], Turin, 1994; Grillo, P., *Legnano 1176: una battaglia per la libertà*, Rome, 2010.

¹¹ Grillo, P., *Le guerre del Barbarossa. I comuni contro l'imperatore*, Bari, 2014, p. 209-214.

¹² See Waley, D. P., Dean, T., *The Italian City Republics*, London, 1978, pp. 128-169; Maire Vigueur, J. C., *Cavaliere e Cittadini. Guerra, conflitti e società nell'Italia comunale*, Bologna, 2004.

¹³ McNeill, W. H., *The Pursuit of Power: Technology, Armed Force, and Society since A. D. 1000*, pp. 63-80.

¹⁴ Galgano, F., *Lex Mercatoria. Storia del diritto commerciale*. Bologna, 1993, pp. 50 and *passim*.

At this point, is relevant to note how influential political thoughts over the civic militias were expressed from a polemic and backward looking perspective. Quoted in these regards as “the political theorist whose work collapses the distinction between politics and war”¹⁵, Niccolò Machiavelli attempted to address the institutional crisis of the Italian city-states after centuries of wars against “internal” and “external” enemies at the light of the loss of religion, laws, and militias.¹⁶ He interpreted the problem via a typically humanistic speculation between moral pedagogy and philosophy of right by pointing at the Republican institutions of Roman antiquity¹⁷. The virtues of the Republic, which he saw as the best possible state organization, were needed to be gained through service, being it the civic duty of defending the institutions, the state, the community, the city. Although he clearly implied at the professionalization of war as the barrier to impact in this sense¹⁸, Machiavelli didn’t advance any concern about the potentially subversive role of these formations if made part of a transformative political design; he even advocated the enrollment of countrymen and non-urban population in order not to interrupt the economic flux of the cities because of military duty¹⁹. He was most likely interested in a parallel between a flawed contemporary situation and the address of a solution within Roman political heritage: to him, Romans were successful exactly because they were citizen-soldier. In this perspective, the foremost benefits of the Civic militias were to be retrieved in how special resources are enacted into individuals and their cohesion if military mobilization is made part of a coherent Republican environment.

As naturally fitting as this concept was for a 15th century thinker, such a “steady” idea behind the Civic Guard would have hardly been endorsed by 19th century. Some widely acknowledged

¹⁵ Winter, Y., *The Prince and His art of War: Machiavelli’s Military Populism*, in “Social Research”, n. 81-1 (Spring 2014), pp. 165-191, 270 (with further bibliography).

¹⁶ Spackman, B., “Politics on the Warpath: Machiavelli’s Art of War”, in *Machiavelli and the Discourses of Literature*, edited by Russel Ascoli, A., Khan, V., Ithaca, 1993, pp. 178-193.

¹⁷ Raimondi, E., *Machiavelli and the Rethoric of War*, in “Modern Language Notes”, 92-1 (1977) pp. 1-16, (quoted from Winter 2014); Mallett, M., “The theory and Practice of Warfare in Machiavelli’s Republic”, in *Machiavelli and Republicanism*, edited by Bock, G., Skinner, Q., Viroli, M., Cambridge, 1990, pp. 173-180.

¹⁸ From the first page of his “*Dell’arte della Guerra*”: “*Donde si vede spesso, se alcuno disegna nello esercizio del soldo prevalersi, che subito non solamente cangia abito, ma ancora ne’ costumi, nelle usanze nella voce e nella presenza da ogni civile uso si disforma*” [As is often visible, if one pursues to excel in the military profession, which suddenly changes not only the habit, but even the customs, the use, the voice and the appearance from any civic use diffirms] (Machiavelli, N., “Proemio di Niccolò Macchiavegli, cittadino e segretario fiorentino, sopr’al libro dell’arte della guerra, a Lorenzo di Filippo Strozzi, Patrizio Fiorentino”, in *L’arte della guerra. Scritti politici minori*, Edizione Nazionale delle Opere, v. 1-3, edited by Marchand, J. J., Fachard, D., Masi, G., Rome, 2001, p. 27). Such ideas are also expressed within “*Il Principe*” (Skinner, Q., *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, v. I, Cambridge, 1978, p.75-80).

¹⁹ Winter 2014, pp. 186-188.

precedents were by then fully embedded in the political lexicon regarding any form of civic militia, and these were both related to revolutions or, as Enrico Francia framed it, to the concept of sealing a newly acquired political state by putting in charge of its defense the very same recipients of its benefits: the citizens²⁰. In this sense, the birthing environment of the modern Civic Guard is that of the Dutch Republics. Starting with the late 16th century, during the the so-called “Dutch Golden Age”²¹, its winning of religious and economic independence over Catholic Spain was celebrated as the outmost victory of a model of society which promoted, in a quintessentially Calvinist-Protestant meaning, an identity between institutional, economical, religious and social structures. As such, serving in the militia represented a safe way for showcasing one’s virtues to the whole community. According to a persistent model of interpretation²², the Dutch society opened in facts to the political and economic revolutions of the late 18th century which will allow the bourgeoisie to rise and enter the struggle for its prevalence over older structures towards capitalism.²³ Alike the aforementioned precedents, the wealthy cities of Holland and Zeeland already had an established tradition of notable community members taking charge of defense, patrolling the city walls and maintaining order whenever necessary, but also appearing on ceremonial occasions and fighting on the front if the need ever arose. These groups were progressively institutionalized in formations that mirrored professional corporations and in fact the guards would be even later on known as the *Schutterijen* (Shooter’s Gild), after the weapon they bore: mainly crossbows but also other kinds of firearms.²⁴ Along with the Gilds’ scope and pertinence, the status of the citizen was clearly defined by a sharp set of economical and social benefits, and thus non-citizens were excluded in order to preserve the

²⁰ Francia, E., “Tra ordine pubblico e rivoluzione nazionale: il dibattito sulla Guardia Civica in Toscana (1847-1849)”, in *Dalla città alla nazione. Borghesie ottocentesche in Italia e Germania*, edited by M. Meriggi, M., e Schiera, P., Bologna 1993, pp. 89-112.

²¹ Although not directly the definition’s first mention, the “Golden Age” theory is much discussed from a History of Culture perspective in Huizinga, J., *Nederland’s Beschaving in de Zeventiende Eeuw*. Amsterdam, 1941 [english edition *The Dutch Civilization of the Seventeenth Century*], New York, 1968; see also Schama, S., *The Embarrassment of Riches. An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*. New York, 1987.

²² “The model for the revolution of 1789 was (at least in Europe) only the [English] revolution of 1648; that for the revolution of 1648 only the revolt of the Netherlands against Spain” (Marx, K., *The Bourgeoisie and the Counter-Revolution*, in *Karl Marx: The Revolutions of 1848*, edited by D. Fernbach, New York 1973, p. 192, available online at www.marxists.org/archive/marx/works/1848/12/10.htm, accessed April 2016).

²³ For a recent critical perspective over this debate see Brandon, P., *Marxism and the ‘Dutch Miracle’: The Dutch Republic and the Transition-Debate*, in *Historical Materialism*, 19-3 (2011), pp. 106-146.

²⁴ Still in the middle of 18th century, the divisions between the *Schutterijen* and the *Burger Kompagnien* were endorsed as objects of claims. See Lebb, I. L., *The Ideological Origins of the Batavian Revolution. History and Politics in the Dutch Republic 1747-1800*, The Hague, 1973, pp. 79-80.

urban community and its privileges.²⁵ Although probably not as impacting as other measures such as the confiscation of church land possessions²⁶ - an eventually recurrent pattern during 19th century Republican revolutions - the evolution of these corps went alongside the Revolution and the Eighty-Years war against Spain which brought to the ultimate consequences an unresolved religious and economical conflict that rooted back to the early years after the Reform²⁷. By realigning local leaderships according to the new organizational system, existing social hierarchies like the *Schutterijen* came to acquire new potential meanings in terms of power.²⁸ In cities like Haarlem, where a major share of the civic militias guilds were formerly composed by Catholics, the religious and political reshuffles of the Revolution brought to prominence a number of young and ambitious men working in the commerce area who experienced no fractures in their urban identity as social leaders, defenders of the newly acquired order of things and recipients of the community's future under the light of economical development. Such brightly confident, wealthy and self-aware militias as we see depicted on the luxurious collective portraits that the *Schutterijen* commissioned to Rembrandt Van Jijn or Frans Hals among the others,²⁹ maintained such high status and its socio-institutional coherence until centralization of armies and services of the Stadhouder period didn't create ground for suspicions against the loyalty of soldier who were so strictly associated with local dynamics of power. In 1787 a newly organized civic militia in Amsterdam even came to attempt a revolutionary strike which was anyhow sedated.³⁰

Although this is a general issue which, at least to my knowledge, is still lacking specific investigations, persistences of a civic militias heritage as part of a Dutch Revolution related civic pride - or possibly even nostalgia - could be an explanatory key behind the importance that Jan Philip Koelman's acknowledges to the Civic Guard institution in Rome throughout his diary. In one

²⁵ Prak, M., *Cittadini, abitanti e forestieri. Una classificazione della popolazione di Amsterdam nella prima età moderna*, "Quaderni Storici", v. 30 (1995), pp. 331-359; Prak, M., *Citizens and Popular Politics in the Dutch Republic*, in "Eighteenth-Century Studies", 30-4 (Summer, 1997), pp. 443-448.

²⁶ 't Hart, M. C., "Town and Country in the Dutch Republic, 1550-1800", in *Town and Country in Europe, 1300-1800*, edited by S. R. Epstein, Cambridge, 2001, p. 82.

²⁷ Brandon 2011, p. 127.

²⁸ Prak, M., *The Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century: the Golden Age*. Cambridge 2005, pp. 156-157.

²⁹ See Knevel, P., "Armed Citizens: The Representation of the Civic Militias in the Seventeenth Century", in *The Public and Private in Dutch Culture of the Golden Age*, edited by Wheelock, A. K., Seeff, A. F., London, 2000, pp. 85-99; Kiers, J., Tissink, F., *The Golden Age of Dutch Art*, Amsterdam, 2000 [English translation], London, 2000, pp. 103-110.

³⁰ See Brake, W., *Regents and Rebels: The Revolutionary World of an Eighteenth-Century dutch City*. Oxford, 1989.

illuminating passage which refers to events that I will more specifically discuss in the following chapters, the Dutch artist explicitly associates the 17th century Spanish armies lead by Fernando Álvarez de Toledo (more famous as the Duke of Alba) against the Lowlands Republics with the Austrian troops lead by Marshall Radetzky against which Italian States' voluntary armies fought during the spring of 1848:

Radetzky e i suoi croati in Italia, Alba e le sue bande spagnole nei Paesi Bassi - le due situazioni erano perfettamente uguali - parimenti al terribile spagnuolo, Radetzky era un celebre guerriero; come lui, il viceré austriaco fucilava senza pietà i suoi croati al minimo cenno di indisciplina; anche per lui come per il tiranno dei Paesi Bassi, predare, uccidere ed incendiare il paese degli eretici non era infrazione bensì di disciplina e non solo il bottino apparteneva a chi lo conquistava, ma gli fruttava notevole ricompensa. Radetzky pronunciava sentenze di morte, come Alba; ne aveva pieni poteri. Il suo imperatore non aveva nemmeno bisogno di fargli avere, racchiuse in casse, le sentenze di morte in bianco, ma anticipatamente fornite della sua firma.³¹

[Radetzky and his Croats in Italy, Alba and his Spanish gangs in the Lowlands - the two situations were perfectly the same - like the terrible Spaniard, Radetzky was a famous warrior; like him, the Austrian viceroy shoot without mercy his Croats at the slightest sign of indiscipline; for him, just like tyrant of the Lowlands, predating, killing and burning the country of the heretics was not an infraction, but rather a sign of discipline, and not only the pillage belonged to the conqueror, but it even gave him a remarkable reward in return. Radetzky pronounced death sentences, like Alba; he had full powers. His emperor didn't even have to deliver him with boxes of blank death sentences provided with his approval signature.]

With the explicitness of this parallelism Koelman made no mystery about the emotive density at the base of his attachment to the Italian cause. Beside explicit statements and other specific biographic details which defines this attitude in stricter terms - his brother Jan Hendrick, for instance, lived with him in Rome, married with an Italian woman, had children from her ³² - is evident here an attempt in grounding the Dutch Revolution and the Italian campaigns of 1848 on a coincident, meta-historical idea of righteousness behind any occurrence of communities tied by national bounds defending themselves from the "inner cruelty" of empires' warlords like Radetzky and Alba, a transnational recurring topos within democratic nationalism during those years³³.

³¹ Koelman 1963, I, pp. 258-259

³² See Cartocci, A., "Un Mistero chiarito : la pretesa fotografia di Roma, 3 giugno 1849", in *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento*, 85-4 (October-December 1998), pp. 505-516.

³³ Bayly, C. A., Biagini, E. F., "Introduction", in *Giuseppe Mazzini and the Globalisation of Democratic Nationalism, 1830-1920*, edited by Bayly, C. A., Biagini, E. F., Oxford, 2008, pp. 1-10; D. G. Rowley, *Giuseppe Mazzini and the democratic logic of nationalism*, in "Nation and Nationalism", v.18-1, (January 2012), 39-56, with further bibliography.

Such a depiction of the *Croati* is also significant and refrained elsewhere in the text.³⁴ Koelman here refers to mercenaries corps enrolled in Hungary, Romania and various areas of the Balkans including Croatia which the Habsburg, and thus Radetzky, extensively used from 18th century on and in Milan and in Veneto during 1848 as well.³⁵ In other passages he saves nevertheless good words for an unknown Croatian painter named Luigi Carras³⁶, implying somehow that his critics were not aimed at Croatians as a national entity, but more explicitly to those mercenary troops under Radetzky's command. While Machiavelli opposed professionalization of war with the Republican sense of duty behind voluntary conscription, Koelman celebrated the Civic Guard's national pride which justified the good fight against the foul Radetzky, just like Alba wore the catholic arms of Philippe II to react over the Dutch rights for religious and economic independence. Although he never explicitly mentions the *Schuttereijn*, he does instead refers to Rembrandt in terms of an informed knowledge of pictorial characteristics which leaves little doubts on whether he knew any Civic Guard related painting, and thus what they meant during the Golden Age.³⁷ As such, this legacy was inevitably tied to the idea of that period's radical innovations and the winning of those over repression attempts, an element that should also must kept in mind while reconsidering that Koelman's diary was first wrote for a liberal newspaper published in Holland, thus one can expect that such a cultural background was, if not shared, at least known. Already at the time of Louis Bonaparte rule over Holland (1806-1810), Napoleon's brother explicitly demanded that a series of seven paintings owned by the City of Amsterdam including *The Civic Guard banquet* by Van der Helst and *Night Watch* by Rembrandt - possibly the two most traditionally famous Civic Guard related dutch paintings in that collection - were to be moved and publicly displayed in the arising Royal Museum³⁸, the first Dutch national museum which after William I's Restoration in 1815 became the State Museum (*Rijksmuseum*)³⁹.

Nevertheless, even it factually existed at all, such a memory of the Schutterijen by 19th century would have probably been more radical than its very object. Premising that respective institutional

³⁴ Koelman 1963, I, pp. 119, 191, 203-204.

³⁵ I. Deák, *Beyond Nationalism: A Social and Political History of the Habsburg Officer Corps, 1848-1918*, New York 1990, pp. 25-42.

³⁶ Koelman 1963, I, p. 131.

³⁷ *Ib.*, I, pp. 28, 221.

³⁸ Kiers, Tissink 2000, pp. 300-301.

³⁹ W. Frjhoff, M. Spies, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective: 1800, blueprints for a National Community*, New York - the Hague 2004, pp. 502-507.

identities throughout the Dutch confederations were varying to a still not entirely identified degree,⁴⁰ specific cases such as Amsterdam's it highlights how beside the revolution's consequences and the dynamics which brought it to succeed, the Guilds' eligibility criteria remained tied with pre-existing economical and religious conditions which does not imply any development in the concept of citizenship, but only a transition from catholic aristocracy to protestant merchant classes.⁴¹ It was also a phenomena which largely lived as an expression of local dynamics and with a local scope as products of a very special institutional organization which balanced administrative decentralization with a strongly centralized military structure⁴².

What happens with the French National Guard in 1789 is something else entirely. The very first outcome came to follow the old pattern of functional need: under the pressure of the Estates General heated sessions, the elector of Paris Nicolas de Bonneville proposed to revive the medieval *Garde Bourgeoise*⁴³ to watch over the rising urban enthusiasms as well as the dangers of a monarchic recrudescence. Under those circumstances the proposal sounded too radical and possibly dangerous for the Electoral Assembly, yet district formations already started to gather without orders and autonomously patrol the streets in the capital and elsewhere⁴⁴. In order to reintroduce jurisdiction, the Guard's reinstitution was approved by July 13th and on the very next day the National Guard lead the storm of the Bastille, followed a few months after by the "Grand March" on Versailles. The potentially subversive character of the Guard was thus made clear and understood by the same revolutionary heads as a resource but also as a possibly uncontrolled offspring. As a fact, pre-existent community-based hierarchies were already installed within the Guard's files since the very first days of the Revolution and, as these came spontaneously to lead the districts' arms, they

⁴⁰ M. Lindemann, *The Merchant Republics. Amsterdam, Antwerp and Hamburg, 1648-1790*. Cambridge 2014, p. 41.

⁴¹ *Ib.*, pp. 38-47.

⁴² J. L. Price, *A State dedicated to War? The Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century*, in "The Medieval Military Revolution. State, Society and Military Change in Medieval Early Modern Europe", edited by A. Ayton and J. L. Price. London - New York, 1995, pp. 183-200.

⁴³ See Garrioch, *Neighbourhood and Community in Paris, 1740-1790*, Cambridge 1986, pp. 139-144; On the *milice* see R. Descimon, *Milice bourgeoise et identité citadine à Paris au temps de la Ligue*, in "Annales. Histoire, Science Sociales", 48-4 (July 1993), pp. 885-906.

⁴⁴ S. F. Scotti, *Problems of Law and Order during 1790, the 'peaceful' year of the French Revolution*, in "The American Historical Review", v. 80-4 (October 1975), pp. 862-868.

intended to resist any attempt to their independence.⁴⁵ In order to counteract this process, marquis LaFayette started to work over a process of administrative centralization right after his election as Chief Commander of the Guard. This led to a top-down imposition of officers in place of the existing and, in order to maintain an efficient police service whereas former personnel had already largely abandoned the city, he included in every company a number of *compagnie soldeé*, which were paid, full-time soldiers.⁴⁶

This centre / periphery dialectic which characterized the first year of the National Guard was actually implying a more crucial but yet unresolved issue around the concept of citizenship and its definition within the evolving, new institutional organization. By summer 1790, negotiations on the matter came to a point together with the “Declaration of Rights of Man and Citizen”, where it was clearly defined that citizens were those who were able to compensate civic and political rights with service. This balance between virtue and duty directly recalled Machiavelli’s Republican theory and as such it was comprehended in France already by 15th and 16th century, but even more in the 18th through the works of Montesquieu, Rousseau and, prominently, by an influential pamphlet from Joseph Servan published in 1780 entitled “*Le Soldat-citoyen*”.⁴⁷ Again not far from Machiavelli’s manner, Servan reasoning centered upon the French national military efficiency, which in those times was target of some severe judgements exactly because of professionalization and patriotic disinterest.⁴⁸ Following a strategy which will be crucially recurrent within Romantic nationalism in areas like Italy and Germany, he rooted the solution in the spontaneously self-defensive spirit of middle-ages communes where, according to him, the citizen-soldier was a natural development of civic pride. Alongside existent intellectual elaborations of the issue and the inclusive, voluntary experience of the early National Guard, the certification of citizenship was actually much sought after. The fact is that after the 1790 Declaration, this status was limited according to tax regularity above a defined level, a *régime censitaire* which represented another step in that process of control and centralization which LaFayette had already undertaken in managing the National Guard. Nevertheless, new criteria in defining citizenship came along with new possibility for accessing the

⁴⁵ D. L. Clifford, *The National Guard and the Parisian Community, 1789-1790*, in “French Historical Studies”, p., 16-4 (Autumn 1990), p. 849-878.

⁴⁶ *Ib.*, p. 853.

⁴⁷ J. Servan, *Le Soldat-citoyen, ou vues patriotiques sur la manière la plus avantageuse de pourvoir à la défense du Royaume*. Paris, 1780.

⁴⁸ A. Forest, *The French Revolution and the First Levée en masse*, in “The People in Arms. Military Myth and National Mobilization since the French Revolution”, edited by D. Morgan and A. Waldron, Cambridge 2006, pp. 9-11.

Guard as well: although the corps were still officially not regularized on a national base, a tight association started to be perceived between citizenship and the Guard's uniform, as the service's civic virtue was undeniable after the early revolutionary events⁴⁹. The fact was that, as Clifford Dale highlighted, the uniform's cost in 1790 was more expensive than the tax level required to enter active citizenship according to the Declaration,⁵⁰ so LaFayette's process of administrative centralization was by then officially transferred to a social level. Already by August 1789 a clause within local regulations for the Paris' Guard allowed candidates to substitute service with an oblation. Eligible citizens who didn't voluntarily enrolled were even encouraged to do so, as ranks in several districts were already filled.⁵¹ Under the pressure of the "Great fear" of a phantom monarchic recurrence during the following months, virtually every city in France started to enroll National Guards corps, although no official rules were drafted to regularize the institution and its access yet, mostly because of the seemingly never-ending reserve of volunteers⁵².

Although the Guard's ranks apparently included basically any kind of suitable person excluding the very highest and lowest strata, this work of social differentiation is crucially important for the future development of the "citizen-soldier" as happens to be after the Guard's national regulations were issued by August 1791⁵³. The main push behind this was the pressure of military retaliation under the mounting monarchic coalition that Austria gathered in order to choke the French Revolution for the sake of continental safety. The regular army, already criticized before the Revolution, was not meeting the executive's expectations, being it flawed by uncertain loyalty and defections⁵⁴. The National Assembly thus resolved to fill the gap by extending the Republican duty of the citizen-soldier to the war field by providing a protocol for the mobilization of the National Guard. Initially intended to merely act as a "reserve" force, after two months the National Guard volunteers came to gather more than 100.000 men, whereas the stable line force counted circa 120.000 men. This number progressively grew together with witnesses of the Guard's efficiency,

⁴⁹ D. L. Clifford, *Can the uniform make the citizen? Paris 1789-1791*, in "Eighteenth-century studies", 34-3 (Spring 2001), 363-382.

⁵⁰ *Ib.*, 372-375.

⁵¹ Clifford 1990, p. 865.

⁵² J. A. Lynn, *The Bayonets of the Republic. Motivation and Tactics in the Army of Revolutionary France, 1791-1794*. Chicago, 1984, pp. 48-50.

⁵³ T. Hippler, *Citizens, Soldier and National Armies: Military Service in France and Germany 1789-1830*, New York 2008, p. 69.

⁵⁴ J. F. Bosher, *The French Revolution*, London - New York 1988, p. 166-167.

cohesion and dedication to the cause, a phenomena which has been studied in detail for the *Armée du Nord* by Lynn⁵⁵. By then, the National Guard started to form a chapter on his own within the history of revolutions together with the figure of the volunteer citizen-soldier, animated by higher purposes, military successful because of its sake of justice and ready to die for his country. Nonetheless, the National Guard and the Volunteers' armies were in reality two separate entities which started to be associated together and confused from each other only through the rhetorics of revolutionary leaders.⁵⁶ The ideals that animated the idea of civic militias overlapped with those endorsed by recruiters as, beside the early years of the Revolution and the 1791-1792 mobilization, the National Guard largely remained allocated corps, expression of local dynamics of power, with eminently local duties such as policing and safe-keeping. The legacy of French volunteers' from 1791 and 1793 will instead be leaning towards that of the *levée en masse*, of the mass mobilization of society for war and the ideological and cultural constructions that enacted it⁵⁷; furthermore, whereas social restrictions excluded poorer strates of population from the National Guard, the same were basically absent for the Volunteer's armies. The consequences of these novelties grown as radical as the consequent endeavor of the Revolution will lead to. The National Guard institution as expressed by the French Revolution and together with its legacy of rightfully motivated war involvement inspired a wave of emulations across Europe. Whenever any political discourse justified the arming of civilians, the National Guard model was called upon. In parallel, the association of patriotism and conscription based on a voluntary act that certified citizenship, and thus rights, will strongly characterize military involvement throughout 19th and 20th century.

The first National Guard's iteration included several innovations according to the revolutionary setting. Until 1789, the civic militia concept in its functional identity was as fixed as the ancient regime it was expression of. Further possibilities appeared alongside political tensions, as we have seen through Machiavelli's Republican aspirations and the channelling of social transformations's consolidation through the Dutch militias, but military contribution by citizens was already since 14th century a much more financial affair than a merely political or ideal one, because of professionalization of warfare. In truth, even the French National Guard fell into this process when oblations started to be accepted as substitutes for corps service. According to the spirit of this turn,

⁵⁵ Lynn 1984 in general, pp. 44-47 for the specific.

⁵⁶ See D. Moran, *Introduction: The Legend of the Leveé en masse*, in "The People in Arms", pp. 1-7.

⁵⁷ See O. Connelly, *The Historiography of the Leveé en masse of 1793*, in "The People in Arms", pp. 33-48.

all those bottom-up ventures of self-management and class-crossing experiments that were thriving in Paris during the early revolutionary stages under the banner of the National Guard were tamed alongside a broad process of regulation and centralization which nevertheless came together with new criteria that defined citizenship upon census. This element has always been one of the main target of revisionists interpretations of the Revolution as a merely bourgeoisie affair and the National Guard census-based access barriers clearly points towards that direction⁵⁸. Nevertheless, the association of the Guard's uniform with the right of citizenship and the mythology that was created around the most glorious achievements of the Guard fed the "citizen-soldier" figure at the light of Revolutionary endeavor and Constitutional rights as means to dismantle ancient regime mechanisms. Once seen in its historical perspective, the National Guard after 1789 emerges as an extremely sensitive mean in front of social negotiations during the 19th century. Whereas previous iterations of this concept were based upon the recognition of a given status (family name, religion, properties...), the new access criteria based upon regularity of taxes payment is a major departure in this sense. At the same time the Revolution brings up a new meaning of civic loyalty, which remained an available concept even during Restoration years in areas like France: what was a linear and exclusive relationship with the monarchic Sovereign, has now become loyalty to a collective body (the Nation), expressed via census and granted by constitutional rights. However, by late 18th century these were not open to everyone yet: the concomitant introduction of access barriers to what represented the main entrance to active citizenship on the one hand and the deviation of volunteer's sake away from the National Guard and towards regular military ranks on the other, reflects a discursive practice which will by then define the Guards' recurrences during the first half of 19th century and their acting as a "middle-term". The main argument of this proposition is linked to what becomes the core of the National Guard significant after LaFayette' early centralizations: the purpose of enacting a citizens' militia to defend newly introduced or conquered political state, is to protect it from both reactions and more radical outcomes, as bourgeoisie revolutionary agency in the 19th century needed to find new sources of military capital but also surveil power deployment by "radical agency". Nevertheless, conceptualizing the latter's boundaries within strict regulatory terms proved to be as difficult as was grasping any stable coherence between politics, social classes and agency. This explains why, despite basically always maintaining such a "bourgeoisie" character even outside France, the rhetorical arguments in favor of the National / Civic Guard adoption will

⁵⁸ For a summary of the positions and literature see E. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Revolution. 1789-1848*, New York 1962, pp. 53-76; R. Duchesne, *The french Revolution as a Bourgeois Revolution: A Critique of the Revisionists*, in "Science & Society", 54-3 (Fall, 1990), pp. 288-320. Already by 1791 Robespierre was harshly criticizing the inclusion barriers in regards to the National Guard (Hippler 2008, p. 70).

be constantly accompanied by anxieties upon its regulations and purposes, parameters which varied a lot according to the circumstances. After the end of Jacobin Terror, the French National Guard was in fact first under-graded after the introduction of the Minister of Police in 1795⁵⁹ and then later basically turned into a disposable reserve for Napoleon's armies,⁶⁰ while simultaneously National Guards were strategically enacted during the French campaigns in Italy of 1796-1799 in order to ignite some sort of civic pride that could be fostered in order to galvanize the population against their rulers and ancient regime in support of Napoleon's endeavors. The results were however meek.⁶¹

Such a shifting paradigm between moderate status and radical potential of the Guard will become increasingly relevant during the rest of the century, which doesn't mean that its "middle-term" discourse became settled on a stable position, or rather that the Guard's use as an active political tool was dismissed as an option. By April 30 of 1827, the French King Charles X ordered the disbandment of the National Guard after the corps had showed signs of support towards the mounting anti-monarchic agitations which would lead three years later to the King's dethronement.⁶² Among the political chaos of 1830, the National Guard was reenacted as the only force who could possibly maintain safe-keeping and marquis Lafayette reintroduced as its Commander in Chief. The Guard's very first leader owned thus personal responsibilities when after the famous encounter by the Hôtel-de-Ville in July 31, 1830, Lafayette in front of more than 50.000 National Guards allowed and approved the introduction of a constitutional monarchy under the rule of the "king-citizen" Louis-Philippe of Orléans. Notwithstanding exceeding compliments and manifestations of solemn respect and affection by the King towards the National Guard, Louis-Philippe and minister François Guizot worked instead to tame the Guard's potentials and secure its access according to even stricter restrictions. This was conceived in order to prevent further political initiatives while maintaining control over the election of officers under the lieutenant level and imposing the service as mandatory for all those who met eligibility criteria according to civil

⁵⁹ G. Bodinier, *La Révolution et l'Armée*, in "Histoire Militaire de la France", v. 2, "De 1714 à 1871", edited by J. Delmas, Paris 1992, pp. 212-213.

⁶⁰ J. Delmas, *L'Armée Impériale*, in "Histoire Militaire de la France", pp. 337-342.

⁶¹ F. Della Peruta, *Esercito e società nell'Italia napoleonica*, Milan 1988, p. 45 and p. 135; G. Hanlon, *The twilight of a military tradition. Italian Aristocrats and European Conflicts, 1560-1800*, Readin 1998, pp. 326-327.

⁶² L. Girard, *La Garde Nationale, 1814-1871*, Paris 1964, pp. 142-147.

rights⁶³. Remarkable in this sense is the decision of removing the existence of the Commander in Chief charge and forcing the retirement of Lafayette, who in the meanwhile was rumored of having turned republican after the new King had failed his first expectations. Nevertheless, the National Guard remained the “single greatest force for instability in nineteenth-century France”⁶⁴ and this was true notwithstanding Guizot’s reforms. Such ambivalence and instability reframed in a different setting the discursive nature of the institution and how such unpredictability was acknowledged by then and reconfirmed in the years to come⁶⁵, as the Guard’s non-intervention against 1848 uprisings eventually played a determinant role in that revolution’s success.

Starting with the outcomes of the July Revolution, the “middle-term” discourse of the National Guard will also increasingly resemble the emergence of a precise connotative meaning acknowledged to the idea of political “moderation”. With the adoption of Constitutional monarchy in France, moderate liberals across Europe, and particularly throughout the Italian States, recognized a new exemplary pattern, a “third” way which allowed ancient regime and modernity to coexist and cooperate while preventing republican radicalism. A crucially important turn for European culture and politics, the moderate paradigm will also be a determinant force in shaping the Italian national discourse as it enters its further developments towards the break point of 1848.

1.2 - The Civic Guard in the Papal States

⁶³ J. Delmas, *Armée, Garde Nationale et Maintien de l'ordre*, in “ Histoire Militaire de la France”, v. 2, “De 1714 à 1871”, edited by J. Delmas, Paris 1992, pp. 535-545.

⁶⁴ M. Price, *The Perilous Crown: France Between Revolutions, 1814-1848*. London 2007, p. 205.

⁶⁵ Roger Price underlined that moderates like Guizot and Thiérs had to recognize that Louis-Philippe “lost his head” on the eve of the 1848 Revolution when he realized that the National Guard fell again under the control of social discontent (R. Price, *The French Second Republic. A Social History*. London, pp. 92-93)

So what heritage the National / Civic Guard shaped in Rome and the Papal States before the advent of Pius IX? If we circumscribe the speech to the former's dynamics, the keyword should be "anomaly".

Nel declinare del secolo decorso, il floridissimo regno di Francia precipitò nell'anarchia, si eresse in repubblica, e giunse la sua convenzione nazionale a decapitare il re e la regina, ad abolire ogni culto religioso, e a disporre anco l'abbattimento del cattolismo.

[By the declining of the last century, the much prosperous kingdom of France collapsed in anarchy, raised as a republic, and its national convention came to behead to king and the queen, to abolish any religious cult, and to arrange as well catholicism's demolition].

This excerpt is taken from the introduction to the "Origine della guardia civica di Roma" [Origins of the Civic Guard of Roma] included in the voice "Civica Pontificia" [Pontifical Civic (Guard)] of the "*Dizionario di erudizione storico ecclesiastica*" published between 1840 and 1861 in Venice⁶⁶. This ponderous encyclopedia was written by a characteristic figure of the Restoration period in Rome, a barber's son called Gaetano Moroni (also known as "Gaetanino") who came to be the favorite company and eventually *Primo aiutante di Camera* of Gregory XVI, a relationship entrenched long before he became Pope. Thanks to this friendship Moroni had the chance to cultivate his literary and historical tendencies up to producing a lexicon of "Historic-Religious" themes, although a terribly tendentious one. It is anyhow an illuminating work in order to detect some specific understatements of recent history's phenomena within Catholic church by the half of the century.⁶⁷ The fact of opening an account of the Pontifical Civic Guard in 1842 by mentioning the beheading of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette might seem in fact to be testifying the enduring fame of the *Garde Nationale*. Moroni delineates instead an entirely independent genealogy, dating back to the French invasion of the Papal States by the end of 18th century:

⁶⁶ G. Moroni, v. "Civica Pontificia" in *Dizionario di erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica da S. Pietro ai nostri giorni*, v. XIII, Venice, 1842, pp. 272, 270-282. Doubts were also risen about the authorship of the work in its entirety

⁶⁷ On Moroni see G. Monsagrati, *Il peccato dell'erudizione. Gaetano Moroni e la cultura romana della Restaurazione*, in "Roma fra la Restaurazione e l'elezione di Pio IX. Amministrazione, economia, società e cultura", edited by A. L. Bonella, A. Pompeo, M. I. Venzo, Rome-Freiburg-Wien, 1997, pp. 649-664. Roncalli in his *Cronaca di Roma* reports that Gregory XVI's bequest to Moroni was more sizable than any of his relative (N. Roncalli, *Cronaca di Roma*, I: "1844-1848", edited by M.L. Trebiliani, Rome 1972, p. 190); Koelman (Koelman 1973, I, p.61, 64) even reports some rumors about a presumed Moroni's killing during the *Grande Congiura* in July 1847 (see further), which in truth never happened.

*Interrotto pertanto ogni trattato, il provvido Pontefice, per tutelare l'integrità dei domini della santa Sede e i suoi sudditi, ed in vista del movimento che doveva avere la truppa di linea, chiamata allora truppa regolare, la quale dovea spedirsi ai confini del minacciato stato, contando sulla fedeltà e patriottismo, di cui sempre si pregiò il popolo romano, venne nella determinazione di affidare il servizio militare interno della capitale agli stessi abitanti, con un corpo di civica milizia, che poi prese il nome di guardia civica. Ed è perciò che il Cardinal Busca, segretario di Stato, a 28 settembre 1796 emanò una notificazione, con cui invitò in nome del Papa i bottegai ed artisti di Roma ad iscriversi nei ruoli della milizia civica.*⁶⁸

[Interrupted therefore any treaty, the prudent Pontiff, in order to tutelate the integrity of the Holy See and its subjects, and approaching the mobilization of the regular troops of the army which were to be sent by the border of our menaced State, by counting on Roman people's renown loyalty and patriotism, decided to entrust the Capital's internal military service to the same inhabitants with a *civic militia* corp, which eventually assumed the name of *civic guard*. It is thus for this reason that Cardinal Busca, Secretary of State, by September 28, 1796 emanated a notification under the Pope's name inviting Rome's shopkeepers and artists to inscribe their roles in the civic militia].

In the same turn of years of Napoleon's first wave of Italian campaigns, when the National Guards were gathered in the main cities of Northern Italy on the French model as a spur for progress, enlightened civic pride and national awakening, the Papal State was instituting its own for defensive purposes and opening its ranks to the voluntary enrollment of what were evidently the most "trusted" social areas: artisans,⁶⁹ shopkeepers and noblemen. The measure was officially proclaimed by September 28 as part of a process of military reforms completed after the French had already invaded and conquered Bologna, Ferrara and Faenza from January through June 1796, a fact which forced Rome to send its troops in the North and thus remaining short of internal defense.⁷⁰ In the heated climate mounted by Pius VI against the Revolution's evils⁷¹, the call to arms seems to have been a success. Moroni explains that the Guard counted more than 14.000 men and that their duty was essentially that of internal police services and security control under the dictate of protecting the Pope. Although this number is most likely inflated by some thousands of units,⁷² voluntary adhesion to such an extent is quite a remarkable achievement over a population that counted at the

⁶⁸ Moroni 1842, p. 273.

⁶⁹ The term "Artista" is used here more as a synonymous of "Artigiano" or "Artiere" [Artisan] than a practitioner in the Fine arts. On the blurry line in this etymology see next chapter.

⁷⁰ L. Pastor, *Storia dei Papi dalla fine del Medio Evo*, v. XVI-3, Rome 1955, pp. 612-614.

⁷¹ D. Menozzi, *La Chiesa cattolica e la secolarizzazione*, Torino 1993, pp. 24-34.

⁷² Enrico Albertazzi in late 19th century knew that the whole Pontifical armies by January 1797 counted around 10.000 men and this possibly was the whole Civic Guard at the time. See P. Della Torre, *Materiali per una storia dell'esercito pontificio*, in "Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento", 28-1, (January-February 1941), pp. 52, 45-99.

time circa 165.000 inhabitants.⁷³ This was made possible after Roman noble families massive contributions, so that the aristocratic status and relationship to the monarch implied that they were morally obliged to defend him with weapons, which in the awakening age of modern mass warfare meant to economically sustain the whole Guard and thus the chance for subaltern members of the urban community to join it as much as needed by military demands. The financial terms of the enactment was largely due to the economic support of Roman Aristocratic families including Colonna, Massimo, Barberini, Chigi and even the *parvenu* Giovanni Torlonia, who arouse to nobility only a few years before and that will eventually gain much of his fortune after the reshuffles of the Napoleonic period.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the French armies proved too much a force to be reckoned with, and Rome was constraint to sign an armistice with Bonaparte in early 1797. At this point, specific informations on this first Civic Guard of Rome becomes rather sparse. Moroni explains that once the files were dismissed after Pius VI was deported in France under the consequences of the first Roman Republic (1798-1799), some kind of reenactments happened with Napoleon by 1808 (*Milizia Imperiale*) and 1812 (*Guardia Nazionale*). It is thus on the the latter's base that the Pontifical Civic Guard reappears on 1814. Its duty was once again rather unconventional if compared to the "standards". In addition of having no provided protocols for military mobilization, the main duties of the guards's were limited to honorary figurings in front of the Pope's chambers and during the major festivities throughout the year.⁷⁵ This post-Napoleonic Civic Guard was a rather circumstantial entity, gathered on a voluntary basis that, although being specifically addressed to liberal professionals, according to Moroni,⁷⁶ it provided a pyramidal hierarchical structure that saw at the top aristocrats, than landowners, bankers and shopkeepers, and the rest in lower positions⁷⁷. As a matter of fact, this Civic guard was potentially acting as a sort of reserve army that could be called and eventually expanded but this happened only once between 1814 and 1846,⁷⁸ specifically during the 1831 riots that I will introduce shortly after. Apart from

⁷³ G. Friz, *La popolazione di Roma dal 1770 al 1900*, Rome 1974 , p. 137

⁷⁴ T. Barberi, *Vita del Commendator Carlo Torlonia*, Rome 1850, pp. 7-10; D. Felsini, *Quel capitalista per ricchezza principalissimo: Alessandro Torlonia principe*, Rome 2004, pp. 33-78.

⁷⁵ Notwithstanding two new regulations' introduction by 1822 and 1831, the "old" Civic Guard's duties remained unchanged until 1847, included the honorary service which the Civics shared with other corps called "*Guardi Nobili*" or "*Palatine*" (E. Ovidi, *Roma e i Romani nelle Campagne del 1848-49 per l'Indipendenza Italiana*. Roma-Torino, 1903, p. 10, n. 1).

⁷⁶ Moroni 1842, p. 275

⁷⁷ *Ib.*, p. 276.

⁷⁸ Della Torre 1941, p. 59.

that episode, the Guard's ordinary dimensions were certainly modest: after having been the subject of various reforms during the years of the Restoration, in 1841 there were less than 200 men who after July 1847 seems to join the ranks the voluntary reserves in the Pope's stable army.⁷⁹ The "old Civic guard" had indeed become an entity assimilable to those endless charges, privileges, branches and careers in the Papal bureaucracy which embodied one of the main strategies of the restored Papal Government in keeping firm control over the middle strata of the population, who in protected career paths recognized a solid solution for subsistence.⁸⁰ In this sense, it assumes an important relief the possibility of figuring in the Guard also through a monetary donation which replaced service while maintaining accorded privileges. These ranged from cosmetics such as having positions of honor during the parades or special ornaments in the garments, up to more practical matters such as the right of owning weapons, the right of free hunting and tax cuts upon shopkeepers's license.⁸¹

Once compared to the first French National Guard, the Civic Guard of Rome might have seemed to contemporary eyes a kind of a parody. Founded in order to safeguard a revolution (or to ignite one eventually), limited by law and identified by census, the French embodied a collective expression of a balance between rights and duties towards a new a state of collective sovereignty. The militia of the Eternal City became instead the organon of the Pope's defense, precluded by access barriers related to profession, a coherent expression of a state of citizenship which mirrored a state of religious subjection, retributed with privileges which were exclusive in front of the rest of the community. In this setting, the terminological counterposition between the National and a Civic guard becomes rather striking, although it would be actually a mistake to extend the "Roman anomaly" to the rest of the peninsula. Remaining within the Restoration years, there were some clamorous precedents of civic militias assuming initiatives against existing powers, as it happened

⁷⁹ "Situazione della truppa di riserva e dei volontari al 16 ottobre 1847" within "Ministero delle Armi, Situazioni numeriche, 1847" (ASR, b. 109, published in Ovidi 1903, doc. II, p. 296) contains statistics on the Pontifical States voluntary corps for Rome, lead by Colonel Saverio Malatesta, a noble. The same figures in the Civic Guard matricular registers (ASC - Guardia Civica Attiva, 10° Battaglione, Campitelli, f. 156).

⁸⁰ G. Friz, *Burocrati e soldati dello Stato Pontificio (1800-1870)*, Rome 1974, pp. 17-70. Until the end of 1848, the Civic Guard monthly expenses included a stipend for the " *impiegati della cessata Guardia Civica*" [employees in the ceased Civic Guard] amounting to an average 120 *scudi* per month ("Rendiconti del maggiore Ferdinando Cappello dell'intero anno 1848" in ASC - Titolo Preunitario, tit. XXI, b.1, f.1).

⁸¹ Moroni 1842, pp. 279-282.

for the Guard of Palermo in the 1820 or Lucca's Civic Guard in 1831 which alarmed the overlooking Grand Duchy of Tuscany by the sudden and worrisome filling of its ranks.⁸²

In the Papal States, a dangerous precedent was related to Bologna and the 1831 uprisings. City patrols of "good and honest inhabitants" were allowed in the city during 1828 by Card. Albani under the pressure of systematic increases of criminality and the lack of an efficient police system, a recrudescing problem in Bologna which has been studied in depth by Steven Hughes.⁸³ Given the acknowledged dangerous risks, the Cardinal himself took efforts in order to underline that it was only a provisional measure and not based on any official recognition or regulation.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, when under the pressure of the July Revolution in France there started to appear signs of possible disorders in the Papal States as well,⁸⁵ the apostolic delegate Mons. Paraciani-Clavelli ordered that all the "respectable" citizens were to be ascribed to a *Guardia Provinciale* for the "protection of the citizens' lives and property" with the hope of "induce complete calm in the populace and preserve this prosperous province from the grave evils of anarchy". Fears towards possible political intemperances fell thus entirely upon marginal sectors of society to which the "better citizens" were armed against and because of. Nevertheless, Bologna fell rapidly in a revolutionary state which eventually led in the following months to a declaration of independence within the territories around Bologna, Ferrara, Forlì and Ravenna, a situation to which the Guards basically remained compliant⁸⁶. Sedated a first time thanks to Austrian intervention, the militias were provisionally forbidden for a few months only to be officially reintegrated by the 5th of July, when Cardinal Bernetti diffused a new regulation imposing nomination of officers and demanding the use of pontifical symbols on uniforms, thus refraining the existence of barriers which somehow reminds those problems faced in 1790 by LaFayette and answered with a process of centralization. Bernetti therefore decided to entrust the control of the balance between foreign power, reaction and internal

⁸² F. Conti, *Le Guardie Civiche*, in "Rassegna Storica Toscana", 45-2 (July-December 1999), p. 329.

⁸³ S. C. Hughes, *Crime, Disorder and the Risorgimento. The Politics of policing in Bologna*, New York 1994. For a broader contextualization in Italy see also J. Davis, *Conflict and Control: Law and Order in Nineteenth Century Italy*. New Jersey 1988, especially pp. 1-187.

⁸⁴ In general on the uprising in the Papal State see A. Caracciolo M. Caravale, *Lo Stato Pontificio da Martino V a Pio IX*, Torino 1978, pp. 615-624; for the 1830-1831 uprisings in Italy see C. M. Lovett, *The Democratic Movement in Italy. 1830-1876*, Cambridge, Massachusetts and London 1982, pp. 67-90.

⁸⁵ Hughes 1994, p. 106.

⁸⁶ Such remarks are refrained by G. Gabussi, *Memorie per servire alla storia della rivoluzione degli stati romani*, v. I, Genova 1851, p. 5. On the declaration see G. Natali, *Il Congresso Generale delle Legazioni di Bologna, Forlì e Ravenna nel Gennaio del 1832. Notizie e documenti inediti*, in "Atti e Memorie della Real Deputazione di storia patria per le provincie di Romagna", 22 (1936), 4-6, p. 323

revolution once more at the Civic Guard, lead again by aristocrats and widely represented by classes which to the shopkeepers and artisans identified by Moroni for the 1796 Regulations Rome now also counted many representatives of the so-called "liberal professions" which included several lawyers and doctors, a sign of the evolution that these social areas were going through in those decades.⁸⁷

But the government had once again underestimated the gumption of the Bolognese "middle-classes". Beside maintaining fruitful contacts with political agitators and against lower classes - a situation which by the end of the year was almost turning into civil war - the Civic Guard of Bologna in 1831 started to progressively gain momentum and claim influence over magistrature, even refusing to bear pontifical ornaments on their uniforms. The risks behind this attitude became evident when Bologna started to coordinate with the Guards of other "agitated" cities such as Ravenna and Forlì to form a network which could have possibly granted the basis for another wave of uprisings and create, for the second time in 1831, the chance of claiming independence from Rome. Nevertheless, the attempt fell apart shortly. By January 1832 Austrian troops entered the city again and kept a garrison until 1838.⁸⁸ The Guard was forbidden and the police control was devolved to payed corps which included the *Truppe Straniere* and the *Centurioni*.⁸⁹ This reform happened to be highly criticized because its expensiveness and the freedom that the *Centurioni* in particular exercised in their duties's extension, a fact which further exacerbated an already grim relationship between Bologna and the central government in Rome. Moreover, the accounting of police control to the "worthy" citizens as a base to start building mutual trust proved to be a failure.

1.3 - The struggles of the Holy See and Pius IX's election

⁸⁷ Hughes 1994, pp. 120-126.

⁸⁸ G. Natali, *Bologna dopo la rivoluzione del 1831*, in "Comune di Bologna", 1931, pp.7-8.

⁸⁹ Hughes 1994, pp. 140-141

That of 1831 was not the first (Romagna in 1820-1821) nor the last (Perugia in 1833, Lazio provinces in 1837, again Romagna in 1843 and 1845) uprising in the Papal States after the Congress of Vienna. It was nevertheless a sign that an organized resistance or at least a shared aspiration to a new political discipline were actual possibilities, and that a “bourgeoisie” which was clearly discernible within urban communities but absent from institutional regulations and decisional tables - as natural as it was in a theocratic state, these were reserved to clerics - was showing to have its aims. Remarks on these issues were included in the 1831 *Memorandum*, a joint document produced by diplomatic delegations from Russia, Prussia, England, Austria and France gathered in Rome on May 21st to submit to the recently elected Gregory XVI a program of necessary reforms in order to prevent further escalations within the Papal States, possibly interluding international tensions. The congregation underlined that the total absence of laymen from the government and the need for independent and elected municipal institutions were issues that rooted social conflict at the light of the lack of a class of people which, just like a Civic guard, balanced central government and the unpredictable popular discontents.⁹⁰ Going beyond the diplomats' effectiveness in counseling the Papal States's governance, there are several signals which testifies how substantial obstructions against middle-classes and their development existed and were perceived. The State was in fact crossed by a web of specific issues and crises linked together by the same spiritually conservative governmental biases: to the delay in industrial development⁹¹ the answer was the prohibition of building *strade ferrate* [railways]⁹²; to the decrease in internal productivity the answer was a recurrent recourse on loans from foreign banks ⁹³; to pleas for rights of political association, freedom, safety, the answers were heavy bureaucracy, centralization, prohibition, control.⁹⁴ No less

⁹⁰ P. Pirri, “Il Memorandum del 1831 nei dispacci del card. Bernetti al Nunzio di Vienna”, in *Gregorio XVI, Miscellanea commemorativa*, Roma, 1948, II, p. 353-372.

⁹¹ C. M. Travaglini, *Lo Stato pontificio e l'industria*, in I. Zilli (a cura di), *Lo stato e l'economia tra Restaurazione e Rivoluzione*, Naples 1997, v. II: *L'industria, la finanza e i servizi (1815-1848)*, p. 51

⁹² On the establishment of railways in the Papal States see D. Mantovani, *Gaetano Recchi ed il riformismo pontificio nel 1847: il problema delle strade ferrate*, in “Rassegna Storica Toscana”, 45-2, (July-December 1999), pp. 381-390; M. Panconesi, *Le Ferrovie di Pio IX. Nascita, sviluppo e tramonto delle strade ferrate dello Stato Pontificio (1846-1870)*. Cortona, 2005.

⁹³ Throughout his pontificate (1813-1846) Gregory XVI asked 7 financial loans (5 with Paris' Rothschilds, 1 with Genoa's Parodis and 1 with the Torlonias) for a total of 17.750.000 scudi (B. Gille, *Gli investimenti francesi in Italia (1815-1914)*, in “Archivio economico dell'unificazione italiana”, s. II, v. XVI, Roma 1969).

⁹⁴ G. Monsagrati, *Roma nel crepuscolo del potere temporale*, in “Storia d'Italia. Annali”, vol. XVI, “Roma Città del Papa”, Turin 2000, pp. 1025-1032.

struggles were coming from within the Catholic church on doctrinal issues, which brought Gregory XVI to explicitly condemn any liberal revisionism of given social hierarchies with the *Mirari Vos* seal (August 15, 1832), also containing severe warnings against any proposition of separating political and spiritual identities of the Papal power.⁹⁵

Within the State, Rome was in this sense both exemplar and special. Absent as they were substantial links with the main “*società segrete*”, with the *Carboneria* or later on with Giuseppe Mazzini's *Giovine Italia*, it was not through political activism that elements of differentiation approached the city.⁹⁶ This happened instead mostly because of a wide ramification of international presences and connections which, approaching Rome for the most diverse reasons, brought together a “breeze” of what was going on in the rest of Europe.⁹⁷ The whole city in its complexity was exposed to a number of heterogeneous “agents” which went from the grand tourist to the journalist, from the diplomat to the *Propaganda Fide* delegate, up to the artist: “Ancient Rome thrived upon the strangers, and on the strangers it lives modern Rome”.⁹⁸ A typical consequence of this traffic is that of the much sought after aristocratic parlors, widely spared by political censorship and where thus any kind of pamphlet and persons were apparently free to come and go.⁹⁹ What seems almost entirely absent, was any active elaboration of these inputs. An emblematic case in this sense that of newspapers: whereas even a notoriously more liberal-oriented State as Piedmont was stigmatized as an harder surveillant,¹⁰⁰ Rome maintained for the 1815-1847 years only one single source of journalistic information, the heavily emended *Diario di Roma* born in early 18th century and basically owned by the same family for the whole period and after.¹⁰¹ Similar idiosyncrasies existed for religious transactions as well: to a rediscovered catholic orthodoxy in the years of the struggle against romantic modernity, corresponded an increased presences of religious communities

⁹⁵ E. Passerin d'Entreves, *Il Cattolicesimo liberale in Europa e il movimento neo-guelfo in Italia*, in *Nuove questioni di storia del Risorgimento e dell'Unità d'Italia*, vol. I, Milano, 1961, pp. 570-573.

⁹⁶ Bartoccini 1985, pp. 339-340. For the *Carbonari* presence throughout the State a quantity of archival evidences are published in A. Pierantoni, *I Carbonari dello Stato Pontificio ricercati delle Inquisizioni austriache nel Regno Lombardo-Veneto (1817-1825)*, Rome 1910; E. Del Cerro, *Cospirazioni Romane (1817-1868)*, Rome 1899.

⁹⁷ S. Negro, *Seconda Roma. 1850-1870*, Milan 1943, 317-349, 460-464.

⁹⁸ L. Delatre, *Ricordi di Roma*. Firenze 1870, p.7.

⁹⁹ D. Silvagni, *La corte pontificia e la società romana nei secoli XVIII e XIX*, v. II, Rome 1971, pp.262 and passim; P. Lemme, *Salotti Romani dell'Ottocento*, Turin 1990, pp. 51-71.

¹⁰⁰ R. Quazza, *Pio IX e Massimo D'Azeglio nelle vicende romane del 1847*, v. I, Modena 1954, p. 57-58.

¹⁰¹ O. Majolo Molinari, *La stampa periodica romana dell'Ottocento*, Rome 1963, pp. XVII-XVIII, 296-297.

tied to historically repulsed confessions such as Protestant, Greek Orthodox and Anglican. Indeed, both Gregory XVI¹⁰² and Pius IX¹⁰³ sought new points of contacts with these, although here the dividing line between religious and political demands becomes harder to trace.

Under the thick pall of the Regime's exteriority, however, public signs of divergences or leads for unexpected political developments were apparently very hard to retrieve, and this despite the actual presence of any such traces. The persistence of Rome in a timeless state of mournful crisis was not only extraordinarily redundant throughout 19th century travel accounts and letters full of parallelisms between this and the decadent sights of Roman ruins¹⁰⁴; these were also particularly resonating within the topic definition of Italy as "the land of the dead", after Alphonse de Lamartine's well known and argued sentence. For Rome, this hermeneutical key was possibly even more influential and diffused than the random traveller's experience of those totalitarian mechanisms which were supposed to be the bodily manifestations of the inner foulness behind the very same idea of a state ruled by a pope-king.¹⁰⁵ This correspondence between aesthetic and political features, actually overlooked much of the foremost problems that the Holy See was facing and motivating its decisions. Beside opinions about the actual effectiveness of Gregory XVI's political endeavor, which in past years even went through some cautious attempts of revaluation,¹⁰⁶ far less relevance seems to be acknowledged by uninformed eyes to the heterogeneous and lacerating panorama of religious diatribes within the Church itself revolving around its principal post-1789 challenge: the fight between Catholicism and the secularization of European society, conceptualized by far reaching dynamics which, after the "original sin" of the Reform, fatally flowed in the French Revolution and beyond.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰² E. Morelli, *La Politica estera di Tommaso Bernetti, segretario di Stato di Gregorio XVI*. Rome, 1953; G. Martina, v. "Gregorio XVI", in *Enciclopedia dei Papi*, III, Rome 2000, pp. 552-559.

¹⁰³ G. Martina, *Pio IX (1846-1850)*, Rome 1974, pp.31-32; Monsagrati 2000, 1025-1032.

¹⁰⁴ For the historical development of this identification as raised by travel guides C. Von Klenze, *The interpretation of Italy during the last two Centuries*, Chicago 1907. See also P. Bondandella, *The Eternal City: Roman Images in the Modern World*, Chapel Hill & London 1987, pp. 160-169.

¹⁰⁵ P. Treves, *Lo studio dell'antichità classica nell'Ottocento*, (Milano-Napoli 1962); ID. *L'idea di Roma e la cultura italiana del XIX secoli*; una prospettiva diversa, che lega il classicismo all'illuminismo in S. Timpanaro, *Classicismo e illuminismo nell'Ottocento italiano*, Pisa 1965; Bartoccini 1985, pp. 310-367 with bibliography on further "foreign" accounts.

¹⁰⁶ P. Della Torre, *L'opera riformatrice ed amministrativa di Gregorio XVI*, in "Gregorio XVI, Miscellanea commemorativa", Rome 1948, pp. 29-112.

¹⁰⁷ Menozzi, 1993, pp. 34-70.

As the fight for secularization by 1830s had already become a chase, the whole Catholic church was at work in trying to conceptualize a cure for the religious sickness of its subjects. It also existed an internal area of political critique which nevertheless tended to individualize and isolate the administrative fallacies against the Pope himself, a possibly dangerous operation as an explicit demand for the schism of spiritual and political powers was the main request and objection by the extreme wings of both religious (De Lamennais) and political (Mazzini) standpoints.¹⁰⁸ By 1845, the Senigallia born Bishop of Imola, Giovanni Mastai Ferretti, was writing a retort private document under the name of “*Pensieri relativi all’amministrazione pubblica dello Stato Pontificio*” [Thoughts on the public administration of the Papal States], remained unknown until the 1950’s.¹⁰⁹ Without ever mentioning the Pope, Mastai substantially criticized his political deeds at the light of an incapacity of intercepting and navigating through those macroscopic developments so aptly put in evidence by the 1831’ Memorandum. Still only 53 years old by 1845, the young Bishop was already by then in the position of boasting a clerical experience which counted participation in an important but failed diplomatic mission in Chile, the direction of the S. Michele a Ripa Institute (the most important charity institution in Rome), the archbishopric of Spoleto, the bishopric of Imola in the politically heated area of Romagna, and finally the cardinalship, awarded in 1840 by the same Gregory XVI whose conduct Mastai showed in the 1845 text a willingness to overcome.¹¹⁰ Although, as Cordero noted, these ideas do not emerge from a coherent operative will, the *Pensieri* features strong and precise statements on the secularization of education and public offices, on the army reform and the incentive of production, on the need for an amnesty against political crimes which were critically overcrowding the State’s prisons. Even so, it was completely ignored the central object of grievances, the demand for active participation in the decisional process which was clearly stated in the *Memorandum* and in the so-called *Manifesto di Rimini*, written in Florence and forwarded only a few months before by Luigi Carlo Farini and others involved in the Rimini riots of the same 1845.¹¹¹ In an attempt of establishing the root cause

¹⁰⁸ J. Leflon, *Restaurazione e crisi liberale (1815-1846)*, in AA. VV., *Storia della Chiesa dalle origini ai giorni nostri*, Torino 1975, v. XX, tomo II, pp. 658-59, 716-17, 754-757.

¹⁰⁹ First published in G. Soranzo, “*Pensieri relativi all’amministrazione pubblica dello Stato Pontificio. 1845*” *del futuro Pio IX*, in “*Aevum*”, 27-1, (January-February 1953), pp. 22-46.

¹¹⁰ G. Martina, v. “Pio IX”, in *Enciclopedia dei Papi*, III, pp. 560-561; G. Monsagrati, *Roma senza il papa. La Repubblica Romana del 1849*, Rome-Bari 2014, pp. 14-15.

¹¹¹ The *Manifesto* is quoted as a whole by the same author in L. C. Farini, *Lo Stato Romano dall’anno 1815 all’anno 1850*, Turin 1850, pp. 112-127 (the book was translated in 1851 by W. E. Gladstone and published by J. Murray in London). See also P. Zama, *Il “Manifesto” di Lc. Farini e i moti romagnoli del 1845*, in “*Studi Romagnoli*”, 2 (1951), pp. 363-387.

behind popular discontent, Mastai appealed instead “Communism”, which by then in Italy actually was a kind of unfathomable object¹¹² outside Mazzinian circles (who yet distanced himself from it around 1847)¹¹³ and ecclesiastical phobias of which is an efficient synthesis a remarkable entry in Moroni’s dictionary dating 1854¹¹⁴. For Mastai, it nevertheless embodied “*la molla motrice dei frequenti sconvolgimenti, che agitano in diversi punti le teste torbide*”¹¹⁵ [The mainspring of those frequent upheavals shaking in various points the torpid heads]. The main social risks were thus expected from the lower strata of population, a danger which demanded an answer possibly lying, still according to Mastai, in giving responsibilities to the trustworthy side of lay society which, from nobles to the economic and intellectual bourgeoisie, was long since asking to count for something. At the light of the ultraconservative orientations in force within the Roman Curia by the end of Gregory XVI pontificate, Mastai embodied a revisionist attitude which showed efforts in conceiving a progressive turn. It is then on these basis that the Bishop of Imola was chosen by June 16, 1846 in a very uncertain conclave as the recipient heir of the former pope’s unresolved challenges.

In Koelman’s account, always very sensitive in registering the behaviors of the Roman “crowd” according to the most important events, the artists notices some coldness which accompanied Pius IX’s election, as the name was as unexpected as unknown.¹¹⁶ As confirmed by the chronicler Nicola Roncalli, “the people expected some clamorous edict, especially on the amnesty or the railroads, and by seeing nothing instead, greeted the Pope with a respectful silence”.¹¹⁷ A program of priorities that included both the aforementioned measures was actually already under debate within the Curia

¹¹² G. Manacorda, *Lo Spettro del comunismo nel Risorgimento* (1951), in “Rivoluzione Borghese e Socialismo”. Roma 1975, pp. 117-137;; S. Soldani, *Contadini , operai e “popolo” nella rivoluzione del 1848-1849 in Italia*, in “Studi Storici”, XIV, 1973, n. 3, pp. 577-613.

¹¹³ F. Della Peruta, *Giuseppe Mazzini e i democratici*, Milan-Naples 1969, p. 230; S. Mastellone, *I “Thoughts on Democracy” (1846-1847) di Mazzini e la risposta di Marx nel “Manifesto”*, in “Il Pensiero Politico”, 29-3 (January 1996), pp. 457-472.

¹¹⁴ “Idra spaventevole che sostiene l’empie dottrine e i perversi sistemi, i quali combattendo ad un tempo le proprietà personali e le libertà individuali, vorrebbero precipitare tutte quante le nazioni, inclusivamente, alle più incivilite, all’orlo d’una completa dissoluzione sociale, ad un cataclismo politico e tremendo, minacciando finimondo al trono all’altare, all’intera società” [Fearful hydra sustaining the unholy doctrines and the perverse systems, which fighting at the same time private properties and individual freedoms, would like to precipitate all nations, inclusively to the most civilized, by the edge of a complete social dissolution, of a tremendous political cataclysm and threatening mayhem to the thrones, the altar, the entire society], (G. Moroni, v. “Socialismo e Comunismo”, in *Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica da S. Pietro ai nostri giorni*, 67, Venice 1854, p. 135).

¹¹⁵ Soranzo 1953, p. 39.

¹¹⁶ Koelman 1963, I, pp. 55-56.

¹¹⁷ Roncalli 1972, 194.

almost immediately after the new Pope's introduction. Following a pattern which will be recurrent in an almost identical form throughout the following years, Pius IX showed much sensibility in handling themes which his "subjects", collectively intended, manifested to be excited by. The agenda was nevertheless to be navigated through the College of Cardinals which retained several elements from the faction generally appealed as *zelanti* or *sanfedisti*. Headed by the old former Secretaries of State Tommaso Bernetti (1779-1852) and Luigi Lambruschini (1776-1854), both strong but defeated contenders during the recent conclave, the *sanfedisti* embodied the persistence of the millenary attitude of the Catholic Church against all those processes resumable at the light of the secularization struggle. In this group were also commonly included all those institutional entities that mirrored a similar attitude in religious and political issues, eminently embodied according to detractors by Jesuits on the first hand as responsible for the education, and by Austria on the other. The opponent side of the fence was instead that of the *Corone*, o simply *Liberali*, which admitted instead as necessary a revision of the relationship between State and Church, or at least an administrative reconsideration which allowed to answer dissatisfaction, economical and diplomatic issues in order to avoid any future constriction in that sense against Rome. This party included, other than Mastai, notable and well known elements such as Giovanni Corboli Bussi (1813-1850), Tommaso Pasquale Gizzi (1787-1849) and Ludovico Micara (1775-1847), all of which in the last years gained some fame in that sense. The extents to which the outcomes of this dialectic could have eventually ended to became clear when Pius IX scored his first victory against opposers by having approved the political amnesty he was already referring to in the 1845 *Pensieri*.

At the eve of the decree's announcement, in the late afternoon of July 17, the Pope's residence on the Quirinale hill was progressively invaded, according to Roncalli, by more than 20.000 "civic people" to which Pius IX repeatedly bestowed blessings¹¹⁸. Koelman tells of a moving atmosphere of joy, chants and music, of balconies adorned with lights, flowers and flags, a feast prolonged until late at night and begun again the day after. These scenes, beside a hiatus by the end of the 1846 which was also concomitant with a Tiber's flood, will occur repeatadly until spring 1848, growing in enthusiasm but also in their specific capacity ¹¹⁹. The attitude of the Roman crowd in running as a potential source of initiative emerges whereas it is considered that, as underlined by several scholars, the amnesty covered almost 400 convicted in the State and another 400 exiled

¹¹⁸ Id., p. 196

¹¹⁹ O. Gigli, *Le feste del popolo romano del 1846 al 1° gennaio 1847 in onore dell'amantissimo, sovrano Pio IX*, Rome 1847, pp.5-6; L. Nasto, *Le feste civili a Roma (1846-1848)*, in "Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento", 79-3 (1992), pp. 315-338.

abroad.¹²⁰ Among these, Roman residents were rather exiguous. The adopted “pardon” formula in spite of “reparation”, a clause explicitly demanded by Bernetti and the Austrian chancellor Prince von Metternich, celebrated as “*quell’atto benefico, che [...] commosse il mondo*” [that charity act which moved the world]¹²¹, was actually read by both radicals like Mazzini¹²² and moderates like Terenzio Mamiani ¹²³, as way to erase the political substance of the punishment without admitting the inherent ruler’s fault. Nevertheless, as we saw, expectations towards the amnesty were already high before the decree, as Roncalli testifies by mentioning how groups of detainees in Civitavecchia’s prison - one of the main detention houses of the State for political crimes - raised a *tricolore* [three-coloured flag] looking forward for the amnesty already by June 8.¹²⁴ The July 17 decree must therefore be seen as a cornerstone for the events to come. As the leading Pius IX biographer, the Jesuit Giacomo Martina had aptly synthesized:

*“Raramente la storia presenta un caso analogo di un provvedimento che, malgrado le sue modeste proporzioni, abbia provocato reazioni così vaste, profonde, durature. L’amnistia fu la scintilla che, caduta sulle polveri che si erano accumulate da tempo, fece divampare l’incendio in tutta Italia e in larga parte d’Europa. O, se vogliamo, fu l’inizio di un delirio collettivo dell’opinione pubblica, parte spontaneo e parte artificiosamente montato, che ebbe la sua conclusione nelle rivoluzioni europee del 48. Si trattò quindi di un fenomeno non solo religioso ma essenzialmente politico, di un evento non solo italiano, ma Europeo”.*¹²⁵

[Rarely had presented history an analogous case of a provision which, despite its modest proportions, had provoked such vast, deep and durable reactions. The amnesty was the spark which, fallen over long hoarded dusts, burned up a blaze across Italy as a whole and throughout a large share of Europe. Or, if we want, it was the beginning of a collective delirium of public opinion, partly spontaneous partly artificially mounted, which had its conclusions with the European revolutions of 1848. It thus was not merely a religious happening but an essentially political one, not just an Italian event but a European].

¹²⁰ Martina 1974, I, p. 100, n.5.

¹²¹ G. Spada, I, 52.

¹²² G. Mazzini, *Scritti editi ed inediti*, 30, Imola 1921, pp. 92-95.

¹²³ Mamiani sarcastically called the amnesty “*perdono generoso*” [generous forgiveness] (T. Mamiani to G. P. Viesseux, August, 31st, 1846, in *Lettere dall’esilio: Terenzio Mamiani; raccolte e ordinate da Ettore Viterbo*, II (1846-1849), edited by E. Viterbo, Rome 1899, pp. 58-59).

¹²⁴ “Molti preconizzano Papa Gizzi, assicurano che il medesimo accorderebbe un generale perdono ai prevenuti politic, com’esso spesso ultimamente si esternò” [Many advocates Gizzi Pope, insuring that the same would accord a general pardon to the political prevented, as he often disclosed recently] (Roncalli 1972, p. 192).

¹²⁵ Martina 1974, p. 101.

It needs to be acknowledged nevertheless that, whereas marginal from a quantitative standpoint, the quality, the political depth of the provision cannot be underestimated. Even by quoting only a few among the specific cases which Antonio Mercati had analyzed from archival sources ¹²⁶, with the decree were readmitted in the State the followings:

- Francesco Orioli (1783-1856): Archeologist, historian, scientist tied to the Italian Scientific Conferences circle, protagonist of the 1831 uprisings in Bologna, will figure with prominence in the 1849 government;
- Pietro Sterbini (1795-1863): formed doctor inscribed in the *Carboneria*, directly involved in the 1831 facts, he will become one of the main journalists from 1847 up to being accused of having instigated the murder of Prime Minister Pellegrino Rossi in November 1848, namely the fact that will lead Pius IX to abandon Rome after a few days. After becoming the leader of the radical *Circolo Popolare* Sterbini became a crucially important opinion leader during 1848 and 1849.
- Livio Zambecari (1802-1862): highborn in Bologna, was forced to exile after participating in some 1821 uprisings. He then wandered across Europe and South America participating in various liberal revolts across Spain, Uruguay, Argentina, eventually becoming prominent during the 1849 Republic up to become, although for a short time, member of the *Triumvirato*, the Republican executive counsel.
- Mattia Montecchi (1816-1871): Roman lawyer close to the *Carboneria* in the 30s and later to Mazzini, Montecchi progressively became a network leader within radical orientations in the Papal States and Tuscany. Found involved in a revolt attempt by 1841, he was imprisoned in Castel S. Angelo until the amnesty allowed him to return to active politics assuming several important charges in the 1846-1848 years and also during the Republic. Even after his exile in 1850, Montecchi will remain involved in the national struggle up to figuring among the first senators of the Italian Kingdom after the conquest of Rome.

Again the Mazzinian tenor Gustavo Modena, the future Republican general during the siege of Rome Pietro Pietramellara, the already mentioned Farini and Mamiani, the lawyers Filippo Canuti and Giuseppe Galletti, the count Carlo Pepoli: except for the nobles Pietramellara and Pepoli, all of these belonged to the “liberal professions” classes, all men which could have never played their parts in the further events without the amnesty.

¹²⁶ A. Mercati, *In Margine all'amnistia concessa da Pio IX*, in “Aevum”, 24-2 (March, 1950), pp. 103-132; 24-3 (May, 1950), pp. 215-235.

At this point, a series of dynamics are already triggered and yet to determine the near future: the breaking element of a new Pope willing to be accounted for an unprecedented program of reforms; the Curia becoming a struggle area between *liberali* and *zelanti*; the lay elite of political activism put in the position of identifying and superposing their action upon that of the government; the Roman crowd's attitude in gathering and being gathered with a strength retaining potentials to escalate beyond control. There also existed at least two other dynamics already fully under development before 1846 which exceeds the local environment of the city and that will get cross-fertilized by Pius IX's election: the first is of course the Italian national endeavor, to which the new Pope was immediately associated after news on the amnesty and the popular manifestations were spread in Italy, Europe and the Americas;¹²⁷ the second it's the intensification of the pressure from the provinces of the Papal States towards the Capital which, as seen already, characterized the main insurrectional happenings of recent years and which recognized in Pius IX's "signals" an authorization to recoup the fight with fresh energies¹²⁸. The sharpest consequences of this two intersections between Rome and its "outsides" - one of "Italian" amplitude, the other of "State" implications - at the light of Pius IX's election represents the base of an old and historically influential interpretation of the 1846-1849 period as expressed by the eyewitness Giuseppe Spada in his "*Storia della Rivoluzione di Roma*" (Florence, 1868), an almost 2000 pages work produced after more than twenty years of tireless retrieval of related primary sources.¹²⁹ The paragraph entitled "*Enunciazione delle cause ch'esercitarono una influenza sulle condizioni morali dei Romani dal tempo della restaurazione pontificia nel 1815 sino all'assunzione di Pio IX al pontificato, affine di spiegare l'appoggio che dettero quantunque in piccola parte, alla romana rivoluzione*" [Enunciation of the causes that exerted an influence on the moral conditions of the Romans from the time of the papal restoration in 1815 until the Assumption to pontificate of Pius IX, in order to explain the support that gave support, albeit in a small way, to the Roman revolution]¹³⁰ closes Spada's ponderous work by addressing its hermeneutical key, according to the author. In

¹²⁷ A. M. Ghisalberti, *Momenti e figure del Risorgimento Romano*, Milan 1965, pp. 25-35; Martina 1974, pp. 102-104; 103-104 n. 10; G. Monsagrati, *Pio IX, lo stato della Chiesa e l'avvio delle riforme*, in "Rassegna Storica Toscana", 1999, pp. 216-219.

¹²⁸ Demarco 1947, pp. 42-46.

¹²⁹ On Spada see F. Fonzi, *Giuseppe Spada storico della rivoluzione romana*, in "Capitolium", 1949, pp. 411-422; P. Moraldi, *Giuseppe Spada. Storico della Rivoluzione romana*, "Quaderni del Risorgimento", V, Rome 1953, pp. 5-50.

¹³⁰ G. Spada, *Storia della Rivoluzione di Roma*, III, Florence 1868, pp. 715-747.

essence, beside recognizing that “*la romana rivoluzione [...] ebbe il suo cominciamento non già nell’anno 1848, siccome molti credono, ma nel giorno stesso in cui si conobbe l’atto di amnistia*” [the roman revolution had its beginnings not in the year 1848, as many believes, but in the very same day when the amnesty became known], he indicated that:

“ [...] questa rivoluzione fu in gran parte cosmopolitica, che genti d’ogni nazione e di svariate dottrine la capitanarono e la sostennero, che i Romani vi figurarono in una impercettibile minorità, e che la maggioranza appartenne agli estranei, non è per questo men vero che un certo appoggio vel dette anche Roma: perocché alcuni principii sia di desiderato progresso, sia di mal celato scontento, sia infine di odio manifesto del dominio clericale (sebbene in piccola quantità comparativamente alla popolazione) vi germinavan da vari anni, e solo nel tempo di sopra accennato presentarono il loro sviluppo in un modo lato e palese”.¹³¹

[.. because this revolution was cosmopolitan for the greater part, that people from every nation and the most diverse doctrines lead and sustained it, that the Romans figured in it only in an imperceptible minority, and that the majority belonged to the strangers, it is not less true that a certain support it was given by Rome as well: as some principles of desired progress, of ill-hidden discontent, finally of manifest hate against the clerical dominion (although only in small quantity compared to population) were thriving since years, and that in the above mentioned time presented their state of development in a large and clear way] .

It followed a list of structural macro-causes¹³² revolving around the theme of civic freedoms under the pressure of secularization which brought Spada, after an historical ex-cursus throughout the whole Restoration relatively to their “residents’ moral”, to recognize in the revolutionary facts the pinnacle of a long standing process which progressively brought “stranger” agents like “English and French” to impose their presence, their culture, they life-style, “introducing little by little new ideas

¹³¹ Spada, III, p. 715 [emphasis is mine].

¹³² “...i tempi, le letture, lo svolgimento e la diffusione dei lumi, le comunicazioni moltiplicate e accelerate fra gli uomini, tendenti a formare della Europa quasi un’intera famiglia, il giornalismo politico, le effemeridi scientifiche, lo studio delle lingue moderne sostituito in gran parte a quelle antiche, lo spirito di associazione, una certa tendenza, ad un rispetto maggiore per la propria dignità, una passione più grande per gli agi della vita e pel materiale benessere, e direm pure un bisogno maggiore, se non di libertà di coscienza, di libertà civile, ora provato dalla classe colta ed illuminata della umana società.” [“...the period, the reading, the development and the diffusion of the enlightenment, the communications multiplied and hastened throughout men, almost drifting Europe to be almost an entire family, the political journalism, the *effemeridi scientifiche*, the study of modern languages mostly substituting that of old ones, the spirit of association, a certain tendency at retaining more respect for one’s own dignity, some larger passion for life’s comforts and material well-being, and we shall even say a greater need for, if not for freedom of consciousness, rather than for civic freedom, now being enjoyed only by the cultivated and enlightened class of human society”], (Ib., III, p. 716).

as much in the middle as in the lower classes of Roman people”.¹³³ If this was the foreign influence from a cultural standpoint, according to Spada the criteria behind such political agenda came instead from the collaboration between the *Società Segrete* spread throughout the Italian peninsula and lead by exiles on the one hand, and the political excitement of the Papal States’ provinces on the other. Memories of the 1831 events were in particular a still near precedent in 1846, and of that precedent, which in Rome was nevertheless barely limited to an easily overwhelmed revolt in Piazza Colonna, were supposedly active recipients those very same individuals to which the amnesty allowed a comeback within active society.

Now, although this interpretation has been historically influent within pro-papal environments¹³⁴ as contested back then and more recently upon substantial evidences,¹³⁵ the interpretative model proposed that Spada proposed by according to the amnesty the role of revolutionary “spark”, aims at sustaining the evidence that Rome suddenly became the surface of convergence for any Italian expectation towards nationalization. It might seem paradoxical the idea of an Italian national patriotism that recalled Rome only after the Pope’s election, as in fact it was already since some decades that the “Eternal City” was often being wished for as the putative capital of the eventual country.¹³⁶ Nevertheless, the haste, the vehemence, the collectivity of participation ignited with the amnesty of July 1846 cannot be underestimated, especially once it is recognized that some fertile ground for such developments evidently existed already and that Spada’s theory on the “resident’s moral” was based on actual knowledge of the population’s ongoing transformations.

The extents to which a coherent embrace of these addresses was actually part of Pius’s IX scope, it represents instead a different problem.¹³⁷ Scholarly debates dwelled for long on questioning whether his programs were limited to specific aspects such as those contained in the 1845 *Pensieri* or if he actually had a precise liberal design in mind of which Giuseppe Monsagrati actually retrieved several traces.¹³⁸ The outcomes are nevertheless out of question: after the careful planning phases of

¹³³ *Ib.*, III, p. 727.

¹³⁴ See Caracciolo, Caravale 1978, p. 660-661.

¹³⁵ Monsagrati 2014, p. 41. See also R. Giovagnoli, *Ciceruacchio e Don Pirlone. Ricordi Storici della Rivoluzione Romana dal 1846 al 1849 con documenti nuovi*, Rome 1894, p. 55-60; M. Bocci, *Il Municipio di Roma tra riforma e rivoluzione (1847-1851)*, Rome 1995, pp. 86-96.

¹³⁶ Ghisalberti 1965, pp. 93-136;

¹³⁷ For a reconstruction of Pius IX historiography see Martina 1974, pp. 1-48.

¹³⁸ G. Monsagrati, *Pio IX, lo stato della Chiesa e l’avvio delle riforme*, in “Rassegna Storica Toscana”, 1999, pp. 215-240.

1846, after the harshly fought and eventually clamorous reforms of 1847, and finally throughout the whole 1848 struggle, wherever they stood at in the beginnings, Pius's IX early expectations as a ruler dramatically collapsed under the weight of decades-long unresolved conflicts revolving around the absence of a civic sphere of public and social life next to the religious one.¹³⁹ That he had in mind to somehow intervene on this matter, seems today to be out of question; that all the decisions he undertook were eminently independent is to be excluded; where his intentions are to posited is a question that this study doesn't pretend to answer. What is here a legit operation is instead to operate distinctions among those subjects which were for different reasons involved in the decisional process and the strategies they enacted in order to frame at the Pope's eyes the issues of the State as demanding a decree on the Civic Guard, regardless of still-present ghosts related to the French National Guard in 1789 and 1830, but also to what happened in Bologna during 1831.

1.4 - The moderate "party"

As far as Pius IX's advent and his allegedly open ideas marked a neat discontinuity and an unexpected turn, the horizon of expectations within which the very same idea of a Pope being an immune carrier of liberal ideologies was not only plausible but providential, already existed as a product of what happened in France after the July Revolution of 1830. Those events' aftermaths existed of course first within the evidently crucial realm of international politics, as the 1831 riots in Italy which we had seen for Bologna were basically allowed by France's declaration of non-intervention which put several Italian nationalists in the hope for some maneuvering space against Austria. But beyond that, what the July Monarchy had actually exemplified for the future years was the existence of a third way between revolution and reaction: compromise, as embodied by the

¹³⁹ C.M. Travaglini, *Ceti, politiche e conflitti sociali*, in "Roma fra la Restaurazione e l'elezione di Pio IX. Amministrazione, economia, società e cultura", pp. 411-427.

“citizen-king” Louise Philippe and the possibility of conceding constitutional rights without eradicating monarchy and its guide over society. Remaining within Italian issues, the enduring consequences of this precedent went far beyond the immediate attempts of emulation which collapsed shortly in 1831. A process of differentiation started to occur within what were by then mostly undifferentiated affiliations to liberal or nationalistic ideas, still largely dependent on persisting paradigms already emerged during pre-Restoration years. As offsprings of political activists had to necessarily maintain their agency under cover, an increasingly growing number of intellectuals from aristocracy and middle-high bourgeoisie started instead to promote and develop a new interpretation of the national quest which, at the light of 1830 turn in France, should have been tolerable to rulers and be propagandized without facing restrains. If on some aspects these two orientations tended to converge upon a similar post-Enlightenment praise and demand for civil rights, like the need for a Constitutional bill, in practice the “moderate” and the “radicals” or “democrats” started to foster evidently antithetical interpretations about the hoped future under national unity. It is on the wake of this counterposition as shaped by the July revolution that several political historians evidenced how throughout the Italian States started to emerge some tighter ideological and representational boundaries between these opinion groups and their membership which builds the programmatic foundations of the political parties defining the Italian political discourse of the years to come, especially after 1860 when the confrontation will be transferred in Parliament.¹⁴⁰ Thanks to a growth in the production and diffusion of political and journalistic opinions,¹⁴¹ the recurring use of the terms “*moderati*” and “*radicali*” intended in their mutual exclusion offered apt interpretative tools in front of contemporary turmoils. These two interpretations were also often coherent with symmetrical social pertinencies,¹⁴² an aspect that only after 1848 the factions will start framing as a problem that had to be solved for the sake of national unity.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ A. Chiavistelli, *Moderati/Democratici*, in “Atlante Culturale del Risorgimento”, edited by A. M. Banti, A. Chiavistelli, L. Mannori, M. Meriggi, Bari 2011, pp. 124-128 (with further bibliography).

¹⁴¹ G. Ponso, *Le origini della libertà di stampa in Italia (1846-1852)*, Milan 1980; F. Della Peruta, *Il Giornalismo Italiano del Risorgimento. Dal 1847 all'Unità*, Milan 2011 pp. 13-48,

¹⁴² For the issue in general see C. Capra, *Nobiltà / Borghesia*, in “Atlante Culturale del Risorgimento”, pp. 139-141.

¹⁴³ See L. C. Farini, *Dei Nobili in Italia e dell'attuale indirizzo delle opinioni italiane: lettera a Massimo D'Azeglio*, Rome 1847. Mazzini explicit efforts towards the overcome of social barriers would only come after the end of the Roman Republic (see G. Monsagrati, “Giuseppe Mazzini” in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 72 (2008), pp. 356-357).

Notwithstanding the constant presence of Mazzinian units secretly operating throughout Italian states, the pre-1848 period and the 1840s in particular, marks the expansion of the moderates. As implied already, whereas radical cells were forced to directly face censorious repression and those substantial hindrances that democratic ideas in the Italian States had to necessarily cope with, the reputation, the social position, the vigilance that moderates endorsed in propagandizing means for a non-violent transition to liberal nationalism allowed their messages to live, mostly, on a legit surface and thus increase their availability. A turning point emerges alongside the publication of some literary texts (all published outside Italy) among which towers *“Del Primato Morale e Civile degli Italiani* [On the civil and moral primacy of Italians, Brussels 1843] by abbey Vincenzo Gioberti and *Le Speranze d’Italia* [The hopes of Italy, Paris 1844] by count Cesare Balbo. Despite intimate differences and implications (Gioberti was leaning towards federalism whereas Balbo was firmly committed to a Kingdom ruled by Piedmont and the Savoy dynasty)¹⁴⁴, with these two works the moderate liberal expectations only sparsely formulated previously were condensed for the first time in practical and recognizable means. Gioberti in particular and his “Neo-guelph”¹⁴⁵ project, adorned a wide explanatory contextualization of the ethno-mythic superiority of the Italian “lineage”, and thus of the righteousness behind its national aspirations, with a political agenda whose “moderation” also implied its feasibility: a federal union of Italian States lead by the Pope, its putative prince, father and guardian of that catholic identity at the light of which, according to Gioberti, the “Primacy” of the Italians was abundantly justified. In this form, moderates provided a solution for the national quest which included wide areas by then necessarily excluded from it like the ecclesiastical and aristocratic worlds, but it also appealed to the middle to high bourgeoisie which demanded participation but repulsed social conflicts.

The success of Gioberti’s and Balbo’s texts were not the only signs of a growing moderate adhesions throughout Italian states. The 1845 uprising burst in Rimini that motivated Mastai’s *Pensieri*, was mostly lead by people belonging to the “liberal professions” area and the already mentioned *Manifesto di Rimini* refrained as well a belonging within moderate coordinates by fostering that same perspective in order to address solutions to the political-administrative crisis of

¹⁴⁴ For related theories on the origins of the Italian “nation” see M. Pavan, *La questione delle origini italiane e la filosofia della storia di Cesare Balbo*, in “Antichità classica e pensiero moderno”, edited by M. Pavan, Florence 1977, pp. 211-49; A. De Francesco, *The Antiquity of the Italian Nation: the cultural origins of a political myth of Modern Italy, 1796-1943*, Oxford 2013, pp. 79-90.

¹⁴⁵ On Neo-guelphism see A. Lyttleton, *The National question in Italy*, in “The Unification in Europe in historical Context”, edited by M. Teich and R. Porter, Cambridge 1993, pp. 84-87; A. Giovagnoli, *Il neoguelphismo*, in “Storia dell’Italia religiosa”, edited by G. De Rosa, III, Bari-Rome 1995, pp. 39-59; G. Formigoni, *L’Italia dei cattolici. Fede e nazione dal Risorgimento alla Repubblica*, Bologna 1998, pp. 88-92; M. Clark, *The Italian Risorgimento*, London 1998, pp. 44-45; G. Rumi, *Vincenzo Gioberti*, Bologna 1999.

the Papal States¹⁴⁶. The paradigmatic nature of that protest and its intrinsic “moderation” had solicited the attention of the moderate network, eventually inspiring another crucial political text of those years: “*Degli ultimi casi di Romagna*” [“On the recent Romagna facts”, 1846]. The author was marquis Massimo Taparelli d'Azeglio, cousin of Cesare Balbo, peculiar figure of writer and painter from Piedmont who spent years in his youth painting landscapes among the Roman countryside while repulsing the conformism of Turin's aristocratic life and then eventually starring in the Milanese art scene during the 1830s¹⁴⁷. Well known for his artistic and literary career (he was also a successful novelist), constantly in correspondence with the major non-radical activists in the peninsula and in exile, proficient at transversally moving across different social areas, in the 1840s d'Azeglio was progressively becoming the moderate party man of action. His work on the Romagna case and the implied reflections towards the Papal States became an instant classic.

At the light of the successful diffusion of Gioberti's program (the *Primato* has been the most read and republished political treaty in Italy during the pre-unity Risorgimento period)¹⁴⁸, the news from Rome after the first month of Pius IX's papacy were interpreted by the moderate party as a sign. As said already, with the announcement of the amnesty, the national attentions were immediately catalyzed over the pontifical capital. The moderates in particular started to elaborate requests and pleas for programs of reforms which, apparently necessary only for the State, could have eventually become functional acts for other agendas, namely the Neo-guelph project. While unofficial informations started to be spread on the Pope's sympathies and knowledge about Gioberti's, Balbo's and d'Azeglio's works¹⁴⁹, the same Pius IX was giving out signals to acknowledge the inner risks of navigating his reforms through *zelanti's* worries while maintaining control over possible radical infiltrations; upon the space left in between, d'Azeglio hoped to establish a line of mutual understanding with the Pontiff.¹⁵⁰ Released therefore a veto which prohibited him to enter the Papal States because of the political allusions contained in *Degli Ultimi casi di Romagna*, marquis

¹⁴⁶ Farini 1853, 1, pp. 98-112.

¹⁴⁷ On D'Azeglio's artistic careers see R. Marshall, *Massimo D'Azeglio: An Artist in Politics, 1798–1866*, Oxford 1966; A. M. Ghisalberti, *Introduzione to Massimo D'Azeglio*, in “Tutte le opere letterarie”, I, Milan 1966; *Massimo d'Azeglio e l'invenzione del paesaggio istoriato*, exhibition catalogue (Turin, Galleria Civica d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea, November 8, 2002 - February 3, 2003), edited by V. Bertone, Turin 2003.

¹⁴⁸ Banti 2001, pp. 50-51

¹⁴⁹ Martina reports and comments an often refrained motive on Pius IX having brought with him from Imola the works Gioberti's *Primato*, Balbo's *Speranze* and D'Azeglio's *Dei casi di Romagna* (Martina 1974, p. 91-92).

¹⁵⁰ Quazza 1954, pp. 16-38.

d'Azeglio arrives in Rome by the half of February with the intent of helping the Pope, who welcomes him in turn with sympathy and consideration.¹⁵¹

Now, the moderate scheme in his national implications had to necessarily face some substantial impediments. Despite the obliging vision behind the idea of transitioning to a more comprehensive institutional organization without having to pass through a long-range revolution, it was nevertheless clear that international relations represented of course an unavoidable issue. The role of Austria after the Congress of Vienna was in that sense extremely problematic: in 1814-1815, other than officialize the absorption of the whole north-east area of Italy (the so-called *Lombardo-Veneto*), Austria had also assumed a guarantee role for Europe's order safety as established after the Congress, a duty broadly intended up to justify a restless control activity over any risks for uprisings during the following decades. The Papal State was in particular object of special cares from Metternich, both because of its meager institutional efficiency recurrently creating discontent in the population and thus agitations - a fact which justified tied relationships between Rome and Vienna in those years¹⁵² - and the strategic value that the borders with Veneto fulfilled thanks to the natural boundary embodied by the *Po* river. Whenever the situation demanded it, Austria had the chance to exercise its right to cross the borders and occupy the strongholds of Ferrara and Comacchio, which guarded the access in the Papal States.¹⁵³ At the light of Pius IX's governance, once the "dangerous" leanings of his reforms will appear clearer to Metternich, Rome's decisional process in its local pertinence had to necessarily cope with international dynamics. To these, it corresponded also a parallel order of issues related to the double nature of Pontifical power: if the anti-Austria sentiments so clearly implied in Gioberti and Balbo's texts¹⁵⁴ came to influence the Pope himself, this would have lead to a paradoxical situation in which the Papal States' monarch was raising arms against a legitimate catholic monarchy, an aggression which the Pope would have had to condemn without hesitation.

¹⁵¹, Roncalli reports on the 20th of February: "Massimo D'Azeglio, noto per i suoi scritti, in specie sugli ultimi avvenimenti di Rimini, trovasi in Roma da qualche giorno. Il santo Padre nella sera dei 14 lo ricevette in udienza particolare" [Massimo D'Azeglio, renown for his writings, especially on the recent happenings of Rimini, is in here since a few days. The Holy Father received him for a private hearing by the evening of the 14th], (Roncalli 1972, p. 244).

¹⁵² Bartoccini 1985, pp. 245-246

¹⁵³ T. Chapman, *The Congress of Vienna. 1814-1815*. New York 1996, p. 47.

¹⁵⁴ F. J. Coppa, *The Origins of the Italian Wars of Independence*. New York 1992, pp.23-26

1.5 - Enacting the Civic Guard

It is hopefully clear that embedded in moderate party's projects and suggestions to Pius IX there were potential leads to international tensions, an evidence which will become even more concrete when it became known by early 1847 that among the possible reforms there were items such as a mitigation of political censorship over press and the allowance for civic militias upon State regulations. Although the government's attitude as a whole and its apparent lack of firmness were probably the aspects which troubled Metternich the most, the enlargement and nationalization of the Civic Guard was likely to be a risky measure in itself. Putting beforehand that with the Guard's decree Austria would judge Pius IX's reform process sufficiently revolutionary as to invade Ferrara two weeks after according to the 1815's clauses, it is worth to follow the process which brought to the approval of such a controversial act.

At the light of previous Civic / National militias recourses, the 1847 facts signs a neat discontinuity. Whereas the measure was usually called upon for the safeguard of post-revolutionary achievements, Pius IX was instead safely at his place. We had seen how already by 1796 Rome rearranged the Guard's functions by tying the call not to a state of right, but to one of subjection, a remarkable evidence once it's underlined again that it was based on voluntary conscription. While that Civic Guard model was recalled and maintained in Rome after the end of Napoleonic age with little more than exterior attributions, the Guard in Bologna during 1829-1831 - approved because of an admitted governmental deficiency - became an engine for insurrectional activism. The solutions eventually attempted in the provinces after the insurrection's end were again ineffective: the recourse to the *Centurioni* and the *Legioni Straniere* proved to be expensive and ill-perceived by the population, and soon minor riots started to happen again. With the celebrations for the amnesty in Bologna by July 1846, street disorders aroused back and brawls, aggressions, killings between the population and professional militias started once again to trouble the city order.¹⁵⁵ Hoping in the

¹⁵⁵ Roncalli 1972, pp. 324-325.

Pope's good intentions, the Bolognese journalist and intellectual Marco Minghetti, a close correspondent to d'Azeglio and front representative for the moderates in the city, started to write dedicated articles on the local journal *Il Felsineo* highlighting the unbearable level of banditry and insecurity reached in those days. Minghetti advocated in the end a return to the Civic Guard which, as Hughes had actually confirmed through an extensive investigation over police archives, proved to be a virtuous precedent in the management of criminality.¹⁵⁶ He thus lead a public subscription open to notable citizens from selected areas for the Guard's reenactment under the command of aristocrats and peers such as the composer Gioacchino Rossini, for instance. The proposal's scope and inspirations were clearly reminiscent of moderate coordinates: other than observing how in those days "honest citizens" were intimidated by urban manifestations, Minghetti exhorted the "good" city to give donations and offer jobs to the recently freed convicted in order to prevent any possible radical recrudescence.¹⁵⁷ Duly noted the subscription's success, Bologna's police chief Curzi allowed these spontaneous militias regardless of the government's approval. Notwithstanding the immediate blame delivered from Rome, the recurrence of security problems and the irreproachable status of the involved citizens could have been hardly put in question. When in fact Minghetti was sent to lead a delegation in Rome in order to convince the Pope,¹⁵⁸ Pius IX resolves to maintain the informal militias - against Secretary of State Pasquale Gizzi' opinion¹⁵⁹ - but without giving any statement or regulation in order the prevent emulations which nevertheless started to occur shortly after in Ferrara, Forlì and Cesena.¹⁶⁰

Now, until at least the half of 1848, it is almost impossible to separate in such fragments any moderate or democratic enterprise, as any sort of reference to Italy as a national entity was passable

¹⁵⁶ Hughes 1993, pp. 126-127.

¹⁵⁷ M. Minghetti, *Prodromo di considerazioni intorno alla circolare dell'Eminentissimo Gizzi in data Agosto 1846*, in "Il Felsineo", addition to n. 37, (18 / 9 /1846), quoted from Francia 1999, p. 13. Job offerings for the Papal States' ex-convicts came from Florence (G. Montanelli, *Memorie sull'Italia e specialmente sulla Toscana dal 1814 al 1850*, I, Turin 1853, p. 26).

¹⁵⁸ M. Minghetti, *I miei ricordi*, Turin 1889, v. I, p. 196; Hughes 1993, p. 159; Berkeley 1936, v. II, pp. 190-214, 356-361.

¹⁵⁹ Letter from Silvani to Minghetti, April 14, 1847, in Minghetti 1888, I, p. 249-251.

¹⁶⁰ Ferrara asks for the Guard from the first days of 1847 (Roncalli 1972, p. 238); Cesena arms a file of Civic Guards without authorizations by January 23rd (Ib. I, p. 241; see also Della Peruta, R. Balzani, *Forlì nel Risorgimento*, in "Storia di Forlì", 4, edited by A. Varni, Forlì 1992, p. 134); Berkeley tells also of a similar attempt in Ancona (Berkeley 1936, 2, p. 190).

to be interpreted as radicalism.¹⁶¹ By examining diplomatic correspondence between Metternich and the Austrian delegate in Rome,¹⁶² count Franz Joseph von Lützow, it has been determined the extent to which international politics was surveilling any move of Pius IX since its very early stages including the movements of people like D'Azeglio, suspected of a willingness to channel the Pope's action and force it towards a national design of Italian scope. In the atmosphere of social harmony and of mutual trust among the various liberal factions in their apparently convergent expectations in Pius IX, those neat distinctions among moderate and democrats were inherently blurry.¹⁶³ At the same time, managing consensus and implicitly defining the line between moderation and its radical potential, represented the pivotal challenge for the first Pius IX: when news on incoming reforms worried Vienna, Lützow was in charge of pressuring an increasingly unsettled Secretary of State Gizzi in order to having him warn the Pontiff; whereas the Pope wasn't able to maintain that popular enthusiasm which his same reformism engendered, the political credibility of his reforms also collapsed and with it the international support which could only balance Austria's interferences. When militias started to be gathered without approval in a strategically crucial area like Ferrara, Vienna's concerns didn't make any difference on whether that act was inspired by moderate or radical purposes; nevertheless, such differences existed. As the radical legacy of the French National Guard was everything but forgotten, the Civic Guard was actually a topic that in recent times was mostly refrained by moderates, both in the Papal States (an explicit plea in this sense was already present in Farini's *Manifesto*¹⁶⁴) and elsewhere in Italy (in *Degli ultimi casi di Romagna* d'Azeglio celebrated the 1831 autarchic period under the efficient control of the "Civic, or National Guard"¹⁶⁵). When the reform process was full steam ahead by the end of February 1847 and the

¹⁶¹ Pius IX writes to Minghetti: "Ella non s'immagina quante difficoltà ci vengono dall'estero. Queste parole d'indipendenza e d'unità d'Italia spaventano i Gabinetti" [You don't imagine how many difficulties are coming to us from abroad. These words of Italian independence and unity frightens the Cabinets], quoted from Quazza 1954, I, p.79.

¹⁶² Romolo Quazza analyzed these materials in depth for these years (see Quazza 1954, pp. 16-17).

¹⁶³ Nasto 1999, pp. 320-321.

¹⁶⁴ Art. 11: "Che sia istituita una guardia cittadina alla quale siano affidati il mantenimento dell'ordine pubblico e la custodia delle leggi" [A town guard shall be instituted to which are entrusted public order and laws' preservation] in Farini 1953, I, p. 126.

¹⁶⁵ "Le Legazioni erano allora governate da prolegati laici. La guardia civica, o nazionale, di nuovo posta in attività, vi manteneva la pubblica pace, in mancanza delle truppe papali, che s'erano sostate alle porte di Romagna" [The *Legazioni* were by then governed by laymen delegation. The civic guard, or national, again enacted, maintained public peace, in the absence of papal troops which were standing by Romagna's door] in M. d'Azeglio, *Degli ultimi casi di Romagna*, Lugano 1846, p. 168.

edict on press had been just approved¹⁶⁶, d'Azeglio was already counseling the Pope since a few weeks and constantly informing Minghetti on his progresses. Judging from their correspondence, it appears therefore that they didn't expect a new delegation from Bologna, mostly made of former convicts freed after the amnesty, being received by the Pope with the purpose of delivering him a flag representing Bologna's city militias; the delegation also asked the Pontiff to preserve it until the day when the Guards would have been present in every city of the State, only by then the flag should have been given to the Civic Guard of Rome as a sign of brotherhood¹⁶⁷. While it seems that the Pope treated the delegation with the outmost kind manners - a trait constantly testified by his visitors - the gift and its symbolic meaning didn't passed unnoticed. Already by March 15th, the *capopopolo* [people's chief] Ciceruacchio had in fact organized one of his typical feasts in order to celebrate Bologna's gift, eventually asking for the 14 wards of Rome to prepare for that day and start weaving their flags¹⁶⁸. As the role and implications of this happening were still unfathomable by those days, D'Azeglio and Minghetti were nevertheless afraid by such "unrequested" pressures against the Pope, if not else because they wanted to maintain moderates' priority by his ear. As will be more clear during during 1848, Roman radicals like Sterbini enjoyed special connections with the crowds thanks to the charisma of *capipopolo* like Ciceruacchio, whose popular leadership was much sought after by both parties, especially during those months. Just a week after the March 15 feast, in fact Sterbini, published an article on "*Il Contemporaneo*" seeking to motivate the amnesty's beneficiaries (like he was) in seeking more and more an active role within society.¹⁶⁹

Losing priority and not forcing the Pope's hand were exactly D'Azeglio's concerns as soon as he learned about Bologna's delegation, "especially now that the Pope seems to agree", as he replied to Minghetti in the very next day: the moderates were still determined to have the decree and without interferences.¹⁷⁰ That Pius IX's was actually supporting the decree, it is instead rather uncertain. Going back to his 1845 *Pensieri*, the Pope-to-be acknowledged the existence of an institutional problem in internal security and the insufficiency of the answers attempted by the government with the *Centurioni*; yet, he never mentions anything resembling a Civic Guard. His mindset about this

¹⁶⁶ In detail on this reform see G. Monsagrati, *Una moderata libertà di stampa (moderata): il Consiglio di censura di Pio IX*, in "Dimensioni e problemi della ricerca storica", 1.1997, Milano 1997, pp. 147-199.

¹⁶⁷ "Il Contemporaneo" reports that the meeting occurred by the evening of Wednesday 23 (*Bandiera di Bologna*, in "Il Contemporaneo", n. 9 (February 27, 1847), p.1). Roncalli, and Quazza who quotes him, states that the meeting happened by Thursday 24 (Quazza 1954, I, p. 48).

¹⁶⁸ Quazza 1954, I, 48-49.

¹⁶⁹ P. Sterbini, *Agli amministratori*, in "Il Contemporaneo", n. 12 (March 27, 1847), p.1.

¹⁷⁰ Letter from D'Azeglio to Minghetti, March 16, 1847, in Minghetti 1888, I, p. 238-239.

gets clearer by a private letter sent to his close confidant Mons. Amat, apostolic delegate in Bologna, right after he received the amnestied's delegation:

*“La Guardia Nazionale non la vedo ammissibile, almeno nel modo come si annunzia, perché io credo che questo mezzo farebbe ridere di fuori e piangere di dentro[...] Le reazioni da una parte, le esagerazioni di teste eminentemente bollenti dall'altra, non possono comprimersi che colla fermezza, la quali si perdé affatto fino dalla estate scorsa. Ora bisogna riacquistarla assolutamente, perché è reclamata da tutti i moderati, anche da quelli che si dicono tali e che forse nol sono totalmente.”*¹⁷¹

[“I don't see the National Guard as admissible, at least in the way it is announced, as I believe that this mean would make laugh on the outside and cry in the inside. [...] The reactions on one side, the exaggerations of eminently boiling heads on the other, they cannot be contained without firmness, which was lost by any means since last summer. Now it needs to be regained, as it is reclaimed by all moderates, even those who are not entirely”].

Probably for the first time, the semantic fluctuations in the “National” of “Civic” characterization of the Guard which was so unstable even in the days of the French Revolution, assumed a specifically recognized significant. The Pope here showed to privately retain consciousness on the evidence that in Bologna a Civic Guard already existed (the “informal militia” demanded by Minghetti) and that the unacceptable Guard which the delegation was pushing for was actually something more, it was a National Guard: a force whose “moderate” inspiration didn't tame the evidence that, by arming the population on a national base, the government would have been amassing military resources regardless of Vienna's warnings. Beside the embarrassment of tolerating such pressures from recently pardoned political dissidents, the Curia also presented some specific administrative impediments, as later forwarded to Minghetti by his associate in Rome, Antonio Silvani:

*“Questi motivi si riducono a tre: che il Governo deve prima ordinare la forza assoldata avanti di creare una Guardia civica; che il Governo deve prima sopprimere o disarmare i volontari, cosa che a suo credere deve farsi lentamente e con prudenza, prima di istituire la Guardia; che il Governo deve aspettare che i partiti siano calmati innanzi di formare una Guardia civica, per non dare le armi in mano a quelli che, essendo nemici fra loro, se ne servirebbero per trucidarsi a vicenda”.*¹⁷²

¹⁷¹ Letter from Pius IX to card. Amat, March 13th, 1847 in *Pio IX. Da Vescovo a Pontefice. Lettere al Card. Luigi Amat (Agosto 1839 - Luglio 1848)*, Modena, 1949 (quoted in Martina 1974, p. 140).

¹⁷² Letter from Silvani to Minghetti, April 20, 1847, in Minghetti 1889, p. 250.

[“These reasons comes down to three: the Government must first settle his paid forces before creating a Civic Guard; the Government must also suppress or disarm the volunteers, something which according to it must be done with time and care before instituting the Guard; that the Government must wait the parties to be calm before arranging a Civic Guard in order not to give out weapons in the hand of those who, being enemies among themselves, would use them to slay each other”.]

While Silvani was closing his report wandering on why insisting in reproaching the Government with such an unappreciated request, Minghetti was also personally receiving a plea from a close confidant of the Pope asking to stop straining the Pope with the Civic Guard idea.¹⁷³ It is therefore surprising to read, only three days after Silvani’s report, a letter from d’Azeglio to Minghetti stating that: “It seems certain that within days the Guard’s decree will be out, which I don’t how will be named, but it does not matter”.¹⁷⁴ As unpredictable as they were, such sudden changes were a typical trait of the Government’s behavior in enacting reforms under the result of multiple pressures. Specifically for the Civic Guard, to the very practical and specific issues initially forwarded by Minghetti during autumn 1846, it corresponded a situation by spring 1847 where the measure was being demanded not only by dubious sources like Bologna’s delegation, but also by strong representatives of the moderate group of opinion such as D’Azeglio and by Rome’s crowds through urban manifestations which by late spring started to be increasingly organized, disciplined, potentially passable of forcing the political agenda. The specific relationship between the moderates and the manifestations throughout the whole period is an aspect which is still awaiting a dedicated scholarship treatment (or rather new sources’ retrieval), especially when it comes to the so-called *Circoli* and their role of political catechization which according to Martina “had in those months an importance and meanings similar to the one carried out in the 90’s in Paris by the clubs”¹⁷⁵. Only much later by 1848 the respective prerogatives of the *Circoli* would come down to a bipartisan counterposition between the *Circolo Romano* and the *Circolo Popolare*, grossly mirroring the larger distinctions between moderates and radicals; but by

¹⁷³ “L’istituzione della Guardia civica (lo confesso sinceramente) è, a mio credere, almeno nel momento, un gran problema che presenta grandi difficoltà tanto intrinsecamente che relativamente; l’esame di questo problema io credo certo che occupi attualmente la mente del Santo Padre” [The Civic Guard’s institution (I sincerely confess this) is, to my belief, at least for the moment, a serious problem which discloses large difficulties both intrinsically and specifically; the examination of this issue, I truly believe, it is currently busying the Holy Father’s mind]; Mons. Bartolomeo Della Porta to M. Minghetti, April 6 1847, answering to a letter sent by Minghetti on first place in Minghetti 1888, I, pp. 244-6.

¹⁷⁴ “Sembra certissimo che a giorni escirà l’editto per la Guardia, che non so che nome avrà, ma poco importa” (Letter from d’Azeglio to Minghetti, April 20, 1847 in Minghetti 1888, I, pp. 252-253).

¹⁷⁵ Martina 1974, p. 135.

spring 1847 these differences were still rather nuanced, as their balance was instead closely watched over. Other than the tensions testified by Pius IX' letter to Amat reported above, Martina quoted a few remarks contained within a series of anonymous and unsorted counsels retrieved in the Vatican Archives, presumably coming from the apostolic delegations throughout the State. Among the others, he found some interesting comments dating back to the struggle for the Guard's institution which clarifies the recognition within the Curia of the existence of radical leanings and their influence already before the reform's approval: "Putting arms in people's hands would mean to put them in the factions' hands, and make them ministers of private passions under the colors of public defense"¹⁷⁶.

In the meanwhile, political temperature started to rise again together with a mounting anti-Austria sentiment, now incited also by moderate press and by the moderate D'Azeglio who by March had started to foster his good contacts with Great Britain's Foreign Secretary, Viscount Palmerston, in order to attract liberal oriented European public opinion over the Italian situation. D'Azeglio had in fact contributed in translating and spreading in Rome a caustic article by the "Times" on the Austrian Empire and Italy which reflected British interests toward Pius IX's early challenges,¹⁷⁷ an interest not devoid of diplomatic implications.¹⁷⁸ Soon these same standpoints started to be endorsed by churchmen like friar Gioacchino Ventura and his "scandalous" preaches full of liberal and anti-Austrian references yet surprisingly endorsed by the Pope himself.¹⁷⁹ After the resounding public demonstration of the 5th and 30th of May which marked unprecedented levels of strength and cohesion for the Roman crowds, by then already largely exceeding police's capabilities,¹⁸⁰ Metternich was safely claiming to see a "revolutionary design"¹⁸¹ behind what was going on in Rome.

¹⁷⁶ Martina 1974, I, p. 140, n. 47.

¹⁷⁷ From a March 23 article published on the "Times" and spread in Rome by April: "Non vi ha il menomo dubbio che il Gabinetto di Vienna smania di prendere il più tenue pretesto per un armato intervento al Sud del Po. Se un tale pretesto non si presenta, non è che troppo probabile che lo si creerà ad arte" [There is not the slightest doubt that Vienna's Cabinet is craving to take the most feeble excuse for an armed intervention in the south of the Po. If such a pretext doesn't present itself, it is of doubts that it will be artificially created], (Quazza, I, p. 124-126). D'Azeglio partially admits its involvement in a letter to Cesare Balbo sent by April 23, 1847, in *Massimo d'Azeglio Epistolario (1819-1866)*, edited by G. Virlogeux, III, Turin 1992, p. 314.

¹⁷⁸ On this relationship see J. P. Flint, *Great Britain and the Holy See: The Diplomatic Relations Question, 1846-1852*. Washington 2003, pp. 17-92 in particular.

¹⁷⁹ R. Quazza, *Gioacchino Ventura nel 1847 a Roma secondo il carteggio di Domenico Pareto*, in "Bollettino storico-bibliografico subalpino", 50 (1952), pp. 97-129, 109-114 in the specific.

¹⁸⁰ Roncalli 1942, pp. 330-331.

¹⁸¹ Quazza 1954, I, 131.

The outmost peak of tension was testified by June 22nd, when the Secretary of State Gizzi emanated a note in which, after underlining the value of the reforms approved already, he begged to give up any kind of pressure over the Pontiff and to end furthering popular demonstrations.¹⁸² In the week before, alongside Austria's increasingly explicit warnings, the crowds of Rome coordinated by Ciceruacchio and inspired by the Circles' propaganda had reached their peak during the celebrations for the Pope's election anniversary, on June 16. By fostering the recurrence's circumstances, celebrations included a solemn presentation to the "old" Civic Guard of Rome of the flag brought by Bologna's delegation on March, an act which should have happened *after* the Pope had approved the Guard upon national regulation and which in that form embodied instead an evident attempt of constraint against the Government, exactly the kind of excesses to which Gizzi was protesting against by June 22. Right after the celebrations, as it became clear that police was not able anymore to cope with the crowd, representatives from some of the main Roman noble families such as Borghese and Massimo faced the Pope with the fact the Guard's enlargement could not be postponed anymore¹⁸³. After publicly disavowing the distinction of powers which in Rome, inexistent in legal essence, was at least traditionally saved in form, Pius IX ultimately humiliated Gizzi by approving the Civic Guard despite his concerns. With the signature of the decree, Gizzi performed his last act as Secretary of State before resigning, as his politic credibility was by then fatally overshadowed by the Pope's actions. Other than vehemently reacting and underlining that Austria's retaliation was going to be a certain consequence, Gizzi was once again circumvented by the inclusion of a clause which anticipated the decree's extension to the whole State, factually rendering it a National Guard but with a different name.

1.6 - Regulations and Conclusions

¹⁸² Martina 1974, p. 141.

¹⁸³ Roncalli 1972, pp. 342-344; M. Marocco, *Storia di Papa Pio IX*, Torino 1856, p. 483.

Throughout this detour within Pius IX's first year as a Pope, we attempted to trace a line which could help defining what brought to the adoption of such an evidently problematic measure such as the Civic Guard. At the light of the outcomes, a more appropriate term should be "suggesting", rather than defining. Available sources metabolized and "approved" by a long-standing scholarship, presents in fact contradictory evidences whose sum renders Pius IX's decisional process so unsystematic, unpredictable and negotiated that a precise reason or scope behind the Civic Guard's decree, even if retrieved, would hardly predict considerations on its effects over the reform's object, namely the Guards-to-be. Similar traits have been already underlined in regards to other reforms of the period: the press liberalization, the institution of the State Counsel and the Municipality of Rome might appear either "conquers" or "concessions" depending on the perspective of the moderates, of Austrian diplomacy or Bologna's delegation, of the political circles or the *capipopolo*. The general inspiring motives behind the necessity of a Civic Guard were in fact introduced by the moderate group, both in cultural inspiration and in Bologna's specific contingencies which sparked the debate. Soon, however, the same theme was reframed by Bologna's autonomous delegation on March which presented the Pope with a demand for a reform of "national" scope, substantially prevaricating that exclusive relationship with him which the moderates were so hardly trying to establish. Naturalized in a Rome already largely ignited in political terms by the Circles and the *capipopolo*, the problem assumed a spectrum wide enough to alarm Austria and the Secretary of State until the Pope himself was not anymore able to cope with all these simultaneously. While only new studies or sources could help in defining with increasing preciseness the value of those micro-transactions with which the various "parties" confronted each other on these issues, two evidences reemerges instead with sufficient clarity and coherence inside established scholarly frameworks: 1) the radical and unpredictable novelty brought by Pius IX's election which brings the whole social and cultural life of the city to be configured upon new parameters that were anyhow latently present, according to the afore mentioned interpretation by Giuseppe Spada; 2) the fresh livingness brought again by the new Pope's election in the mechanisms of political participation which, by counteraction, also ignites a new dynamism in the reaction areas, answered in turn by increased boldness from the activists and the crowd. It is mostly the dialectics between these elements that have forced the executive to bend and concede a measure which didn't respond in itself to any institutional plan by Pius IX before and after his election¹⁸⁴. It is at the light of this

¹⁸⁴ Still in April 1849, Pius IX was the measure was adopted without cautions and proper control. See S. Sordi, *Allocuzione di Nostro Signore Papa Pio IX del 20 Aprile 1849*, Rome 1850, p. 7 (available online at <https://archive.org/details/allocuzionedinos00sord> ; accessed April 2015).

long-run evidence that, by registering the ways in which the presumably imperturbable Roman society was pushed to an unprecedented call for civic and military mobilization, it is also possible to identify new interpretative keys on the social transformations happening in the city across and beyond 1848's revolutions. In this perspective, the Roman revolution can be interpreted as the progressive break in the city walls of all those demons coming from the "outside" alongside secularized modernity; or simpler, as the apparently unavoidable irruption of the Risorgimento in Rome on a large scale, an "intersection" within existing social dynamics on which the Civic Guard's "lists", which Koelman thought to be lost, offers a special point of view.

The last piece of information that needs to be clarified before concentrating on the actual Civic Guards - and specifically on the artists within it - is that of the regulations, published in a short version by 5th of July¹⁸⁵ only for the capital and in extended form for the provinces by the 30th¹⁸⁶. In general terms, the cautious circumstances around the Guard's decree are reflected in the access criteria which, as the French National Guard precedent recalls, represented the central area of conflict for radical's demands and moderate's fears. As Silvani wrote to Minghetti just two days before the decree's issuing, the latter's prevailed:

Corrono le voci più assurde sulla composizione di quella guardia, ma io ho visto la minuta del decreto già approvata a voce, e se non viene alterata è soddisfacente. Compongono la Guardia tutti i capi di famiglia insieme ai loro figli che abbiano compiuti gli anni 21, e non eccedano gli anni 60. I possidenti, i negozianti, gli esercenti professioni ed arti liberali, i capi esercenti un mestiere ed un'arte fanno parte della Guardia. Sono esenti i giornalieri, i domestici, ecc.. [sic]. Sono esclusi quelli che sono di cattiva condotta. ¹⁸⁷

[Are running the most absurd voices on that guard's composition, but I have seen the draft decree already approved by voice, and if its not altered, it is satisfying. The Guard is composed by all the family chiefs and their sons which had reached 21 years and not exceeding 60. Landowners, shopkeepers, those exerting liberal professions and arts, the chiefs exerting a craft or an art, they all belong to the Guard. Are exempt daily workers, domestics, ecc.. [sic] Are excluded those of bad conduct.]

In art. 3 is in fact explicitly declared that "belongs to the Civic" the "Landowners, owners, shopkeepers, industrial chiefs," including "those who exercise scientific or liberal professions,

¹⁸⁵ P. Gizzi, *Notificazione 5 luglio 1847*, Rome 1847.

¹⁸⁶ G. Ferretti, *Regolamento per la Guardia Civica nello Stato Pontificio*, Rome 1847 [In the following analysis I will refer to this one].

¹⁸⁷ Minghetti 1888, I, pp. 269-270.

employees, artisans" (art. 4), as well as their sons. Were in turn excluded "persons of servile status, laborers and daily workers, and land tenants in the provinces" (art. 10) plus "those who exercise sordid or abject jobs" (art. 12). By 1847, the perspective adopted here and the subsequent consequences were immediately clear and coherent with the rise of the moderate liberal ideology across Europe after the July Monarchy. As Mazzini underlined right after July 5th:

*Temo che ci facciano della Guardia civica il pendant di quella di Francia dopo il 1830: la bourgeoisie organisée contro l'émeute.*¹⁸⁸

[I am afraid that the Guard will be the replica of the French after 1830: the bourgeoisie against the insurrection].

It is nevertheless striking to notice a persistence of old, specifically "Roman" criteria. By maintaining almost without changes the 1796' Civic Guard access barriers, these appears like an element of friction within Pius IX's apparent liberal agenda: the right to enter the Guard, and thus active citizenship, was again based on a fixed status, that of profession, just like their duty were not aimed at a "national" presence of the community:

La formazione della Guardia Civica, [...] ha per istituto difendere il suo legittimo Sovrano, mantenere l'obbedienza alla leggi, e conservare, o ristabilire l'ordine e la pubblica tranquillità, coadiuvando, ove faccia d'uopo, le milizie attive dello Stato.[art.1]

[The Civic Guard's formation [...] is instituted to defend its legitimate Sovereign, maintain law's obedience, and conserve or reestablish order and public tranquillity, assisting, where necessary, the active militias of the State.]

Safekeeping, order, respect of the law, but with the priority of defending the legitimate and individually defined Sovereign: no obligations are explicitly attributed to the Guards towards collectivity, except for control.

Similar motives seems to have inspired most of the articles. Religious and thus morality check was for instance relying upon the parish control within the districts, a centuries old custom which was

¹⁸⁸ G. Mazzini, *Scritti editi ed inediti*, 32, Imola 1921, p. 220, quoted from Conti 1999, pp. 229-230.

also traditionally fostered by the Government in order to give informations to the police and provide a rudimental tool for demography detection.¹⁸⁹ To that strict moral code remanded as well a definition which would have been consistent with the age of Leo XII and Gregory XVI:

“Excluded are those who cannot document an unimpeachable public and private conduct, and especially those stained by ignominious prejudices” (art. 13).

Nevertheless, in the Regulations one often encounters items that in hindsight appears quite ambivalent of even contradictory if compared to 1796. One is the election of officers. If the election of the General Staff members was reserved to the Pope upon a list of three names - the so-called system of the *terne* - forwarded by the Chief General, the remaining higher ranks within the armies were elected by the officers upon *terne* proposed by all militants. This system, which was even called, perhaps with some excess, an “exercise in democracy”,¹⁹⁰ allowed anyhow some space for individual guards’ agency. As long as these were aligned with the executive’s ideology, this was no problem, but what if a radical was hiding under the respectful clothes of a doctor, a lawyer or a sculptor and this managed to be elected lieutenant and be in the position of commanding armed squads of Civic Guards empowered by jurisdiction? Another interstice can be found within the possibility of switching service with a relative: what if a democrat or a *sanfedista* somehow obtained the uniform and faked himself as a guard? This rule was also somehow a dispensation over art. 6, which demanded service to be “personal and mandatory”. The regulations even included an explicit request of maintaining a flag for every district (art. 23): wasn’t it dangerous to mention this after those civic flags exchanged between Rome and Bologna became already unforeseen protagonists of the massive popular manifestations which justified Gizzi’s warning of the June 22 Notification?

The most risky articles, as the 1848’s facts will prove, were however those dedicated to the “mobilization” clause (art. 16, clause 2: “extraordinary service within the territory”). Introduced probably under the pressure of Minghetti and Silvani who asked for a tool allowing to hunt bandits in the Bolognese countries, the mobilization clause could have easily become a call for defensive war, an increasingly real evidence once we figure out that by demanding the civic service as “mandatory”, by increasing the age limit from 50 (1796 regulations) to 60 years and by including also the eligible’s sons and the “strangers resident” (art. 1), once fully prepared in 1848, the Civic

¹⁸⁹ Friz 1974, pp. 34-46. In general on Papal States’ statistics S. Patriarca, *Number and Nationhood. Writing Statistics in Nineteenth-Century Italy*, Cambridge 1996, pp. 130-146.

¹⁹⁰ Quazza 1954, p. 123; Francia 1999, pp. 23-25.

Guard in Rome alone will feature almost 14.000 thousands men of which more than 9.500 were effectives. This was a dangerously big number for a “moderate” control police.

The possibilities for escalations were clearly not immanent in the Regulations, which as we said were actually strict in bounding the Guards to existing concepts of citizenship and thus hoping to leave outside any radical intrusion. But after having specifically recognized this evidence, Mazzini said nevertheless to feel “happy”¹⁹¹ about the concession, as Metternich was instead everything but the same¹⁹². For the moment, Pius IX had regained popular favor in Rome¹⁹³, whilst his delegates were taking efforts in order not to prevent the appearances of the pope as being an “hostage” of the capital’s excitors¹⁹⁴. In the meanwhile, wide popular manifestations demanding the Civic Guard started to occur throughout Tuscany right after the decree was announced in Rome.

The extent to which the energies ignited in Rome by 1847 possessed an innerly genetic capability in transcending order, might be easily observed through the facts which followed shortly the Guard’s decree in the city. By that date, the institutional engine was in that sense just activated and thus the Civic Guards would have been thoroughly enacted only after necessary - presumably long - formalities. After Gizzi’s resignation, it followed a period of interregnum of some weeks in the waiting for the next Secretary of State, Card. Ferretti, to take charge. In the uplifted atmosphere of those days, the Roman crowds were preparing for the amnesty’s anniversary by July 17, a deeply symbolic event for that majority of the population which stood behind the Pope since the beginnings. To the interregnum and the heated atmosphere of those days corresponded new fluxes of visitors in the city arrived on purpose for the celebrations and among which were noticed people

¹⁹¹ Conti 1999, p. 230.

¹⁹² Quazza, II, pp. 125-127.

¹⁹³ By July 13, Giovanni Corboli Bussi was writing to his grandfather that with the Civic Guard’s concession, “rassicurando le classi che hanno qualche cosa da perdere, dal cieco impeto della plebe, ha fatto ricuperare al Pontefice quell’aura che una settimana addietro quasi quasi taceva, ovvero soffiava minacciosamente dagli angoli più impure della città” [by reassuring those classes which have something to lose from the blind heat of the mob, the Pontiff regained that aura which a week ago almost faded, namely was threateningly blowing from the most impure corners of the city], (A. Manno, *L’opinione religiosa e conservatrice dal 1830 al 1850, ricercata nelle corrispondenze e confidenze di Monsignor Giovanni Corboli Bussi*, in *Biblioteca di Storia Italia recente (1800-1870)*, III, Turin 1910, p. 138, quoted from Demarco 1947, pp. 33-35).

¹⁹⁴ Corboli Bussi in an undated dispatch for Pius IX: “Mostrai che Vostra Santità non aveva mai ceduto, ma prevenuto sempre nel dare riforme. Dissi che la Guardia civica Vostra Santità l’aveva ritardata, quando la dimandavano i demagoghi; l’aveva data, quando la dimandava l’aristocrazia, impaurita dal comunismo, e il partito moderato impaurito dalle pazzie dei liberali estremi” [I displayed that Your Holiness had retarded it when the demagogues asked for the measure; he accorded it when the aristocracy was demanding it, afraid of communism, and the moderate party frightened by the insanities of the extreme liberals], (A. Ballerini, *Pio IX e Carlo Alberto*, in *“La Civiltà cattolica”*, anno XIII, serie X, v. X, quaderno 694, 17 maggio 1879, p. 395).

from the provinces going around the city in groups with a “suspicious attitude”, some even recognized as “notorious” faces.¹⁹⁵

Two days before the celebration, on the walls of Rome appeared a poster bearing the title “*Tragedia Popolare*” [Popular tragedy]. It followed a list of names including some individuals known as members of the secret police or more in general of the reaction’s party, the most striking being the Governor of Rome, Mons. Gaspare Grassellini, and Gregory XVI’s Secretary of State, Mons. Luigi Lambruschini. These were attributed with a conjure attempt which was supposed to be concretized during the upcoming celebrations. The alleged plan was to infiltrate conspirers in disguise throughout the crowd and, by the right time, make some casual killings only to have the guilt fall on liberals, but also indirectly on Pius IX who “incited” them on first place since his nominee. The aftermaths of what remained known as the *Grande Congiura* persisted for a long time with arrests, retaliations, chases and some extended trials still fully ongoing after the end of the Republic in which counter-accuses claimed the whole fact to be strategically fabricated by some undetected radical hand. Leaving the conjure and its copious related literature aside (some even envisioned an Austrian interference aimed at fabricating circumstances for a *casus belli*)¹⁹⁶ those circumstances were never specifically attributed, as clear were instead its implications. By the same July 15, prince Borghese and prince Massimo approached again the Pope and begged him to immediately arm the Civic Guard to allow its operations in the city as soon as possible. The risk for security was definitely real: by charging Mons. Grassellini and the police captain Alai, namely the heads of the official security hierarchy, it was being created a total institutional deficit, a situation even more dangerous once it is reminded that there momentarily was no Secretary of State, and such periods of vacancy were also traditional moments of increased crimes and instability.¹⁹⁷ Therefore, the Pope was once again forced to agree with Massimo and Borghese, and already by that very same evening the new Civic Guards were patrolling the streets by the number of thousands. After only two days, Austria was instead deliberately occupying the stronghold of Ferrara: the first military step leading to the First Italian War of Independence in 1848.

¹⁹⁵ Roncalli 1972, p. 298.

¹⁹⁶ Quazza 1954, II, p. 232.

¹⁹⁷ For precedents alike see Laurie Nussdorfer, “The Vacant See: Ritual and Proteste in Early Modern Rome”, *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Summer 1987, pp. 173-189.

CHAPTER II

The artistic scene and the Civic data

2.1 - Artists, bourgeoisie and the mobilization

The social mobilization ignited by Pius IX's election and of which the Civic Guard stands among the foremost, visibly transversal product, exercised its pressure upon contexts that already had a sharply defined identity, deposited over some complex stratifications of customs and mechanisms that thrived in the absence of such inclusive push. The very same act of subscribing to the Guard could have hardly retained the same implications for individuals whose personal resources and proximity to power varied dramatically from case to case. Alongside these continuous calls for new forms of participation which filtered through the figure of Pius IX, it is a legit question to wonder which role the artists were supposed to play: in the opening of society towards forms of active participation, the artistic professions were considered to belong or not? Were artists consciously represented by society and power, or even self perceived from within as that part of citizenship

which, beside doctors, lawyers, teachers, intellectuals, lacked an active presence in the State's life? And if the purpose of enacting a Civic Guard was to account the defense of a newly acquired political state to its same recipients, the artists had more things to defend or to claim for? In other words, were the artists of Rome in 1847 possibly be recognizable as bourgeoisie whose very same class positioning also justified their actions alongside the mobilization? A primary ambition of this study is exactly to provide new materials to address these questions.

In this chapter, we will start by watching for collective evidences and quantitative data in the Civic Guard registers which should help in grounding the flickering and transformative social placement of Roman professionals in the arts. The possibility of conducting such enquiries is in fact provided by the practical circumstances of the files' compiling: during the enrollment, an aspiring Civic Guard had to provide informations on his parents' names, the year and the place of his birth, his profession, his religion, his physical measures, the address of his residence in Rome. At the light of the particular social clustering that the government was operating over the population in order to secure the Guard's ranks from infiltrations of undesired social strata, this data overall represents the closest thing to a "golden book" of Roman middle-to-upper class by 1847. Moreover, beside such pieces of informations which defined the Guards in their "Civic life" other than and before the specific armed service, the registers were also updated according to the latter's internal dynamics, namely the date of entry, the progresses achieved in the ranks' hierarchy, eventual notices of meritorious actions or disciplinary sanctions, cessation of service and updates on personal data. It is thus a direct corollary that at the various stages of the intersection between these two orders of informations, lies the very core of political agency by the Roman bourgeoisie and aristocracy throughout the various phases of the mobilization; therefore, the registers' contents may also put at use as a precious point of view over the involvement and the impact that the events of the Roman Revolution had on professionals in the arts sector.

Before introducing the registers' findings, it is however necessary to attempt a more grounded structuring of the artistic scene and of its more or less present bourgeois identity. We had seen in fact how a careless application of the term "bourgeoisie" for this context is in general less than advisable¹⁹⁸ and this for a number of reasons among which stands out economic factors. In a city like Rome which marveled travelers for the presence of crops inside the city walls, agriculture still

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occupied the largest share of productivity,¹⁹⁹ and even in such area, deployment was hindered by the persistence of legislative walls such as of the *Fedecompresso*, (the inheritance of properties from father to son) and the *Manomorta* (large territorial and architectural assets that the clergy owned and retained through bequest).²⁰⁰ Ideological boundaries against innovations in this area prevented not only updates of regulations and space for social creativity, but even the merest signs of progress in the organization of production, not to talk about advancing from physiocratic positions. Universities were in fact heavily centralized institutions and teachers were all coming from ecclesiastical environments.²⁰¹ In addition, technology was mostly seen with transversal suspicion that reached also the lowest popular strifes, often uprising whenever new machines were implemented in traditional factories.²⁰² If these evidences were already major preventions against any space of entrepreneurial agency in commerce and production, one has also to consider the instability of State finances,²⁰³ the absence of efficient credit institutions and finally the enormous fees for exportation which in fact pushed illegal practices to large degrees.²⁰⁴ The vertical hierarchy of State organization was much felt in any aspect where the private had to cooperate with the state, so that to closer relationships with power corresponded a number of exclusive privileges that precluded competitive environments; in turn, social mobility was an absolutely rare occurrence.

¹⁹⁹ M. Caffiero, *L'agricoltura nello Stato pontificio*, in "Lo Stato e l'economia", 1: "L'agricoltura (1815-1848)", edited by I. Zilli, Naples 1997, pp. 137-161.

²⁰⁰ Demarco 1940, pp. 220-230; Caracciolo 1980, pp. 45-56. The *Fedecompresso* also had a crucial role in shaping family art collections throughout the centuries (see Palastrelli G., "Con proibizione di alienare". *Il fedecompresso e la conservazione delle opere d'arte in Italia dal XVII al XIX secolo*. Rome, 2015).

²⁰¹ With the Papal seal *Quod divina Sapientia* of 18 August 1824, Leo XII erased any level of independency for universities and accounted every related decision to central Congregations. See Gemelli A., Vismara, S., *La riforma degli studi universitari negli Stati pontifici*, Milan 1933; Bidolli A. P., *Contributo alla storia dell'Università degli studi di Roma La Sapienza durante la Restaurazione*, in "Annali della Scuola speciale per Archivisti e Bibliotecari", 19-20 (1979-1980), pp. 71-110; Brambilla E., *Università, scuole e professioni in Italia dal primo '700 alla Restaurazione: dalla costituzione per "ordini" alle borghesie ottocentesche*, in "Annali dell'Istituto storico italo-germanico in Trento", 23 (1997), pp. 153-208.

²⁰² In general on the industrial developments of the Papal States see Travaglini C. M., *Lo Stato pontificio e l'industria*, in "Lo stato e l'economia tra Restaurazione e Rivoluzione", edited by Zilli I., 2, "L'industria, la finanza e i servizi (1815-1848)", Naples 1997, pp. 51-60. A classic sample of such attitude may be seized by following the debate against the introduction of railroads in the Papal States (see Negri, P., *Le ferrovie nello Stato Pontificio (1844-1870)*, in "Archivio economico dell'unificazione italiana", 1-10 (1967), pp. 16-21; M. Panconesi, *Le Ferrovie di Pio IX. Nascita, sviluppo e tramonto delle strade ferrate dello Stato Pontificio (1846-1870)*, Cortona, 2005).

²⁰³ Colzi, F., *La finanza capitolina nell'età della Restaurazione*, in "Roma fra la restaurazione e l'elezione di Pio IX. Amministrazione, economica, società e cultura", edited by Bonella A. L., Pompeo A., Venzo M. I., Rome, Freiburg, Wien, 1997, pp. 451-476; R. D'Errico, *Una gestione bancaria ottocentesca. La cassa di risparmio di Roma dal 1836 al 1890*, Naples, 1999-2000.

²⁰⁴ Demarco 1945, pp. 123-124, Bartoccini 1985, pp. 25-40.

Nevertheless, the term “*borghesi*” was actually abused in everyday’s language: we encountered this frequently throughout the previous chapter in the words of non-Romans like Massimo D’Azeglio rather than Luigi Carlo Farini or Marco Minghetti, but the term was also abundantly endorsed by publicists and journals which flourished after the press edict of March 15, 1847,²⁰⁵ as also by encyclopedic compilers.²⁰⁶ This at least implies that the term was not only intended for political ends, but also used upon the recognition of the evidence that some kind of bourgeoisie existed in everyday life. An orthodox marxist approach would probably start by underlining that if bourgeoisie was perceived it was because perceived was the impossibility of accessing means of production, so active participation was consequently framed as the main problem at stake in the fashion of what moderates have been trying to draw attention upon after the riots of 1830-1831. Not in the position of accessing capital, the aspiring bourgeoisie would have had to fight its space over older social structures and start to gather as a spread social class exactly because of the common root of the problem. Was this the actual case in Rome, or Farini and the other moderate intellectuals were mostly speaking for themselves? Domenico Demarco approached a similar strategy in order to contextualize a recurrent breeze of riots happening by 1848 which included what he generally addressed as “*artisti*”, a term however often endorsed with ambiguous semantic pertinence by politics and public opinion. Indeed, the “*artista*” was spanning from the most respected, praised and rich painter, sculptor or architect, to the less socially recognized professionals in the so-called “minor” or “applied” arts (engravers, gold and silver smiths, mosaicists, woodcarvers...), and finally even for factory or yard workers such as the wool weavers which were rioting by 1848.²⁰⁷ Definitions such as “*artisti di Belle Arti*” [Fine Arts artists] rather than “*artieri*” [artisans] were of course endorsed whenever accuracy was strictly necessary, but yet “*artisti*” was by far an overused label.²⁰⁸ In Demarco’s framework the wool workers “*artisti*” were for instance rioting because they were among those “low” social areas which suffered governmental and economical deficiencies. Whereas these were disadvantaged because of social conflicts, unemployment and marginalization,

²⁰⁵ See also Spada 1863, 1, p. 289.

²⁰⁶ Moroni refers to the term within a variety of situations and applications which generally lingers around the implications of citizenship and urban belonging. See G. Moroni, *Indice generale alfabetico delle materie del Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, 2, Venice 1878, p. 257.

²⁰⁷ “*A Roma la rivoluzione di piazza era stata fin da principio, e continuò ad essere nei mesi successivi, opera di operai o di minuti artigiani - muratori, scalpellini, pescivendoli, carrettieri, sarti, calzolari, falegnami, facchini, chiavari, fruttivendoli, ecc. -, a cui si aggiunsero molti possidenti, qualche negoziante, qualche impiegato, qualche studente, qualche letterato, ecc.*” (Demarco 1945, p. 302).

²⁰⁸ See M. and R. Wittkower, *Born Under Saturn: the character and the conduct of Artists*, London, 1963 [italian edition, Turin 1996], pp. 10-26.

Fine Arts professionals suffered instead from the crisis of the Grand Tour economy, the hardships of coping with taxes and maintaining a shop in the most visible areas of the city, from state inefficiency and the general decrease of consumes which stroke hard local aristocracy after the French occupation. All the same, the capital ownership of an highly trained, shop-owner wood-carver was rather different from the one of daily workers which were employed by hundreds in public and private yards.²⁰⁹

These distinctions were of course directly mirrored within the Civic Guard: it is relevant, for instance, to underline that were exactly the Civic guards those who went after the aforementioned wool workers rioters in order to tame them in April 1848.²¹⁰ It's worth in fact to remind that the risks behind deployment of military resources that the Civic Guard was subscribing to by its enactment, were regarded by the progressive wing of the Holy See as not dangerous exactly because of the recognition of a capital whose preservation intimidated anti-governmental agency: in the government's regards, a trustworthy citizen would have always subscribed for active sake-keeping and moderation because he had something to defend, some kind of ownership which was granted by the given order of things and outside of which it would have been lost.²¹¹

But where and what was this capital for the Roman artists? As a case in point, economic assets (or their lack) were of course a much relevant dynamic for any category of professional artist. Just like owning a luxurious shop on the Corso or Piazza di Spagna would have drastically improved the commercial opportunities of a goldsmith, the most praised sculptors such as Antonio Canova or later Bertel Thorvaldsen invested tremendous amounts of money in the establishment of unprecedentedly big ateliers which covered several necessities: presenting an attractive environment which had to suit interested visits by nobles, princes and even the Pope himself; holding enough space for showcasing to these visitors all the plaster reproductions of the statues which the studio, like a sort of portfolio, was able to translate in marble; finally, managing all the several co-workers, helps and employees which the masters included in order to satisfy the copious commissions that those very famous ateliers could produce under the signature of the eponymous sculptor. Such

²⁰⁹ M. Fatica, *Gli operai dei lavori pubblici romani tra rivoluzione e restaurazione (1848-1850)*, in "Studi Romani", 24-4 (1976), pp. 484-499.

²¹⁰ The fact is mentioned in N. Roncalli, *Cronaca di Roma. 1844-1870*, edited by M. L. Trebiliani, 1. Rome 1972, p. 281; and in *Diario del Principe Don Agostino Chigi dal 1830 al 1855 preceduto da un saggio di curiosità storiche raccolte da Cesare Fraschetti intorno la vita e la società romana del primo trentennio del XIX secolo*, 2. Tolentino 1906, p. 26.

²¹¹ After the invasion of Ferrara Agatone De Luca Tronchet, a lawyer well introduced into the governmental environments of the Northern Pontifical States, explicitly underlines that the Civic Guard's access shall have been limited to "*individui aventi riputazione e beni da perdere*" (A. De Luca Tronchet, *Sulla occupazione di Ferrara*, Loreto 1847, p. 26).

leanings towards complex models of production are often identified as direct precedents for industrial production in the age of design,²¹² implying thus that Canova's establishment also owned human capital in the form of unspecialized workers up to his closest pupils which not only were as highly trained as to reach a craftsmanship worth of their master's "brand"; they were also able to bring on this legacy as a value throughout any further enterprise: still by the years of our scope, former Canova's pupils such as Adamo Tadolini, Rinaldo Rinaldi or Carlo Finelli were in fact largely spending the traineeship with their master as a distinctive feature of their production.²¹³ This suggests that it wasn't only the straight economic and human capital owned by Antonio Canova as his atelier's head which defined the class positioning of professionals in the arts. Much more transversally relevant was instead the range of assets which may be seized within Pierre Bourdieu's concept of "cultural capital"²¹⁴: knowledge, education and capabilities which were "embodied", "objectified" and "institutionalized" according to dynamics peculiar to the Roman scene, a "field" which by 1846 was going through some deep transformations. Such a capital rested much more on social recognition than actual class membership: if owning land and producing goods may be a more or less objective criteria of measuring production's ownership, the value of art objects and of its creators' work is dependent on material circumstances only to a limited extent. This implies that in order to detect how bourgeoisie or not were Roman artists by 1847, we should not merely look to their economic wealth or anything else which could be economically determined and quantitatively expressed, but also to their prestige, to the level of recognition acknowledged by insiders and outsiders of the artistic environment and by central power: namely, an artist's status. Precisely in the attempt of going beyond Marx's steady notions of class, in his essay "Class, Status, Party" Max Weber underlined how interests and the power to pursue them flow not only from one's class position, but also from one's position in the status hierarchy.²¹⁵ This is a major dynamic in

²¹² Honour, H. *Canova's Studio Practice - II: 1792-1822*, in "The Burlington Magazine", 114-829 (April 1972), pp. 214-229; Benocci C., *Un documento inedito sullo studio di Antonio Canova*, in "Alma Roma", 31 (1990), pp. 115-119; Tesan H. C., *Deutsche Bildhauer bei Thorvaldsen in Rom*, in "Künstlerleben in Rom. Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770-1844). Der dänische Bildhauer und seine deutschen Freunde", exhibition catalogue (Germanisches Nationalmuseum, December 1, 1991 - March 1, 1992, Nürnberg; Schleswig-Holsteinisches Landemuseum Schloß Gottorf, 22 March - 21 June 1992, Schleswig), edited by Peters U., Nürnberg 1991, pp. 259-278.

²¹³ Precious in this sense are the biographic accounts of his pupils like D'Este Alessandro, *Memorie di Antonio Canova scritte da Antonio D'Este*, Florence 1864; Tadolini G., *Ricordi autobiografici di Adamo Tadolini scultore*, Rom 1900. See also the happenings relative to Canova's funerary monuments in Fehl P. H., *Canova's Tomb and the Cult of Genius*, in "Labyrinthos", 1-2 (1982), pp. 46-66. On Rinaldi see Lilli M. S., *Rinaldo Rinaldi*, in "Antologia di Belle Arti", 13-14 (1980), p. 97.

²¹⁴ Bourdieu, P., *Distinction: A Sociological Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, Cambridge 1984.

²¹⁵ Weber M., *Class, Status, Party*, 1922 [english edition published in "Economy and Society: an outline of interpretive sociology"], New York, 1968, pp. 927-935].

order to study artistic scenes in general and 19th century in Rome in particular, as the very same recognition of being a Roman artist was already implying a status definition that represented an internationally recognized currency. The seek of this status pushed individuals to live in the city and comply with local, non-artistic social groups and structures - or leave their native ones, in the case of foreign artists - in order to obtain the means to be identified as a “Roman artist” or “an artist trained in Rome”.

Another dimension which we will carefully looking upon in the definition of artistic capitals is that of its scene, a term that I already mentioned in this introduction but that in this work is analytically endorsed in regards to elements of the “cultural scene” framework provided by the sociologist Andy Bennett.²¹⁶ First introduced as a way to counteract and go beyond fixed definitions of cultural interaction in late modernity such as “subcultures”, “industries of culture”, as also the same implicative concept of “social classes”,²¹⁷ a cultural scene “can be defined as an over-productive signifying community; that is, far more semiotic information is produced than can be rationally passed”²¹⁸. Alongside this semiotic abundance, scenes thrive and organize themselves as crucial places of meaning creation, thus engendering motivations behind actions.

Scenes differs from the general concept of community by associating the geographical context with specific practices and individuals as seen in their public but also private performances, thus preserving their ambiguity and creating ground for their deconstruction. As explained in this work’s introduction,²¹⁹ sociological concepts are here endorsed not as implicative models, but rather as operative frameworks to define apt questions over a specific field (in this case, the “bourgeois” evolution of the Roman artists). However, the adaption of the whole “cultural scene” concept in 19th century Rome would have to take several steps of translation whose value may turn in the end to be questionable. One would for instance question what should be the point of detecting agency in cultural consumption within a pre-modern society for which any methodology aimed at addressing production and reception of texts should first go through some hardly measurable differentiations (i.e.: alphabetization, technology, empowerment, accessibility...) according to chronological-

²¹⁶ Peterson R. A., Bennett A., *Introducing the scenes perspective*, in Bennett A., Peterson R.A., “Music Scenes: Local, Trans-Local and Virtual”. Nashville, 2004, with further bibliography.

²¹⁷ Bennett, A., *Subcultures or neo-tribes? Rethinking the relationship between youth, style and musical taste*, in “Sociology”, 33 (March,1999), pp. 599–617. For “subcultures” see Hebdige D., “*Subculture: The Meaning of Style*”, London, 1979.

²¹⁸ Shank B., *Dissonant Identities: The Rock ‘n’ Roll Scene in Austin, Texas*. Hanover, 1994.

²¹⁹ To be written.

spatial settings that during the whole century goes through some constant but non-linear processes of transformation.

Nevertheless, some selected aspects of Bennet's theory are more easily importable in our analysis, especially if they address dynamics affecting artistic capital. One is the analysis of what he defined as "scenic infrastructures", namely the circumstances that let members interact and through which informations and texts flows. If for a scholar of music scenes in the age of globalization like Keith Kahn-Harris²²⁰ a scenic infrastructure is determined by assets like specialistic reviews, concert halls, dedicated clubs and other institutions which helps in conveying the discursive identity around which individuals interact with the scene according to its specific dynamics, we may easily understand that the artistic scene of Rome did also function around discursive pillars embodied by exhibitions, academies, places of socialization, recurring rivalries, international networks, technologies, capabilities and more. Whereas dedicated investigations of such items already belongs to the traditional instruments of art histories and social histories of art, by treating and defining this whole as a "scenic infrastructure" we bound the impact of events (the Roman Revolution) to the specific circumstances that enabled the existence of artistic capital. Once these are made clear in their historical evolution and identity prior to the rupture brought by the mobilization, individual interests as inferable by active participation in the Civic Guard would be already contextualized in a setting that defines a citizen in its individual, layered identity. An acknowledged notion of the specific scenic infrastructures of Rome will therefore ease and advance the understanding of individual and collective motivations alongside the mobilization. Furthermore, cultural scene and its analysis will also be useful when we will be watching at the phenomenon from the perspective of explicit cultural expressions in the next chapters.

Now, the accumulation of artistic capital and the sources which bestowed it lied in the middle between dynamics which were exclusive to the scene (artists to artists) and other which were instead external (society to artists). Artistic gatherings retained specific features and a whole range of do's and don'ts which may or may not have followed the regime's dictates but nevertheless defined these groups all the same (and in this case the question should be why power allowed this). Moreover, as individuals socially authorized to receive the Pope's trust in terms of weapons during

²²⁰ Kahn-Harris, K., *Roots? The relationship between the global and the local within the Extreme Metal scene*, in "The Popular Music Studies Reader", edited by Bennett, A., Shank B., Toynbee J., London, New York, 2006, pp.128-134.

the mobilization, the artists were also in the position to join parties, produce dedicated images, achieve a level of agency which was simply not available in pre-1846 circumstances.

So if cultural capital was actually the foremost “bourgeoise” feature of professionals in the arts sector, it is clear that with the mobilization and the overall rearrangement of social dynamics those same conditions which defined the value of that capital were also put in question and possibly approaching some severe rearrangements. In order to detect such mechanisms and understand how artistic professions were organized at the light of Roman society’s hierarchical systems, it must be first clarified what kind of relationship existed between power and social stratification, inside and outside the artistic environment as it developed after the end of Napoleonic wars. In the following paragraph I will therefore provide some selected examples and define three distinct areas of the overall artistic scene: 1) “Official” artists, painters and sculptors who were strictly connected with governmental institutions, aristocratic and ecclesiastical elites; 2) “Unofficial” artists, who were also involved in the Fine Arts but acting more as “freelancers” and retaining their own informal institutions; 3) “Liberal” artists, who were instead professionals involved in the “minor arts” and whose status was at times at the borders with that of artisans, in others at the level of some Fine artists.

It’s easy to assume that within a theocratic regime like the Restored Papal States, the foremost source of artistic capital was coming from the government. This would be mostly correct, as we will see, but also far from being a comprehensive explanation: as already suggested, the artistic scene as a whole was built upon a very complex network of players and dynamics, and not all of them accessed status and resources in the same way. As any of these areas produced artistic capital according to some rather diverse circumstances, my attempt is to give an introductory framework to define the position from which artists had to choose whether they wanted to join or not the possibilities opened with the social mobilization. In parallel, this scenic breakdown will also help to understand if artistic groups expressed any specific class interest from which the data contained in the Civic Guard registers may effectively be read as the first, measurable movement of the Roman artists into civil society. The issues to address in this sense will be several: were arts a tool for advancing one’s class position from otherwise unescapable material constraints? If not, was instead political involvement the mean to advance such propositions and join a wider “bourgeoise” interest? Were Roman artists able to gather themselves as groups, counteract material constrictions and determine their institutional pertinence at the eyes of power or even against it?

2.2.1 - The “Official” side of the scene

By the Restoration’s eve, Europe and Rome with it awakens in a setting where for the first time in 25 years there were no more French revolutionary agendas at stake or in sight. Leaving aside the intellectual struggle against secularization in which the Catholic church endeavored since the very first revolutionary days and before, in the period between 1796 and 1814 Rome saw a war with France (1796), a Republican bracket under French “supervision” (1798-1799), the deportation of Pope Pius VI (1798) who will eventually die in exile the year after, a Neapolitan invasion with the purpose of choking the Republic (1799), a new Pope, Pius VII, elected in Venice (1800) and eventually exiled as well (1809), a five years period of Rome being the capital of the Kingdom of Italy under Napoleon’s imperial leadership (1809-1814).²²¹ Notwithstanding political instability, throughout this whole period the various governments retained a heavy commitment towards arts and cultural heritage for such a prolonged time, with such pervasiveness and several legislative efforts that by the end of the Napoleonic domain, it was suddenly clear that things could have been not the same anymore. A recent study by Ilaria Sgarbozza highlighted in detail to extents to which the French government had managed to substantially reconfigure the institutional organization of museums, heritage and the academies through wide investments and new regulations inspired by democratic principles.²²² The virtuosity of this endeavor was recognized by the fact that after his restoration, Pius VII and his government resolved to maintain much of the Napoleonic innovations.²²³

In factual terms, it must be taken in account that the cultural heritage of Rome represented in those times an enormous source for artistic capital, even more relevant than before after the

²²¹ On some overall evaluation of the whole period see Chadwick O., *The Popes and the European Revolution*, Oxford 1981; Aubert R. et al., *The Church between Revolution and Restoration*, in “History of the Church”, 7, edited by Jedin H. and Dolan J, New York 1981; M. P. Donato, *Roma in Rivoluzione (1798,1848,1870)*, in “Storia d’Italia. Annali”, 16: “Roma Città del Papa”, Turin 2000, p. 905-915.

²²² Sgarbozza I., *Le Spalle al Settecento. Forma, modelli e organizzazione dei musei nella Roma napoleonica (1809-1814)*, Rome 2013, pp. 245-250.

²²³ Curzi V., *Bene culturale e pubblica utilità: politiche di tutela a Roma tra Ancien Régime e Restaurazione*, Bologna 2004.

unprecedented importance which was acknowledged to ancient Greek and Roman art by critics, dealers, patrons and politics.²²⁴ Starting by the half of 18th century, the already copious Papal art collections saw a growing in size after the archeologic frenzy of which the most notable chapters are represented by the excavations of Herculaneum and Pompei (from 1748).²²⁵ All these materials were now approached with some more serious philological efforts of which J. J. Winckelmann's works are a notorious evidence.²²⁶ We can't go too deep in what a number of studies had already widely analyzed,²²⁷ but it's important to underline how a strategically important investment was in terms of career the fact of coming to Rome, closely watch ancient sculptures, draw copies, capture their material and expressive peculiarities and rearrange them in order to produce artworks in line with the contemporary setting. The vague classical fascination which had constantly attracted European aristocracy since centuries - and with some further representative connotations after the Counter-reform ²²⁸- was now further enforced by such discoveries, thus aligning the main market trends around archeological retrievals, their copies but also their elaboration in contemporary art. ²²⁹ That all these resources were a fundamental asset for the artists in Rome was already a recognized fact by the times of the French spoliations throughout Napoleon campaigns. Notwithstanding that the Papal government had already a long and important tradition of elaborations around the concept

²²⁴ Pinelli A., *L'indotto del Grand Tour settecentesco: l'industria dell'antico e del souvenir*, in "Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte", 72 (2000), pp. 85-106; "Grand Tour. The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century", exhibition catalogue edited by Wilton A., Bignamini I. (Tate Gallery, October 1996 - January 1997, London), London 1996; Proia I., *Esportazioni di opere d'arte nelle pagine del "Giornale delle Belle Arti" e delle memorie per le Belle Arti*, 1784-1788, in "Roma fuori di Roma. L'esportazione dell'arte moderna da Pio VI all'Unità 1775-1870", edited by Capitelli G., Grandesso S., Mazzei C., Rome 2012, pp. 51-68.

²²⁵ Bologna F., *Le Scoperte di Ercolano e Pompei nella cultura europea del XVIII secolo*, in "La Parola del passato", 34 (1979), pp. 377-398; Parslow C. C., *Rediscovering Antiquity: Karl Weber and the excavation of Herculaneum, Pompeii and Stabiae*, Cambridge 1995; Pagano M., *I diari di scavo di Pompei, Ercolano e Stabia di Francesco e Pietro La Vega (1764-1810): raccolta e studio di documenti inediti*, Rome 1997.

²²⁶ Previtali G., *Winckelmann: "Lettere Italiane" e "Storia dell'arte nella antichità"*, in "Paragone", 145 (January 1862), pp. 75-83; Potts. A., *Flesh and the ideal. Winckelmann and the origins of art history*, New Haven, London 1994 Morrison J., *Winckelmann and the notion of esthetics education*, Oxford 1996; Pommier E., *Winckelmann: des vies d'artistes à l'histoire de l'art*, in "Le "vies" d'artistes", conference proceedings (Colloque international du Musée du Louvre, 1993), Paris 1996, pp. 205-230.

²²⁷ For a well-grounded introduction to the main scholarly issues see "The Age of Neo-Classicism", exhibition catalogue (Royal Academy, Victoria & Albert Museum, September 9 - November 19, 1972, London), London 1972. A classic study still remains Haskell F., Penny N., *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture. 1500-1900*, New Haven 1981.

²²⁸ Bologna F., *Dalle Arti minori all'industrial design. Storia di un'ideologia*. Bari 1972, pp. 41-81.

²²⁹ Barroero L., Susinno S., *Arcadian Rome, Universal Capital of the Arts*, in "Art in Rome in the eighteenth century", exhibition catalogue (Museum of Art, March 16 - May 28, 2000, Philadelphia; The Museum of Fine Arts, June 25 - September 17, 2000, Houston), Philadelphia 2000, pp. 47-76. For a comprehensive study on the Roman art market for paintings in 18th century see Coen P., *Il Mercato dei quadri a Roma nel diciottesimo secolo. La domanda, l'offerta e la circolazione delle opere in un grande centro artistico europeo*, Florence 2010.

of cultural heritage,²³⁰ facts like the selling of the Borghese collections pushed the State's heads into urgency, eventually introducing those tutelage provisions commenced with the *Chirografo Pontificio* of 1802.²³¹ In a document delivered to Pius VII after the Borghese selling was made official, the Roman scene's undisputed leader, Antonio Canova, illustrated his overall position which will remain as a paradigmatic stance in the following decades:

*“È verità ben conosciuta universalmente che lo spogliar Roma dei monumenti antichi di Belle Arti è un dar colpo mortale alle Belle Arti medesime e un privare i professori, e gli amatori di esse, i letterati, gli antiquari, e tutta la gente colta degli originali, delle fonti dello studio, del sapere del vero bello, il di cui risultato poi si propaga, quale luce sfavillante al mondo intero: è insomma la contraddizione la più manifesta di voler qui continuare il centro, la sede favorita della Repubblica delle Arti [emphasis is mine] e delle lettere: fondar qui Accademie, mandarvi pensionati da ogni parte, e fino all’America, e poi toglier loro il mezzo di studiare il principale oggetto per cui vi si mandano. È uno scoraggiare, un avvilire il Governo stesso del Paese [...] che tutti considera ugualmente come Cittadini Romani, come figli, che tutti riceve, che tutti premia secondo il merito, che spende annualmente dei tesori per mantenere quanto più nobilmente si può quest’emporio delle Belle Arti a beneficio universale. Per avere ulteriori prove di queste notissime verità, se vi volessero, basterebbe invitare a leggere le 7 lettere stampate a Parigi del detto professore di architettura M. Quatremere nell’anno IV. 1796”.*²³²

[It's a universally well known truth that stripping away Rome of its ancient Fine arts monument means giving a mortal strike to the same Fine arts and deprive professors, and their lovers, the persons of letters, the antique dealers, and the cultivated people of the originals, of the sources of their studies, of the knowledge of the true beautiful, of which the results propagates like a sparking light at the face of the whole world: it is therefore the an utmost manifest contradiction the willingness to continue here the center, the privileged seat of the *Republic of the Arts and the letters*, to found Academies, to send here pensioners from everywhere, even from America, and then private them of the means to study the main object they were sent for on first place. It is a discouragement, a humiliation for the same Government of the country [...] who everyone equally considers as Roman Citizens, like sons, that everyone awards according to merit, that annually spends fortunes in order to maintain as nobly as possible this emporium of the Fine arts to universal benefit. In order to have further proofs of these well-known truths, if needed, it's enough to invite for the reading of the seven letters printed in Paris by the professor of architecture, M. Quatremere in the year IV. 1796].

²³⁰ For an overview of the issue within a wider framework see “Tutela e Restauro nello Stato Pontificio”, edited by S. Bedin, L. Bello, A. Rossi, Padua 1998.

²³¹ Rossi Pinelli O., *Carlo Fea e il chirografo del 1802: cronaca giudiziaria e non, delle prime battaglie per la tutela delle Belle Arti*, in “Ricerche di Storia dell’arte”, 8 (1978-1979), pp. 27-40

²³² The document, signed by Canova himself, Vincenzo Camuccini and Ennio Quirino Visconti, was sent to Pius VII on 14 November 1807 as an official statement of the S. Luke Academy. See Herman Fiore K., *La collezione Borghèse vendue au Louvre: La reaction de Canova dans un mémorandum inedit de 1807*, in “Napoleon, Les Bonapartes et l’Italie”, exhibition catalogue (Ajaccio, Musée Fesch, 2001), pp. 60-74.

Inspired by his close companion Quatremere de Quincy, Canova was here formulating a clear definition of the “Republic of arts” of Rome that will remain paradigmatic in the years to come: the Fine Arts heritage of Rome belongs to humanity because the government which administers treats *universally* everyone as subject of his own; by granting accessibility to whom desires so, that same Government undertakes some serious financial efforts in order to allow anyone to take advantage of it.²³³

Despite the kind of antagonism that Canova and other Roman artists had in general expressed against the French occupation as usurpers of the legitimate papal power,²³⁴ the rationale that drove the cultural policies of Rome’s French governor between 1807 and 1814, General Sextius François de Miollis, seems to have been no less respectful of the “Republic of arts”. During the seven years of French dominion, the artists of Rome had in fact enjoyed a wealth of opportunities: copious commissions from the Government, official exhibitions with juries and awards, large improvements for public museums, their collections and their access despite Carlo Fea’s pleas of letting the artworks remain in the original places in order not to decontextualize their reading through forced musealization.²³⁵ Moreover, crucially important developments occurred under French institutional guide in the form of the so called *Accademia d’Italia*: as part of a general strategy aimed at reproducing the French network of *Institutions d’excellence* of which *Scuola Normale* in Pisa is also a part of, Napoleon and Miollis, with the enthusiastic approval of Canova and Giuseppe Tambroni, promoted the creation of an Art Academy in Rome in which the most meritorious students of the three main Art Academies of Italy (Milan, Bologna, Venice) were provided with funding and accommodation in *Palazzo Venezia* - the former consular post of the Venetian Republic which was just absorbed by Austrian Empire as the result of the “Campo Formio Treaty” signed by the same Napoleon in 1797 - in order to work in daily confrontation with the local heritage and under the guidance of Canova himself, both considered in their outstanding status as safe means to bring Italian artists to unprecedented degrees of excellence on a national spectrum.²³⁶

²³³ For the attribution of the document to Canova and more in general on his ideas on heritage and state patronage see Leone F., *La repubblica delle arti di Antonio Canova: idea dello Stato, tutela del patrimonio, promozione degli artisti*, in “Canova e la Venere Vincitrice”, exhibition catalogue (Galleria Borghese, October 18, 2007 - February 3, 2008, Rome), edited by Coliva A., Mazzocca F., pp.131-132.

²³⁴ Johns C. M. S., *Antonio Canova and the Politics of Patronage in Revolutionary and Napoleonic Europe*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1998, pp. 88-122.

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²³⁶ Rudolph S., *Giuseppe Tambroni e lo stato delle Belle Arti in Roma nel 1814*, Rome 1982; Leone F., *L’officina neoclassica: anelito alla sintesi, ricerca dell’archetipo*, in “L’officina neoclassica. Dall’Accademia de’ Pensieri all’Accademia d’Italia”, exhibition catalogue (Palazzo Milzetti, March 15 - June 21, 2009, Faenza), Milan 2009, pp.46-51.

As said, during the latter part of Pius VII's pontificate the Napoleonic centralization of governmental attributions were mostly maintained through the work of the Secretary of State Ercole Consalvi, a continuity that will eventually push him to political marginalization under Leo XII.²³⁷ Nevertheless, centralizing resources in cultural politics and managing governmental involvement through an increased but fickle institutionalization of functions may be easily identified as a constant feature within the pontificates of Leo XII, Gregory XVI and also Pius IX.²³⁸ A series of major reforms in the Pontifical political structure under Pius VII, included in fact a redistribution of functions around the jurisdiction of the Camerlengo [Chamberlain], a sort of ministerial figure administering properties and revenues which after the creation of dedicated figures like the Cardinal General Treasurer, started to be more concentrated on specific aspects of the Church's patrimony, like the institutions related to the arts.²³⁹ Given that access to museums and collections was now much more open than before, a structured bureaucratic organization was also necessary in order to manage several aspects like the authorization to copy artworks or the management of the newly established annual funds to be spent for new acquisitions in the Vatican and Capitol museums. As an organon of the Pontifical State, the Camerlengato was open only to clergy, so every time an expertise was needed in any of its large institutional attribution, the most "important" Fine Artists were obviously summoned upon, namely those who were part of the Academy of S. Luke either as professors or "*Accademici*". But whereas the close relationship between the government in need for excellent advisors and the Academy of S. Luke was already a much old establishment, post-1815 circumstances engendered dynamics for which is worth to speak of a new way of being an "official" artist.

The main source of capital for these artistic elites was the proximity to the government who prized them in artistic but also social prestige with the adornment of semi-aristocratic suffixes like the

²³⁷ Monsagrati G., "Leone XII" in *Enciclopedia dei Papi*, v. III, Rome 2008, pp. 530-531.

²³⁸ F. Mariotti, *La legislazione dei beni culturali*, Rome 1892, p. 3; Caravale-Caracciolo 1978, pp. 592-596, 603-606, 632-639, 678-688; Bartoccini 1985, pp. 121-129; P. Boutry, *Pio VII*, in "Enciclopedia dei Papi", 3, Rome 2000, pp. 524-525; G. Monsagrati, *Leone XII*, in ID., pp. 535-538; Gregorio XVI; G. Martina, *Pio IX, beato*, in ID., p. 574.

²³⁹ In the 1817 regulations for the S. Luke Academy promulgated after Pius VII's return, the Chamberlain was accounted with the option of sanctioning even the Academy's President and Director if any rule was getting unobserved (see Arnaud J., *L'Académie de Saint-Luc a Rome. Considérations Historiques depuis son origine jusqu'a nos jours*, Rome 1886, p. 122)

recurrent *Cavaliere*, a recognition of nobility that was already established²⁴⁰ and in the end rather empty compared to Canova's²⁴¹, but still an element of distinction. Given their position, these artists were also the natural targets for governmental commissions, although with the drastic downsizing of Papal finances during the Restoration these were not copious as before, at least in regards to contemporary art. The ideological commitment of Leo XII and Gregory XVI was in fact translated in cultural policies that heavily leaned on the cultural heritage of Rome, on its musealization and protection, and also on archeology, the actual leading trend in the first half of 19th century Rome alongside wide restoration campaigns which also relied on the artistic elites.²⁴² Both the S. Luke Academy's statute of 1812 (French government) and 1817 (Pius VII) reminds in facts that its mandate was not only to teach and promote the Fine arts but also to "*vegliare alla conservazione de' pubblici Monumenti esistenti in Roma e nello Stato Pontificio*" [vigil on the conservation of the public monuments existing in Rome and the Papal States].²⁴³ The importance acknowledged to restoration was of course naturally contextualized in the same "archeological" agenda of the Restoration's Pope in their struggle against secularization,²⁴⁴ but also dependent on a specific happening: in the night of 15 July 1823, the ancient Basilica of S. Paul outside of the Walls, founded by Emperor Constantine I upon the tomb of the same S. Paul and adorned with some of the most revered and famous mosaic decorations of early Christian art, burned down after a human accident. The shock was enormous: Pius VII, who was already old and seriously ill, was even not informed by Consalvi who feared that the old Pope could not bore the news (he will die a month

²⁴⁰ The president of S. Luke was already called "*Principe*" since the early 18th century and already by the late 16th century a painter like Giuseppe Cesari was named Cavalier d'Arpino by Clement VIII (M. Missirini, *Memorie per servire alla storia della romana Accademia di S. Luca*, Rome 1823, pp. 76, 98-101; Haskell F., *Patrons and Painters. Art and society in Baroque Italy*, New Haven-London 1980, p. 19).

²⁴¹ As a recognition of his diplomatic contribution for the partial reinstitution of French art pillage, Canova was bestowed with the *Marchesato d'Ischia*, including a 3000 *scudi* yearly stipend that the sculptor used for commissioning public artworks to younger artists (Johns 1998, pp. 190-192). Camuccini became Count in 1830 under the brief pontificate of Pius VIII (Missirini 1823, p. 345) but despite a heavy involvement in institutional activities, he didn't receive any endowment (Giacomini F., "*Per reale vantaggio delle arti e della Storia. Vincenzo Camuccini e il restauro dei dipinti a Roma nella prima metà dell'Ottocento*", Rome 2007, p. 62).

²⁴² Tamblè D., *Il ritorno dei beni culturali dalla Francia allo Stato pontificio e l'inizio della politica culturale della Restaurazione nei documenti camerale dell'Archivio di Stato di Roma*, in "Ideologie e patrimonio storico-culturale nell'età rivoluzionaria e napoleonica", conference proceedings (September 1997, Tolentino), Rome 2000, pp. 611-627; ID., *La politica culturale dello Stato Pontificio*, in "Roma fra la Restaurazione...", pp. 759-782.

²⁴³ Arnaud 1886, p. 121.

²⁴⁴ Fancelli P., *Gregorio XVI e il restauro dei monumenti*, in "Gregorio XVI promotore delle Arti e delle Scienze", conference proceedings (March 21-24, 2006, Rome), edited by Zaccagnini C., Rome 2007, pp.?

after).²⁴⁵ Between then and a first reopening in 1855, the reconstruction of the church occupied the best part of energies and resources of the Holy See in a complicated and controversial restoration process that lasted until the 1920s.²⁴⁶ Given their relevance, the various architects which came to lead the operations (from 1833 this was the Modenese Luigi Poletti, who will maintain his place until his death on 1869) managed a very high number of employees that spanned from thousands of daily worker *artisti*, to specialized artists like mosaicists and stone-carvers up to the S. Luke's elites, deputed to adorn the new church with paintings and sculptures but also provide drawings for the philological reconstruction of the paleo-Christian decorations as they looked like before the burning.

As resource-consuming the yard of S. Paul Outside the Walls was, the Papal governments were not well disposed in commissioning new large artistic enterprises; rather, as the "face" of Rome was a strategically important resource in order to counter-act modernity and secularization, several smaller restorations were commissioned throughout the years,²⁴⁷ and as these were naturally bestowed to the artistic aristocracy, the latter also selected their pupils and thus engendered a pyramidal structure of influence of which artists like the champion of Classicism Vincenzo Camuccini were particularly jealous of.

The consequences of this processes of centralization and past commodification in engendering the circumstances in which "official" artists found themselves by the days of Pius IX's election must be seen in prospect and according to an art world in deep transformation. Still by the early 19th century, the art market of Rome was widely dependent on aristocratic wealth, both local and foreign, and in these regards the French revolution's aftermaths could have hardly been innocuous. A further feature that underlines the French continuity in Pius VII government was the confirmation of all the laws enacted in order to absorb ecclesiastical properties and aristocratic sources of capital in order to fund the "Jacobine" Roman Republic of 1798-1799 first and then the Napoleonic dominion later.²⁴⁸ The abundant financial availability of Roman noble families - whose impact we

²⁴⁵ Sebastianelli F., *L'incendio della basilica di S. Paolo fuori le mura*, in "Roma Moderna e Contemporanea", 12-3 (September-December 2004), pp. 539-566.

²⁴⁶ Cerioni A. M., *L'incendio del 1823. Problemi e polemiche per la ricostruzione e sua realizzazione*, in "San Paolo fuori le mura", edited by Pietrangeli C., Florence 1988, pp. 67-84; Pallottino E., *La nuova architettura paleocristiana nella ricostruzione della basilica di S. Paolo fuori le mura a Roma (1823-1847)*, in "Ricerche di Storia dell'arte", 56 (1995), pp. 30-59.

²⁴⁷ Giacomini 2007, pp. 61-62;

²⁴⁸ G. Monsagrati, *Roma nel crepuscolo del potere temporale*, in "Storia d'Italia. Annali", 16: "Roma Città del Papa", Turin 2000, pp. 1012-1019., Bartoccini 1985, p. 240-255

had already seen in the previous chapter when they basically directly embarked for all the expenses in the establishment of the first Civic Guard of 1796 - was a driving force behind the artistic ecology of Rome, providing commissions to ameliorate their residences and increase their collection or restore artworks, fueling and protecting in the meanwhile that wide network of critics, dealers, antiquaries, connoisseurs, publishers which represented a vital asset of the scene.²⁴⁹ It's a legit question to wonder which was the foremost important dynamic for the artistic scene in the 18th century, if were the local or the copious visiting aristocracy endeavored in Grand Tours who prevailed in terms of overall financial impact. However, if the latter managed to secure its position especially in those States where the Restoration process occurred in more efficient and definitive terms,²⁵⁰ Roman aristocracy remained harshly affected both in terms of economical resources and social prestige. The only noble family who continued to maintain a constant commitment in providing commissions on a large scale were the bankers Torlonia, who managed to secure a consistent wealth (including the purchase of their titles) with some cautious strategy aimed at securing institutional privileges in the form of governmental finance administrations while indirectly absorbing public taxations, like the one they retained on salt.²⁵¹ Giovanni first and Alessandro later, invested much in adorning their new family chapel in S. Giovanni in Laterano, the Tordinona theatre²⁵² and all the various palaces they bought inside and outside the city walls, where were frequently hosted balls and parties in which both locals and foreigners were invited, and for

²⁴⁹ Bartoccini 1985, pp. 267-268; Meyer S. A., *La pierre de touche. Riflessioni sul pubblico romano tra Sette e ottocento*, in "Roma moderna e contemporanea", 13-2,3 (May-December 2005), pp. 15-22. For biographical profiles see Francisci Osti O., *Key Figures in the Eighteenth-Century Rome*, in "Art in Rome in the Eighteenth Century", pp. 77-104. For a specific and well detailed case see Carloni R., *Per una ricostruzione della collezione dei dipinti di Luciano: acquisti, vendite e qualche nota sul mercato antiquario romano del primo Ottocento*, in "Luciano Bonaparte. Le sue collezioni d'arte, le sue residenze a Roma, nel Lazio, in Italia (1804-1840)", edited by Natoli M., Rome 1995, pp. 5-52.

²⁵⁰ As an instance, intense remained the contacts with Russian princes (see Tarasova L., Androsov S., *Gli scultori russi pensionnaires a Roma. 1823-1846*, in "Roma fuori di Roma", pp. 285-292), Ludwig II von Bayern (i), the Spanish royals (Cacciotti B., *Il ruolo dell'Accademia di Spagna nel milieu internazionale del Gianicolo*, in "Intorno a Villa Sciarra. I salotti internazionali sul Gianicolo tra Ottocento e Novecento", conference proceedings (March 3-5, 2005, Rome), edited by Benocci C., Chiarini P., Todini G., Rome 2007, pp. 109-127).

²⁵¹ D. Felsini, "*Quel capitalista per ricchezza principalissimo*". *Alessandro Torlonia principe, banchiere, imprenditore nell'Ottocento romano*, Rome 2004, pp. 155-161.

²⁵² Cametti A., *Il Teatro Tordinona poi di Apollo*. Tivoli 1939; Steindl B., *Una committenza Torlonia: La cappella Torlonia in San Giovanni in Laterano*, in "Thorvaldsen. L'ambiente, l'influsso, il mito", conference proceedings (Rome, 1991), edited by Kragelund P., M. Nikjaer, Rome 1991, pp. 36.41; Michel O., *Le mécénat des princes Torlonia de 1830 à 1840*, in "Actes du colloque Ingres et Rome", conference proceedings (Musée Ingres, September 1986, Montauban), Montauban 1986, pp. 139-143.

whom contemporary and ancient artworks were a major attraction.²⁵³ The opportunities brought by the Torlonias, were nevertheless rather isolated, and the art scene of Rome had much to miss from such lack of provisions.

The hard consequences of a resourceless Roman aristocracy were already called upon in 1810 by Giuseppe Guattani,²⁵⁴ but some wider consciousness of the structural crisis started to arise only around the 1820s. The specific distance between supplies and demands can be well seized by following the declining currency of *fresco* painting, possibly one the most specifically “Roman” features of the scene. On this matter, an intriguing debate occurred by 1823 stands as a rather revealing episode in regards to the changing artistic panorama of Rome, as the two interlocutors are to be recognized as the most important and institutionally central painters of the Academic elites throughout the best part of the century: Vincenzo Camuccini and Tommaso Minardi.²⁵⁵ The latter, had submitted to the Academy’s attention a project for promoting the education of young artists by instituting a prize for the execution of a fresco, a much better didactic tool, according to Camuccini, rather than the concession of Academic pensions, a trait which has been seen as a critique to the model endorsed with the by then dismantled *Accademia d’Italia*.²⁵⁶ Questioned about such proposition by the Academy’s President Gian Girolamo Scaccia, Tommaso Minardi, who in the 1810 was exactly among the young recipients of the three-years scholarships in Palazzo Venezia, delivered a detailed and retort relation underlining that the craft of the fresco technique:

“non ammette consulti, vuole prontezza, e velocità, vuole una pratica grandissima. [...] il voler rimettere in uso il dipingere a fresco è fuori di proposito stante le attuali circostanze della Società. Ed il provar ciò può essere non del tutto vano. Quando un giovane Artista avrà ottenuto, mediante i suoi talenti, una qualche commissione del Governo secondo il Progetto del Sig. Camuccini, ed avrà consumato tre o quattro de suoi più begl’anni nello studiare il fresco, facendo opere brutte, o al più mediocri, per poi farne qualcuna bella (e qui si deve osservare che il fresco esigendo una pratica

²⁵³ Fagiolo M., “*Ideologie di Villa Torlonia. un mecenate e due architetti nella Roma dell’Ottocento*”, in “Giuseppe Jappelli e il suo tempo”, conference proceedings (Padua 1977) edited by Mazzi F., Padua 1982, pp. 549-586; Apolloni M. F., Campitelli A., Pinelli A., Steindl B., *La Villa di Alessandro Torlonia*, in “Ricerche di Storia dell’Arte”, 28-29 (1987), pp. 5-35; Id., *Villa Torlonia. L’ultima impresa del mecenatismo romano*, edited by Campitelli A., Rome 1997.

²⁵⁴ Guattani G., *Sullo stato attuale delle Belle Arti in Italia e particolarmente in Roma*, in “Atti dell’Accademia Italiana di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti”, 1-2, Livorno 1810, p. 275.

²⁵⁵ Jervis A. V., *Per il “giusto sviluppo del Genio nella Gioventù” una polemica accademica tra Camuccini e Minardi circa l’insegnamento della tecnica dell’affresco*, in “Roma fra la Restaurazione...”, p. 743.

²⁵⁶ Cipriani A., *Thorvaldsen e l’Accademia di S. Luca*, in “Bertel Thorvaldsen 1770-1844. Uno scultore danese a Roma”, exhibition catalogue (Rome, Galleria Nazionale d’Arte Moderna, November 1, 1989 - January 28, 1990), edited by E. De Majo, B. Jørnaes, S. Susinno. Rome 1989, pp. 110-111.

lunghissima, per necessaria conseguenza deve accadere, che le prime opere del giovane, sia pur egli di vario genio dotato, saranno sempre miserabili, come l'esperienza sotto i nostri occhj ha comprovato), quando il giovane sarà in questo stato chi gli darà altre commissioni? [...] Qual pro n'è derivato all'Arte del fresco dalle non poche centinaia di scudi spesi dal Canova nelle lunette del Museo?".²⁵⁷

[“(...) it does not admit consults, it demands readiness and speed, it demands a much greater practice (...) the willingness to restore the practice of fresco painting it's an error of judgement, given the actual conditions of Society. And the demonstration of this shall not be entirely idle. When a young Artist will have obtained, through his talents, some commissions for the Government according to Mr. Camuccini's project, and will have consumed three or four of his most beautiful years by studying fresco, by making ugly artworks or rather mediocre ones at best, only to eventually make some good ones (and here it needs to be observed that demanding the fresco a much longer practice, it must necessarily follow that the first artworks of the student, even if this is talented with amounts of genius, will always be miserable, like experience under our eyes had proven), when the young will be in this position, who will provide him with commissions? Which benefits came for the fresco Art from the not few hundreds of *scudi* spent by Canova in the lunettes of the Museum?”].

Even by isolating his personal grudges against Camuccini from the letter's content, Minardi definitely had a point when addressing the hardships of the fresco technique and the complexities of the whole creative process. The fresco technique in the actual Renaissance fashion was in fact a tremendously complex technique to acquire, one that before 19th century was an almost lost craft and that also by then was only known and practiced by a restricted circle of artists. Furthermore, despite the fact that being able to pursue a *fresco* decoration from the beginning to the end was quite an achievement for a painter, one that surely defined his artistic capital, the actual expendability of such skills was in the end questionable. The only directions in which such capabilities could have been spent was by receiving commissions by either the Government or by a noble family like the Torlonia, but as said, such opportunities were not enough to sustain everyone.

Minardi's disillusioned concerns appears thus to have been rather honest, despite the fact that attritions between him and Camuccini basically signed the best part of the Academic life until the latter's death in 1844 and raging throughout any possible issue.²⁵⁸ These kind of academic quarrels were actually reflective of circumstances in which to the heated language of the disputants,

²⁵⁷ “Minuta di lettera di Tommaso Minardi diretta al presidente dell'Accademia di S. Luca G. Girolamo Scaccia”, ASR, *Archivio Ovidi*, Carte Minardi, b.14, n. 225, quoted from Jervis 1997, pp. 750-756.

²⁵⁸ For a list of the many institutional charges that Camuccini came to cover throughout his career see Hiesinger U., *The paintings of Vincenzo Camuccini*, in “The Art Bulletin”, 40-2 (June 1978), p. 298; Ceccopieri I., *L'Archivio Camuccini. Inventario*, in “Miscellanea della Società Romana di Storia Patria”, 32 (1990), pp. 117-123.

corresponded in practice a rather brief distance in regards to more general propositions.²⁵⁹ As a matter of fact, the overall process necessary for producing either a fresco or an history oil painting on canvas both included some similar key passages (for instance the *cartone*) which contextualized such artworks within the same academical environment and excluded any possible market situation in which it was impossible to commerce a painting costing 1000 scudi and demanding five years of working, as was the case of a rather productive painter such as Francesco Podesti who in fact in the 1830s-1840s mostly worked for extra-Roman buyers.²⁶⁰ But these were exactly the opportunities which were getting less and less, opened only the highest academic hierarchies of the scene and that demanded decades long training whose necessity for the younger generations was being put in question. At the light of institutional and market transformations developing after 1814, the official side of the scene was increasingly shaping around an inflexible hierarchy that embodied at the same time a crucial necessity of governmental aid but also the persistence of circumstances which prevented access for new artists and bounded their expectations upon a rather limited scale. If academic institutions had their main scope in maintaining hierarchies and didactics, and if these were aimed at developing capabilities which were getting increasingly hard to foster for students, unemployment may be easily considered as a structural necessity of the official areas, alongside aspirations for uplift.

2.2.2 - New official institutions

The debate on the didactical value of frescoes - and Minardi's position in the specific - testifies that already by the half of 1820s there existed some clear consciousness that artworks which demanded an highly specialized and skilled craft, prolonged times of execution and enormous amounts of money were belonging to another time. As the fact was evident from the heart of the artistic scene,

²⁵⁹ For a summary of the quarrels that Camuccini and Minardi had in the years see Ovidi E., *Tommaso Minardi e la sua scuola*. Rome 1902, pp. 25-40.

²⁶⁰ Aggiungere da catalogo

even a tourist like Lady Morgan, visiting Rome in the 1821, watched with a sad irony all those young artists moving and working in Campo Marzio alongside Piazza di Spagna and the Corso:

“ There are in Roma hundreds of young and aspiring artists, full of emulation, talent, and spirit - the rudiment of a Raphael, a Domenichino, a Buonarroti, or a John of Bologna! But of what avail is genius, when there are few to admire, fewer to encourage, and none to purchase? This is not an age for the arts. If it were, they would flourish, as in the times of the Julios and the Leos. ”²⁶¹

In truth, kings, nobles, religious congregations and other wealthy sources of commissioners inside but also outside of the peninsula were anything but vanished, together with the status of the Roman artistic elites as heirs of a long-standing tradition to which Lady Morgan's statement was evidently referring to. Despite an evident downsizing of the general market volume, the actual problem for the stability of the high hierarchies resided on their legacy through the new generations: the fresco controversy is in the end directly reflecting hesitations on educational models which had to be redefined at the light of social transformations, and in turn of patronage, namely developments which were direct consequences of extra-artistic dynamics.

The issue didn't remain unanswered, and it's surprisingly revealing to notice that the elites of the apparently jaded artistic scene of Rome, enforced by governmental action, elaborated between 1824 and 1830 one of the most advanced experiments of cultural policy on Italian territory dedicated to the art market ecology. I'm referring to the creation of the *Società di Amatori e Cultori di Belle Arti*,²⁶² an institution that resembled the Art Unions and *Société d'amis des beaux arts* which already existed in England and France, but that will be spread in Italy only from the late 1840s.²⁶³ The basic concept was to

²⁶¹ Lady Morgan, *Italy*, 3. Philadelphia-Boston-New York 1821, pp. 397-398.

²⁶² Already addressed by Stefano Susinno as an harassing lack in the studies dedicated to the Roman scene in the first half of the 19th century (Susinno S., *La pittura a Roma nella prima metà dell'Ottocento*, in “La pittura in Italia. L'Ottocento”, 1, edited by Castelfnuovo E., Milan 1991, p. 429), the only comprehensive work about the *Società di Amatori e Cultori di Belle Arti* is today Montani G., *La Società degli Amatori e Cultori di Belle Arti a Roma 1829-1883*, Ph.D dissertation (University of Rome Tre), a.y. 2005-2007.

²⁶³ A general account of these institutions' arise across Italy is provided by Maggio Serra R., *I Sistemi dell'arte nell'Ottocento*, in Castelfnuovo 1991, pp. 634-631. For studies on specific cases see Cinelli B., *I primi statuti della Società Promotrice delle Belle Arti in Torino (1842-1856)*, in “Scuola Normale Superiore Pisa, Quaderni del Seminario di storia della critica d'arte”, 1; Maria Antonella Fusco, *La Società promotrice delle Belle Arti di Napoli 1861-1867*, estratto dall'Archivio Storico per le Province Napoletane, terza serie, vol. XX (1981), pp. 281-313; Levi D., *Strutture Espositive a Trieste dal 1829 al 1847*, “Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia”, 3-15, 1, Pisa 1985, pp. 233-301; Montanari R., *La società ferrarese Benvenuto Tisi da Garofalo. Le Promotrici Italiane nel sistema dell'arte dell'800*, Vicenza 1999.

*“[...] promuovere l'utilità, e l'incremento delle arti figlie del disegno, e d'incoraggiare quei che la professano,[...] per mezzo di una continuata esposizione annuale, e di altre opportune discipline in mira di far conoscere vie più gli artisti, e le opere loro, e di aprire così agl'ingegni un'arringo di onorevole emulazione”*²⁶⁴

[(...) Promote the

Precisely following the homologues “*in Parigi, in Londra, Anversa, Bruxelles, Monaco e Berlino, ed in varie più colte città d'Europa*”,²⁶⁵ the *Società* embodied a private-public cooperation in the form of an institutional body other than the Academy whose running capitals were provided through membership fees that both exhibiting artists (“*Artisti*”) and buyers (“*Amatori*”) had to provide on an annual basis.²⁶⁶ By offering opportunities for eased canons to the former and premium features to the latter, the *Società* promoters confided to reestablish a more regular flow of patronage through an exhibition environment which addressed already offer/demand mechanisms that will define the identity of the bourgeoisie art market in the following decades.²⁶⁷ Being any commercial liberalization at odds with the Papal economic agenda, a stabilization of professional welfare was represented the main priority of scope: the exhibited artworks were in fact on sale and those which remained unsold were raffled, given to the drawn member and acquired through an annual budget that was accumulated thanks to the subscription fees and scaled according to membership level.²⁶⁸ A relevant aspect behind this institution is that, despite it would be easy to assume that artistic elites of such a conservative environment like Rome would mostly do this only in to answer to the lack of work for their large crowd of pupils and thus stabilize and prolong the exclusivity of their status, the *Società* didn't have any barriers in terms of accessibility,²⁶⁹ so that every type of artist was welcome if he or she was able to pay the subscription fee. Moreover, the international essence of the scene was being recognized not only by bestowing the honorific charge of “*Presidente perpetuo*” to a pivotal patron like Ludwig I from Baviera,²⁷⁰ but also through demanding the composition of the selection committee for the exhibition to:

²⁶⁴ “Statuto della Società degli Amatori e Cultori di Belle Arti in Roma”. Rome 1830, tit. 1, art. 1, p.3.

²⁶⁵ Quoted from a project for the *Società* drafted in December 1829 by a deputed commission, today stored in ASR, Camerlengato, *parte II*, tit. IV (“Prospetto di massime lineari”, see Montani 2007, pp. 33-34-).

²⁶⁶ “Statuto della Società...”, 1830, tit. 2, pp. 4-5.

²⁶⁷ Haskell 1979, *Saloni, gallerie....*

²⁶⁸ “Statuto della Società...”, 1830, tit. 7, pp. 12-14.

²⁶⁹ “[...] sarà indifferente che sieno nazionali o esteri” (Id., tit. 2, p. 4).

²⁷⁰ Montani 2007, p.33.

“ [...] una Deputazione, composta di Artisti di tutte le Nazioni, cioè di un Italiano, di un Inglese, di un Francese, di uno della Penisola Spagnola-Portoghese, di un Tedesco, di uno de' Paesi Bassi e di uno finalmente del Nord”²⁷¹

[(...) a Delegation composed by artists of every Nation, namely and Italian, an English, a French, of one coming from the Spanish-Portuguese peninsula, of a German, of one from from the Lowlands and finally of one from the North].

Whereas the personnel employed in the actual management of the institution was rigidly overseen by the Camerlengo,²⁷² the actual content of the exhibition reflected the regime's dictates only to a nominal extent. In fact, whereas the Camerlengo retained the last word on “conformity over religion, customs and politics”,²⁷³ cases of explicit censorship during the *Società*'s first decades enlists only one case regarding the “*Centauro Nesso e Dejanira*” marble by the Spanish sculptor Emanuele Vilar, initially judged “*non lasciva in atto, ma capace di far intendere a chicchessia l'intenzione rea del centauro*” by the commission but in the end approved by the Camerlengo and exhibited in 1841.²⁷⁴

This apparent layer of tolerance must be seen in context and according to the recognition already addressed by Giuseppe Monsagrati in regards to Giuseppe Gioacchino Belli of a particularly skilled attitude put in play by Roman intellectuals in interpreting the regime's dictates and arranging accordingly their production in advance of control.²⁷⁵ However, it constantly emerges a specific care from various subjects to keep and preserve such “open” rationale in the *Società*. Already within the very first project advanced by Tommaso Minardi in 1825, the painter was explicitly referring to Canova's attitude towards the artistic scene by evoking once again the circumstances for which Rome was a “*Repubblica delle Arti*”. But whereas in the sculptor's words the “Republic” concept was more the recognition of an existent reality of artists coming from all over the Western world to study arts in Rome, what Minardi was aiming to with the project of the *Società di Amatori e Cultori* was that of creating a “*Repubblica artistica in Roma*” as:

“[...] una continua esposizione di oggetti d'arte in quella guisa che vedesi praticato nelle sullodate metropoli [Paris and London] ove l'esperienza di non pochi anni dimostra risulturne non solo un

²⁷¹ “Statuto della Società...”, 1830, tit. 3, pp. 3-4.

²⁷² Id., tit. 4, art. 3, p. 8.

²⁷³ Montani 2007, pp. 38, 76.

²⁷⁴ Id, p. 70.

²⁷⁵ See Monsagrati 2000, p. ?????

decoro della città ed un eccitamento universale alla cultura, ma servire mirabilmente a far distinguere il vero merito delle opere ed a procacciare opportuno alimento ed incoraggiamento ai loro autori." ²⁷⁶

[(...) a continuous exposition of art objects in the way practiced in the aforementioned metropolises (*Paris and London*) where such experience fruited in the years not only large honors for the city and a universal excitement for culture, but also a chance to steadily contribute in distinguishing the real value of artworks and to provide suitable provisions and encouragements to their authors].

We can recognize two substantial innovations in regards to the scene of Rome: first, the addressing of a crisis in patronage operations and the will of coping with this trough the creation of a structure whose functioning shifts away from the model of direct commissions from patron to artist, but without denying the distinct role and status of the *Amatori*; second, the fact of being open, so that a governmental institution was for the first time not aimed at advancing the high hierarchies and their pupils, but instead to provide every Roman artists with a yearly window to market artworks which were already produced. A rather "modern" approach, but still in a social environment which didn't present suitable characteristics in that sense. In fact, after some encouragingly crowded exhibitions during the early 30s in which were presented tremendously successful and even controversial artworks like the "*Judith and Olopherne*" by Horace Vernet,²⁷⁷ the *Società* shows organized in a dedicated hall next to the customs in Piazza del Popolo started to be welcomed with mixed reactions.²⁷⁸ The extent to which the *Società* achieved its scope may be easily measured by the introduction of the new regulations, released in 1840:

"Al nobile desiderio di professare e di proteggere le arti figurative si trova nelle private condizioni difficoltà non lieve ed impedimento. Molti ingegni si celano per modestia, e sfuggendo offerirsi altrui non han modo di adoperare e di crescere. Molti vorrebbero pur mano all'adornamento delle città e delle case, ma son costretti restarsene da mediocrità di fortuna. Alle quali cose hanno inteso di provvedere alquanti professori ed intenditori di belle arti ordinando alle loro spese in Roma una esposizione annovale di pitture e sculture, e per questo e per altri modi cooperando all'onore e all'utilità degli artisti".

²⁷⁶ ASR, *Archivio Ovidi*, b. 12, fasc. 90 in Montani 2007, pp. 32-33.

²⁷⁷ Today in Pau, Musée des Beaux-Arts. On Vernet see Durande, A., *Joseph, Carle et Horace Vernet: Correspondance et biographie*. Paris, 1863; Blanc C., *Une famille d'artistes: Les Trois Vernet*. Paris 1898; *Horace Vernet (1789 - 1863)*, catalogo (Roma, Accademie di Francia a Roma, marzo-giugno 1980), Roma, De Luca, 1980.

²⁷⁸ After the same 1840 exhibition, we find Ottavio Gigli's excitement (Gigli O., *Roma. Esposizione di belle arti nelle sale del Popolo*, in "Il Tiberino", 6-4, March 9, 1840) next to Gaspere Servi more tepid reaction (Servi G. C., *Roma. Esposizione di belle arti nelle sale del Popolo* in "Il Tiberino", 4-12, May 4, 1840, p. 47).

[translate]

After more than ten years following the *Società* inauguration, professional sustainability for operators in the Fine arts were still the same: the “*ingegni*”’s modesty, the lack of guides for the young, the “*mediocrità di fortuna*” preventing people to adorn their houses. Moreover, a sharper divide emerges within the scene itself, with the *Società* now being even more an act of careful charity from the “*professori*” towards their less fortunate epigones and pupils, a situation which is reflected by the introduction of different membership levels and accorded fees also for the artists, whereas in 1830 these were only active for the “*Amatori*”.²⁷⁹ The high hierarchies preferred indeed to leverage their estate assets and rely on the studio visit custom,²⁸⁰ evidently a model which was apt for established professional but not so for emerging ones. While reviewing the *Società* exhibition of 1840, the Venetian outsider Pietro Selvatico underlined that:

*“[...] in Roma è antico costume che ogni privato studio di pittura o scultura sia aperto ai curiosi e quindi non siavi bisogno, specialmente per gli artisti più chiari, di valersi dell’esposizione onde guadagnare nominanza ed averne il giudizio del pubblico. Da ciò ne segue che pochissimi tra i celebri pongano a mostra nelle sale del Popolo i prodotti del loro ingegno e perciò il maggior numero delle opere quivi collocate sieno frutto di mani e menti giovanili ancor timide nell’esercizio delle divine arti”*²⁸¹

[translate]

Despite the fact that the whole history of this institution - especially its earliest years - is still yet to be written mostly because of the dispersal of its archives, such evaluation can be reinforced if one

²⁷⁹ Compare the dedicated regulations of 1830 (“*Ogni socio corrisponde un’annua somma non minore di scudi sei, purché non dichiarì di voler somministrare un sussidio maggiore*”, “*Statuto della Società...*”, tit. 2, art. 2, Rome 1830, p.4; “*Quegli artisti cui paresse troppo grave il sussidio di scudi sei, potranno pagarne solamente tre, non che però non acquistino che d’ingresso alle sale e di potervi esporre le opere loro*”, Id., tit 2, art. 7, p. 5) to the one of 1840 (“*Degli artisti sono tre classi: la prima di quelli che pagando ogni anno sei scudi han diritto, siccome gli amatori, d’essere nominati alle cariche, d’esser sortiti, ad avere in dono le opere comperate, di esporre le proprie, di venderle alla società. La seconda è quella di quelli che pagano quattro scudi e possono esporre e vendere come i primi alla società. Coloro che finalmente si pongono alla terza, i quali pel sol esporre pagano in ciascuno anno due scudi*”; in *Statuto della Società degli amatori e cultori delle belle arti nuovamente emendato secondo le occorse riforme*, tit. 2, art. 2, Rome 1840, p. 4.).

²⁸⁰ See Missirini M., *Memorie per servire alla storia della romana Accademia di S. Luca fino alla morte di Antonio Canova*, Rome 1823, pp. 338-340 in Mazzocca 1998, pp. 333.336.

²⁸¹ Selvatico P., *Esposizione di opere di Belle arti nelle sale del Popolo in Roma*, in “*Rivista Europea*”, 3-2(1840), today in Mazzocca 1998, pp. 348-349.

considers it at the light of the several “Studio Guides” that were published in those decades,²⁸² testifying that the *Società* didn’t transform major customs which were still the same since the 18th century. On the other hand, it must be taken in account that the *Società* lived on until 1929 and that in those few catalogues emerged from dedicated investigations by Montani the number of participants and artworks displayed until 1849 remained constantly high.²⁸³

If the *Società* remained an accessible exhibition structure which didn’t perfectly work because of patronage circumstances and some exclusiveness put in play by the high hierarchies, a more direct attempt at providing new forms of Fine arts provisions happened by 1837, when Gregory XVI revitalized the “*Accademia di Belle Arti e Lettere dei Virtuosi al Pantheon*” also known as, “*Insigne Artistica Congregazione de’ Virtuosi al Pantheon*”,²⁸⁴ a sort of academic offspring that was supposedly founded by Raphael decades before the Academy of S. Luke and that originally functioned as a sort of Fine arts congregation.²⁸⁵ The 19th century status of the institution was strictly tied to a project proposed by Giuseppe Fabris and approved in 1833, that intended to finally settle a wide academic debate regarding the burial place of Raphael in the Pantheon, which for some was supposedly false.²⁸⁶ Given the legendary status that the “Divine Painter” had acquired during the Restoration, the disinterment and the official retrieval of his body represented the occasion to remark not only the close relationship between “artistic genius” and the Roman Catholic

²⁸² Known guides for buying artworks in Restoration Rome are Keller E., *Elenco di tutti gli pittori, scultori, architetti, miniatori...esistenti in Roma l'anno 1824*, Rome 1824; Brancadoro G., *Notizie riguardanti l' accademie di belle arti, e di archeologia esistenti in Roma : con l'accurato elenco dei pittori, scultori, architetti, miniatori, incisori in gemme, opera compilata ad uso degli stranieri ed agli amatori delle belle arti da Giuseppe Brancadoro*, Rom3 1834; *Visita a diversi studi di belle arti in Roma nel dicembre dell'anno 1835. Discorso accademico del marchese Amico Cavalier Ricci di Macerata*, Bologna 1838; Hawks Le Grice, *Walks through the studii of the sculptors at Rome, with a brief historical and critical sketch of sculpture*, Rome 1841; *Indicatore romano, ossia grande raccolta d'indirizzi e notizie della città di Roma [...]*, Rome 1842; *Mercurio di Roma, ossia grande raccolta d'indirizzi e notizie de' pubblici e privati stabilimenti, dei professori di scienze, lettere ed arti, de' commercianti, degli artisti [...]*, Rome 1843;; Bonfigli F. S., *The artistical directory or Guide to the studios of the Italian and foreign painters and sculptors resident in Rome, to which are added the principal mosaicists and shell- engravers, with much supplementary information useful to the visitor of the “eternal city”*, Rome 1856; *Guida civile artistica commerciale e della città di Roma per l'anno 1866*, Rome 1866. A later recollection of the Roman studio is Odescalchi B., *Gli studi di Roma. Ricordi artistici*, Rome 1875.

²⁸³ Montani 2007, pp. 90-92.

²⁸⁴ In this form is mentioned in Mercurio 1843, p. 279.

²⁸⁵ Visconti, C. L., *Notizie storiche dell’I. A. Congregazione dei Virtuosi*, Rome, 1869; Kambo, S., *La Pontificia I. Accademia dei Virtuosi al Pantheon e le sue vicende di fede e di arte*, in” Atti del primo Congresso Nazionale di Studi Romani”, Rome 1929, pp. 703-716.

²⁸⁶ Odescalchi P., *Istoria del ritrovamento delle spoglie mortali di Raffaello Sanzio da Urbino*, Rome, 1833; Visconti C. L., 1869, pp. 70-81; Lorizzo; Genovese A. L., *La Tomba del divino Raffaello*, Rome 2016, pp. 91-102

patronage but also the primate of Raphael in the history of arts,²⁸⁷ which in 1834 was once again thoroughly detailed and explained within a famous speech that Tommaso Minardi pronounced in the Academy of S. Luke dedicated to the consideration of “*i fatti della pittura nostra, risorta dal puro genio nazionale*” [the facts of our painting, resurrected from the pure national genius].²⁸⁸ The *Virtuosi del Pantheon* were finally endorsed with a new statute by 1837 that provided direct governmental fundings in order to organize annual exhibitions precisely open only to Catholic artists, and awarded with prizes directly bestowed by the Pope himself.²⁸⁹

Just like the *Società*, the *Virtuosi* exhibitions are still lacking some dedicated study, but even at the descriptive level is evident that the latter's aim by the 1830s was to provide more traditional flows of prizes and endowments, a much preferable strategy of managing the artistic scene for a government so intensely focused on promoting a round identity that equally comprised culture, politics, religion, past, present and future, whereas secularization's pressure was exactly crystallizing all these. It's worth to remember in fact that Raphael's disentanglement occurred only two years after the 1830-1831 riots and the following *Memorandum*, which basically embodied the recognition from European politics that the political management - not the spiritual - of the Papal States needed some drastic improvements. But then, the fact that the whole debate and its final outcomes all started from within the Academic environment should testify that the “ideology of Catholicism”, as Daniele Menozzi defined it,²⁹⁰ was also actively engaged by institutional elites and directly affecting Fine Arts production. In the end, Giuseppe Fabris was awarded for the disentanglement proposition by being elected “*Reggente Perpetuo*” [Perpetual Regent] of the *Virtuosi* Academy after being accounted as director of the Vatican Museum and later for the preparation of the awakening Museo Gregoriano Egiziano, another crucial moment of Gregory XVI cultural politics.²⁹¹ At the same time, Vincenzo Camuccini²⁹² was conceded by the Pope the

²⁸⁷ On the myth of Raphael in Italian 19th century art see Spalletti E., *Il mito di Raffaello nella pittura dell'800 in Italia*, in “Raffaello, elementi di un mito: le fonti, la letteratura artistica, la pittura di genere storico”, exhibition catalogue (Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, February 4 - April 15 1984), edited by Spalletti E., Sisi C., Florence 1984, pp. 161-163.

²⁸⁸ Minardi, T., *Delle qualità essenziali della pittura italiana dal suo rinascimento fino all'epoca della perfezione*, Rome 1834, p.8.

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²⁹⁰ D. Menozzi, *La chiesa cattolica e la secolarizzazione*, Turin, 1993, pp. 15-71.

²⁹¹ Stringa N., *Giuseppe De Fabris. Uno scultore dell'Ottocento*. Milan 1994, pp. 27-33, 160

²⁹² Angeli D., *Roma Romantica*. Milan 1935, pp. 142-149.

exclusive right to sketch a drawing of the open tomb during the very exclusive happening²⁹³, and when it was found out that another artist had also made a drawing and started to sell it via lithographic reproductions, these were immediately seized by the police. To no importance appeared the evidence that the perpetrator was the French painter Horace Vernet, Director of Villa Medici since 1829 and one of the most sought-after artists in Europe at the time. This initially reacted but ultimately resolved to “spontaneously” destroy the lithograph, especially since the engravers of Rome adopted some particularly restrictive attitudes over their privatives on prints and they had the possibility of enforcing their rights on this matter.²⁹⁴

The experiences of both the *Società degli amatori e cultori* and the *Virtuosi del Pantheon* shows how, despite some attempted solutions, structural problems of the artistic scene and its more traditional channels of sustainability didn't affect much the artistic elites. More in general, sources does not present any substantial proof on the existence of a class interest: the *status quo* of the theocratic regime simply embodied the most suitable circumstance for them, perpetuating an approach to the artistic profession which was still entirely embedded in ancient regime circumstances. Whether in the end there existed a sort of private discontent that was somehow secretly translated into action, this would be basically impossible to retrieve upon available sources. What in the end defined the institutional involvement of an artist like Vincenzo Camuccini? Was it prestige? Aesthetic convictions? Didactic ones? Lack of job? Conformism? Religion? It's hard to tell. What it is instead easier to determine is that throughout his career as a Fine artist, he found the means to advance his social positioning up to acquire several assets in the form of his institutional affiliation, of his “noble” and acknowledged artistic language, and finally of his economic capital, all of which were dependent on both his skills and status, but also on his positioning towards the Papal governments, whose needs he came to aptly interpret: literally, an artistic and a political capital. The balance between these two resources - or, more often, the seek of this balance - was the most common aspect that defined the interests the “official” side of the artistic scene, both for established and aspiring elites. Although the same could have also been said for previous times and different scenes elsewhere, the particular configuration of both dimensions in Restoration Rome - with the violently induced aristocratic crisis, an institutional presence that was able to compensate

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²⁹⁴ Lorizzo 2008, p. 72.

for it only to a smaller extent and the specificity of available artistic capabilities - organized the artistic life of the city around two very distinct areas: what was “official”, and what was not.

2.2.3 - The “Unofficial” side of the scene

So, what was not official? Remaining within a bird-view perspective, it’s worth to start by underlining that power at the governmental level apparently never showed any precise interest in excluding artists from public life because of religious, national or cultural differences. As said, limited resources and related consequences were somehow considered more as an “implied risk” rather than a precise mandate. If we are to infer by judging the successful careers of Angelica Kaufmann, Marianna Candida Dionigi, Teresa Fioroni, Elisabeth Jerichau-Baumann, Carolina Grasselli and other women artists who successfully exercised the profession in Rome,²⁹⁵ not even sexual differences were considered explicit criteria of exclusion. If for these the high hierarchies remained however an unreachable quest,²⁹⁶ foreign male artists who made it even to the highest spheres of the S. Luke’s Academy were not a rarity, and the most successful among them, the Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen, was even Protestant.²⁹⁷ This didn’t prevent him to receive Papal visits, to be commissioned with the funerary monument for Pius VII in S. Peter in Vatican, to be ultimately considered not only Canova’s most important prosecutor but for some even a more

²⁹⁵ Excluding Kaufmann, a dedicated study on women artists in Rome during the first half of 19th century it’s still representing an evident lack of studies. For references on the cases mentioned see Fioroni T., *Lettere artistiche e familiari (1830-1855)*, edited by Nardelli F. P., Rome 1981, Martinelli V., *Paesisti romani dell'Ottocento*, Rome 1963, pp. 20-33

²⁹⁶ *Questa cosa va un attimo indagata*

²⁹⁷ For the relationship between Thorvaldsen and the Academy of S. Luke see Hartmann J. B., *Alcuni documenti inediti, nonché estratti ed appunti inerenti a Bertel Thorvaldsen e l'Accademia di S. Luca*, in “Atti dell'Accademia di S. Luca”, 8 (1965-1966), pp. 31-38; Cipriani A., *Thorvaldsen e l'Accademia di San Luca*, in “Bertel Thorvaldsen. Scultore Danese a Roma 1770-1844”, exhibition catalogue (Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, 31 October 1989 - 28 January 1990, Rome), edited by Di Majò E., Jørnaes B., Susinno S., Rome 1989, pp. 110-112

“appropriate” artist than the latter was.²⁹⁸ At the same time, his success and status but also willingness to help newcomers, created the conditions for young and older colleagues to spend some quality learning time in Rome, preferring it to other destinations. Just to pick one aspect, Vienna, Düsseldorf, Berlin, London, Paris but even Milan or Trieste were by the 1830s-1840s some much more advanced environments in terms of market ecology. Rome wasn’t even a very “fashionable” destination in those years, as one may desume from the ideologically heated sentences of Caspar David Friedrich on the Roman education. Among many similar comments, one of his private notebooks reports some retort reaction to an academic exhibition he visited in Dresden before 1830:

*The author of these three paintings [...] may for once have the happy idea of painting without using lenses, at least once in his life. In this way, objects would appear to him like the honest men who haven’t been in Rome sees them, who have sane eyes and who studies nature according to nature itself and not through paintings.*²⁹⁹

Yet, Rome never really ceased to be a desirable option, and the efforts and engagement of mediators between different worlds like Thorvaldsen was, were one of the most powerful engine behind the persistence of this custom.

Beside strictly aesthetic concerns, there were other circumstances that made the city a sought after destination, up to the point where many reached it even without an actual plan, by simply relying on a governmental or a patron’s endowment, sometimes even without any reliable source of sustainability. A relevant example is in this sense that of Johan Anton Koch, painter born in a small town of Austrian Tyrol from a poor family of farmers in 1768.³⁰⁰ After having awakened the interest of the bishop of Saxony who funded his artistic studies at the art academy in Stuttgart, Koch became infatuated by Jacobine ideals and reacted against formal art education. His protest took the form of a departure: he resolved in fact to acquire fundings from his patron Georg Nott and left for an artistic trip that, without any precise goal, took him to travel and sketch landscapes throughout

²⁹⁸ “Äußerung bei Betrachtung einer Sammlung von Gemälden von größtenteils noch lebenden und unlängst verstorbenen Künstlern”, manuscript stored at the Prints Departments in Dresden, printed and collected in *Caspar David Friedrich in Briefen un Bekenntnissen*, edited by Hinz S., Berlin-Heuschelverlag 1968 (english translation ???).

²⁹⁹ *Caspar David Friedrich. Scritti sull’arte*, translated by Rubini L., edited by Tassi R., Milan 1989, pp. 11-12 [english translation is mine].

³⁰⁰ Gizzi C., *Joseph Anton Koch: un talento “selvaggio” ma lussureggiante*, in “Koch e Dante”, exhibition catalogue (Casa di Dante in Abruzzo, Castello Gizzi, September-October 1988, Torre de’ Passeri-Pescara), edited by Gizzi C., Milan 1988, pp. 13-241

the Swiss mountains and Italy, eventually reaching Rome in 1795 after four years of peregrination. Once in the city, he will not only become one of the most successful landscape painters of his generation, but also a pivotal presence in the artistic scene by gathering around him artists who also sought to endure their artistic life without binding constraints. Only increasing in the years of Romantic idealisms, offsprings like Johan Anton Koch moving in the city and joining that same lifestyle progressively pushed the overall artistic scene and the city's activities to functionally provide for such needs and create circumstances for which even those who were entirely outside the official hierarchies and didn't even desire to join them were still able to practice artistic professions in the city.³⁰¹

As such circumstances were principally engendered by the phenomenon of non-Roman born artists moving in the city, it's worth in first place to analyze some of the mechanisms at the base of the international identity of the scene in the Restoration years before detailing its "informal" infrastructures and sources of capitals. Just like Koch's story suggests, the typical formation of the "unofficial" areas was in fact residual of eminently "official" operations.

The tradition of foreign artists reaching Rome for educational purposes was by 19th century already a much old one and tracing it back to its specific roots - possibly starting with the early 16th century³⁰² - would unnecessarily overcomplicate our analysis. Classical heritage in the form of public monuments and private collections, was of course a major reason pushing artists to reach the city, and if this was true in late Renaissance, by 18th century the proportion of this phenomena could have only been larger. The Restoration years, beside several continuities, marked nevertheless a steep fracture and political reasons did play a part in it, as the systematic centralization of governmental functions typical of Napoleonic years remained a crucial institutional heritage in Europe in regards to the "Academies of Arts"³⁰³. In his classic 1940 study, Nikolaus Pevsner has proved in detail how the example of the reformed *Académie de peinture et sculpture*, with its pre-revolutionary history of attempts and elaborations based upon Colbert's mercantilism and State protection of internal resources,³⁰⁴ had in the end convinced several Restored monarchs and princes

³⁰¹ Reinhardt? Gmelin? Voogdt, Johann Von Rhoden.

³⁰² See Dacos N., *Viaggio a Roma. I pittori europei nel '500*, Milan 2012. Other relevant examples in Rome are Leopold Robert (*Léopold Robert*, exhibition catalogue [Palazzo Racani Artoni, June 23 - July 20, 1986, Spoleto], edited by Mantura B., Rome-Milan 1986, pp. 52-62),

³⁰³ Pevsner N., *Academies of Art. Past and Present*. Cambridge 1940 [english translation New York 1973]

³⁰⁴ Pevsner 1940, p. 87-89.

about the innerly positive practice of State commitment in the Fine arts, provided by directly favoring cultivation of talents through endowments.³⁰⁵ Classicism was still considered the most common language to provide the State with an edifying production in the Fine arts, and the elected place for cultivating “genius” in that direction was Rome; in turn, an ambitious artist who wanted to positively interact with the Academic environments (and, indirectly, State patronage), watched at the Eternal City training as a crucial step in his (not yet her), *cursus honorum*. The tool, in practical terms, was first introduced by the *Académie* with the “*Prix de Rome*”, which after 1803 consisted in a three years period of funding that included an accommodation, a small atelier by the luxurious *Villa Medici* on the Pincio hill and demanded to students had to occasionally deliver artistic essays of their achievements.³⁰⁶ In general terms, such educational model became tremendously influential,³⁰⁷ and an increasing number of European sovereigns started to subscribe the idea of funding an artists’ staying in Rome. Nevertheless, no national outpost was in that sense as structured as *Villa Medici*: those governments who enjoyed diplomatic connections with the Holy See like Austria, Spain, or Italian States like Naples, Piedmont and Tuscany, generally reserved the artists a space within their embassies,³⁰⁸ whereas all the others (including the United States, Sweden and Belgium) left their students to arrange their life in Rome for themselves on the base of the provided funding.³⁰⁹ A unique exception was in this sense represented by the British Academy of Arts in Rome created by 1822 under the supervision of Thomas Lawrence,³¹⁰ an exception that possibly reflects the unsettled nature of political relationships between London and the Holy See

³⁰⁵ See also Pinelli A., *L'insegnabilità dell'arte. Le Accademie come moltiplicatori del gusto neoclassico*, in “Ideal und Wirklichkeit der bildenden Kunst im späten 18. Jahrhundert”, edited by Beck H., Bol P. C., Maek Gérard E. Berlin 1984, pp. 193-206.

³⁰⁶ Vaisse P., *Le Prix de Rome*, in “Maestà di Roma da Napoleone all’Unità d’Italia. D’Ingres à Degas. Les artistes français à Rome”, exhibition catalogue (Villa Medici, March 7 - June 29, 2003, Rome), edited by Bonfait O. Rome 2003, pp. 41-50.

³⁰⁷ Nicosia??

³⁰⁸ A list of the diplomatic relations of the Holy See by 1843 is provided in Mercurio 1843, pp. 143-149.

³⁰⁹ For introductions on the respective national outpost in Rome see Coekelberghs D., *Le peintres belges à Rome de 1700 à 1830*, Rome-Brussels 1976; Wannquist M., *Comunità artistiche svedesi a Roma nella prima metà dell’800*, in “La Svezia a Roma. Quattro momenti della cultura svedese a Roma”, exhibition catalogue (Palazzo Braschi, November 1980, Rome), edited by Cortese di Domenico G, Wannquist M., Rome 1980, pp. 83-104; Susinno S., *Napoli e Roma: la formazione artistica nella capitale universale delle arti*, in “Civiltà dell’Ottocento. Le arti a Napoli dai Borbone ai Savoia. Cultura e Società”, Naples 1997, pp. 83-91; Dalmaso F., *L’istituzione del pensionato artistico*, in “Arte di corte a Torino da Carlo Emanuele III a Carlo Felice”, edited by Pinto S., Turin 1987, pp. 313-330; [tuscany, uk, usa, missing]

³¹⁰ Iannattoni L., *Roma e gli Inglesi*, Rome 1945, pp. 55-58; Rossiter Walker C., *Introduction*, in “The Anglo-American artist in Italy. 1750-1820”, exhibition catalogue (University Art Museum, University of California, March 7 - May 9, 1982, Santa Barbara), edited by Rossiter Walker C., Santa Barbara 1982, pp. 3-6.

during the Restoration years: inasmuch as an often uncomfortable guest, English presence in Rome was an important asset.

Beside national academies and private patrons who continued to individually fund their *protégé*, in Rome there also were semi-institutions unofficially attributed with duties of hospitality on the bases of national belonging. The foremost example in this sense is that of *Villa Malta*, not far from *Villa Medici*, which after having passed through different owners, from the half of 18th century started to be rented to various German sojourners, including Goethe, Herder and Angelica Kauffman, all of which organized *soirées* and hosted German artists who found themselves passing by Rome.³¹¹ The Villa was eventually bought by the Swedish sculptor Johan Niclas Byström in 1818 and prolonged in changing owners and hosting artists until by the early 20th century it was bought by the catholic review “*La Civiltà Cattolica*”, changing entirely the building’s traditional attributions.

Alongside this international exchange of artistic students as promoted by inter-Academic networks, individuals were also able to entirely self-manage their Roman experience upon an already solid financial condition. Even the “intrusion” of economic capitals coming from flows alien to the artistic sphere demanded in fact to interact with the scenic infrastructure: after Koch, the Roman travels of a no less independent but wealthier art students like Camille Corot or Christen Købke were characterized by some very deep sharing experiences of beaten paths, techniques and advices which were handed from artist to artist and formed together a patrimony of the scene.³¹² Non-artistic activities that in the years became accustomed to have artists inside and around Rome should also be considered crucial resources that made the Roman staying a worth and enjoyable investment. A standpoint in this sense was that of the famous *Caffè Greco* still today in Via Condotti, which turned into the foremost center of artistic sociability and where artists of every “nobility” were all together either drinking, smoking, reading newspapers or discussing.³¹³ In the 19th century, the *Caffè* became somehow the foremost physical institution of the “unofficial” side of the scene, providing a number of important services like mail delivery or even art patronage.³¹⁴ Taverns like *Gensola* or *Il Lepre* were many and spread not only throughout the city but also in the

³¹¹ Landen A., *Skulptören Johan Niklas Byström och Villa Malta i Rom*, in “Drömmen om Italien. Nordiska resenärer i Södern 1750-1870”, exhibition catalogue (Nationalmuseum, October 14 2004 - January 16, 2005, Stockholm), edited by Gunnarsson T., Ahlund M., Stockholm 2004, pp. 105-113.

³¹² Galassi P., *Corot in Italy: Open-air painting and the Classical Landscape Tradition*, New Haven 1991; Gunnarsson,

³¹³ Angeli D., *Le cronache del Caffè Greco*, Milano 1930; Hufschmidt T. F., Janattoni L. *Antico caffè Greco. Storia, ambienti, collezioni*. Rome 1989.

³¹⁴ Hufschmidt-Janattoni 1989, pp.

countryside around towns like Genzano, Ariccia, Nemi, Olevano and more.³¹⁵ Given that alimantar supplies and inn services were the most transversally available forms of business for the Romans, the taverns naturally evolved into sympathetic forms of mutual adjustments, cross-fertilizing the artists' life and the city economy.

Deep communitarian experiences became also a crucial peculiarity of the Roman experience, representing often a mean of departure from official dimensions to join some precise anti-Academic identity: this is grossly what happened with the German-Danish painter Asmus Jacob Carstens, who at a certain point of his Roman sojourn decided to deliberately stop sending his Academic essays to Berlin because of a superior intellectual pride impeding him to force his creativity and serve the State in the form of its Academy.³¹⁶ Carstens' denial made strong impressions on both the Prussian Academy and the Roman scene, and the heritage of his deeds was still inspiring after various years a group of painters from the Vienna Academy. By 1810, these decided to polemically leave the institution and its orthodoxies, eventually repairing to Rome in order to cultivate their counterposition by living an hermit life, eminently devoted to art and communitarian life, seeking to embody a fabled dimension of early Christian purity inspired by monastic life.³¹⁷ Although they programmatically chose to call themselves *Lukasbundes* [Brotherhood of S. Luke] to underline their cultural membership with the medieval Roman guild of painters, these artists were commonly called the "Nazarenes", as they were ironically named because of the contrived manners and clothes they showed in order to chase that historical dimension and its communitarian significance.³¹⁸ The initial group, composed by Overbeck, Cornelius, Pforr, von Carosfeld, the brothers Julius and Philip Veit, and others, settled by the abandoned monastery of S. Isidoro - even closer to Piazza di Spagna than Villa Malta was - which was dismissed by the Napoleonic government as part of a general revocation of ecclesiastical patrimonies. At the base of their exterior features, there was a

³¹⁵ See Musitelli P., *Artisti e letterati stranieri a Roma nell'Ottocento. Strutture, pratiche e descrizioni della sociabilità*, in "Memorie e Ricerca", 46 (August-May, 2014), special issue: "Soggiorni culturali e di piacere. Viaggiatori stranieri nell'Italia dell'Ottocento", pp. 27-44.

³¹⁶ Fernow, C. L., *Leben des Künstlers Asmus Jakob Carstens*, Leipzig 1802; Monrad K., *Mellem Guder of Helte: Historiemaleret i Rom, Paris og København 1770-1820*, Copenhagen 1990. In general on emerging artists' identities and the relationship with the academies see Barroero L., Susinno S., *L'artista "moderno" e il ruolo delle accademie*, in "Il Neoclassicismo in Italia da Tiepolo a Canova", exhibition catalogue (Palazzo Reale, March 2 - July 28, 2002, Milan), Milan 2002, pp. 133-142.

³¹⁷ The relationship is analyzed in detail in Pevsner 1940, pp. 193-197, 200-218.

³¹⁸ A wide bibliography is available on the Nazarenes. See "I Nazareni a Roma", exhibition catalogue (Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, January 22 - March 22, 1981, Rome), edited by Piantoni G., Susinno S., Rome 1981

substantial critique at the heart of those processes of artistic institutionalization upon a governmental base and their civil implications. In order to fight the academic criteria of artistic education, the Nazarenes pushed the struggle on a familiar battleground and counteracted the outcomes of that didactic track which, being based on reiterated copies from plasters or old master's engravings, could have only led public art to stand still within Classicism and thus never really allow the individual "genius" to develop his talent and return it to the community, intended on a national level. Overbeck, Cornelius and their comrades thus decided that they should have only looked to early modern Italian artists such as Giotto, Beato Angelico, Perugino, or more precisely to everything that happened in the history of Fine arts *before Raphael*. As the social outputs of these "medieval" artists was conveyed thanks to the openly public dimension of City Halls and Churches' walls, the modern painter according to the Nazarenes had thus to practice frescoes, and their stylistic features should have rested not on the polish intellectual culture of Classicism, but rather on spiritual intimacy and the moral admonishments of Christianity, whose language was (supposedly) understood by anyone. The most important artworks the Nazarenes left in Rome are in fact the fresco decorations of the Casino Massimo and the house of the Prussian Consul Jacob Bartholdy, the former still under work by the height of the "fresco controversy" between Camuccini and Minardi.³¹⁹

The "heroic" Roman phase of the Nazarenes didn't last for long: beside Pforr, who died of tuberculosis already by 1812, many had left already by the 1820s, and by 1830 the only Overbeck remained in Rome, converted to Catholicism (already by 1813) and progressively managed to enter the exclusive circle of S. Luke Academicians when the conditions became favorable.³²⁰ Despite their alleged isolation, the Nazarenes made in fact a major impact in the Roman scene throughout early Restoration years, but also engendered reactions. Their struggle against Classicism, was for instance entirely imported from Vienna and largely contributed in recreating a public discourse upon stylistic features which continued for long before an access to the highest artistic hierarchies was conceded to the *Puristi* [Purists], the Roman and Italian acclimatization of the Nazarenes' program that reserved the premier place in the history of arts to Raphael, whereas the *Lucasbunder* only accepted his early manner (Minardi, Overbeck, Pietro Tenerani and Antonio Bianchini signed

³¹⁹ Büttner F., *Il ciclo di affreschi romani dei Nazareni*, in Id., pp. 59-63; Susinno S., *Gli affreschi dei Nazareni al Casino Massimo in Roma. Appunti per un quadro di riferimento dell'ambiente romano*, in Id., pp. 369-373.

³²⁰ Thimann M., *Vitae Parallelae. Friedrich Overbeck, Tommaso Minardi und die Reflexion über das religiöse Bild im Purismo*, in "Pittura italiana nell'Ottocento", conference proceedings (Kunsthistorisches Institut, Max-Planck-Institut, October 7-10, 2022, Florence), edited by Hansmann M., Siedel M., Venice 2005, pp. 258-259.

the *Purism* manifest in 1842).³²¹ But beside their local impact on the scenic dynamics, their communitarian life and their artistic outcomes allowed the individual Nazarenes to turn their liminal Roman experience into a capital which they eventually spent by progressively entering institutional networks elsewhere: beside the quirk example of Overbeck, most of the other *Lucasbunder* became employed by German Academies of Art exactly because of their artistic ideals, finally winning their struggle against Classicism and in the position of advancing new academic propositions in terms of style but also of education. In Academies where the Nazarenes were able to directly put hand in the didactical processes,³²² those large classes of students coping plasters remained only active for beginners, whereas advanced artists were given the opportunity to access the *Meisterklasse*. This consisted in a studio space given to the best students in order to have them working under the institution's protection, cooperate with each other and thus be the firsts in line when the State had to commission artworks.

Before the Nazarenes started to be so widely recognized in the German States, their endeavor engendered and spread new ways of living the “Roman education”, widening the possibilities for artistic development while mechanisms of foreign settlement became more varied and structured. The inducts of Thorvaldsen’s atelier, Villa Malta or Franz Ludwig Catel’s *Istituto Pio*,³²³ are apt examples in this sense, hosting under the same “national” circumstances artists who enjoyed Academic pensions but also those who didn’t. The role of these structures progressively contributed in creating levels of mediation which helped the artists in creating patronage and market relationships that isolated individuals from the local dynamics of Rome, of its pressures against contents and styles but also its lazy market ecology. A good point of view to watch over this process is that of the artistic production tied with those genres of painting like landscape art which were thriving as informal practices at least since early 17th century and progressively made it to aristocratic galleries through the hybrid stylistic iteration promoted in Rome by the French painters

³²¹ Bon Valvassina C., *Il Purismo religioso e Beato Angelico*, in “Galleria nazionale dell’Umbria. I lunedì della Galleria”, conference proceedings (Galleria Nazionale dell’Umbria, May-June, October- November 1999, Urbino), edited by Mencarelli R., Perugia-Città di Castello 2000, pp. 107-128. On Purism in general see “I Nazareni a Roma”, exhibition catalogue (Galleria Nazionale d’Arte Moderna, January 22 - March 22, 1981, Rome), edited by G. Piantoni, S. Susinno, Rome, 1981.

³²² The most precise example illustrated in this sense by Pevsner in that of M. Schadow in Düsseldorf. Cornelius conceived a “Nazarene” reform of the Munich but his “*Dritte Klasse*” was in the end more pervasive than Shadhow’s (Pevsner 1940, pp. 218-219).

³²³ Andreas Stolzenbug, *Gli ultimi anni di Catel e la fondazione del Deutscher Künstlerverein a Roma (1845)* in *Franz Ludwig Catel (1778-1856) paesaggista e pittore di genere*, catalogo della mostra (Roma, Casa di Goethe 30 gennaio- 22 aprile 2007), a cura di Andreas Stolzenburg, Roma 2007, p. 122-124.

Nicolas Poussin and Claude Lorrain, the so-called “classical landscape” which by 19th century will be mostly identified as “historical landscape”.³²⁴ In these artists’ most paradigmatic artworks, natural sights’ depictions were contextualized by narrative details and by small characters helping to connote their paintings with that superior intellectual content whose absence would have otherwise made the genre trivial and unsuitable for aristocratic patronage.³²⁵ Although the historical landscape was largely practiced and acclimatized within some Academic circles,³²⁶ its status and especially its pertinence within structured didactic programs were much doubted even in Rome³²⁷ despite the presence of revered practitioners even within the S. Luke’s *Accademici*.³²⁸ Nevertheless, landscape art was a rising interest throughout Europe and this not only on a market perspective, but also as a specific practice that was accessible to Academic artists as also to amateurs, including tourists and aristocrats for whom taking drawing lessons was a common practice.³²⁹ If entering the Fine arts practice from the museum doors meant to endeavor in a long and consuming journey before one was safely in possession of the craft and able to fully explore the hermeneutical possibilities of an art heritage like the Roman, landscape painting represented in that sense a much easier way. The urban sights and the countryside surrounding Rome were by any means no less famous than the Laocoon was, and as Lorrain’s paintings were still largely at the peak of European art collector’s desires,³³⁰ any variance on the theme was also appreciated. Just like the Vatican, the Capitol museums, and all the aristocratic private galleries of Rome together formed the democratic source of artistic capital which according to Canova justified the universal interests in the preservation of the “Republic of Arts”, landscape was then no less a patrimony. Hundreds of painters have been wondering in the Roman *Campagna* drawing and sketching landscapes, sharing advices and

³²⁴ Mazzocca F., *Strategie di un artista moderno*, “Massimo d’Azeglio e l’invenzione del paesaggio istoriato”, exhibition catalogue (, Galleria Civica d’Arte Moderna e Contemporanea, November 8, 2002 - February 23, 2003, Turin), edited by Bertone V., Turin 2003, pp.11-34.

³²⁵ Dughet in Doria-Pmaphilj

³²⁶ Starting from 1816, every four years the *Academie des Beaux-Arts* opened a *Prix-de-Rome* position for the *Paysage Historique*. The Academy of Naples created a course for landscape art by 1824 (Martorelli L., *La pittura dell’Ottocento nell’Italia meridionale (1799-1848)*, in “La Pittura in Italia. L’Ottocento”, 2, 1991, p. 476.

³²⁷ Well known are Jean-Baptist Wicar’s perplexities on the matter, published on the “Giornale Arcadico by 1827 during his directorship of the S. Luke Academy. He basically thought that “only nature can be teacher of the landscape painter” (quoted by Susinno in “La Pittura in Italia. L’Ottocento”, pp. 423-424).

³²⁸ The aforementioned Marianna Dionigi, who even published a manual for sketching sights, and her master Carlo Labruzzi are both relevant examples of landscape painters well established in the Academy (Martinelli 1963, pp. 65, 73-74).

³²⁹ Ann Birmingham

³³⁰ Da Gunnarson?

motives, collecting their portfolio of open-air visual notes like their most precious form of capital, still in the 19th century.³³¹ Such a culturally navigated landscape was also somehow a teacher itself: iconic sights like the *Serpentara* woods or the Lake of Nemi were in fact the same surfaces upon which the first landscape artists have been training upon since the 16th century, and the physical confrontation with those same places often engendered some crucial didactic experiences, not unlikely what could have happened by finally staring at the Sistine Chapel after years of training upon its reproductions.

A much similar value, was finally expressed by another traditional source of artistic capital in Rome: its *popolo*.³³² Although the iconic features of the Roman population have been spontaneously inserted in paintings ever since classes of Academic nudes have existed, by late 18th - early 19th century the aesthetic canonization of local models started to mature into an enquiring ethnographic investigation on the lower strata of population, on their different costumes, on their folklore.³³³ Just like Romantic landscape art was cultivated at the light of academic training, the so-called “genre paintings” of Roman theme in their 19th century fashion were spread throughout Europe by the fortunate series of engraving by Bartolomeo Pinelli, a typical S. Luke’s insider who achieved his success by visually narrating the cultural identity of his people from Trastevere.³³⁴ This kind of artworks were much appreciated internationally, both from buyers and artists who often prized the “unparalleled beauty”³³⁵ of the Roman population as an unfinished source of artistic inspiration. All these statements are of course not devoid of controversial aspects,³³⁶ but it’s sufficient to say that the most famous models like the much celebrated Vittoria Caldoni (represented on in artworks by Overbeck, Tenerani, Catel, Ivanoff and many others, even by Picasso

³³¹ On the communitarian dynamics behind landscape art in Rome, and on the oil-sketch practice in particular, some relevant introductions are contained in Brilli A., *Il “Petit Tour”. Itinerari minori del viaggio in Italia*. Milan 1988, pp. 93-150; Ottani Cavina A., in “Paysage d’Italie. Les peintres du plein air (1780-1830)”, exhibition catalogue (Galleries National du Grand Palais, April 3-July 9, 2001, Paris; Centro internazionale d’arte e di cultura di Palazzo Te, September 1 - December 16, 2001, Mantua), edited by Ottani Cavina A., Paris-Milan 2001, pp. ???; **Corot in Italia**

³³² For an updated study on the matter in regards to the Roman setting see essays by Bonfait O., Cattaneo M., and Capitelli G. in “Le Peuple de Rome. Représentations et imaginaire de Napoleon a l’Unité Italienne”, exhibition catalogue (Palais Fesch - Musée des Beux-Arts, June 28-September 30, 2013, Ajaccio) edited by Bonfait O. Ajaccio 2013.

³³³ Ricerca antropologica in Campagna Romana da Hackert a Balla

³³⁴ Nota su Pinelli

³³⁵ Maestà di Roma somewhere

³³⁶ J. Schneider, *Introduction: The Dynamics of Neo-orientalism in Italy (1848-1995)*, in “Italy’s Southern Question: Orientalism in One Country”, edited by J. Schneider, Oxford-New York, 1998, pp. 1-23; Meier C., *Travel Writing*, in “Imagology. The Cultural Construction and Literary Representation of National Characters. A Critical Survey”, edited by Beller M., Leerssen J., Amsterdam 2007, pp. 446-449.

later on) were personally recognized when portrayed in paintings or sculptures and their presence was often more valuable than the author's name itself.³³⁷ This is a much relevant evolution if one considers that the so-called "*figurini*" or "*staffe*" were usually those anonymous little character that landscape artists used to add just as an expedient to calibrate the visual balance of the picture.³³⁸ Furthermore, some foreign artists started to like so much these models that they started to marry them, like Franz Ludwig Catel did.³³⁹

Upon the visual capital of landscape and Roman population, upon those informal institutions such as Thorvaldsen's house, Villa Malta or even the *Caff  Greco*, upon the communitarian experiences such as that of the Nazarenes and, most important, thanks to unbinding academic pensions and some constant contacts that these artists maintained with their patrons and Art Unions in their former countries, the "unofficial" side of the Roman artistic scene thrived and expanded, maintaining a surprising anti-conventional identity in front of local power. Beside the religious identity (many of this "sub-scene" members were coming from German States, Switzerland, Holland or Scandinavia and were mostly Protestants), several recurrent characteristics of their life were harshly at odds with the strict moral control of Rome. A major feature of this unlikely *boh me*, was for instance wine: the *foglietta* was the unavoidable companion of celebrations but also of those artistic expedition in the countries in the search for the perfect landscape spot, overabundant also in paintings that portrayed moments of this communitarian life that sometimes even included notable persons like the King of Bavaria Ludwig I who was an habitual Roman guest and for a period also rented Villa Malta.³⁴⁰ To give an idea of how intolerable were these behaviours for the government, it's sufficient to recall the ill-famed *cancelletti* [gates] guarding the entrance of taverns, which were introduced in 1824 by Leo XII in order to forbid consumption of wine outside certain hours and counteract recurrent episodes of public drunkenness that often flowed into aggressions.³⁴¹ The measure was of course not precisely addressed to the artists, but it is a matter of fact that they

³³⁷ Mildenerger H., *Vittoria Caldoni und der Kult de Modells im 19. Jahrhundert*, in "at. Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770-1844). Der d nische Bildhauer und seine deutschen Freunde", exhibition catalogue (Germanisches Nationalmuseum, 1 December 1991 - 1 March 1992, N rnberg; Schleswig-Holsteinisches Landemuseum Schlo  Gottorf, 22 March - 21 June 1992, Schleswig), edited by Peters U., N rnberg 1991, pp. 105-126.

³³⁸ Gunnarsson?

³³⁹ Catel?

³⁴⁰ A notable evidence is represented in Franz Ludwig Catel's "*Crown Prince Ludwig in the Spanish wine tavern in Rome*" (1824, today at the Bayerische Staatsgem ldesammlungen in Munich), depicting the notable patron busy in an informal gathering within an *osteria*.

³⁴¹ Sonetto Li Cannelletti , 2 ottobre 1831 (G. G. Belli, *sonetti*, I, p. 122). + Tramonto Stato Pontificio + Friz

systematically tended to precisely indulge in such activities, this on top of the religious dissonance and of those unorthodox practices in the area of inter-religious marriage, not to mention individuals like the Danish painter Ditlev Blunck who was overtly (but privately) homosexual.³⁴²

Wine was also one of the recurring themes around a paradoxical society of artists that was first founded by the *Tedeschi* artists (a label under which also fell Scandinavians and Swiss) named the *Società di Ponte Molle*, after the bridge that newcomers had to cross before approaching Rome from North through the ancient Via Francigena.³⁴³ The members of the society, which was also provided with hierarchies and specific functions, were asked to pronounce a vow including bizarre statements like “don’t desire the wine of your companion” and execute a caricature on paper or molded clay, only to be finally awarded, after a tour of the taverns, with the privilege of belonging the Chivalry order of the “*bajocco*”, which was the lowest unit of currency equivalent to 1/100 of the *scudo*. The actual communitarian catharsis happened with the so-called *Cervarofesten*, also known as the *Carnevale dei Tedeschi*, a practice apparently introduced around 1810 by the aforementioned Joseph Anton Koch with his companions Johan Reinhart and Wilhelm Gmelin, consistinng consisted in a group excursion toward the tuff caverns of Cervara, some kilometers east from Rome. The actual celebrations progressively turned into a crossway between some sort of drinking Olympic Games and a Carnival, with all the artists dressed in hilarious and surreal fashions parading from the Piazza del Popolo to the caverns. Whereas the initial feasts were exclusively reserved to the actual Germans, the *Cervarofesten* was progressively opened to all the artists in Rome who felt to belong in this group, including Italians like Alfonso Chierici, Alessandro Castelli and Ippolito Caffi, and also much sought after by the same Roman population, who attended the celebrations but as spectators.³⁴⁴

All these aesthetic features associated with mechanisms of communitarian bonding, other than describing the “unofficial” side of the artistic scene as an isolated and perhaps even polemic entity, represented instead very public moments. The same association of local popular practices (the wine, the Carnival) and mockery of highbrow society (the “*bajocco*” order, the hierarchies) implies a willingness of belonging to the city’s urban community in which happenings like the *Cervarofesten*

³⁴² Nørregård-Nielsen H. E., *Dengang i Italien: H.C. Andersen og guldaldermalerne*. Copenhagen 2005, p. 165.

³⁴³ For the *Ponte Molle* society see Noack F., *Das Deutschtum in Rom*, Stuttgart 1927, pp. 318-26, 484-89, 537-41, 606-13, 744, 747; Boschi G., *L’artistica società di Ponte Molle riunita a festa nelle grotte di Cervaro*, Rome 1845; Pietrangeli C., *La festa degli artisti a Cervara* in “Il Museo di Roma. Documenti e iconografia”, Bologna 1971; Grassi P., Zangarini L., *La festa degli artisti a Tor Cervara, a cura di Paolo Grassi e Luciano Zangarini*, Rome 1989.

³⁴⁴ See Chapter 4, page??

cut a special and discursive identity, now no less “typical” than the local population and its customs. In the end, this whole communitarian endeavor could be seen from another perspective, that of foreigners progressively getting acclimatized by Catholic conversions,³⁴⁵ marriages³⁴⁶ and even superstition: the allegedly first daguerrotype ever executed in Denmark by 1840 portrays an harassed and elder Bertel Thorvaldsen in his Copenhagen house who apparently considered the photographic device a demonic tool alongside many of his former Roman fellow citizens and, just like many of them would have done, exorcized its evil powers by literally *doing the horns*.³⁴⁷ [Image 1].

2.2.4 - “Liberal” Artists

We have seen how, despite the existence of a hierarchic backbone, the official and the unofficial dimensions in which Roman artists moved presented in the end several points of tangence. Whereas their respective flows of capital followed some rather diverse tracks, their positioning within society at large allows us to consider them members of a cohesive cultural scene, often even fostering the same scenic infrastructures in the form of Academic networks and the *Società di Amatori e Cultori*. In the end, they were all painter, sculptors and architects whose general professional image was recognized and settled. The same is hardly definable for practitioners in the so-called “minor arts”, mainly because the dividing line is here the byproduct of some historically sedimented ideological

³⁴⁵ Albert Kuchler

³⁴⁶ Beside the already mentioned situations in regards to Catel, another relevant trajectory is that of foreign male artists marrying Roman or Italian female artists living in Rome, as it occurred to the Dutch painters Abraham Teerlink (Kuyvenhoven F., *Tussen koffiehuis en schildersezel Leef- en werkomstandigheden van Nederlandse kunstenaars in Rome tussen 1775 en 1835*, in “Reizen Naar Rome. Italië als leerschool voor Nederlandse Kunstenaars Omstreeks 1800”, exhibition catalogue (September 8th - October 10th, 1984, Teylers Museum, Haarlem; November 11th - December 9th, 1984, Istituto Olandese di Roma, Roma), Rome, 1984, p. 97) and the brother of Jan Philip Koelman, Jan Hendrik, with Enrica Fioroni (Koelman 1963, 2, p. 400).

³⁴⁷ Berne M., *Bertel Thorvaldsen: a daguerrotype portrait from 1840*, Copenhagen 2005, with further bibliography.

positions mediated by centuries of institutional, economic and social stratifications which together embodies one the most eminently “Western” features of the history of European arts. The status borders between a goldsmith and a sculptor were drawn in order to detach the latter and its companions painters and architects from *any* other profession in the visual arts, and despite the use and the value of the “artistic artisans” were often entirely equivalent if not superior to those of the Fine artists, the social status of their creators, which appeared so much bound to the manual aspects of their work, was impossible to be associated with the superior intellectual requirement of their counterparts.³⁴⁸

Once again, the Restoration brought a structural realignment even for the minor arts. When by the 18th century Enlightened critics moved on to precisely stigmatize divisions among artistic professions, the Academy of S. Luke featured already ten secondary classes among which some were explicitly dedicated to various forms of engraving (*a pietra dura* [hard stone], *in rame* [copper], *in medaglie* [glyptics]), decorations (*disegno elementare di architettura e ornati* [elementary drawing for architecture and ornaments]) and carving (*intaglio in scagliola* [canary glass] and *intaglio in legno* [wood]).³⁴⁹ All of these were cancelled by 1810 and the measure was kept and maintained even after Pius VII’s return, despite protests and insistent proposals continued up to 1833, but without results.

That a general ideological hinderance was present and at play behind this decisions, is definitely a concrete possibility: Loredana Lorizzo hypothesized that beside the evident persistence of some ideological boundaries preventing Academic prestige from being devolved outside of the three Fine arts, some precise struggle was going on between painters and copper engravers.³⁵⁰ Notwithstanding that several central Fine artists liked Giovanni Battista Piranesi had already showed a close interest and advanced creative achievements with the technique, the commercial possibilities that copper engravers enjoyed were already conspicuous by the 18th century, with the rise of visually represented histories of arts and their relevance was the only to grow throughout the century.³⁵¹ In fact, engraving was the only way to mechanically reproduce a piece of drawing from a matrix and as this matrix was expected to be thoroughly executed, the best engravers were prized accordingly,

³⁴⁸ Bologna 1974, pp. 3-9.

³⁴⁹

³⁵⁰ Lorizzo something

³⁵¹ ??????

especially by Fine artists like the same Canova or Jean-Baptiste Ingres whose fame rendered their artworks' copies much sought after and thus publicly exposed.³⁵²

More than the particular situation of copper engravers, the artisanal dimension of the other artistic craft was still underlined by the persistence of those same associative mechanisms, namely the artisanal Congregations, which represented the oldest “enemy” of the Academies of Art since their early 16th century developments. Before the congregations and “*Università delle arti e mestieri*” abolition was undertaken by Pius VII from 1801, Rome counted several hundreds of these with their ancient traditions and solid social presence, thus when almost all of them disappeared in the turn of a few years, the consequences were to criticize older structures without filling the empty spaces.³⁵³ Partially resembling what happened with the official area of the Fine arts, centralization of certain professions like mosaicists, wood and stone carvers occurred as a consequence to the restoration/archeology-centered demands of the government, thus a parallel process of hierarchization happened around the yard of S. Paul Outside the Walls³⁵⁴ and existing institutions such as the *Reverenda Fabbrica dei Mosaici di S. Pietro in Vaticano* and the *Calcografia Camerale Romana*³⁵⁵.

³⁵⁶ The pressure on the mosaicists category from the member of a family like the highly esteemed and well connected Barberi once these were put in the situation of directly administering public functions in the *Fabbrica dei Mosaici*, were to literally induce the experienced heir of a possibly even more referenced family of mosaicists, Vincenzo Raffaelli, to accept the proposal of the Russian Emperor Nicolas I Pavlovich and move to S. Petersburg by 1848 in order to implant a royal mosaics studio under his guidance.³⁵⁷ Governmental needs were safely relying on familial and workshop continuities in maintaining fluxes of highly prepared individuals to eventually co-opt for

³⁵² Honour H. *Canova e l'incisione*, in “Canova e l'incisione”, exhibition catalogue (Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, November 11 1993 - January 6, 1994, Rome; Museo Civico, Biblioteca Archivio, January 19 - April 24, 1994, Bassano del Grappa), Bassano del Grappa 1993, pp. 11-21.

³⁵³ Del Giudice, *Le corporazioni nella Roma papale*, 1941 Roma ; A. Martini, *Le confraternite delle università romane di arti e mestieri*, in *Arte e Artigianato nella Roma di Belli*, conference proceedings (November 28, 1997, Fondazione Marco Besso, Rome). Rome 1998, pp. 159-191.

³⁵⁴ Biancini L., *Mosaicisti, Ferracocchi o sampietrini? Note al restauro della basilica San Paolo fuori le mura dopo il fatale incendio del 1823*, in “I Fondi le procedure, le storie: raccolta di studi della Biblioteca Nazionale”. Rome 1993, pp. 63-81.

³⁵⁵ See “I disegni della Calcografia 1785-1910”, edited by Miraglia M., Roma 1995.

³⁵⁶ Niente?

³⁵⁷ Biancini L., *Visto buono per partire. Il viaggio del mosaicista Vincenzo Raffaelli in Russia*, in “Arte e Artigianato nella Roma di Belli” 1998, pp. 25-59.

institutional positions. But the various Castellani in jewelry,³⁵⁸ Martinori in stone carving,³⁵⁹ Girometti,³⁶⁰ Pestrini,³⁶¹ Pistrucchi³⁶² and Cerbara³⁶³ in glyptics were also more than that. Despite some drastic transformation in the trends of touristic art market which for instance costed the wipe out of a once leading artistic craft like that of engraved cameos,³⁶⁴ the better established “minor arts” workshop functioned as efficient enterprises, managing to stand some chances even in the exports area where industrial production was already ruling continental economy.

Given this situation and the eradication of related didactic spaces from the Academy, it is significant that institutionalized teaching of “minor” and mechanical arts re-emerged not as a mean to advance State production, as one could expect from a centralized driving idea of cultural policies, but from charitable environments. We can analyze this phenomenon from the perspective of Cardinal Antonio Tosti, General Treasurer between 1834 and 1846, described by Martina as “unworthy, he maintained a rigid and negative protectionism, with strong excises, and assisted inactive to the rise of expenditures [...] ending with leaving an unsustainable deficit”.³⁶⁵ Before these unedifying achievements, Tosti had instead proved some better capacities by 1832 with the direction of the *Istituto di S. Michele a Ripa*, whose management a year before awarded a young Giovanni Mastai Ferretti with the archbishopric of Spoleto. A manufacture, a prison, an hostel for widows, orphans and elders and all those marginalized individuals under which the church included all subjects

³⁵⁸ Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli L., *Jewels with cameos and intaglios: the Castellani and roman gem carvers*, in “Castellani and Italian Archeological Jewelry”, exhibition catalogue (quando???), edited by Soros S., Walker S. New Haven-London 2004, pp. 102-127

³⁵⁹ For a dedicated study on the Martinori family see Ciranna S., *Fortunato, Pietro e Domenico Martinori. Tre artieri della pietra nella Roma dell'Ottocento*. Rome 2007, pp. 11-129.

³⁶⁰ For artworks, biographic profiles and further bibliographical references on the Girometti family see “Il Museo di Roma racconta la città”, exhibition catalogue (Palazzo Braschi, May 4, 2002, Rome), edited by Leone R., Pirani F., Tittoni M. E., Tozzi S., Rome 2002, pp. 207-221, 401-402.

³⁶¹ Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli L., *Camillo e Clemente Pestrini, incisori in pietre dure, e professori in tenero*, in “Antologia di Belle Arti”, 35-38 (1990), pp. 42-49.

³⁶² Vedi nota 161 sotto + ci dovrebbe essere qualcosa in maestà di Roma

³⁶³ Artigianato in Belli, oppure Maestà di Roma.

³⁶⁴ Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli L., *Del cammeo e dell'incisione in pietre dure e tenere nella Roma del XIX secolo*, in “Arte e Artigianato nella Roma di Belli” 1998, pp. 13-34.

³⁶⁵ Martina J., “Gregorio XVI”, in “Enciclopedia dei papi”, 3, p. 548 [translation is mine].

considered in need for charitable assistance, S. Michele also hosted classes of “applied arts”.³⁶⁶ Among the improvements of which Tosti gives an account of in its “*Relazione delle origini e dei progressi dell’Ospizio Apostolico di S. Michele*”,³⁶⁷ the cardinal describes the introduction in the institution of art teachings for male children, directing them towards what he calls “Liberal Arts” in order to detach these from the “Mechanical Arts” which were taught in the lower classes before gaining the access to the Liberal ones. In Tosti’s words, these were

“Scoltura di Intaglio, Scoltura di ornato (entrambe per formare modellatori e intagliatori di pietra), Scarpellini (pare che ce ne fosse grave mancanza), Incisione e fusione de’ caratteri [...], Incisione di medaglie e camei (arte che stava cadeva in Roma mentre riviveva altrove), Incisione in rame (scuola già stata di sommo splendore in Roma perché la prima a stabilirsi con aperto insegnamento almeno in Italia), Arazzi a figure e ornato (arte cionondimeno ridotta sotto la gratuita direzione di sommi professori di belle arti a sì belle speranze da ripromettersene il più felice rinascimento), mosaici (finalmente, sotto un ottimo e caritatevole maestro, arte ch’era d’antica istruzione)”.³⁶⁸

[“Carving sculpture, ornament sculpture (both forming molders and stone carving), stone cutters (it appears that there was a grave shortage), engraving and fusion of characters [...], engraving of medals and cameos (an art which was falling in Rome whereas rising elsewhere), copper engraving (a school already of highest splendor in Rome as being the first to be openly taught, at least in Italy), figured and decorated tapestry (an art no-less reduced to free teaching under some Fine arts professors so hopefully confident as to promise to themselves the happiest renaissance of that), mosaics (finally, under an excellent and charitable master, an art which was of ancient teaching)”].

The fact which precisely contextualizes the art classes of the S. Michele institute, is that at least since the 1816 but more precisely only under Leo XII, some additional teachings of drawing, geometry and architecture were taught by a professor of the Academy, Francesco Giangiacomo, to whom were progressively added another four teachers.³⁶⁹ By the tone of this statement, it also seems that the professors’ commitment was not paid, in line with the charitable mission of the institute.

The improvements in the Liberal arts teaching under the Academic involvement, were framed by Tosti as a mandatory measure, presented by the fact that former teachers

³⁶⁶ On the various activities of the San Michele institute see De Strobel A. M., *Le arazzerie romane dal XVII al XIX secolo*, in “Quaderni di Storia dell’Arte”, 22 (1989), p. 52; Piccirillo F., *L’arazzeria del San Michele*, Di Macco, *L’incisione e la decorazione d’ornato*, in “Il San Michele a Ripa Grande”, edited by Sisinni F., Rome 1990, pp. 185-204, 205-220, 221-233; Barbensi C. E., *La fabbrica degli arazzi di San Michele a Ripa (1870-1928)*, in “Roma moderna e contemporanea”, 3- 2 (1995), pp. 445- 460; Toscano D. P., *Roma produttiva tra Settecento e Ottocento. Il San Michele a Ripa Grande*, Rome 1996.

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³⁶⁸ Tosti 1832, pp. 41-42.

³⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 40

*“ non badavano più all’ avanzamento delle arti bensì all’ arricchimento personale non più servivano all’ obbligo di ammaestrare rettamente i giovani con vantaggio delle arti medesime. Quindi usciti dall’ istituto non trovavano lavoro in quanto non bravi abbastanza. Non viene considerato obbligo di carità insegnare un onorato mestiere agli orfani, ma siccome la società lo richiede, essi vengono avviati ad altre arti importantissime, a cui prima non si era pensato. I maestri più accreditati caritatevolmente si prestano per dare agli orfani un più felice avvenire ”.*³⁷⁰

[...] they did not care anymore about the arts’ advancement but rather (focused) on personal enrichment, [thus] they didn’t serve anymore the oblige to righteously teach the young for the advantage of the same arts. Thus once they left the institute, these didn’t find any job because they were not good enough. It is not considered a charitable obligation to teach an honored craft to orphans, but since society demands it, these should be introduced to other much important arts, to which nobody thought before. The most revered master charitably offers themselves to give the orphans an happier future].

If we were to evaluate S. Michele’s art classes in term of efficiency by the success of their pupils, the Institute was definitely a winner. The two friends Luigi Calamatta and Paolo Mercuri, raised in S. Michele as copper engravers and drawers under the teachings of Francesco Giangiacomo, they both tried without much success to pursue painting once out of the school (1820) only to eventually opt for remaining in the former’s area.³⁷¹ The decision gained them offerings for moving in Paris (the first by 1822, the second only on 1830), an idea upon which Thorvaldsen advised the young Calamatta against.³⁷² Nevertheless, their superior skills and craftsmanship (and the painfully long times of their art)³⁷³ were rapidly recognized in France, and in the turn of a few years they were already owning some luxurious ateliers in rue des Marais-Saint-Germain, preparing engravings for artists like Ingres, Paul Delaroche and Ary Scheffer, and also personalities like George Sand, whose son married the only daughter of Calamatta.³⁷⁴ Such frequentations for an already “turbulent kid” like he was, definitely helped Calamatta in maturing his liberal leanings, although Rosalba Dinoia

³⁷⁰ p?

³⁷¹ Miarelli Mariani I., *Un allievo di Wicar, Francesco Giangiacomo, maestro di disegno alle scuole d’arte del San Michele*, in “Collezionisti, disegnatori e pittori dall’arcadia al Purismo”, 2, edited by Debenedetti E., Rome 2010, pp. 347-390, 348 in particular.

³⁷² Memory of the same Calamatta, first published in Corbucci V., *Luigi Calamatta incisore. Con note, documenti inediti ed elenco delle sue stampe disegnate ed incise*, Civitavecchia 1886, quoted in Dinoia R., *Luigi Calamatta (1801-1869). L’uomo, l’artista, le opere. Temi per una analisi critica*, Ph.D dissertation, Università della Tuscia di Viterbo, 2011, p. 52.

³⁷³ Mercuri’s engraving of “Les moissonneurs dans les marais Pontins” from Leopold Robert, took him more than 15 years to complete it (Dinoia 2011, p. 209).

³⁷⁴ On the French years of Mercuri and Calamatta see Bann S., *Parallel Lines. Printmakers, Painter and Photographers in Nineteenth-Century France*. New Haven- London 2001.

also noted that the reverse influence was also evident, with Sand remaining bewildered by the efforts, the talent, the ingenuity of her friend, and condensed the appraisal of these “Liberal artists” in her 1837 romance “*Les Maîtres Mosaïstes*”, dedicated to the life of middle-ages mosaicists regarded by her as the finest artists ever, fully committed to their vocation and the sacrifice of all the rest.³⁷⁵

It is therefore legit to infer the Liberal arts classes of S. Michele provided Calamatta and Mercuri with opportunities that Camuccini’s pupils trained for painting frescoes would have only hardly achieved. Possibly informed by its students’ achievements (he was also an avid collector of engravings and prints)³⁷⁶, Tosti approached the artistic employment issue by praising the Liberal option:

“E però in fatto dell’ospizio errano coloro, che pensano oggidì allevarsi troppi giovani alle belle arti. Poiché quì le belle arti non s’insegnano già per iscopo principale, (tranne il caso di qualche genio, che mai non manca) a formare architetti, scultori o pittori; ma sono dirette alle descritte arti liberali di seconda classe, che non hanno scuola completa in altro luogo.”

[In regards the the hospice, they are mistaken those who thinks that today too many kids are raised in the Fine arts. Since here, the Fine arts are not taught as the principal purpose (beside cases of some genius, that it’s never short) to raise architects, sculptors or painters; but they are directed to the described second class liberal arts, which do not have a full school in any other place].

Even if genius was only reserved for the few, under a proper guidance artistic professions were not only a solution for unemployment, but also an effective mean for social uplift. Calamatta’s and Mercuri’s endeavors proved that such institutional commitment in the Liberal arts teaching had provided some valuable results, especially if one considers that by 1848 Mercuri was expressly proposed to Pius IX by Tommaso Minardi as the new director of the *Calcografia Camerale*, thus returning the State with its “didactic investment” (or rather Giangiacomo’s investment).

Only to finally clear up the space for the situation which we will encounter in the Civic Guard registers, the last substantial statement on the matter from governmental spheres denied Tosti’s vision. In his 1842 survey “*Degl’Istituti di Pubblica Carità ed Istruzione Primaria e delle Prigioni in Roma*” [On the public institutes of charity and primary instructions and the prisons in Rome]

³⁷⁵ Dinoia 2011, pp. 93-117.

³⁷⁶ Dinoia R., *Parigi- Roma, Roma-Boston: la formazione della collezione di stampe del cardinale Tosti attraverso Calamatta e Mercuri*, in “Roma fuori di Roma” 2012, pp. 555-568.

Cardinal Carlo Luigi Morichini³⁷⁷ - who eventually took over Tosti as administer of State finances in 1847 as part of Pius IX's "cleanings" of Gregory XVI administrative heads - when discussing the utility of committing charitable institutions to "Mechanical arts", he recognized that

“ Il lavoro più conveniente al povero e che gli procaccia più solleciti guadagni ed ha una generale utilità è certamente quello che gli offrono le arti meccaniche. O mal ci apponghiamo o quello avviarsi che si fa in alcune città di una parte de' poveri garzoncelli viene avviato alle arti nobili e liberali, cosa che non torna a loro utile e non dà lustro nè incremento a quelle arti stesse che sembrano con ciò volersi proteggere. Quando il clero e la nobiltà erano ricchi, le belle arti ebbero in queste due classi larghi e munifici protettori. Le chiese, i palagi, i conventi, le gallerie ed altre magnifiche fabbriche annunziano quali mezzi e qual cuore avesse l'aristocrazia e il sacerdozio. Or però diminuita notabilmente la loro ricchezza e suddivise le proprietà, mancasi generalmente del superfluo per metterlo in quadri e statue. Ed i capitali, piuttostochè collocarli in tali cose, si danno al commercio, all'industrie, alle associazioni, che ci difendono dai disastri, che fondano istituzioni di previdenza, che spargon l'agiatezza nel maggior numero. Io non dico con ciò che i sommi artisti non avranno a lavorare e star bene ma i sommi, i sommi soli: e tutta la turba de' mediocri e peggio ancor de' cattivi che farà? La Provvidenza dà il genio artistico a pochi, perché un solo basta a far l'onore d'un secolo: laddove tutti han le mani per gli utili lavori meccanici, pe' quali è sufficiente a campar la vita anche una discreta intelligenza”.³⁷⁸

[“The most convenient job for the poor, the one who provides him the most solicitous earnings and has a general utility, it's certainly that which the mechanical arts offers him. We don't praise that practice pursued in some cities of raising some poor shop boys and directing them to the noble and liberal arts, something which doesn't provide any utility for them and neither gives luster or increment to the same arts that are apparently protected. When the clergy and the nobility were rich, the fine arts had in these two classes large and munificent patrons. The churches, the palaces, the cloisters, the galleries and other magnificent fabrics still announce which means and heart aristocracy and priesthood had. Diminished however their wealth and divided their properties, there is a general lack of that superfluous to be spent in paintings and sculptures. And the capitals, rather than be spent in such things, they are given to commerce, to industries, to associations which defends us from disasters, which founds welfare institutions, which spreads wealth throughout the greatest number. I'm not saying with this that the greatest artists won't have work and be well, but the greatest, only the greatest ones: and all that crowd of mediocre ones and, even worst, of the evil ones, what will they do? Providence gives artistic genius only to few, since a single one is enough to make the honor of a century: whereas everyone has hands for the useful mechanical jobs, for which it is sufficient even a decent intelligence.”]

At this point Morichini basically recognized the post-aristocratic depression of commissions, while also reducing Tosti's more informed pertinencies of artistic professions to a binary exclusion between Mechanical and Fine arts. He continues:

³⁷⁷ Veca in dizionario biografico

³⁷⁸ Morichini C. L., *Degl'Istituti di Pubblica Carità ed Istruzione Primaria e delle Prigioni in Roma*, Rome 1842., 1, p. 266???

*“ Né si creda che questo mio dire muova da poco amore che abbia verso le belle arti, le quali reputo una delle più care cose che Dio si abbia dato in questo mondo. Un Romano non può sentire altamente di ciò che forma uno de' più bei pregi della sua patria. Ma le arti che si creano e si tengono in onore del genio, non abbisognano di quegli appoggi, anzi li disdegnano e in un nessun'altra città tanto meno abbisognano quanto in Roma: poiché tutta Roma è una scuola. Infatti il romano forma l'occhio al bello quasi senza avvedersene : cosicché scorgi gli stessi artieri, i rivenduglioli stessi disporre le loro cose con vaga architettura. Il genio artistico fra noi si sviluppa di per sé stesso e quasi per incanto: le scuole lo incespano. Tal era l'avviso del sommo Canova, tal quello di uno de' più valenti pittori che or sieno, come egli stesso mi ha più volte dichiarato. E soggiungevami che in altri tempi il giovane che sentivasi per natura disposto alle arti del bello era accolto nello studio di qualche valente, il quale trovatolo adatto a quella specie di opere e datigli i primi elementi, lo poneva a studiare or su questo or su quell'originale, seguitandone l'indole e il genio: d'onde avveniva che in Roma tanti eran gli artisti, tanti erano gli stili e tutti belli e varii che formavano la maraviglia dello straniero. Que' che si conoscevano poco acconci alle arti belle o non aveano mezzi di compiere la loro artistica educazione, subito si rinviavano e si collocavano ad altre opere o nelle arti manovali. Le quali arti vorremmo che fossero un poco meglio coltivate fra noi e desidereremmo che le pubbliche istituzioni vi cooperassero per quanto ad esse è concesso. Le scuole di chimica e meccanica applicate, di geometria e di ornato, di disegno lineare ed altre scuole teoriche di tal fatto produrrebbero un vero incremento nelle arti necessarie ed utili alla vita. I nostri giovani artieri bene istruiti in quelle scuole recherebbero i varii perfezionamenti nelle officine della città, dove sarebbero accolti con compiacenza e per la buona educazione ricevuta e per la loro capacità ”.*³⁷⁹

[Neither should be believed that what I'm saying moves from the little love I would have towards the fine arts, which I consider one of the dearest things that God sent us in this world. A Roman could not help but thoroughly feel for what forms one of the most beautiful virtues of his homeland. But the arts which are created and esteemed for the honor of genius, does not need those supports, they rather disdain them and in no other city they need less than in Rome: since all Rome is a school. Indeed, the roman educated his eye to the beautiful almost without realizing it: so that even the same *artieri* and street-sellers are able to dispose their own things with some loose sense of architecture. Among us, the artistic genius is developed by itself and almost as if by magic: the schools snags it. Of the same advice was the great Canova along with one of the most valiant painters that are today, like himself had often told me. And he also added that in other times, a lad naturally disposed for the arts of beauty was welcomed in the workshop of some valiant who, having found this to be apt for that kind of work and provided him with the basic concepts, would put him to study this or that original artwork, going along with his personality and genius: of which followed that in Rome many were the artists, many the styles and all were various and beautiful, inducing marvel in the stranger. Those who were recognized as little inclined or didn't have the means to provide for their artistic education, were immediately rejected and re-arranged in some other works or manual labour. Which are arts that we would like to be better cultivated among us and we would desire that public institutions would cooperate in that sense. Schools of chemistry and applied mechanics, of geometry and decoration, of elementary drawing and others would produce a real increment in the arts which are necessary and useful for the living. Our young *artieri*, well instructed in those schools, would bring some improvements in the workshops of our city, where they would be welcomed with deference for the good manners received and for their capability].

³⁷⁹ segue da sopra

When at the end of the didactic process providing “the most convenient job for the poor”, the abject is turned into one of “our young *artieri*”, the function of public investment in the arts’ education is not considered anymore a mean to advance one’s social position, but it is turned instead into a certification of “good manners received” and of “their capability”. Possibly even more revealing are the allusions to Canova’s intendments, to whom can be redirected, beside the obvious “all Rome is a school” evidently remanding at the “Republic of the Arts”, the appraisal of an artistic genius created “almost as if by magic” in regards to the *Accademia d’Italia* model. As stigmatized this was by Camuccini, as we have seen, that model was instead prized by the Nazarenes and actively promoted by Cornelius and Schadow through the *Meisterklasse* deployment, an example to which Morichini was evidently referring to after the advices received by “one of the most valiant painters that are today”. The Purist-Nazarene background of these ideas, plus the personal closeness to Canova, portends that this anonymous valiant was actually Tommaso Minardi who, despite having passed to history as a detached and deferential individual who flight public life,³⁸⁰ we keep encountering as advisor for cultural policies even for the Liberal arts. Did the minor arts practitioners matured any awareness of the hinderances and hierarchic impositions that the government was actively applying since the deletion of their powerful Congregations? Was there any awareness on Calamatta and Mercuri's success and its implications? Whereas we can’t directly answer these questions, it’s worth to keep in mind this situation once we approach the happenings of the Roman Revolution.

2.2.5 - *Artistic capitals*

At this point we have a basic idea on how the artistic scene of Rome looked like by the 1840s and what were the evolutionary processes that brought these three poles (official and unofficial areas of Fine artist, and the Liberal artists) to erogate such different currency in terms of social status and

³⁸⁰ De Sanctis, Ovidi

artistic capital. It also needs to be underlined, that as these three distinctive sources must be necessarily taken into account in order to collectively analyze the scene, understanding them as fixed and exclusive enclosures would also put a substantial impediment over the comprehension of the actual processes in action within the scene before Pius IX's election.

First of all, there were many situations and institutions that simultaneously cross-fertilized these three areas and opened them to mutual confrontations (*Società di Amatori e Cultori*, *Virtuosi del Pantheon*, the Museums' heritage, the landscape and the "popolo", the religious and lay festivities, the gathering role of the *Caffè Greco* and the taverns) leading also to the reproduction of structural models of organization and membership (Thorvaldsen's paramount role in the Academy but also in *Società di Ponte Molle*, the hierarchy-centered behaviours of the Barberi family in the *Fabbrica del Mosaico in S. Pietro*, the fresco technique practiced both by Camuccini and the Nazarenes, Francesco Giangiaco teaching drawing to the orphans of S. Michele). Furthermore, it must be underlined that symbolic interactions alongside these lines of social distinctions were as thick on the surface as rather meek in practice. As almost anyone recognized within the voices we consulted up to now, the "Republic of the Arts" was a model which heavily relied on an availability of resources whose value by the the mature years of the Restoration was put in question, and the papal governments provided only partial and contradictory answers to this issue, often burdening the scene with vertical ideological intrusions that undermined institutional efficiency. Nevertheless, many individuals undertook serious efforts in order to address this situation, and often managed to bring their commitment to an active degree of agency that factually ameliorated the scenic ecology or at least provided it with some basic tools to survive and stabilize itself even after the "aristocratic disaster" (an example: the operations behind the *Società di Amatori e Cultori* opening). By fostering the Academic network and other sources of patronage outside of Rome, those members of the scene who suffered from hinderances against personal capital development were also provided with the possibility of remaining in Rome without having to sacrifice their artistic visions, their cultural or their religious identity, given how tolerated were in the end the foreign artistic colonies. Even the ideological boundaries between professionals in the Fine and Liberal arts reflected an actual environment where opportunities for the latter were actually available: if on the one hand maintaining such distinctions helped in maintaining as a desirable spot that kind of "court service" that the governments were demanding to their artistic elites - given the superior social status they were acknowledged with in turn -, on the other the congregations' erasure put Liberal artists in the position of competing with the bourgeoisie turn of the artistic market with an higher degree of freedom. The abroad success of the various Calamatta, Mercuri, Pistrucci and Raffaelli only

testifies that the skills which the scenic infrastructure provided them were to shine once put in more advanced market and social environments. We will see that even the high hierarchies from Fine arts didn't perform as good outside of Rome and Italy.

To summarize, the distinctions implied behind the various ways of being an artist in Rome hid in the end a loquacious theatre populated by much creative actors who constantly sought new ways to accomplish their social transactions. Outside of these mutual correspondences, it would be impossible to catch the functional dynamics of an artistic scene that, especially approaching the half of the century, saw many of its members moving not inside or outside the main sources of capital, but across them: Italian painters like Ippolito Caffi started to increasingly join the unofficial area and their communitarian experience, but also their sources of capital and stylistic influence while maintaining most of his patrons in his native Veneto, and starting to be much sought after even in Rome; others like the American sculptor Thomas Crawford, who arrived and remained in Rome for the sake of his devotion to Classicism, was nevertheless maintaining his liberal orientations and his Protestant religion without apparently feeling any social or intellectual fracture; a goldsmith like Fortunato Pio Castellani stipulated a collaboration with the noble Duke of Sermoneta, Michelangelo Caetani, to co-venture the design of much appraised jewels based upon the craft of the former and the visual knowledge of Etruscan archeology of the latter. What consequences was to play the social mobilization of 1846 over these carefully calibrated balances?

2.3.1 - Data description and collective figures

The archival holding entitled “*Guardia Civica e Nazionale*” today stored in an external deposit of the *Archivio Storico Capitolino* in Rome [ASC] consists in 280 archival units whose dating spans

from 1839 to 1875 produced by various subjects.³⁸¹ The core of this body (210 archival units) is represented by the “*Archivio della Guardia Civica (1847-1850)*” [ACG], produced by the Home Department of the Papal States and acquired by the ASC after 1870 under initiative of the Municipal council member Ruggero Bonghi.³⁸² As deputed governmental organon, the Home Department registered every step of the Civic Guard and thus the archive presents quite a variety of documentations.³⁸³ Among these, stands out twelve voluminous books, one for every battalion, which may be possibly addressed as the “civic lists” that Jan Philip Koelman accounts as destroyed by the Republican government before its final defeat in order to disperse probatory proofs.³⁸⁴ Such statement remains untrustworthy, as even by presuming that the Dutch artists was referring to some other documentation which has been actually destroyed for that purpose, it would still remain unclear why the Republican government saved the ACG, being it a ruling body who had direct control over the State Home Department and thus of its papers. Koelman’s narrative raises however a crucial curiosity towards the actual identity of the Civic Guard: were these “lists” after 1849 as dangerous as the artists tells? In this paragraph we will analyze the registers’ data and try to answer this and other questions already raised.

As said in this chapter’s introduction, the registers are divided in two parts, one offering a “static” picture of the Roman middle-to-upper classes as described by the Guards’ biographical informations [**image 2**], the other presenting a “moving” record of the Guards as drawn by their specific involvements throughout the Revolution’s various phases. We will therefore start by analyzing collective evidences and question how effectively the Civic Guard registers reproduces the aspiring bourgeoisie of Rome by 1847.

Following the Guard’s regulations, access to the corp was regulated by a social verification tied to the occupational state of male individuals in Rome, which by 1847 amounted to around 95.000

³⁸¹ By the ASC are also stored further units which refers to archival documentation regarding the Civic Guard of 1847 produced by the Municipality of Rome between 1848 and 1851 (Titolario Preunitario, 1847-1870; Titolo 31, “Guardia Civica, Riserva e Zappatori”, bb. 11).

³⁸² Ballardini A., *Guardia Civica e Zappatori*, in ASC, Tit. 31, Inventories.

³⁸³ Documents stored as being produced between 1844 and 1849 are: units 1-34, 69-70: “Corrispondenza ed altro riguardo il *Comando Generale*”; u. 34-46, 65: “*Posizioni relative alle promozioni*”; u. 47-49, 176: materials concerning the “old” Civic Guard; u. 49-50, 52-53: verbali consiglio di revisione; u. 51, 54-61, 66, 68: distribution of weapons and garments; u. 62-63, 159-163, 1178-184: tamburini e impiegati; 67, altra corrispondenza interna; 64, 71posti di guardia, parole segrete, ; 72-74, guardia civica mobilitata e reduci di vicenza; 75 dottori ec.; 76-142, 173: daily reports; general registers 143-158, 164-172, 174; 175,177; others. Units 185-280 are either undated or relative to further forms of the Civic Guard in the following years.

³⁸⁴ See introduction, p. ??

upon a total of little more than 175.000 inhabitants.³⁸⁵ However, the twelve Civic registers counts only 13.873 entries. [image 3] A strict reading of this number at the light of the criteria behind the Civic cluster would imply that more than 80.000 men found themselves to be daily workers, the most fortunates of which were employed day by day in crops or in public yards, while only a small percentage was inserted in other productive systems. Nevertheless, official statistics from the yearly “*Quadro statistico della Popolazione di Roma al di XIII Dicembre*”³⁸⁶ presents a general situation in regards to non-daily workers that is actually different: by 1846, the only “*bottegai, mestieranti ed esercenti vari industrie*” [shopkeepers and various kind of artisans and workers] counted 47.587 individuals, while the overall social area belonging to professions eligible for the Guard - including nobles, landowners, professionals in Fine Arts and science, teachers, doctors, public and private employees but excluding clergy - counted 64.476 including women who nevertheless were largely excluded from such activities on a professional level. On the other hand, daily workers, domestics and beggars barely counted 34.000 people, thus by keeping in account that this middle-to-upper class count comprehends also those excluded from the Guard because of demography (the section within the age of 14 and 21, and surpassing 60 was excluded)³⁸⁷ and those few hundreds involved in important administrative duties for whom the exemption from service was automatic,³⁸⁸ it is a matter of fact that there evidently were some further criteria regulating the access exceeding those strictly related to profession. The 1846 *Quadri Statistici* are not entirely accurate³⁸⁹ and a strict comparison between them and the Guard’s files should be understood accordingly. Nevertheless, the aforementioned differences are as indicative as to suggest to investigate how many individuals among the Roman “bourgeoisie” were out of the files and why.

A start evidence: the total entries in the twelve registers are 13.873 entries, but this number also includes the replacements (*riserva*) which were included in the active ranks’ register between late early 1848 and Spring 1849 according to eventual unavailability of regulars.³⁹⁰ This means that the

³⁸⁵ Friz

³⁸⁶ *Quadro*..... 1846, (see Friz 1974, pp. 10-11, 138).

³⁸⁷ Art. 2 in Ferretti G., *Regolamento per la Guardia Civica nello Stato Pontificio*, Rome 1847, p. ??

³⁸⁸ Id, art. 7-9, p.???

³⁸⁹ Friz

³⁹⁰ The provision is reported in the regulations (art???), although a precise enactment date remains unclear. Whereas a substantial recourse to reserves must have happened mainly after the volunteers’ departure for the Veneto expedition (March 26-28, 1848), “*La Speranza*” demands the reserve to be organized already by ??? (“*La Speranza*”, n. 9, p. 2).

average amounts of active Civic Guards at one time counted a number around 11.500,³⁹¹ therefore an even smaller amount compared to the eligible bourgeoisie of Rome as framed by the 1846 *Quadri Statistici* (47.587). Passed profession, a further selective criteria was that of health conditions and physical measures:³⁹² several high officers of the Guard had previous military knowledge³⁹³, and the necessity of maintaining ordinate relationships of height and weight within the single units started to be addressed as a selective criteria. However, situations like that of the hats-maker Angelo Gimignani of the 10th Battalion who was suspended from service in July 1848 for “*eccessiva pinguetudine*” [excessive fatness] were absolutely rare³⁹⁴. Another criteria of exclusion was that of *pregiudizi infamanti* [infamous prejudices], but it looks very unlikely that such a status could have possibly been cast upon a professional involved in public spheres where communitarian compliance was such a determinant factor. The most likely scenario to address the disadvantage must be build on the two largest evidences which sources presents on this matter: first, the recognition of the fact that requests for the Civic Guard were by the days of its enactment an enormously popular argument among urban manifestations, and that the stands hastily prepared on the streets after the “Grand Conjuraton” was revealed were literally assaulted by citizens willing to subscribe immediately; second, not even by including all the men too old, too young, too in overweight, too prejudiced, too unhealthy to enter the Guard we would be able to approximately satisfyingly consider the Civic Guard as the precise mirror of the social dimension tied with “bourgeoise” profession.³⁹⁵ This suggests that, despite service was implied as a mandatory fact by the regulations (the “belong to the Civic” formula), the largest part of the Civic Guard entered the army spontaneously. The enrollment dates, in fact, show that a vast majority was ascribed already by early July 1847, and some even before the official announcement divulged by Card. Gizzi on

³⁹¹ The figures reported by authors differs substantially: Ovidi 1903 ?, + Altri: almeno ravioli, tBallaydier, Spada, Trevelyan, Ovidi e Giovagnoli + E. re (20.000). Altri autori portano altri numeri ma a supporto ulteriore delle evidenze già sostanziali portate dal registro si può annoverare il fatto che a novembre 1847 i fucili ordinati fossero effettivamente 12.000 (“La Speranza”, March 2, 1848, p. 4).

³⁹² articles???

³⁹³ Especially on the official newspaper of the Civiv Guard, “*La Speranza*”, articles on military science were much frequent. For relevant examples see Angelucci A., “Progetto, per la formazione del personale dell’artiglieria civica da campagna per il servizio di mezza Batteria” (in “*La Speranza*”, March 4, 1848, n. 34, p.1). Another one is represented by the detailed project for a reform of the Papal States’ armies presented by the Count Campello, presented as an expert of military science (in “*La Speranza*”, March 9, 1848, n. 39).

³⁹⁴ Gimignani Angelo, entry n. 88, in “Guardia Civica Attiva - Campitelli Battallion” (ASC). Other examples: the *Brillantatore* [crystal cleaner] Francesco Severini of the Campo Marzio battalion, born 1791, expelled because of a “*difetto di taglia*” [flaw in size] by March 1st, 1849 (entry n. 599); the painter Mariano Elisei of the Campitelli battalion, born 1818, “*esentato perché gobbo*” by June 1848 (entry n.572).

³⁹⁵ See “*La Pallade*”, n. 13, 1847. L. C. Farini, *Lo Stato Romano dall’anno 1815 all’anno 1850 per Luigi Carlo Farini*, 3. Turin 1850, pp. 691, 744-746; Spada 1863, 3, p. 388.

July 8th. Moreover, despite the regulations wanted the lists of candidates to be deduced by “available statistics”, these were not compiled before the institution of Rome’s municipality, approved by October, 2 1847 and enacted only by January 1848.³⁹⁶ The Statistics’ commission for Rome started to gather for preliminary phases only from January 11 and recognized that the population was basically never conducted a reliable census upon, thus implying that the previous collections were not reliable.³⁹⁷ This judgement included the parish registers upon which were compiled the *Status animorum*, a larger statistical instrument which the Catholic Church started after the Council of Trento in order to register the bestow of sacraments on an ecumenical spectrum.³⁹⁸ Evidently, there was a perceivable misalignment between the needs of religious and civic spheres, a shift which reformism had to face directly.

Given that several symptoms points to the evidence that most of the Guards spontaneously entered the ranks, any kind of resistance, implicit or explicit, should be in general terms addressed as a specific case and interpreted accordingly. We have already seen how the galvanic effect that started with the 1846 amnesty had opponents despite the enthusiasm apparent, so there is no reason to consider the spontaneous subscription to the ranks as an over-comprehensive explanatory key. To give a confirmation on this aspect, we can compare the overall number of artists retrievable in the registers with that given by the 1846 *Quadri Statistici* [Image 3].³⁹⁹ Again it must be refrained that these comparisons must be handled with care and that the professions I included in the artistic group may be not the same that the *Quadri*’s compiler included, but still, the fact that around 400 artists were those who weren’t allowed to join confirms that the Civic cluster is definitely an efficient perspective on the Roman artists’ profiles within society; yet, not a perfectly fitting one.

³⁹⁶ Bartocchini 1985, p. 170. Municipalities were already granted for the provinces by Gregory XVI after the 1831’s *Memorandum* (Donato 2000, p. 928).

³⁹⁷ Spada?, Rizzi 1988, p. 140, n. 27; + Lodolini [occhio che l’ho citato anche più avanti].

³⁹⁸ Bianchi M. T., *Censimento parrocchiale della popolazione (1848)*, in ASC, Tit. 31, Inventories.

³⁹⁹ Exceptions and particularities: ?????

2.3.2 - Territorial distribution

As said, the Civic Guard was divided in twelve battalions, one for each of the fourteen districts of Rome minus two which, as we will see, were never enacted. The so-called *Rioni* of the city reflected a stratification of territorial accountings that spans through centuries⁴⁰⁰, although, beside the respective inclusion of Trastevere and Borgo by the 14th and 16th centuries, the other twelve existed since the early middle-ages and their boundaries were only precisely settled by Benedict XIV in 1743.⁴⁰¹ The institutional pertinencies of these divisions were formerly much important for the government to contextually be present throughout the city in terms of social control and charity assistance, the fundamental administrative pillar in the management of the “problem” of poverty.⁴⁰² These divisions were put in crisis by the French government, which in its vast process of bureaucratization also included actions of urban rationalization, introducing central organs of police control and tax collection in spite of the previous districts-based ones. After the Restoration, Pius VII and Consalvi attempted to maintain this structure but also to overlap it with the reintroduction of roles deputed to control at a district level through parish churches.⁴⁰³ This process also included the *Presidenti Regionari* [Regional Principals], a figure formerly known as *Caporioni* and personally selected by the Pope. Their duties included vigilance upon morality, the taming of street litigations and tax collection,⁴⁰⁴ responsibilities in which the *Presidenti* were also supported by a small militia that often included members of the “old” Civic Guard.⁴⁰⁵ Despite some contradictory relationships in the interaction between these two models, the districts and their older traditions remained one of the strongest tools for social control. Especially under Leo XII and its direct efforts in the anti-secularization struggle, the notable areas of the city undergone some severe

⁴⁰⁰ In ancient Roman times, the districts were first divided in 14 *Regionis Urbae Romae* (Stenhouse W., *Urbis Romae before Nolli: Antiquarian Scholarship in the Sixteenth and the Seventeenth Centuries*, in “Giambattista Nolli, Rome and Mapping: Before and After the *Pianta Grande*”, edited by Verstegen I., Ceen A., Rome 2013, pp. 15-26).

⁴⁰¹ Pietrangeli A., *Insegne e Stemmi dei Rioni di Roma*, in “Capitolium”, 6-28 (1953), p. 182.

⁴⁰² Da subalterni in modernità

⁴⁰³ Roccio D., *La riforma delle parrocchie tra Pio VII e Leone XII*, in “Roma fra la Restaurazione e l’elezione di Pio IX”, p. 354.

⁴⁰⁴ Moroni G., *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica*, 8, Rome 1841, pp. 66-70.

⁴⁰⁵ “Nuova Enciclopedia Popolare Italiana”, 16, Turin 1864, pp. 593-595.

polishings in sight of the 1825 Jubilee⁴⁰⁶ and the most recurrent instrument was in this sense that of the forcing undesirable subjects to move in the peripheral districts, like Monti or Trastevere.⁴⁰⁷ By also taking in account the long standing consequences of tourism in engendering urban distribution of specific professions - and artistic ones in particular - the differences between the Civic Guards' presences in the *Rioni* and their respective density of population, should be the very first level of comprehension in order to identify the "Civic bourgeoisie": namely, by separating it from what was not.

Upon these premises, we should then look at how the Civic Guards were distributed throughout the city and its districts. In **image 4** [figures on **image 5**] I mapped all the entries in the registers, including those belonging to the *riserva*.⁴⁰⁸ As said, all the 13.873 entries of the register doesn't imply that all such Guards were active at the same time, but I still included the whole count in the overview in order to approach as far possible a more generally comprehensive picture of the whole Civic social cluster. Even so, in order to give an account of the specific impact that the *riserva* played, I calculated aside its impact on the overall figures [**image 6**]. Beside the surprising stability of the Monti battalion where only 27 Guards had to be replaced, all the substitutions seems to vary according to the battalions' dimensions, so as a consequence, the *riserva* can be considered in the full picture without dedicated provisions, at least in regards to the "static" part of the register.

Even at the descriptive level, districts presents some strikingly unbalanced figures from each other which needs first to be organized. Starting with the smallest ones, the little districts of S. Eustachio (VIII) and Pigna (IX) around the central areas of the Corso appears to retain coherent similarities: a small population and a relative high count of Civic Guards. Based around the vital urban axis of the city but still on the boarders of the more crowded and chaotic streets of the north, these areas were still far enough from the overpopulated districts in the south-east and south-west. Lightly organized around some specific institutional presences like the Sapienza University and the Roman Collegio,

⁴⁰⁶ Falconi G., *Il Giovane Mastai. Il futuro Pio IX dall'infanzia a Senigallia alla Roma della Restaurazione 1792-1827*, Milan 1981, pp. 584-592.; Boutry P., *Espace du pèlerinage, espace dela romanité. L'année sainte de la Restauration*, Di Cori P., *Sacre misure. Spazio e Tempo a Roma durante l'anno santo 1825*, in *Sacre misure. Spazio e Tempo a Roma durante l'anno santo 1825*, in "Luoghi sacri e spazi della santità", edited by Boesch Gajano S. e Scaraffia L., Turin 1990, pp. 419-44, e 445-463.

⁴⁰⁷ See Fiocca G., *Struttura urbana e controllo sociale a Roma nel '700 e nel primo '800: mobilità sociale, paesaggio urbano ed enti di sorveglianza pontifici*, in "Città e controllo sociale in Italia tra XVIII e XIX secolo", edited by Sori E., Milan 1982, pp. 381- 400.

⁴⁰⁸ In absence of precise informations inside the AGC, I detected these figures by assuming that every individual ascribed from 1848 on was a member of the reserve. As reported in an addenda to the Regulations of July 1847, the eventual service in the reserve was to be performed "*promiscuamente con la guardia attiva*" [mixed with the active guard] (addenda???, quesito. 2).

congregational churches such as S. Luigi de' Francesi and S. Carlo ai Catinari, and famous monuments (the area is enclosed it between the Pantheon in Parione district (VI) and Piazza Navona in the Pigna district) the relationship with tourism seems to have not engendered the higher population count of Campo Marzio (IV), thus the organizational geography of these smaller districts may have easily followed that of the most important sources of off-tourism employment for middle-classes: either the presence of ecclesiastical or governmental institutions, and the palaces of important noble families or embassies.⁴⁰⁹ All these circumstances defines an overall area where average life conditions were better in comparison to others in the city, and thus in this group should as well belong the Campitelli district (X) which in its ranks also enlisted the Civic battalions for S. Angelo (XI) and Ripa (XII) districts, never enacted as independent ones. The reason, although never formally expressed within the documents I analyzed, appears clearer after separating the three districts' pertinences [see **image 5**, "X, XI, XII"]: the ratio between population and Civic guards of Campitelli alone appears in fact already coherent with those of S. Eustachio and Pigna. On the other hand, the social identities of Ripa and S. Angelo were mostly at odds with those of the Civic Guard: the former was a large rural area insisting on the Velabro plain and the Esquilino hill, while the latter was inhabited by only 2.000 people mostly living in the jewish ghetto, possibly S. Angelo's most peculiar feature. The ghetto's enclosures were dismissed by Pius IX during 1848,⁴¹⁰ although access to the Guard was opened to Jews only during the republican events, receiving a small but significative participation.⁴¹¹

A belonging to this "highbrow" cluster could also be partially attributed to the Regola district (VII), although the population is evidently higher and not affecting the number of Civic Guards which is even lower than a far less populated district like Pigna. Regola didn't retain the highbrow status of the others central districts and neither their institutions, made exception for the Embassy of Naples in Palazzo Farnese.⁴¹² It included instead one the main detention houses of the city (the *Carceri Nuove* in Via Giulia) and a number of natural and lightly arranged river ports which were traditionally unhealthy areas, dangerously exposed to the recurrent Tiber floods one of which

⁴⁰⁹ G. Baracconi, *I Rioni di Roma*. Rome 1967, pp. 219-216.

⁴¹⁰ See Veca, *La strana emancipazione. Pio IX e gli ebrei nel lungo Quarantotto*, in "Contemporanea", 17-1 (2014), pp. 3-30.

⁴¹¹ According to the registers, between March,10 and March, 28 1849 a total of 19 citizens of "*israelitica*" religion were ascribed to the guard (8 from Campo Marzo, 5 from S. Eustachio, 6 from Borgo).

⁴¹² "Guide Rionali di Roma. Rione VII - Regola. Parte I", edited by C. Pietrangeli, Rome 1975, pp. 5-12.

occurred a few months after Pius IX's election.⁴¹³ Given that such "undesirable" areas of Regola were mostly insisting next to the southern part of the River (the one facing Trastevere and the Tiber Island), the fact that several Civic artists were living in areas like Via dei Giubbonari or Via dei Cappellari, on the boundaries with the other districts, or in Piazza Farnese and Via Giulia, namely areas traditionally tied with aristocratic residences, points to the fact that the Civic Guards of Regola tended to live in the areas closer to the Corso and away from the Tiber shores. Factually the geographical eccentricity of the Corso was matched by its social and public relevance, characteristics widely maintained throughout the political upheavals of 1846-1849, and on.⁴¹⁴ Speaking of "lowbrow" districts, we should now approach Monti and Trastevere, respectively the southeast and the southwest peripheries of the city. The latter was identified like this since centuries, a phenomenon of cultural objectification as "otherness" which by the beginning of 19th century was everything but vanished.⁴¹⁵ Even within the most progressive newspapers of 1847-1849 and by Koelman himself, *Trasteverini* were constantly denoted with strict characterizations around religious orthodoxy, violent temperament and resistance to change.⁴¹⁶ The problem of Trastevere's poor conditions and shortage of public service was a constant issues for the government since at least the half of 17th century, and also one that Pius IX coped with directly.⁴¹⁷ At the same time, Trastevere was the perfect location for liminal places such as orphanages, prisons or factories, all activities which were provided within the S. Michele a Ripa Institute. This "isolated" identity is confirmed by the fact that the relative small Civic presence was much more spread over the territory compared to Regola, or at the least gathered around multiple areas throughout the district: via della Lungara, via della Lungaretta, via S. Francesco, Piazza S. Maria in Trastevere, via di S. Michele were among the most populated by Civic Guards, all streets that insists upon a spread portion of the district. As an another evidence of Trastevere's stand out identity, is everything but surprising that

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⁴¹⁴ See Moriconi M., *Il Corso. Dal Carnevale alla festa politica*, in "La Festa a Roma dal Rinascimento al 1870", exhibition catalogue (Palazzo Venezia, May 23-September 15, 1997, Rome), edited by Fagiolo M., Turin 1997, pp. 168-180.

⁴¹⁵ M. Cattaneo, *La sponda sbagliata del Tevere. Mito e realtà di un'identità popolare tra antico regime e rivoluzione*, Naples, 2004, pp. 229-311.

⁴¹⁶ Koelman 1863, 1, p. 161; "La Pallade", n. 367

⁴¹⁷ G. Stamperini, *Luoghi e forme dell'assistenza, della formazione, della reclusione e della produzione*, in "Trastevere. Società e trasformazioni urbane dell'ottocento ad oggi", exhibition catalogue (Museo di Roma in Trastevere, December 15, 2007 - March 24, 2008, American Academy in Rome, February 14 - March 15 2008, Rome), edited by C. M. Travaglini, K. Lelo, C. Mazzarelli, G. Stemperini. Rome 2007, pp. 29-30.

any parameter of our survey stands at odds with those given by Campo Marzio, which nevertheless almost had the exact same amount of population as Trastevere.

The same plain evidences are not possibly recognizable within the other traditionally popular district, Monti. By far the most populated of the fourteen, Monti district insisted on a specific area almost as big as the whole urbanized territory of Rome. As this was also the largest crop area within the city, rural daily workers were many and thus a large portion of active population within those 23.000 must have naturally been outside the eligibility criteria for the Guard. Only the northeastern part of the Monti district was continuously urbanized and in fact most of the Civic Guards' residences are retrievable throughout connection streets leading to S. Maria Maggiore church, while the road leading to the other Papal cathedral present in the district, S. Giovanni in Laterano, was far less populated.

An interesting comparison is in this sense that between Monti and the Trevi district (II), with the latter having almost the same number of Guards despite hosting almost 11.000 inhabitants less than the former and on a urbanized surface which is slightly smaller. The evidence is further confirmed by the fact the the same "Civic distance" between Monti and Trevi is recognizable between Trevi and Colonna (III). As the ratio between population and the Guards' presence in Colonna is the lowest of the city (meaning that the Guards were more), Colonna could be probably identified as the most "bourgeoise" district of the city, even more then Campo Marzio which, despite ascribing the highest quantity of Civic Guards to the ranks, still retained some sub-areas of popular concentration around the port of Ripetta and the houses at the east of Piazza del Popolo, around the today dismantled Piazza dell'Oca. It is then rather interesting to notice that, despite differences in the respective balance between Fine and Liberal artists, it starts from the urban part of Monti a sort of ridge crossing the central-west part of the city in which, to a progressive decrease in population, corresponds an higher number of Civic Guards *but also of artists*. This is a very specific character of this wide urban area and it is not something that could be simply explained by general distributive trends of population. The comparison with the opposite area, the Ponte (V) district on the western side, is explanatory in this sense: Colonna has an higher concentration of Guards but much less population, despite the Guards/Population ratio of Ponte being the exact same of Campo Marzio and thus implying that the fourth and the fifth districts retained a same relative mass of lower classes, or at least of people excluded from the Guard. At the same time, an almost identical ratio is observable by comparing Ponte and Parione (VI), thus implying a similar progressive coherence to the one expressed by the eastern districts from Monti to Colonna.

Some general evidences behind the Guard's distribution are thus clearly recognizable: the central axis of the city retains an higher concentration of middle-to-upper class individuals and the more it approaches Campo Marzio the more this presence grows according to the increase of population. On the lateral sides of the Corso, we can see instead that the southern corners of Trastevere and Monti are densely populated but with a small presence of Civic Guards, whereas proceeding towards north the population slightly decreases but the count of Guards rises, until both trajectories joins each other in Campo Marzio, both densely populated and "Civic". The distribution thus seems to be organized around polarities: the Corso as the defining axis of the city, and on its immediate sides two very similar areas of highly populated zones getting more "Civic" the more they approach the northern area or the Corso axis itself; the southern areas and those furthest from the Corso presents instead a lesser presence of Civics. Summarizing, the urban distribution of Civic Guards reflects already established social polarities as enforced by the districts enclosures behind whose identity, it's worth to remember, resided a precise governmental strategy. We have therefore a further evidence which allows us to consider the registers as a faithful picture of the aspiring Roman bourgeoisie.

Alongside this analytic authorization, comes however a warning that prevents any straight adoption of social clusters in this environment. Whereas bottom-up infiltrations within the Civic Guard were explicitly denied by the regulations, it's worth to underline that these same restrictions were absent in regards to top-down movements: coherently with the moderate ideologies that empowered political activism in the Papal States since, at least, 1830, aristocracy was not only welcomed, but rather encouraged to join the Civic Guard and do it from honorable positions in the files' ranks. The mirroring of available social hierarchies in the Guard, calls of course to a further caution in adopting the registers as a perfect rendering of the Roman bourgeoisie: first of all, because any agency directed to neutralize social enclosures shall defect in its collective image exactly because it would not be possible to detach "hunters from preys"; second, the dividing line between middle and upper classes is hardly definable by professional identities alone: can we infer that any "landowner" is automatically a noble? General evidences would say so, but exceptions also present.⁴¹⁸ Whereas it would be legit to control whether the Civic Guard service allowed individuals

⁴¹⁸ An example is that of the painter Giovanni "Nino" Costa. Having by 1847 only had very marginal relationships with painting, we find him enlisted in the Civic ranks as "possidente" (Trastevere battalion, mat. n. 34), as an extension of his family's attributes as long-established and well connected wool manufactures (on the Costa family see Costa N., *Quel che vidi e intesi*, edited by Costa Guerrazzi G., Milan 1927, pp. 3-7).

to try and cross professional boundaries (i.e.: if Liberal artists trying to overcome governmental marginalization of their profession at the expenses of Fine artists), the same is not possible for other mechanisms which were crucially important for artistic capital distribution (i.e.: a “highbrow” painter of the scene’s official areas is not be detachable from the least known painter of the unofficial one by simple professional belonging).

In truth, the same spatial distribution upon the urban surface becomes less effective once we focus on a specific district like Campo Marzio which was transversally overpopulated. In **[Image 7]** I operated a geo-localization of every single Civic Guard of the district according to their residence addresses. After having deleted clusters which are negligible in quantitative terms (employees, students and retired, “others”) the confrontation comes down to the most evident clusters, upper class as defined by “landowners” and middle-class as defined by “liberal” professions (artists, intellectuals, physicians, lawyers, inn and shopkeepers, artisans...). The foremost evidence is that the two groups does not present any difference according to territorial settling, so that even typically bourgeoisie areas like Campo Marzo or others which historically belonged to specific families (i.e.: the complex of buildings around Piazza Borghese) were evenly inhabited by both. Some slight difference appears only according to the popular area of Piazza dell’Oca and in Via Margutta, which will become in the following decades the settlement area of choice for Roman artists.⁴¹⁹ **[image 8]** In the end, upper and middle classes of the Campo Marzio district seemed to really live next to each other, a feature which could appear at odds with those derivative images of both social areas that would see aristocracies abstracted in detachment and bourgeoisie disliking crowded social environments. We are indeed moving within a transformative social environment.

2.3.3 - Artists in the Civic Guard

Having now sufficient elements to weight what the Civic registers' data meant in collective terms, we can investigate what place artists had within society at large, as also in regards to specific professions. In the following figures I thus adopted the same status divisions endorsed by the various sources we already introduced in this chapter, so beside the obvious Fine arts professions (painters, sculptors, architects) I included those practitioners in the art which Tosti defined as "Liberal" (engraving and lithography, mosaics, stone cutters, wood carvers, gold and silversmiths) [images 9, 10].

First, a consideration on urban distribution: by taking in account all the small central districts of S. Eustachio, Pigna and Campitelli plus the west side of the city from Trastevere through Regola, Parione and Ponte, the ratio between quantity of Civic Guards and artists insists on similar ranges, with the extreme case of Trastevere and a small decrease from Parione to Ponte that could nevertheless be explained because of proximity to Campo Marzio. But if we attempt to try the same analysis on the eastern rift of the city, the one going from Monti to Trevi and finally Colonna, the situation is completely different. As a revealing evidence, we can compare Colonna and Parione: with the same amount of population, the former's battalion included 1452 guards, while the latter around 240 less. By adding the data on artistic presences, it becomes possible to assume that within those 240, a biggest share were exactly the artists, which in Colonna were 285 and in Parione only 96.⁴²⁰ Given that Colonna was the most relevant artistic district next to Campo Marzio, data suggests that artists were in the position of quantitatively defining the more or less bourgeoisie identity of an area.

In order to clarify this point, I will now introduce the only district which has remained outside of this discussion so far, that of Borgo (XIV). Borgo was at the same time the oldest part of Catholic Rome, but also the newest district of Rome. The oldest settlement was built around the Circus of Nero and the addressed grave of S. Peter,⁴²¹ two pillars of Catholicism in regards to themes of martyrdom and pontifical continuity. This area was formerly known during the middle-age as *Città Leonina* as it will be not a part of Rome until Pius IV declared it so by 1586. Although it has been constantly affected by pilgrimage throughout the middle-ages, the *Città Leonina* started to be

⁴²⁰ A consistent part [image 15] was played by silver and goldsmiths whose workshops insisted in this area since centuries, especially in the area of Via del Pellegrino, formerly called Via degli Orefici (see De Felice R., *Aspetti e momenti della vita economica di Roma e del Lazio nei secoli XVIII e XIX*. Rome, 1965, pp. 264-265; Pampalone, A., 2, in "Artisti e Artigiani a Roma degli stati delle Anime del 1700, 1725, 1750, 1775", 1, edited by Debenedetti E. Rome, 2004, pp. 11-12).

⁴²¹ Bianchi L., *Ad Limina Pietri: spazio e memoria della Roma cristiana*. Rome, 1999, pp. 13-16, 25-30.

invested with additional charges only when the Popes transferred there their residence and moved from S. Giovanni in Laterano to the Quirinale.⁴²² The area started then to be object of intense processes of requalification which summed in the re-building of S. Peter in Vatican by Carlo Maderno towards its form as visible today. In the meanwhile, Borgo had become one of the most sought-after parts of the Roman metropolitan area, getting increasingly populated by higher clergy but also artists, as even Raphael at one point decided to buy a house in the area.⁴²³ This status, however, was almost entirely lost by the 18th and the early 19th centuries, when Borgo was just a small quarter inhabited by simple people (artisans or workers at the Vatican) and men of the church, who appreciated the vicinity to the Holy See.⁴²⁴ Middle and upper classes were by then mostly insisting on the districts around the Corso and the Pincio hill, as also the Piazza del Popolo,⁴²⁵ which was made object of an intense process of requalification under the French domination.⁴²⁶ Seen within a longer timeframe, the bourgeois settlement of Campo Marzio and Colonna seems to have matured at the expenses of districts like Borgo, whose centuries-long development revolved around the Pontifical presence. If the increase in touristic affluence can be actually identified as the strongest force behind this migration,⁴²⁷ it means that the stable population of Rome, and Campo Marzio in particular, had by the half of 19th century must have largely absorbed and rearranged this organizational push, as we had just seen that Campo Marzio reverberated its social polarity throughout the rest of the urban texture. Trastevere was a popular district because of its peripheral position and the corollary status which followed, but Borgo used to be the city center still by 16th century, and if after three centuries it almost resembled the same social circumstances of Trastevere - as we can infer from the Civic Guard / population ratio - the secular turn of tourism preferring Campo Marzio to the Vatican must have made it also to the local's behaviours. If this interpretation is correct, the artistic settlement of the area can be interpreted as a relevant part of this trend, and

⁴²² Menniti I. A., *I papi al Quirinale. Il sovrano pontefice e la ricerca di una residenza*. Viella, Rome, 2004.

⁴²³ Paolucci A., *Raffaello in Vaticano*. Milan, 2013, p. 49.

⁴²⁴ C. D'Onofrio, *Castel S. Angelo e Borgo tra Roma e Papato*. Rome, 1978, pp. 307-308.

⁴²⁵ B. M. Apollonj Ghetti, *Il primo progetto di Valadier per la sistemazione della Piazza del Popolo*, in "Capitolium", 7 (1943), pp. 211-20;

⁴²⁶ R. Lefevre, *Il Monte Pincio e la Casina Valadier*. Rome 1967; Guidoni E., *La politica urbanistica a Roma nel periodo francese (1809-1814): guidizi e pregiudizi storiografici*, in "Villes et territoire pendant la période Napoléonienne", conference proceedings (École Française de Rome, May 3,4,5 1984, Rome). Rome, 1984, pp. 425-442.

⁴²⁷ Demarco reports that under Gregory Rome received every year an average count of tourists of 15000 to 20000, almost all residing in the area between Piazza di Spagna, via Gregoriana, via Sistina, via Condotti (Demarco, *tramonto...*, p. 197).

with it the whole process which had brought places like the *Caffè Greco* and *Osteria Lepre* to reorganize their services accordingly. At this point, we should also remind Giuseppe Spada's denouncement of all those *inglesi e francesi* that for years "introduced little by little ideas as much in the middle as in the lower classes of roman population", according to him, the *spores* of the Roman Revolution.⁴²⁸ It is therefore legit, for the purpose of our investigation, to ask whether all the practitioners in the Fine and Liberal arts played any specific role in this historical process of social migration towards Campo Marzio. Despite more data would be needed to obtain a comprehensive picture, it is indeed possible to look for what place artists held within the district's "Civic bourgeoisie" by 1847 [**images 11, 12, 13**], from which I isolated public and private employees, landowners and other categories such as students, retirees and former military personnel. It follows that professionals involved in the arts sector occupied the largest share of the Civic Guard in Campo Marzio, an evidence that remains even after having deleted the most marginal presences within this group such as workers in the printing industry and musicians: actual Fine and Liberal artists were in fact second only to "employees" in terms of "Civic density". In these regards, artistic professions occupied a more relevant quantitative impact than other liberal professions such as doctors, lawyers and teachers, a much interesting evidence as these were instead the most represented bourgeoisie categories throughout the whole political mobilization of those years.⁴²⁹ Less surprising is the lower, but still relevant count of "landowners": as relevant as the 181 *possidenti* could have been within the 2078 Civic Guards of Campo Marzio, they (and their youngest, oldest and female family members) were just a drop in the ocean within the 18.000 inhabitants of the district.

Because of the dataset on which we are operating, it's not possible to safely extend these overall considerations from Campo Marzio to the rest of the city, especially since artists were elsewhere definitely less. Still, the fourth district's exemplar identity and polar role may let safely assume its figures as central dynamics of the overall distributive criteria.

Approaching now the internal divisions of the artistic cluster, a startling consideration emerges already from the general count of Liberal and Fine artists. Despite all the efforts Gregory XVI, Tosti, Morichini, Canova and Minardi undertook in order to push the majority of aspiring artists away from the Fine arts area, evidences shows that the result was the exact opposite: Fine artists outnumbered their counterparts to a considerable extent [**image 14**]. The issue can be furthermore

⁴²⁸ Chapter 1

⁴²⁹ Demarco & co

read under this light by noticing that Roman born artists [**images 15,16**] are prevalent in any section of the survey, an expectable result that nevertheless points to the fact that the non-Roman part of the artistic scene, which emerges from sources as the most visible dynamic, was instead by 1847 a lesser relevant aspect, at least from what the registers express. Analyzing the overall immigration flux of Fine and Liberal Artist, this appears to be mostly dependent on State dynamics of center-periphery interplays, as most of these came from the provinces of the Papal States rather than the other Italian States or extra-Italian areas [**images 17,18**]. Given that the range of non-Roman Liberal artists is so small, the Fine Arts seems to present more space for addressing the data on provenance, although the impact that the lack of information on the Trevi artists (the [-] area of the graph in **images 14, 15, 16**) retains and, in general, the small quantitative ranges of data, prevents any further consideration beyond the predictable density of artistic immigrants in the areas of Campo Marzio and Colonna.

The quantitative prevalence of painters in the Fine arts and of engravers in the Liberal ones, suggests a considerable leaning towards those professions which were better suited to meet the bourgeoisie demand of small, affordable and easier to transport artworks. In the attempt of trying to capture some possible counter-evidences in the fashion of what detractors of overcrowded Fine arts environments might have posed, one is left wondering on the status of all these painters, if they were all profitable with their work and if they produced copies or new artworks, leaving aside more specifically art historical enquiries regarding the stylistic features and their reception by market. We can actually only retrieve very feeble elements to address these aspects, but the social stability and professional sustainability of the artists as framed by the Civic Guard criteria appears as effective by the fact that cases of expulsions because of census insufficiency,⁴³⁰ are present only one time throughout the registers for Fine Artists⁴³¹ and only a few more for Liberal Artists (see the “sanctioned” column in **image 24**).⁴³² This is quite a substantial recognition, as average expulsions

⁴³⁰ This may have happened in case an independent worker fell into the daily worker status which, according to the regulations of July 1847 (Art. 2). The issue was also made object of a further clarification document released by ??? on ??? : “non saranno poi mai considerati giornalieri coloro che, benché soli, e fuori di bottega lavorano per proprio conto.” (pagina 3) + http://www.repubblicaromana-1849.it/index.php?2/ricerca&paginate_pageNum=5&type=documento&id=3893#

⁴³¹ The painter Antonio Spoleti, born in Viterbo by 1817, Corporal of the 5th company in the Trastevere battalion, was expelled on January 31st, 1849 because “*Essendo un giornatante e di pessime qualità morali si cancella dai ruoli battaglione*” [being a daily worker and of the worst moral qualities, it is cancelled from the battalion’s roles].

⁴³² 488 campitelli, incisore;

must have been instead more common than that,⁴³³ especially in the Trastevere district where one would assume daily workers were the most.

Some more specific considerations about the artists' careers could have come from demographic trends, but these must be very carefully considered because several dates of birth proved to be different from what known sources generally states. If in most cases the difference between the two dates is small, others presents some puzzling situations once we underline again that these informations were confirmed by the conscript at the time of the enrollment. In [images 19, 20, 21] I calculated the average demographic situations of all the professions in the districts as expressed by the registers although, again, a strict reading of this data is not encouraged by circumstances. By picking up only the most eye-catching facts, it is evident that the average age of the Civic Guards seems rather low, except from the general seniority of architects. There could be some space for reasoning alongside the younger age of Liberal artists, implying that somehow the younger members of bourgeoisie started to recognize applied arts as viable professional path. A relevant example seems in this sense that of the mosaicist Giuseppe Tranquilli of the Parione battalion, born 1815, whose two brothers were instead *agrimensori* [land surveyor].⁴³⁴

On the other hand, it must also be taken in account that these professional areas were also the ones where familial dynamics and capital represented stronger bounds and thus continuity, as we had learned from the Martinoris and the Castellanis. Several brothers working in the same field must have most likely been co-venturers and possibly maintaining their father's workshop: this should be the case of Carlo and Cesare Denel sons of Niccola,⁴³⁵ or Niccola and Enrico Eleonori, sons of

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⁴³⁴ Mat. 157 \ Tranquilli Giuseppe \ son of Benedetto and Anna \ born in Rome, 1815 \ *Mosaicista* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via della Cancelleria 53 \\
 Mat. 156 \ Tranquilli Andrea \ son of Benedetto and Anna \ born in Rome, 1817 \ *Agrimensore* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via della Cancelleria 53 \\
 Mat. 156 \ Tranquilli Francesco \ son of Benedetto and Anna \ born in Rome, 1804 \ *Agrimensore* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via della Cancelleria 53 \\
 [From the register of the Parione battalion, ACG, b. 152]

⁴³⁵ Mat. 519 - Denel Carlo \ son of Niccola and Marianna D'Orsa[?] \ born in Rome, 1822 \ *Incisore* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via della Purificazione n. 54 \\
 Mat. 520 - Denel Cesare \ son of Niccola and Marianna D'Orsa[?] \ born in Rome, 1825 \ *Scultore* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via della Purificazione n. 54 \\
 [From the register of the Colonna battalion, ACG, b. 149]

Gaetano.⁴³⁶ More notable cases includes the engravers of the Rosaspina dynasty, whose forefather Francesco, born near Rimini by 1762, was one of the most acclaimed engravers of his time.⁴³⁷ The son of his brother Giuseppe, Bernardino (born 1798), was one those few artists that still lived in the Borgo district alongside his son Antonio, who nevertheless decided to turn to painting and eventually achieved success when after 1849 he repaired to Bologna.⁴³⁸ Even there, nevertheless, it must be acknowledged that those cases in which by the entries it is recognizable that two guards were kins, the panorama is rather varied. As an instance, the legacy of the Academic professor of the S. Michele Institute, Francesco Giangiacomo, as we can desume it from the Campo Marzio register, included a painter (Quintiliano), a mosaicist (Tertulliano), and a student (Valenziano).⁴³⁹ Going back to the evidence of a general low demographic trend among the artistic professions, the safest interpretation lies here in the most widely recognized evidences in regards to generational dynamics. The *Risorgimento* rhetorics, especially in the early phases, were mostly addressed to the younger people,⁴⁴⁰ and the mobilization for Pius IX makes no exception: so often newspapers and political activists even among the clergy reminded the Pope to consider the generational momentum leaning towards nationalism as the most important evidence justifying the necessity of political action.⁴⁴¹ The same Pius IX proved to hold a soft spot for this issue already since the days of the

⁴³⁶ Mat. 526 - Eleonori Niccola \ son of Gaetano and Angela Venturi \ born in Rome, 1826 \ *Incisore* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via Felice n. 22 \\
 Mat. 527 - Eleonori Enrico \ son of Gaetano and Angela Venturi \ born in Rome, 1828 \ *Incisore* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via Felice n. 22 \\
 [From the register of the Colonna battalion, ACG, b. 149]

⁴³⁷ On Francesco Rosaspina senior see Bernucci A., *Francesco Rosaspina "incisor celebre"*. Milan, 1995; Imoles Pozzi, A., *Francesco Rosaspina (1762-1841). Un maestro senza maestri*, in "La Pie", 74-2 (2005), pp. 60-62.

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⁴³⁹ Mat. 516 - Giangiacomo Quintiliano \ son of Francesco e Chiara Petrolini \ born in Rome, 1826 \ *Pittore* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via Schiavonia 15 \\
 Mat. 517 - Giangiacomo Tertulliano \ son of Francesco e Chiara Petrolini \ born in Rome, 1827 \ *Mosaicista* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via Schiavonia 15 \\
 Mat. 1930 - Giangiacomo Valenziano \ son of Francesco e Chiara Petrolini \ born in Rome, 1827 \ *Studente* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via Schiavonia 15 \\
 [From the register of the Colonna battalion, ACG, b. 150].

⁴⁴⁰ See Levi D' Ancona, L., *Padri e figli nel Risorgimento*, in "Storia d'Italia, Annali", 22 (*Il Risorgimento*), edited by Banti, A. M., e Ginsborg, P., Turin, 2007, pp. 153-79; Balzani, R., *I giovani del Quarantotto: profilo di una generazione*, in "Contemporanea", 3-3 (2000), pp. 403-416; Luzzato, S., *Giovani ribelli e rivoluzionari (1789-1917)*, in "Storia dei giovani", 2 (*L'età contemporanea*), edited by Levi, G., G. Levi, Schmitt, J.C., Rome, Bari, 1994, pp. 233- 310.

⁴⁴¹ In the lack of a comprehensive account covering at least newspapers articles on the matter, it's worth to remind Felice Orsini's pamphlet "Alla Gioventù Italiana. Discorso", published in Rome on July 1847.

amnesty.⁴⁴² It's also not the case to forget that we are still talking about police and military service, presumably the kind of experiences which discouraged elderly involvement, which nevertheless occurred as well but to minor extents.⁴⁴³

Approaching at last the informations on the artists' religion, general trends are everything but surprising: nearly 99% of the Roman resident artists were catholic and the situation outside the artistic environment was most likely similar, judging from the overall data of all the Civic Guards of Campo Marzio [**image 22**]. This should also reflect the situation of religious tolerance in the city, as decades of Catholic polemics against other confessions and Protestantism in particular must have definitely had an impact on freedom's perception. It should be not surprising in fact that among all the artists present in the Civic Guard, only three openly professed to be "*Protestante*", namely Thomas Crawford, rich and well connected to the powerful American embassy,⁴⁴⁴ and the two Prussians, the painter Ernst Willers⁴⁴⁵ and a "*Federico Walsiech*" which I can't identify any better. On the other hand, is easily inferable that the Civic cluster didn't comprehensively frame all the artistic scene, as a major share of the unofficial areas were largely Protestants. As quantitative evidences on this matter are insufficient, we need to include some more detailed reasoning which would be clearer during the next chapter.

⁴⁴² The amnesty's text reports expressions such as "*inesperta gioventù [...] piuttosto sedotta che seduttrice*" (Mercati 1950, pp. 103-105).

⁴⁴³ Pallade 120 riporta l'esempio di un vecchio civico anonimo che si lamenta del mobbismo giovanile.

⁴⁴⁴ Gale, R. L., *Thomas Crawford: American sculptor*. Pittsburgh, 1964; Dimmick, L., *Veiled memories, or, Thomas Crawford in Rome*, in "The Italian presence in American art", edited by Jaffe, I. B. New York, 1989, pp.176-194; Racioppi, P., "*American Art from American subjects*". *La ricezione delle opere romane di Thomas Crawford in America e la sfida 'anti-romana' di Henry Kirke Brown*, in "Roma fuori di Roma", pp. 307-322.

⁴⁴⁵ Gradel, O., *Der Maler Ernst Willers in Rom*, in "Sensucht nach dem Süden", exhibition catalogue (Landesmuseum für Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Oldenburg, May 5, 2000 - November 19, 2000, Oldenburg), edited by Küster, B., Müller S., Deuter, J., Oldenburg, 2000, pp. 185-220; Bongaerst, U., *Ernst Willers: paesaggi italiani*. Rome, 2003.

2.4.1 - *The Artists and active Civic service: ranks*

A collective recollection of biographical informations on Roman artists contained in the Civic Guard registers offered some steady evidences:

- 1) It is worth to speak of the Civic Guard data as a picture of the aspiring Roman bourgeoisie, or at least of the city's middle-to-upper classes;
- 2) Artists were by 1847 not only a significant part of this social cluster, but also one that was in the position of determining general trends and balances;
- 3) If we are to follow governmental discourse on the matter, Fine Arts practitioners were considerably more than what the scene was able to provide for.
- 4) Most artists were Roman-born, Catholic, rather young (an average of 33 years old for Fine arts and of 30 for Liberal arts).

We enter now the second part of the Civic registers, where the files were updated according the a Guard's activity within the corp. I identified among the various kinds of informations some orders of data in which is possible to retrieve elements useful to address a general perspective on the artists' involvement not only within the Civic Guard but also more generally throughout the Roman Revolution. The panorama will be in this sense absolutely not complete, as the Civic registers are the only systematic sources that this study is taking account of. Some finer results would have been definitely achieved by integrating similar datasets relative, as an instance, to those of the various military corps who embarked in the defense of Rome and the Republic between April and July 1849 when the French armies sieged the city in order to return it to Pius IX.⁴⁴⁶ Nevertheless, the Civic registers presents informations about these matters as well. Moreover, the fact that Civic Guard has

⁴⁴⁶ In ASR there are several sources which may act as valid terms of comparison: *Ministero dell'Interno Pontificio* (tit. 206, bb. 1367-1368); *Archivi Armi e Volontari* (tit. ?? "Miscellanea Repubblica Romana, b. 104, f. 18); *Milizie Repubblicane del 1849* (*Ministero delle Armi, affari riservati*, 1850, n. 3154)

been the police / military corp active for the longest time throughout the Revolution, gives this data an otherwise hardly retrievable depth.

A foremost relevant order of active informations in the registers is that relative to the ranks.

According to the regulations,⁴⁴⁷ the Civic Guards were provided with the opportunity of electing their officers following mechanisms which some authors, perhaps exaggerating a little, called an “exercise in democracy.”⁴⁴⁸ The registers offers indeed the chance to explore whether the artists took advantage of this opportunity to advance their public presence and if these evidences reflects any original behavior.

On the election day, the Guards gathered in their respective quarters and expressed one preference for every position through a “*scrutinio individuale e segreto*” [secret and individual scrutiny]. The militiamen were able to vote only for the ranks of their respective company ⁴⁴⁹ - all of which had to elect 16 corporals, 8 sergeants, 1 sergeants *foriere* [afoot] and 1 Major sergeant - and for the battalion’s General State, which included a Major in first and one in second, a Battalion Chief Lieutenant Colonel, an assistant Major Captain, a District Master Tenant, a Junior Lieutenant flag-bearer and of a sanitary counsel. Now, the Guards votes were not expressing a direct preference, but a triad of names upon which the company’s captain choose the corporals. The sub-officers (Major Sergeants, Afoot Sergeants and simple sergeants) were chosen from the triads by the Commander in Chief in Rome; the Lieutenants were instead chosen by the Pope himself, still picking the name from the triads. The whole battalion’s General State, including the captain, was at last chosen without elections by the Pope and by the Commander in Chief, who was also personally selected by the Pius IX. Finally, the Pope retained the right to revoke an election’s results and demand for a new scrutiny.

This system is clearly product of the anxieties which accompanied the Guard’s enactment and the ecclesiastical willingness to retain some degrees of control. Among all the complains emerged right after the Regulations’ were published, noteworthy comments about the general reactions throughout the State came from Aurelio Saffi in a later biography:

⁴⁴⁷ Ferretti 1847, Tit. IV, p.

⁴⁴⁸ F. Conti, *Le Guardie Civiche*, in “Rassegna Storica Toscana”, 1999, p. 328.

⁴⁴⁹ Every battalion had to include a varying number of 200 men companies each, although this rule was generally unattended as the total matriculations would have had to count no less than 15.200, whereas the registers accounts only 13.873 entries.

“Nello Stato Romano alle contentezza per la ottenuta Guardia Nazionale erano successi gravi mali umore per le nomine de’ capitani e ufficiali primari della medesima, le quali, essendo stati riservate dalla legge alla scelta sovrana sopra liste di nomi proposti dai Presidi delle provincie, riuscirono in molto luoghi di mala soddisfazione per le opinioni politiche e la inettezza degli eletti. E parve ai liberali che tutta la istituzione fosse per quelle nomine offesa sin dal principio nelle sue fonti vitali: il che fu vero, specialmente nelle provincie; e gl’indugi, il mal ordine, la svogliatezza, che si manifestarono in molte città, nella organizzazione delle milizie cittadine, provennero appunto dalla inerzia dei capi, dalle discordie che la cattiva scelta de’ medesimi aveva generate e dalla artificiosa e nascosta guerra che il Governo faceva all’istituzione. La riazione, sconfitta all’aperto, erasi ritirata sotterra e aveva poste le mani sulle più segrete leve del regime dello stato. Il popolo sentiva i mali effetti e s’inquietava delle misteriose cagioni, senza poterle cogliere all’origine loro”.⁴⁵⁰

[In the Roman State, to the happiness for the obtained National Guard followed some grave unrests caused by its captains and officers nominee, which, being reserved by the law to Sovereign choice upon a list proposed by the Province’s Principals,⁴⁵¹ resulted unsatisfying in many places because of the political opinions and the cleanness of the elected. And it seemed to the liberals that the whole institution was getting offended by such nominees within its vital nourishment: which was true, especially in the provinces; and the hesitations, the disorders, the indolence manifested in several cities during the organization of the civic militias, came exactly from their chiefs’ inertia, from the discords that such wrong choices had generated and from the secret war that the Government was making to this institution. The reaction, defeated on the surface, had retired under the ground and put its hands on the most secret pulls of the State’s regime. The populace felt such bad effects and was left unnerved by mysterious causes, without the chance of seizing their origin] .

Despite Saffi’s skepticism, there actually was some democratic space within the election. If not else, the election of corporals was decided between the guards and the company’s captain, and although the latter was still the product of a semi-vertical selection, the same pressure was presumably absent from the lower hierarchies’ decisions. These are relevant matters, as their importance does apply on the social sphere also: if throughout the civic mobilization several new forms of social participation appeared, that also implied a redistribution of statuses. The Civic Guards, at least before the end of 1848, were largely acknowledged across public opinions as the best part of society, the one worth of the Holy Father’s trust in the risky venture of reformism and eventually national independence:

⁴⁵⁰ Saffi, A., *Storia di Roma dal Giugno 1846 al 9 febbraio 1849*, in “Ricordi e scritti di Aurelio Saffi”, 3-2 (1846-1848). Florence 1893, p. 114.

⁴⁵¹ At the light of the elections’ mechanisms described above, this piece of information seems incorrect.

young boys emulated them,⁴⁵² women weaved them flags, artists portrayed their uniforms and gave them the foremost importance in depictions of public scenes.⁴⁵³

As said, major charges were directly imposed by the Pope, it is therefore easily assumable that these were occupied by nobles, especially cadets son who according to Fiorella Bartoccini approached military service with the aristocratic pride of a regained social placement.⁴⁵⁴ A much exemplary endeavor is in this sense that of Prince Camillo Aldobrandini Borghese, second son of Francesco Borghese and Adelai de de La Rochefoucauld after his older brother Marcantonio and his younger one, Duke Salviati.⁴⁵⁵ Given that the foremost relevant governmental involvement were reserved for Marcantonio, elected Conservatore del Comune,⁴⁵⁶ Aldobrandini instead immediately joined with enthusiasm as leader of the Campo Marzio Civic battalion, as Koelman accounts.⁴⁵⁷ Holding this position meant apparently much for the Prince, as Campo Marzio was factually the most important and populated battalion. He will in fact eventually be chosen as Minister of War, after Pius IX had approved the reform introducing the State Counsel, and when he resigned after the April 29 allocution, he will be acclaimed to become the Civic Guard's Chief Commander, position from which he resigned after the radical turn of late 1848.⁴⁵⁸ Aldobrandini's endeavor could point to the fact that even some noble were in need of new flows of social recognition in order to achieve an higher political relevance. On the other hand, Nevertheless, the aristocratic density in the higher ranks didn't prevent an ascending bourgeoisie like Bartolomeo Galletti (not to be mistaken for Giuseppe Galletti, Bologna's moderate leader) to enter active participation and have his economic status recognized on a more stable social basis. Only a few years before, Galletti had in fact been the object of a scandal involving a case of unattended marriage proposals, one of those crimes in

⁴⁵² Mentioned by Koelman as a squad composed by boys younger than eighteen years old, mostly sons of artists (Koelman 1963, 1, p. 170, 2, p. 354), the "*Battaglione la Speranza*" was a division enacted under the supervision of Pietro Kusterman to welcome aspiring Civic Guard who were too young to join the ranks. An archival unit is available in ASR (*Guarda Civica - Battaglione la Speranza*, in "Miscellanea Repubblica Romana", tit. ??, b. 39, f. 90).

⁴⁵³ We will all see these aspects in detail in the next chapter.

⁴⁵⁴ Bartoccini 1985, pp. 279-280.

⁴⁵⁵ *Necrologio*, in "La Civiltà Cattolica", 53 (1902), p.. 730-731; V. E. Giuntella, *Aldobrandini, Camillo*, in "Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani", 2 (Albicante-Ammanati). Rome 1960, p.102.

⁴⁵⁶ F. Malgeri, *Borghese, Marcantonio*, in "Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani", 12 (Bonfadini-Borrello). Rome 1960, pp.604-605.

⁴⁵⁷ Koelman 1963, 1, p. 119.

⁴⁵⁸ Spada 1863, 2, pp. 100, 293.

which the laws of god and men of Rome converged in order to picture and stigmatize abjection.⁴⁵⁹ Willing to redeem his position, he found the a way to do so within the ranks through a dense public presence which resulted in granting him the rank of Captain in his company, a recognition that will eventually followed by further achievements up to commanding an entire army during the 1849 siege.⁴⁶⁰

If higher ground were foremost opened to aristocracy and to wealthy bourgeoisie, turning now to artists it seems correct to assume that a sort of pre-established and necessary hierarchy was embedded in top-down selection processes. In **[image 23]** I have thus included a quantitative summary on the artists present in the Civic Guards ranks and sorted them by the institutional subject who decided the officer's name from the triads. The comparison of Liberal, Fine and also "Mechanical"⁴⁶¹ arts generally points to the fact that the artistic hierarchies generally replicated those promoted by power, as the higher places of the ranks were largely open to the Fine artists, less for the Liberals, very rarely for the Mechanicals. The higher charges were in facts inaccessible for the Mechanical and the Liberal artists, and its panorama slightly reflects that of the hierarchies in the artistic scene. Among the chosen by the Pope we encounter the Captains Francesco Coghetti⁴⁶² and Francesco Podesti⁴⁶³, academicians of S. Luke and more in general the two most significant and successful heirs of the Roman school of painting by those days. But beside them, the higher Academics within the ranks are only a few more⁴⁶⁴. High degrees were acknowledged to artists who

⁴⁵⁹ De Cadilhac A., *A corte e in guerra : il memoriale segreto di Anna de Cadilhac*, edited by De Simone, R., Monsagrati, G., Rome 2007, pp. 10-16. On Galletti see also C. D'altidona, *Il generale Bartolomeo Galletti (1812-1887). Cenni estratti da studi inediti*, Gubbio 1940; G. Monsagrati, *Galletti, Bartolomeo*, in "Dizionario biografico degli italiani", 51, Rome 1998, pp. 570-573.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibidem??

⁴⁶¹ Professionals somehow involved in the art world but almost entirely seizable as artisans. Here they include *Stampatore, Tipografo, Ebanista, Formatore, Vasellajo, Stuccatore, Doratore*.

⁴⁶² Mat. 317 - Coghetti Francesco \ son of Giuseppe and Baldi Cattarina \ born in Bergamo, 1805 \ *Pittore* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Piazza Poli 91 \ Ranks: 17/09/1847, Liutenant; 27/09/1847, Vice-Captain \ \ [from the register of the Trevi battalion, ACG, b. 148].

⁴⁶³ Mat. 467 - Podesti Cav. Francesco \ son of Giuseppe \ born in Ancona, 1802 \ *Pittore* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via S. Clementis n. 80 \ Ranks: 9/07/1847, Captain \ \ \ [from the register of the Colonna battalion, ACG, b. 149].

⁴⁶⁴ Mat 2 - Capalti Alessandro \ son of Lorenzo e Anna Serafini \ born in Rome, 1808 \ *Pittore* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via Tina del Fiume n.14 \ Ranks: 16 / 07 / 1847, Major \ \ \ [from the register of the Campo Marzo battalion, ACG, b. 150].

Mat. 6 - Riccardi Bernardino \ son of Antonio e Luigia Pezzarosa \ born in Parma, 1816 \ *Pittore* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via in Lucina 26 \ Ranks: 14 / 07 / 1847, Liutenant flag-bearer \ \ \ [from the register of the Colonna battalion, ACG, b. 149].

Mat. 380 - Stocchi Achille \ son of Amadio \ born in Rome, 1800 \ *Scultore* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Palazzo Vaticano \ Ranks: 24 / 08 / 1847, Captain \ \ \ [from the register of the Borgo battalion, ACG, b. 158].

were often important, but not exactly members of the Academic *gotha*, although there a few examples of positions achieved in the Stato Maggiore from lower officer position, also during the Republic.⁴⁶⁵ The “noble” artists seems to actually have not encountered the Civic Guard institution with much enthusiasm.

In the Liberal arts area, there are only two individuals who made it to the higher ranks, but relying on an already high social and artistic status. The first, is the patriarch of the Barberi family of mosaicists, Michelangelo;⁴⁶⁶ the second is Bernardino Rosaspina, who by being picked as *Capo Aiutante Maggiore* shows again to enjoy some privileged status in front of power. In his case, but probably also for others, a reason could stand in his previous military experience, having fought for Gioacchino Murat during or perhaps at the end of the Napoleonic wars⁴⁶⁷ and also as “*aiutante maggiore*” during the provisional government in Bologna 1831. Actually, neither of these two experiences would have qualified Rosaspina as a man fond of traditional order, as both Murat and Bologna by 1831 brought memories necessarily attached with some degree of subversion, as well as the heritage of his father Francesco, also a known liberal-minded.⁴⁶⁸ Moreover, his son Antonio voluntarily mobilized for the war with Austria in on March 1848.⁴⁶⁹

Finally, there are cases where the trust acknowledged by the government to the artists in the higher ranks of the Guard has been badly calculated. The eminent examples are here those of the captains Costantino Brumidi of the Monti district and Eugenio Agneni of Ponte, who during the Republic

⁴⁶⁵ Mat. 15 \ Belli Vincenzo \ son of Pietro and Carolina \ born in Rome, 1816 \ *Argentiere* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via Teatro Valle 63 \ Ranks: 1847, Captain; 03 / 1849, Major \ \ [from the register of the S. Eustachio battalion, ACG, b. 154].

Mat. 280 \ Jannetti Domenico \ son of Giacomo and Maddalena Bottoni \ born in Rome, 1816 \ *Architetto* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via Tre Pile 66 \ Ranks: 10 / 1847, Lieutenant; 05 / 1849, Deputy major \ \ [from the register of the Campitelli battalion, ACG, b. 156].

Mat. 41 - Barba Troyse Giuseppe \ son of Domenico and Caterina Rossi \ born in Rome, 1809 \ *Scultore* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via Capo le Case 75 \ Ranks: 22 / 09 / 1847, Second lieutenant; 27 / 09 / 1847, Vice-captain / 30 \ 11 \ 1847, Captain \ \ [from the register of the Campo Marzo battalion, ACG, b. 150].

Mat. 583 - Santucci Stefano \ son of Giuseppe and Agata Neri \ born in Rome, 1820 \ *Mosaicista* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via Felice n. 22 \ Ranks: 29 / 10 / 1847, Sergeant major; 08 / 1848, Major sergeant auxiliary \ \ [from the register of the Colonna battalion, ACG, b. 149].

⁴⁶⁶ Mat. 2 - Barberi Cav. Michelangelo \ son of Giuseppe \ born in Rome, 1787 \ *Mosaicista* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via Rasella 143 \ Ranks: 11 / 08 / 1847, Captain; 25 / 09 / 1847, Major \ \ [from the register of the Trevi battalion, ACG, b. 148].

⁴⁶⁷ Mat. 5 - Rosaspina Bernardino \ son of Giuseppe and Margarita Battivani \ born in Bologna, 4 / 2 / 1798 \ *Incisore* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Porta Angelica 10 \ Previous military services: *primo tenente nel 12o reggimento di Muratti* [sic]; *Aiutante maggiore del governo di bologna nel 1831*; *Cavaliere del regno delle due sicilie* \ Ranks: Major auxiliary \ \ [from the register of the Borgo battalion, ACG, b. 158].

⁴⁶⁸ See elogio A. Cippi.

⁴⁶⁹ Mat. 693 \ Rosaspina Antonio \ son of Bernardo and Clementina Berti \ born in Bologna, 14 / 3 / 1827 \ *Pittore* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Borgo Nuovo 130 \ Mobilized: 1 / 7 / 1848 \ \ [from the register of the Borgo battalion, ACG, b. 158].

will be both be much involved and eventually retributed with exile. It is nevertheless an evidence that, after being directly elected by the Pope and the Guard's Commander, and thus identified as compliant individuals, at the end of the Revolution they turned into enemies and condemned.

Turning to lower ranks, the more bottom-up elective mechanism appears to have brought some true vitality and differentiation. Not only Mechanical artists were often chosen as corporals and sergeants, but the Liberal artists involved are in some cases as many the Fine ones (see Campo Marzio and S. Eustachio) or even more (Parione, the gold and silversmith's district). The fact that the same evidence is not present for the lieutenants (who were elected by the Pope upon *terne* proposed by the Guards) and that the only two Liberal artists expressly picked by Pius IX and the Chief Commander were two old and much prominent figures (Michelangelo Barberi and Bernardino Rosaspina), implies that the absence of direct governmental in the selection of corporals created a differentiation of results. Given the low count of Liberal artists in the higher ranks, the almost 3 : 4 ratio of the corporal counts in comparison to the ones in the Fine arts (75 : 102 = 3 : 4.08) is almost the same of the overall artistic presences in the Guard as visible in **[Image 14]** (591 : 855 = 3 : 4.34), implying thus that the status balance was restored at the corporal level. Despite their ideological marginalization from the governmental spheres at the expenses of Fine artists, the social status of Liberal Artists was instead legitimized as equal by the Civic bourgeoisie.

Circumstances seems to address this phenomenon as dependent on bourgeoisie features, rather than leader-worker positioning within the productive chain of an atelier: among the 16 corporals of Campo Marzio working in the Liberal arts professional area, 10 were mosaicists and, as we had seen, mosaicists living in the tourism district were most likely to work in the commerce of small artworks rather than the big yards where Michelangelo Barberi belonged.

Another specific phenomena within lower ranks election is that of non-Italian foreigners being recognized with the corporal status. These situations were not uncommon for nobles and landowners, who especially after 1814 elected Rome as the perfect place to retire in and cover from social turmoils under S. Peter's dome.⁴⁷⁰ Several foreign aristocrats living in Rome enthusiastically joined Pius IX and the *Risorgimento* endeavor, like the Polish Prince Teodoro Galitzin who lived in Rome since many years by then.⁴⁷¹ Elected as corporal in the Campo Marzio files', Galitzin

⁴⁷⁰ Negro, Caracciolo, RMC

⁴⁷¹ See Tamborra, A., *Grigorij P. Šuvalov e l'Italia*, in "Rassegna storica del Risorgimento", 65-3 (1978), pp. 289-292.

eventually joined the mobilized corps of 1848 and died in Bologna, having endeavored into the expedition despite some severe health issues. Other examples, like the English banker registered as “Edgardo Welvi” and selected as corporal in the Colonna battalion⁴⁷², are less notable but still present and testifying the degree of emotive mimesis with the Roman population that some immigrants have reached through the Civic Guard involvement. Throughout the artists, cases of foreigners being elected as corporals appears to be limited to the Trevi and Colonna districts, including the Swiss sculptor enrolled as “Luigi Haster”⁴⁷³ and the Swedish painter “Carlo Blagiman” (whose actual name was Carl Gustaf Plagemann)⁴⁷⁴ for the 3rd district, the Polish painter “Romano Postemkschy”⁴⁷⁵ and the presumably Turkish painter “Giorgio Della Sudda”, who told to be born in *Costantinopoli* [sic]⁴⁷⁶. All isolated but eloquent cases, especially at the light of the aforementioned evidences about those several Liberal artists elected as Corporals.

All together, these processes of differentiation testifies how processes of election in the lower ranks engendered a degree of mobility which the registers doesn't show in regards to the higher ranks. Whether these processes had a specifically recognizable common root tied with specific social identities, it is something that should be addressed upon larger archival evidences which are hardly retrievable from sources. Even the minutes of the ranks elections provides very little informations to reason upon as they simply express collective preferences. These, however, were decided upon a surprisingly small base, if we are to judge from the fact that the aforementioned Plagemann only needed 11 preferences upon 45 voters to gain the rank of Corporal in the second company of the Colonna battalion which counted no less 160 men.⁴⁷⁷ Given that every company had to have 16

⁴⁷² Mat. 306 - Welvi Edgardo \ son of Odoardo and Maria Ulchison \ born in England, 1820 \ *Banchiere* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Palazzo del Cinque al M.te Citorio \ Ranks: 29 / 10 / 1847, Corporal \ \ [from the register of the Colonna battalion, ACG, b. 149].

⁴⁷³ Mat. 1109 - Haster Luigi \ son of Giacomo and Maria \ born in Switzerland, 1813 \ *Scultore* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via del Nazzareno n. 3 \ Ranks: 29 / 10 / 1847, Sergeant \ \ [from the register of the Colonna battalion, ACG, b. 149].

⁴⁷⁴ Mat. 34 - Blagiman Carlo \ son of Federico and Carlotta Oslund[?] \ born in Sweden, 1801 \ *Pittore* \ lives in Via Capo le Case 9 \ Ranks: 29 / 10 / 1847, Corporal \ \ [from the register of the Colonna battalion, ACG, b. 149].

⁴⁷⁵ Mat. 260 - Postemkschy Romano \ son of Tonino e Clobasky Francesca \ born in Poland, 1809 \ *Pittore* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via de crociferi \ Ranks: 06 / 10 / 1847, Corporal \ \ [from the register of the Trevi battalion, ACG, b. 148].

⁴⁷⁶ Mat. 331 - Della Sudda Rocco \ son of Giorgio and Rossi Teresa \ born in Costantinopoli, 1825 \ *Pittore* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via del gallinaccio 8 \ Ranks: 08 / 10 / 1847, Corporal \ \ [from the register of the Trevi battalion, ACG, b. 148].

⁴⁷⁷ AGC, “Posizioni relative alle promozioni nel battaglione Colonna”, b. 37, minute September 27, 1847.

Corporals, one would suppose that by simply joining the elections one had some very good chances of winning a spot, given also that these were apparently always performed from 9 in the morning and lasted around one hour,⁴⁷⁸ so not exactly a burden which every professional was able to take easily. Again, a single case could not define a rule, but it's worth to remember that Colonna was a very bourgeoisie district, so that the election in poorer or more socially crystallized districts could have easily been decided by even less voters. Just like the successful "Civic careers" of Prince Aldobrandini and Bartolomeo Galletti were decided mostly by their degree of active involvement, this rule seem to have been decisive also for lower ranks. At the light of the general trends in the ranks elections, it seem legit to say that these reflected already defined social hierarchies, but that agency and willingness to participate were crucial engines for status creativity.

2.4.2 - Artists and active Civic service: war

At this point we have been analyzing data at the light of the political climate as we had left after the creation of the Civic Guard. The escalation, however continued: competing forces rallied each other, parties spread their ideologies and aspirations, urban manifestations in Rome kept growing, Italian States' political leaders started to adamantly move diplomatic steps towards each other and control their collective options; when all these dynamics entered a mature phase by 1848, however strong Pius IX's role and symbolic value remained, the government's ability in empowering sovereignty against national and liberal pressures became increasingly weaker. On one hand, popular agency on the public scene started to become an unavoidable force: it's worth to recall in this sense the famous "blessing of Italy" that Pius IX pronounced during the night of February 10,

⁴⁷⁸ See AGC, "Posizioni relative alle promozioni nel battaglione Colonna", b. 37, minute October 18, 1847.

1848 in front of a crowd of people gathered under the Quirinale palace.⁴⁷⁹ Coming after two days of recurring urban protests due to the government's decision of not preparing the Papal armies in sight of the upcoming conflicts between northern Italian states and Austria,⁴⁸⁰ the speech, featuring the resonating and most likely ill-interpreted sentence "*Oh perciò benedite, Gran Dio, l'Italia [...]*"⁴⁸¹, turned to be the authorization to join the conflict. But if public forces became so effective, it was because of the institutional transformations around achieved. After the concession of the Civic Guard, in facts, reforms continued to be proposed, discussed, approved: on November 15, 1847 the State Counsel took office and on November 25 the Municipality of Rome was created.⁴⁸² But yet, pressures continued. Whereas the State Counsel initially included only ecclesiastic members, who tended to deny the possibility of joining any conflict on the national level, already by January 17 the first layman was admitted in the Papal government (the Minister of War Prince Pompeo Gabrielli). At the time of Charles Albert of Piedmont war declaration to Austria (March, 23) laymen were already more than the ecclesiastics, whereas only on February 12, questioned on the matter, Pius IX was answering "*non posso, non debbo e non voglio*" [I can't, I shouldn't and I don't want to]⁴⁸³ Notoriously, the Papal States entered the First War of Independence as a consequence of the Austrian army led by General Radetzky being put in chase from Milan and repairing in the so-called *Quadrilatero* (the area within the four fortresses of Verona, Peschiera, Legnano and Mantua) to resist the Italian States. When the State Counsel in Rome authorized a detachment of the State army to leave for the north by March 26, the formal orders were to remain within the borders in case of any further escalation⁴⁸⁴, whereas newspapers certified the beginning of the conflict and expected the Roman soldiers to co-operate with the Venetian Republic (declared on March 23) to force the *Quadrilatero* on the south-eastern side.⁴⁸⁵ Line, reserve and artillery forces of the Pontifical army were sent north under the leadership of the Piedmontese Major General Giovanni Durando, while a gathering of voluntary forces "whose service must be strictly understood as moved by *amor patrio*

⁴⁷⁹ For a new in-depth analysis of the speech's resonance and effectiveness see Veca 2015, pp. 589-610.

⁴⁸⁰ Spellanzon, C., *Storia del Risorgimento e dell'Unità d'Italia*, 3. Milan 1936, pp. 598-601; Massè, D., *Pio IX e il gran tradimento del '48*. Alba 1948, pp. 115-142.

⁴⁸¹ For the speech full text see *Atto sovrano*, in "Gazzetta di Roma", 19 (February 11, 1848), p. 73.

⁴⁸² On the municipality of Rome during its early years see *L'opera della municipalità romana durante la Repubblica del 1849*, conference proceedings, in "Rassegna storica del Risorgimento", 86 (1999).

⁴⁸³ G. Martina, *Pio IX (1846-1850)*. Rome 1974, pp. 203-205, 209.

⁴⁸⁴ A detachment of *fucilieri* was already sent from Rome on the borders by March, 15 (Ovidi 1903, p. 17)

⁴⁸⁵ Monsagrati

[love for the country]⁴⁸⁶ was to be gathered under the command of General Andrea Ferrari among those members of the Civic Guard from all the State between the age of 20 and 35 who were willing to volunteer.⁴⁸⁷

Facing now war, the Pope's moderate aspirations were evidently in a breakpoint. Only a month after the expedition's authorization, institutional confusion reached its peak by April 29 when Pius IX pronounced the *Non semel* allocution,⁴⁸⁸ in which both the King and the Pontiff ultimately recognized the impossibility of authorizing a war against Catholic Austria. After the immediate resignation of Prince Aldobrandini, who only two weeks before was elected Minister of War, decisional power was formally in the hands of the army's heads General Giovanni Durando and General Andrea Ferrari, who decided, not without contrasts, to prosecute hostilities. The defection of the King of Naples, the uncoordinated Italian armies, the superior efficiency of the Austrians caused the Italians a defeat and when by the half of July the Papal troops started to return to Rome, discontent and frustration were at their peak.⁴⁸⁹ While some still confided in Pius IX, radicals led by the members of the *Circolo Popolare*, which in the meanwhile had marginalized the moderate *Circolo Romano*, started to gain increasing social inertia.⁴⁹⁰

The Veneto campaign functioned as a watershed for the Roman Revolution and thus for the Civic Guard. The sudden impact with war, after the triumphant parades of the armies reaching Veneto across the of Papal cities, who (mostly) welcomed Italian soldier with flowers, gifts and enthusiasm, is testified by several sources. However, grave injured and casualties among the mobilized Civic Guards were not many, and for the artists even less.⁴⁹¹ Ippolito Caffi was imprisoned and allegedly crucified by the Austrians who apparently left a board hanging to his neck reporting the phrase:

⁴⁸⁶ Gazzetta di Roma 24 Marzo. Generale Rospigliosi.

⁴⁸⁷ Ernesto Ovidi (Ovidi 1903, p. 18) reports the lower age limit being 25. The *Gazzetta di Roma* reported instead the limit to be 20 (<http://www.repubblicaromana-1849.it/index.php?3/periodici/rml0028262/1848/n.49>), an evidence confirmed by the Civic registers. As an example, the young Giovanni "Nino" Costa, who by the 1848 was 22 years old (Mat. 34 \ Costa Giovanni \ son of Gioacchino and Maria Chiappi \ born in Rome, 1826 \ *Possidente* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via S. Francesco 75 \ Ranks: 04 / 10 / 1847, Corporal \ Mobilized \ [from the register of the Trastevere battalion, ACG, b. 157].

⁴⁸⁸ G. Martina, *Nuovi documenti sull'allocuzione del 29 aprile 1848*, in "Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento", 3-4 (1966), p. 527-582; Id., *Ancora sull'allocuzione del 29 aprile e sulla politica vaticana in Italia nel 1848*, in "Rassegna storica del Risorgimento", 54-1 (1967), pp. 40-47.

⁴⁸⁹ severini? Monsagrati? G. Cadolini, *I ricordi di un volontario. Le campagne del 1848 e del 1849*. Il 1849, 'Nuova Antologia', n. 898, CXLI, 16 maggio 1909, p.272, 275.

⁴⁹⁰ Spada 1863, 2, pp. 294-436.

⁴⁹¹ According to Ernesto Ovidi, the Civic Guard which were mobilized for the Veneto campaign were 2200 in total, with 50 casualties (Ovidi 1903 p. 122).

“This is how we treat Pius IX’ soldiers”.⁴⁹² The news, which even Koelman reported as true 15 year later,⁴⁹³ was actually false: Caffi was imprisoned but after one month of hard detention he was released because an Austrian Commander had recognized him.⁴⁹⁴ All these things, we know them because newspapers reported any single piece of information they managed to obtain, and some editors like those of *La Pallade*, even systematically received some exclusives reports from soldier via weekly bulletins. These news of course engendered a strict surveillance in Rome upon those who deserted already by the *Non Semel* allocution, and Commander Aldrobrandini intimated these to not ever dare to return to Rome.⁴⁹⁵ In between such extreme cases, our analysis of artists’ activities in the Civic Guard must necessarily pass through this phase, as the registers provides informations in this sense.

The analysis of the 1848 armies and their composition has been since then a much discussed matter, and the Pontifical files made no exception. A solid reading of the overall endeavor should definitely be based on the drastic transformation which the *Non semel* allocution brought, both for the military outcomes but also for the symbolic meaning of what was by many perceived as a crusade, rooted in a progressive historical development in which the Italians and the Pope could only have prevailed.⁴⁹⁶ Throughout the 2200 State Civic Guards who were mobilized in the 1st *Legione Romana*,⁴⁹⁷ the Roman artists were in total 101, 61 Fine and 40 Liberal artists [image 24]. The enrollment was tied to health conditions and demography, so strict readings of these numbers are not particularly indicative of a general situation, but nevertheless the fact that the Campo Marzio had managed to mobilize only five soldier harshly collides with the dimensions of its battalion: the far smaller Pigna district, had in fact sent in Veneto 8 Guards. At the light of data for the whole 4th

⁴⁹² News on the fact are reported in “La Pallade” 228 (26 / 4 / 1848), 230 (28 / 4 / 1848), 235 (4 / 5 / 1848), 241 (11 / 5 / 1848), 249 (20 / 5 / 1848), 260 (3 / 6 / 1848). Possibly informed of the rumors of his alleged death, Caffi wrote a letter to marqués Orazio Antinori, president of the *Società Artistica Italiana* (see p. ?), which was thereafter printed and published in Venice (I. Caffi, *La mia prigionia. Al marchese Antinori segretario della Società Artistica in Roma. Lettera d’Ippolito Caffi*. Venice 1848).

⁴⁹³ Koelman 1963, 1, p. 160.

⁴⁹⁴ “Caffi è a Venezia da due o tre giorni. Egli fu fatto prigioniero a Visco, fu preso per generale avendo l’elmo civico, denudato e trasportato in Gorizia. Quivi giunto pur le donne gli si slanciarono addosso, gli strapparono i capelli e i peli della barba. Fuorn posti in 24 in una stretta camera; per 40 ore non mangiarono, poi posti a pane ed acqua. Nugent che conoscealo di nome, volle vederlo, lo graziò in nome di Sua Maestà clementissima e gli fe dare parola di onore di portare i suoi proclami al Comitato di Belluno. Egli li portò, ma narrò, fomentò il popolo alla difesa. Fu messo a taglia il suo capo. Egli è invecchiato incanutito. Egli a Visco cadde nelle mani del ladrone occupando con 23 compagni una casa, non udì la ritirata.” (“La Pallade”, 260, 3/6/1848, pp. 2-3).

⁴⁹⁵ Ovidi 1903, p. 132.

⁴⁹⁶ The “crusade” climate of the Italian 1848 has been recently analyzed in depth in Veca 2015, pp. 610-627.

⁴⁹⁷ Ovidi 1903, p. 122.

battalion including artists and non-artists [**image 25**, “mobilized” column], it seems that those willing to join the expedition preferred to lean on the radical side and join the *Battaglione Universitario*, a radical spin-off also under the command of Ferrari which was open not only to students (especially those younger than 20 which were not allowed to join the Civic Guard) but also anyone who wanted to leave for war;⁴⁹⁸ artists, however, largely unattended this call.⁴⁹⁹ The only Fine artist from Campo Marzio who subscribed to the *Battaglione Universitario* was a rather unique character: the Ravenna-born sculptor Angelo Bezzi, whose historical profile is basically today exclusively linked to the fragmented recollection of his political deeds throughout the Revolution, as only a couple of artworks have been vaguely attributed to him.⁵⁰⁰

Going back to the larger picture, beside the surprisingly high count of mobilized artists in the Ponte district, the largest results are again those of the Colonna battalion which confirms again a very active position in these fragments, especially if compared with Campo Marzio. The eccentric force of Colonna is confirmed by a further fact: in [**image 26**] I included a GPS localization of all the 8 eight companies of the 4th battalion, which were divided according to sub-areas within the district. The first one, which included the Guards living around Piazza di Spagna and southwards including a part of Via Gregoriana and Via Sistina - namely, the artists’ district - is the area where *all* the 7 artists of Campo Marzio who volunteered for the Veneto campaign lived. At the same time, the companies of the Colonna battalion in which artists subscribed for mobilization, are also those insisting in the same area, namely the 5th, the 8th and the 4th in particular [**image 27**]. The fact companies from different battalions but living in the same area retained in this sense similar characteristics, suggests that there must have been some specific environment in which political activism was promoted and adopted in a stronger and effective way. This group of mobilized artists was not clustered according to the social enclosures of battalions and companies, but they were territorially based around the artists and foreigners’ district, resembling those same insediative strategies that engendered urban polarities as we have seen them earlier in this chapter. The territorial range seems here only slightly larger: Guards belonging to the 4th company were living

⁴⁹⁸ F. Zamboni, *Ricordi del Battaglione Universitario (1848-1849)*, edited by E. Zamboni, F. Pasini. Trieste 1926; Buti. V., *Il battaglione universitario e la campagna del 1848*, in “Capitolium”, 23 (1948), p. 49-65.

⁴⁹⁹ Unconfirmed remains in this sense the information given by Ceccarius about an important presence of S. Luke’s students in the ranks of the *Battaglione Universitario* (see Ceccarius, *Gli artisti del 1848*, in “Capitolium”, 23 (1948), pp. 62-70).

⁵⁰⁰ See G. Mazzini, *Dear Kate. Lettere inedite di Giuseppe Mazzini a Katherine Hill, Angelo Bezzi e altri italiani a Londra (1841-1871)*, edited by R. Sarti, N. Mayer, Catanzaro, 2011, p. 34-45.

in the area from Via della Purificazione and Via S. Isidoro down to Piazza Barberini, the area that the Nazarenes “colonized” already by the early Restoration.

In the absence of additional informations about the majority of this trans-group of mobilized artists between Colonna and Campo Marzio we can't imply much more, beside a substantial majority of Roman-born individuals which however is an evidence in line with general quantitative proportions. The fact that military endeavor was embraced mostly by the artists living in such a specific area of the city it's however definitely remarkable, as it proves once again that individual interest declined in acts of agency was a specific phenomenon that does not present any coherence with larger social circumstances. Next to companies' political catechization, another strong dynamic pushing to military involvement was apparently that of familial bonds: the registers presents a fair number of examples of brothers mobilized together, like the *possidenti* Giulio and Cesare Versaglia from Cesena,⁵⁰¹ or the engravers Niccola and Enrico Eleonori.⁵⁰² Another case is that of elderly Civic Guards having their sons leave for Veneto, like the painter Raffaele Garofoli and his son Alessandro,⁵⁰³ or the painter Michelangelo Pacetti (here listed as *possidente*) and his son Stefano, engineer.⁵⁰⁴ The occurrence will also have continuities during the republican bracket, as inferable from the case of the engraver Luigi Marsili Piroli and his son Cesare,⁵⁰⁵ who eventually died during

⁵⁰¹ Mat. 410 - Versaglia Giulio \ son of Giulio and Belardina Mariani \ born in Cesena, 1818 \ *Possidente* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via Belsiana 71 \ Ranks: 6 / 10 / 1847, Corporal \ Mobilized \ \ \ Mat. 411 - Versaglia Cesare \ son of Giulio and Belardina Mariani \ born in Cesena, 1822 \ *Possidente* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via Belsiana 71 \ Ranks: 6 / 10 / 1847, Corporal \ Mobilized \ \ \ [from the register of the Campo Marzo battalion, ACG, b. 150].

⁵⁰² Mat. 526 - Eleonori Niccola \ son of Gaetano and Angela Venturi \ born in Rome, 1826 \ *Incisore* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via Felice 22 \ Ranks: 29 / 10 / 1847, Sergeant \ Mobilized \ \ \ Mat. 527 - Eleonori Enrico \ son of Gaetano and Angela Venturi \ born in Rome, 1826 \ *Incisore* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via Felice 22 \ Mobilized \ \ \ [from the register of the Colonna Marzo battalion, ACG, b. 150].

⁵⁰³ Mat. 123 - Garofoli Alessandro \ son of Raffaele and Tommaso Valentini \ born in Rome, 1824 \ *Pittore* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via Rotonda 11 \ Mobilized \ \ \ Mat. 124 - Garofoli Raffaele \ son of Giacomo and Anna Sevrà \ born in Fabriano, 1800 \ *Pittore* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via Rotonda 11 \ \ \ [from the register of the S. Eustachio battalion, ACG, b. 154].

⁵⁰⁴ Mat. 158 - Pacetti Cav. Michelangelo \ son of Vincenzo and Teresa Gonzaghi \ born in Rome, 1798 \ *Possidente* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via Gregoriana 38 \ Ranks: 6/10/1847, Sergeant \ \ \ Mat. 170 - Pacetti Stefano \ son of Michel Angelo and Maria Piazzesi \ born in Rome, 1826 \ *Ingegnere* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via Gregoriana 38 \ Mobilized \ \ \ [from the register of the Campo Marzo battalion, ACG, b. 150].

⁵⁰⁵ Mat. 169 - Piroli Marsili Luigi \ son of Giuseppe and Vittoria \ born in Rome, 1810 \ *Incisore* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via Gregoriana 34 \ \ \ Mat. 1927 - Marsili Piroli Cesare \ son of Luigi e Bianchi Luisa \ born in Rome, 1827 \ *Mosaicista* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Via Gregoriana n. 34 \ \ \ [from the register of the Campo Marzo battalion, ACG, b. 150].

the siege of 1849.⁵⁰⁶ Family is today widely recognized as one of the strongest conveyors for Italian nationalism in the 19th century: the “deep images” of sacrifice, honor and, indeed, “blood”,⁵⁰⁷ transversally resonated across the peninsula through a generational continuity that bounds together the delusions of the Napoleonic years with the expectations of the long 1848.⁵⁰⁸ In the end, the radical turn which many embraced in Rome after the *Non Semel* allocution could easily be read at the light of the betrayal which Pius IX operated against those fathers and mothers who sent their sons to war and remained abandoned. Even these, nevertheless, could not be taken as normative explanations: the Veneto campaign, in fact, also brought episodes of familial anti-conformism like that of Giovanni “Nino” Costa, who left in secret and despite it’s family’s disapproval.⁵⁰⁹ Again, we are talking here of an absolutely peculiar individual, performing emotive, non-utilitarian actions which may hardly be contextualized in wider social terms. In regards to the mobilized volunteers, a more common ground of belonging may be found in economic capital. As the eyewitness Raffaele Giovagnoli was already recalling in 1894, the files of mobilized volunteers from Rome “[...]erano composti di giovani delle famiglie più ricche e agiate, i quali partivano ben forniti di denaro” [(...) they were composed of young people of the most rich and well-off families, who left for war with a fair amount of money].⁵¹⁰ Whereas public subscriptions have been gathered and massively joined by the population in order to fulfill the needs of the volunteers,⁵¹¹ and despite the fact that the Minister of War supplied the soldier with provisions,⁵¹² there is evidence that some volunteers

⁵⁰⁶ See *Elenco dei caduti per la Repubblica Romana del 1849*, in “Roma, Repubblica: Venite!. Percorsi attraverso la documentazione della Repubblica Romana del 1849”, edited by M. Calzolari, E. Grantaliano, M. Pieretti, A. Lanconelli. Rome 1999, p. 202.

⁵⁰⁷ A. M. Banti, *La Nazione del Risorgimento. Parentela, santità e onore alle origini dell’Italia unita*. Turin 2000. For the functions of familial dynamics see in particular pp. 33-42, 66-72.

⁵⁰⁸ For the Roman case, see Donato 2000, pp. 928-930; M. Caffiero, *Introduzione*, in “Roma Moderna e Contemporanea - Roma Repubblicana. 1798-1799, 1849”, 1-3 (2001), pp. 9-27.

⁵⁰⁹ N. Costa, *Quel che vidi e quel che intesi*, edited by G. Guerrazzi Costa. Milan 1927, p. 29.

⁵¹⁰ R. Giovagnoli, *Ciceruacchio e Don Pirlone. Ricordi storici della rivoluzione romana dal 1846 al 1849 con documenti nuovi*. Rome 1894, p. 326.

⁵¹¹ “La Pallade” reports that a total of 20.000 *scudi* has been collected (n. 208, 27 / 7 / 1848, p. 4). List of donors have been published in “Il Contemporaneo” (*Nota delle oblazione per l’armamento volontario delle Legioni Romane. Supplemento al Contemporaneo n. 51, 29 / 4 / 1848*).

⁵¹² Ovidi 1903, pp. 20-22; A. Lodolini, *La mobilitazione di una Divisione di Volontari nel 1848*, in “Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento”, 2 (1932), p. 288.

spontaneously renounced to any help and provided weapons and food for themselves. Interestingly for our analysis, a case which was made public regarded an architect.⁵¹³

2.4.3 - *Artists and active Civic service: towards the Republic*

At their return from the Veneto campaign, the mobilized Civic Guards finds Rome in a much different setting. A climate of terror was already being spread before the troops return, with menacing messages sent straight to the deserters from the columns of “La Pallade”.⁵¹⁴ But it will be only during the time between July and November 1848, that the dutiful corp enacted to defend the Holy Father started to show signs of inefficiency, impatience, anarchy, its files increasingly falling victim of dualisms and radical infiltrations.⁵¹⁵ The process can be well traced back by following the deeds of the mobilized veterans division led by Bartolomeo Galletti which, right after their return, occupied the congregational church of the banished Jesuits and elected it as their quarter.⁵¹⁶ Indeed, throughout the following months the veterans, known as the “*Legione Romana*” will constantly

⁵¹³ Mat. 591 - Angelucci Angelo \ son of Girolamo and Rosa Tomassetti \ born in Todi, 1815 \ *architetto* \ Catholic religion \ lives in Vicolo delle Grotte 3 \ Mobilized \ [from the register of the Regola battalion, ACG, b. 153].

The news of Angelucci’s renounce is reported on “La Pallade”, n. 209 (4 / 4 / 1848), p. 4.

⁵¹⁴ “La Pallade”, 247 (18 / 5 / 1848), pp. 2-3.

⁵¹⁵ Giovagnoli (retrieves a crucial responsibility in the capability of Luciano Bonaparte in heating the Civic Guard towards radicalization, achieving substantial results especially in the professional areas of “*artieri*” and “*ebanisti*” in particular (Giovagnoli 1894, pp. 220-222).

⁵¹⁶ “La Pallade”, 3030 (26 / 07 / 1848), p. 3.

occupy a prominent position on the public scene, and will eventually become the only Civic / National Guard division which actually figured on the battlefield during the French siege.⁵¹⁷

The second half of 1848 is a quite a slippery surface in the history of the Roman Revolution, with sources presenting an even higher level of militancy and rendering often impossible to fully grasp specific trajectories, including the evaluation of the Civic Guard's role. In facts, if it can be accepted - at least in general terms - Giuseppe Spada's judgement, who prized the loyalty and the attachment to duty of the Guards throughout all the upheavals and hidden machinations of those days,⁵¹⁸ there are instead situations in which the corp had contributed to the radical turn of the events to a substantial extent. The first and foremost is that of the happening which caused Pius IX's flight from the city, the murder of Prime Minister Pellegrino Rossi by the Palazzo della Cancelleria on November 15th: the palace was also the quarter of the Parione district and according to several sources the blue uniforms of the Guards were the exact cover under which the killer managed to escape;⁵¹⁹ second: the non-intervention during the immediate aftermaths, under which the State Counsel decided to approve the election of a Constitutional Assembly. As newspapers and the same Giuseppe Spada underlined, the Civic Guard didn't raise a single finger to attend his mandate of protecting the Pope and his jurisdiction.⁵²⁰

Once the Republic was officially declared (February, 3rd, 1849) the Civic Guard becomes dismantled and re-enacted as National Guard, but the files remained the same except for a

⁵¹⁷ A few months after their return, Galletti writes and publishes a pamphlet describing the deeds of the *Legione Romana* in Veneto (*Giornale Storico della Prima Legione Romana compilato dal colonnello Bartolomeo Galletti*, Rome 1848) dedicated to Camillo Aldobrandini. For the further actions of the division see Spada 1863, 3, 435-436; G. C.Trevelyan, *Garibaldi e la difesa della Repubblica Romana* (Italian edition). Bologna 1909, pp. 141, 148-151, 210.

⁵¹⁸ “[...] diremo che il corpo della guardai civica o nazionale non ostante la intrusione di eterogenei elementi che ne viziaron la essenza, rimase in complesso un corpo onorato, nemico di disordini, alieno dalle rapine, amante dell’ordine pubblico. Non si potrebbe al certo predire quali sconcerti sarebbero potuti accadere in un a città come Roma, fatta in allora nido e adunamento di tanti torbidi elementi, se non avesse esistito quel corpo. Esso è vero, non operò tutto il bene che avrebbe potuto, non fu il più saldo sostegno della sovranità bersagliata; però quanto alla tutela dei cittadini, risparmiò molto male che non si vide, ma che sarebbe accaduto inevitabilmente.” [Spada 1863, 3, p. 299].

⁵¹⁹ “Anche le guardie Civiche del rione di Parione, che avean quartiere nel palazzo della Cancelleria, e quel di erano più che mai numerose, videro ogni cosa co’ propri occhi, e lasciarono fare” (G. Boero, *La Rivoluzione Romana al giudizio degli insindacabili*. Florence 1852, p. 100). See also Farini 1850, 2, pp. 406-407. A. Balleydier, *Storia della rivoluzione di Roma. Quadro religioso, politico e militare dell’Italia negli anni 1846 a 1850*. Livorno 1851, p. 117; E. Del Cerro, *Cospirazioni Romane (1817-1868)*. Rome 1899, p. 172-173; Koelman 1963, 1, p. 166.

⁵²⁰ “Il Contemporaneo”, 228 (20 / 12 / 1848), pp. 2-3; Spada 1863, 3, pp. 37-38; *Diario del Principe Don Agostino Chigi dal 1830 al 1855 preceduto da un saggio di curiosità storiche raccolte da Cesare Fraschetti intorno la vita e la società romana del primo trentennio del XIX secolo*, 2. Tolentino 1906, pp. 58-59.

restriction in demographic access (from 18 years old to 55) and the consequent dismissal of several individuals.⁵²¹ Nevertheless, under the turmoils of the Republic, the history of the Guard becomes harder to trace in detail, more absent than not (that's probably why Spada judged the corp as loyal) and in general stripped away of that strong social relevance it retained during 1847-1848. Such circumstances also crumbles the Civic / National Guard's effectiveness as an area for social enquiries which, at the height of the Republic, had undergone through many so many layers of significance and symbolic interactions that the degree of political agency is not anymore directly connectable with the pre-1846 conditions, a cross-reading that the Civic registers allowed instead during the corp's earlier phases. This doesn't mean of course that the same research questions are not legit for the short Republican setting, all the contrary; the Civic Guard registers simply tells that they doesn't have much to say about it and that thus the social mobilization has been crystallized in a variety of forms, memberships and reactions that must be necessarily analyzed individually. The most active side of Roman population seems to have translated its commitment to other corps on the fashion of what had already begun to happen by March 1848 with the *Battaglione Universitario*. In **[image 24, "transferred" column]** I included all the movements from the Civic Guard to other corps that were actively involved in the defense of Rome, some of which were already happening by late 1848 and before the murder of Pellegrino Rossi. Although the implications of some dictions are not precisely clear or consistent in series,⁵²² the general figures are safely indicative of the Civic Guard's military involvement in 1849 and they certify that the Roman artists did play only a minor role, especially if one compares these indications with what happened in Campo Marzio for the other social clusters: employees, students, "liberal" practitioners (teachers, physicians, lawyers...) were all much more willing to act than artists did, despite these being the most populated bourgeois professional area of the district. **[image 25]**.

Even by turning to ancillary sources in the Civic Guard archive other than the registers, evidences does not invite to consider any systematic movement of society towards the ultimate military involvement of 1849. One apt point of view comes on this matter by a provision divulged on January 30 which prompted a fresh establishment of the "*mobilizzati*" corps of the Civic/National

⁵²¹ Deliberations n. 23 (14 / 2 / 1849), n. 122 (18 / 3 / 1849), *Bollettino delle leggi, proclami, circolari, regolamenti ed altre disposizioni della Repubblica Romana*. Rome 1849, pp. 16, 164-165.

⁵²² The "*trasferito in linea*" diction, in particular, occurs in a timeframe spanning from May 1848 to March 1849, accordingly, therefore, to different moments of the institutional organization and of the army composition. It is clear, however, that military conscription, unlike the Civic Guard service, was based on a voluntary act.

Guard.⁵²³ The guards who were “mobilized” on March 1848, were by 1849 enrolled in the *Legione Romana* led by Bartolomeo Galletti.

With the new “mobilization” act of January 1849, the State Counsel was apparently already aiming at gathering military sources, as the Papal retribution was already widely expected.⁵²⁴ As the clause “*mobilizzati entro Roma*” suggests, the eventual military employment of the guards was only limited to internal service of defense, a duty which however was already accounted to the Civic/National Guard and perhaps already addressing the diffused withdrawal of the guards from their duty after the Pope’s flight. A further support element comes in this sense from the fact that these “*mobilizzati*” received a payment for their voluntary service, an apt measure of the distance that divides the original “Civic spirit” from that of 1849 if one considers that applications for these positions started to come also from daily-workers who were not supposed to be Civic Guard and who did not present any interest in doing so until then. By April 6 the National Guard Chief Commander Girolamo Lega was lamenting that an increasing number of *mobilizzati* was found to be “*braccianti*” and that wasn’t acceptable even at the light of the French siege, a lamentation which was in the end resolved by creating a “special” division opened only to economically disadvantaged individuals.⁵²⁵ The tragic economic situation in which the Republic was rapidly forced into must have been a major factor in determining such a push to involvement: among the candidacies for a place in the *mobilizzati* we even find requests from a surgeon and from an earl’s son, both illustrating their skills, education, commitment and need for employment.⁵²⁶

For the ends of our analysis, we want to know if there was some continuity between the active involvement of artists that we have seen so far and this “interested” mobilization. The Civic Guard archive partially provides such opportunity, despite some documentation seems to be missing.⁵²⁷ A survey conducted upon five districts present a general impact that does not provide any substantially original behavior according to other processes of active involvement [**image 28**]. By focusing on the Campo Marzio battalion in regards to artistic and non-artistic professions, data engenders ratios

⁵²³ Deliberation n. 136 (21 / 3 / 1849), in *Bollettino delle leggi, proclami, circolari, regolamenti ed altre disposizioni della Repubblica Romana*. Rome 1849, pp. 188-189.

⁵²⁴ Monsagrati, Severini.

⁵²⁵ Minutes n.7205 (3 / 2 / 1849) in ACG, f. 72, “Mobilizzati entro Roma”.

⁵²⁶ A separate corp of 29 *braccianti* will eventually be formed after complains from Senator Carlo Armellini, who found to be “*disdicente che persone dell’ultima classe ammesse ai lavori di beneficenza facciano parte di un corpo per se stesso rispettabile [...]*” (Minute n. 8211, 6 / 4 / 1849, in ACG, f. 72).

⁵²⁷ The lists for every single battalion are all contained in ACG, f. 72, “Mobilizzati entro Roma”, except for Trevi, Ponte, Regola, S. Eustachio, Trastevere.

which are instead surprisingly different, presenting in general commerce related professions in a rather poor state, if we are to literally follow the *mobilizzati entro Roma* conscription as mainly motivated by money. When judging the involvement in 1848, we defined that the ratio between Civic Guard and war volunteers was lower than expectable, and the evidence for which in 1849 inhabitants of the most “touristic” district were going through economical hardships seems perfectly coherent with this scenario. Even under this light, however, embracing the defense at any level only pushed a rather limited number of Civic Guards to war.

These evidences apparently clashes with the headlines of most scholarly frameworks about the artists under the siege.⁵²⁸ Mentions of the brave artists who embraced the defense of the Roman Republic and its ideals have been so often refrained, and the same Jan Philip Koelman does dedicate a large space in his diary to these dynamics, even including some facts which, despite the Dutch artists’ general faithfulness, harshly collides with historical sources.⁵²⁹ A first answer may come straightforward: most of them were not Roman-based and they joined the Revolution only by 1849. The most famous exemplary figures here, like the brothers Gerolamo and Domenico Induno, Saverio Altamura, the French painter and critic Gabriel-Joseph-Hyppolite Laviron all arrived in Rome with the Republican turn, and just like the majority of the most iconic figures associated with the defense like Enrico Cernuschi, Luciano Manara, Enrico Dandolo, Goffredo Mameli but also the same Giuseppe Mazzini and Giuseppe Garibaldi, they spent the last years moving all around Italy and participating to the various revolutionary settings in Milan, Genua, Tuscany or Venice according to situations. Everything that happened between the Pope’s flight and the election for the Constitutional Assembly was welcomed even my Mazzini himself as an unexpected event. The catalyzing effect behind the image of the Romans governing themselves without the Pope under a republican organization, all happening right when the 1848 expectations were progressively fading, attired all those individuals which had personally invested the most in the national endeavor. All these young and democratic oriented people, raised in dramatically different environments, social positioning and at the light of often incompatible political aspirations, found themselves on the battlefield informed by a same ideal notion of national community whose relationship with the leading motives of the social mobilization of Rome and the Papal States should absolutely not taken for granted.

⁵²⁸ Ceccarius, *Gli artisti del 1849*, in “Capitolium”, 9 (1949), pp. 267-281). See A. Villari, *Roma 1849*, in “Maestà di Roma”, exhibition catalogue...pp. 235-239.

⁵²⁹ See the case of Ippolito Caffi’s killing (

2.5 - *Conclusions*

After having certified that the Civic registers are a trustworthy device for social enquiries on the presumed bourgeois identity of Roman society, after having structured the capital creation process that defined the social positioning in their cultural scene of professional in the arts and after having checked if to these circumstances corresponded an equivalent push to armed involvement, we may advance a legit answer to our first question: did the 1846 mobilization implied a “social question” for the Roman artists? Based on findings in the Civic registers, the response is no. All reasons may be easily summarized after the recurring evidence for which active movements of involvement have been generally few, and this despite the recognition for which artists made a substantial quantitative impact in the Civic Guard. Even within the restricted number of artists who achieved ranks or accepted to join war actions, it has been impossible to connect such evidences with spread social motivations or class interests. Some slight findings appeared only in regards to election in the ranks for Liberal arts and foreigners, although it has been also underlined that these were achievements which were more the product of zealous frequentation than actual transformations in social status recognition.

In the long run, this reality is consistent with the leading discursive threads of the artistic scene as determined when detailing the processes of artistic capital creation. The most heated theme that pushed artists to act, quarrel, innovate or emigrate since Pius VII’s restoration has been in fact that of the market crisis, an issue constantly addressed as a consequence of either decreased tourism or of the Napoleonic years, but never as a factual responsibility of aristocrats or of the same government who in truth explicitly redirected investments from contemporary arts to archeology and restorations. It is definitely likely that such level of critique didn’t even exist, as the heavy social structures of the Roman society does not appear in explicit terms from any of the consulted sources. This should not be regarded as a circumstantial evidence since debates in the artistic scene

existed: as an instance, the regime's typical features as also the Romans' superstitions and habits were stigmatized in artworks as also through communitarian events like the *Cervarofesten*. We have seen in the end how bourgeoisie and nobles were all part of a same environment that, in the case of Campo Marzio, they occupied evenly in territorial terms and presumably without substantial problems; if anything, instead, they had frequent interactions. Moreover, given that difficulties at achieving professional sustainability were unavoidable, to gather the attention of those few noble families like the Torlonias who still endeavored in large decoration yards could have easily turned one artists' destiny. Good relationships with those few patrons left were therefore a vital resource, as Alessandro Torlonia showed to be in the position of either supporting or literally destroying careers.⁵³⁰ In the end, those individuals with the strongest assets in economic and status capital were also the very first to comply, and the same Academy of S. Luke observed a zealous detachment from worldly affairs which has been maintained throughout the whole Roman Revolution. It's worth to underline that such specific phenomena were not normative in the Papal States. Already by 1831 the Fine Arts Academy of a constantly agitated city like Ravenna was getting dedicated investigations by organons of political controls because about its director, the sculptor Ignazio Sarti, and his principle patron, Count Alessandro Cappi.⁵³¹

Given the artists' low general level of active involvement, there is space to presume that even for those whom the mobilization represented a real chance for uplift, the objective was not to overrun aristocracy and affect flows of capital. This must have been directed somewhere else, outside of specifically collective motivations.

Such inconsistency should however not dispense investigation. Considering for instance Colonna and Campo Marzo as the most relevant districts in terms of artists and Civic Guards' concentration, the two presented some specifically different evidences, with the former having more involvements within a smaller population and the latter presenting an exactly inverse situation. In the end, a much stronger force in creating motivations seems to have been territorial proximity other than the larger

⁵³⁰ A much relevant example is the process of marginalization put in action around 1844 against Giovanni Battista Caretti by Alessandro Torlonia, after the former failed to meet his patron's expectations while being in charge of the resettlement of Villa Torlonia (M.F. Apolloni, A. Campitelli, A. Pinelli, B. Steindl, *La Villa di Alessandro Torlonia*, in "Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte", 28-29 (1986), pp. 15-18.

⁵³¹ "Direttore, e Professore del Disegno IGNAZIO SARTI di patria bolognese. Questo soggetto al tempo della Rivoluzione imbrandì la Bandiera tricolore, e con essa venne insignito di Sciarpa, in mezzo alla Piazza di Ravenna, seguito da lunga Caterva de' suoi Scolari, ove tenne sermone ad essi della Libertà Italiana, e dell'indipendenza nazionale, animandoli, ed infervorandoli a scuotere (diceva egli) l'indegno gioco (sic) pontificio, e a rendersi versi seguaci dei Brutti, e dei fieri Repubblicani di Roma" (from *Patrioti e legittimisti delle Romagne nei registri e nelle memorie della Polizia (1832-1845)*, edited by G. Maioli e P. Zama, Rome 1935, p. 43).

enclosures of the districts, as we have seen in regards to the mobilized artists living between the south-east part of Campo Marzo and the northern area of Colonna. These, as said, also corresponded to specific companies of the two battalions, thus suggesting that in those environments political catechization aimed at conscription was somehow stronger towards some specific groups of Civic Guards that presented, in any case, transversal characteristics: among the mobilized Guards in Campo Marzio battalion's first company, we find a painter like Agostino Amici, a woodcrafter like Enrico Asman, an engraver like Andrea Mazzanti, and in general basically any kind of professional.⁵³² At the "failure" of the social enquiry, is therefore time to turn to cultural analysis.

CHAPTER III

Inclusions

3.1 - Inclusions and exclusions

Collective findings failed to provide substantial informations on how the mobilization impacted the artistic scene and vice-versa. The registers proved instead that, if there ever existed an active bourgeoisie within the Roman middle-to-upper classes, professional artists in the Fine and Liberal arts were definitely entitled to be a part of it. Not only their quantitative density was relevant and their presences a much impactful entity in the social world of the city, they also enjoyed substantial resources through the scenic infrastructure. Whereas institutions like the *Società di Amatori e Cultori* only partially provided solutions to a general inequality in opportunities distribution, the scene offered real chances for improvements in artistic and social capital which several individuals managed to turn in real chances for individual uplift, although most of the times this had to happen by interacting with environments other than Rome. In the end, Luigi Calamatta and Paolo Mercuri would have probably never managed to be successful if they didn't leave the city. Capital was there but few artists had the chance or possibly even the interest in a cohesive social advancement, this despite the crisis of aristocratic commissions was by far the most central issue debated by the scene's members.

The low rate of active involvements in the Civic Guard provided nevertheless some grounded bases from which we can start to advance some more vertical enquiries. In the next chapters we will move

alongside individual and collective endeavors in order to watch for some stricter terms of agency in the form of visual production, but also of affiliations to parties and groups that needed or were offered with artistic cooperation. As broad as such terms may look like, their essence could be once again reduced to the awakening of middle-to-upper class society, as we will see. In fact, those same mechanisms that allowed for instance the possibility of electing ranks in the Civic Guard, also opened new circumstances for public commissions, for the production and diffusion of images related to contemporary happenings and finally for actively take advantage of the right of associationism on a political base, an unprecedented happening for Rome before 1847. As these may be defined as ways of joining the mobilization as an inclusive process parallel to the Civic Guard service, there also have been exclusions, either voluntarily or imposed, which are no less important to understand the mobilization's implications and impact.

At the end of this overview, we will weight its outcomes at the light of the scenic infrastructure and the Civic Guard's experience, and finally contextualize the whole movement of social mobilization at the light of the post-Revolutionary outcomes and try to understand which part it did play in engendering the consequences of the "Second Restoration" that followed the end of the Roman Republic. The intent is here rather straightforward: given that the art historical treatment of the Roman Revolution has been mostly understood at the light of the democratic turn during the Republic, the vertical interference of politics was simply transferred from the unkept promises of Pius IX and the 1848 movement, to the "glorious but sad days"⁵³³ of 1849. The *ex-post* dangers of this operation have been easy to circumnavigate according to the shortness and the unsettled atmosphere of the Republican bracket, naturally conflicting with the longer times of artistic elaborations. Some "regular" attention has been only dedicated to the Roman Republic's artistic heritage during the following decades, and mostly as a chapter of more general works or exhibitions

⁵³³ I am quoting here Margaret Fuller's famous sentence expressed after the end of the siege (M. Fuller, *"These sad but glorious days"*. *Dispatches from Europe, 1846-1850*, edited by L. J. Reynolds, S. Belasco Smith. New Haven, London, 1991, p. 200. For an update oversight of Fuller's perspective and presence over the Roman Revolution see C. Giorcelli, *La Repubblica romana di Margaret Fuller: tra visione politica e impegno etico*, in "Gli americani e la Repubblica Romana del 1849", edited by S. Antonelli, D. Fiorentino, G. Monsagrati. Rome, 2000, pp. 53-88.

about Garibaldi or Mazzini, rather than the *Risorgimento* in general.⁵³⁴ Such an approach had definitely brought much valuable insights like those of Giuseppe Monsagrati, who analyzed the political use and reactions to the destruction of cultural heritage perpetrated by the belligerents, and how this gathered the international scorn which the *Realpolitik* of France (and indirectly Austria, Spain, Naples and the Papal government itself) did not raise.⁵³⁵ In general, however, the chronological inconsistency of the Republican bracket was mostly taken as an excuse to isolate the issue within short paragraphs and remand to other geographical contexts in order to weave together a comprehensive art historical narrative of the Italian 19th century.⁵³⁶ What this study is doing is instead to cover competing social movements and artists' specificities starting from the beginning of their mobilization, which I hopefully clarified to be a wide fracture from the previous years, and their governmental hinderances in preventing intellectual bourgeoisie to deploy. Of course this doesn't mean that the Republican experience did not play a part in kindling the post-49 environment, all the contrary: the political and emotional consequences of the Gianicolo massacres haunted biographical treatments of so many accounts published and read during the next decades, and also literally "created" artistic careers from basically nothing. But these were not dynamics that exercised the same pressure on the individual endeavors of artists like the fracture of the artistic scene, which I think started to happen not with the Republic, but with the social mobilization: the *Risorgimento* breaking only sealed the Holy See in its later years of semi-isolation.

⁵³⁴ Two respectively relevant examples are in the sense "Romantici e macchiaioli: Giuseppe Mazzini e la grande pittura europea", exhibition catalogue edited by F. Mazzocca (Palazzo Ducale, October 21, 2005 - February 12, 2006, Genua), Milan, 2005; "Garibaldi. Il mito. Da Lega a Guttuso", exhibition catalogue edited by F. Mazzocca, A. Villari (Palazzo Ducale, November 17, 2007 - March 2, 2008, Genua), Milan, 2007. An equivalent balance emerges from the *Il Risorgimento a colori* exhibition ("Il Risorgimento a colori: pittori, patrioti e patrioti pittori nella Roma del 19. secolo", exhibition catalogue edited by S. Tozzi et al. (Museo di Roma - Palazzo Braschi, September 19, 2010 - January 9, 2011, Rome), Rome, 2010) which however stands out as the most effortful scholarly treatment on the matter to date. Some dedicated chapters about the Roman Republic and the arts have been also included within wider accounts on the Roman arts of 19th century; see A. Villari, *Roma 1849*, in "Maestà di Roma: da Napoleone all'Unità d'Italia. Universale ed Eterna, Capitale delle Arti", exhibition catalogue (Scuderie del Quirinale, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, March 7 - June 29, 2003) edited by S. Pinto, L. Barroero, F. Mazzocca. Rome, 2003, pp. 235-248; I. Sgarbozza, *Artisti dissidenti tra prima e seconda Repubblica Romana*, in "Roma fuori di Roma", edited by G. Capitelli, S. Grandesso, C. Mazzarelli, Rome, 2012, pp. 363-378.

⁵³⁵ G. Monsagrati, *L'arte in guerra. Monumenti in politica a Roma al tempo dell'assedio 1849*, in "Roma Moderna e Contemporanea", 1-3 (September, 2001), edited by Marina Caffiero, pp. 217-262.

⁵³⁶ A notable example is in this sense

3.2 - Celebrations and icons

If the “times of art” were not sufficiently responsive in order to catch the very first developments after the unexpected openings of the amnesty, they were instead by the time of the “official”, scheduled happenings. The first of these was in order of time the *Natività della Vergine* [Nativity of the Virgin] on September 8th, an old celebration that according to the Roman liturgy of the Tridentine calendar expected the commemorative ritualization of Mary’s birth via a procession ending in Piazza del Popolo and precisely in the church of “S. Maria del Popolo” in order to contemplate the so-called “*Madonna del Popolo*”, a marian icon allegedly attributed to S. Luke himself.⁵³⁷ As “official” as the happening was, the strategies and actors involved in the preparation of the festivity marks the innovations to come by involving an “official” side of the artistic scene that stands more at the peripheries than we had seen. In the turn of barely a month, Luigi Brunetti called Ciceruacchio, assisted by other two *capipopolo* (Luigi Paoletti and Giuseppe Antonini), managed in facts to hastily exploit his popular prestige by organizing and funding what was supposed to be the celebrations’ heart: the edification of an ephemeral arch of triumph in the point of juncture between the Corso and the square at the height of the twin churches of S. Maria Addolorata and S. Maria in Montesanto, basically framing the only space the procession could have passed through in order to enter Piazza del Popolo. The overlap between religious traditions of ancient popular significance and the civil value behind the post-amnesty appraisals should not be pass undetected here: it is in facts upon these basis that an individual like Angelo Brunetti was able to exploit his public premiership up to become a public art commissioner. The ephemeral monuments were also an artistic practice associated since long with the Papal governments, who relied on such objects in order to frame liturgies and political happenings under a round civil and religious identity.⁵³⁸ The stability of meanings in the long history of the ephemeral celebrations and

⁵³⁷ Sacra Congregazione per il Culto Divino, *Calendarium Romanum ex decreto Sacrosanti Ecumenici Concilii Vaticani II instaurato, auctoritate Pauli PP. VI promulgatum*. Vatican City, 1969, p. 102.

⁵³⁸ “Corpus delle feste a Roma”, 2 (“Il Settecento e l’Ottocento”), edited by M. Fagiolo, Rome, pp. 355-356; Id., *Feste e trionfi: continuità e metamorfosi di un tema*, in “Memoria dell’antico nell’arte italiana”, 2, edited by S. Settis, Turin, 1985, pp. 279-350.

monuments had seen some derangements fifty years before, first under the “appropriation” of its forms by the Republican government of 1798-1799, [image 1] and consequently under the two Restorations of Papal power under Pius VII in 1800 and 1814.⁵³⁹ [image 2] But these were never funded by a *carrettiere da vino*, and also never commissioned their full management to an almost unknown architect under the name of Felice Cicconetti, who despite later involvements in public institutions,⁵⁴⁰ by then had never apparently played a relevant public role. Furthermore, in the contemporary “*Ragguaglio storico di quanto è avvenuto in Roma e in tutte le provincie dello Stato Pontificio in seguito del perdono accordato dalla santità di N. S. Papa Pio IX*” it is underlined that, whereas the Constantin arch to which Cicconetti’s monument was inspired by was raised by the Roman senate and people, the 1846 episode was solely due to the latter’s initiative.⁵⁴¹ A parallel which is worth to keep in mind.

Given the strategic implications behind the happening, we know much about its production and iconographies. Several contemporary accounts of the artwork and the celebrations were in fact published right afterwards, including a description by Cicconetti himself [images 3, 4] and another by Ottavio Gigli in his “*Le Feste del popolo di Roma*”.⁵⁴² We thus learn that the adopted model was explicitly that of the Constantine Arch by the Palatine Hill, as also corroborated by an included detailed explanations of its mixture of Corinthian and Attic orders in the capitals, their bases and the columns. This is a much “informed” stylistic description that testifies the structured academic knowledge upon which the monument was conceived upon, and also its attempted historical mimesis (the columns were for instance tinted with a special yellow tone in order to give an “antique” look)⁵⁴³. Surmounting the monument there were a statue of Pius IX and next him two *Genii* [allegorical personifications] of Peace and Strength (this one in the form of a Lion) leaning towards each other, done by Silvestro Simonetta, Carlo De Ambrogio and Zenone Garovi. Beside all the decorations, addressed by both Cicconetti and Gigli to signify peace and glory (olive branches

⁵³⁹ A. Pinelli, *La rivoluzione imposta o della natura dell’entusiasmo. Fenomenologia della festa nella Roma giacobina*, in “Quaderni del Neoclassico”, 4 (1978), pp. 97-146.

⁵⁴⁰ Basically unmentioned before the 1846 celebrations, Cicconetti published in Rome by 1860 a brief treaty called “*Delle Ombre prodotte dai corpi illuminati dal sole*”, in which he shows to hold the position of “*Professore di Architettura ed ornato nell’Istituto Tecnico di Geodesia ed Icodometria in Roma*” and “*Segretario della Sezione Artistica nell’Accademia dei Quiriti*”.

⁵⁴¹ Anonymous, *Ragguaglio storico di quanto è avvenuto in Roma e in tutte le provincie dello Stato Pontificio in seguito del perdono accordato dalla santità di N. S. Papa Pio IX come dal suo Editto del 16 Luglio 1846*, 5. Rome, 1846, p. 6.

⁵⁴² *Le feste del popolo romano dal giorno 17 luglio del 1846 al 1 gennaio 1847 in onore dell’amatissimo sovrano Pio IX*, edited by O. Gigli. Rome, 1847.

⁵⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 13.

and crowns), there were a double series of plaster bas reliefs: the four in the posterior side were all revolving around a series of New Testament's events, apparently underlining the divine and earthly nature of the Holy See ("the descent of the Holy Spirit" by Ferdinando Batelli and the "Consignment of the keys to S. Peter" by Giuseppe Poli) and its mercy ("The pastor gathering the lost lamb" by Antonio Bisetti, and "The cure of the blind-born" by Fabio Provinciali). On the front side and upon the two minor fornices - namely the two narrative reliefs which were supposed to be most visible and that in fact were portrayed in all the illustrations that I have retrieved, including one by Cicconetti himself [**images 5, 6, 7**] - were instead depicted contemporary events: the Pontifical public hearings by Francesco Della Longa and finally the amnesty, designed by that same Angelo Bezzi who we know as the only Fine artists of Rome that joined the Veneto campaign from the ranks of the *Battaglione Universitario*. An inscription, at last, was adorning the arch's face:

Onore e Gloria
a
PIO IX
Cui bastò vn giorno
per consolare i svdditi
[e] Maravigliare il mondo⁵⁴⁴

[“ Honor and glory to PIUS IX / to who it took a day / to comfort his subjects / and marvel the world]

Allegory was clearly the driving idea of the whole monument, both the sedimentation of common semantic features of high profile public artworks (allegorical *Genii* are present within Papal cenotaphs since the times of Gian Lorenzo Bernini), but also of Republican visual culture since 1789 which had seen a substantial Roman acclimation during 1798-1799, ranging from radical to reactionary meanings. In this sense, as Sandro Morachioli found out, allegory was a connotative language, in terms of significant, but also a transversally available alphabet,⁵⁴⁵ which does not automatically mean that it was transversally understood.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 16

⁵⁴⁵ See S. Morachioli, *Caricature e allegoria. Don Pirlone a Roma e le immagini politiche a stampa intorno al 1848*, in “Il lungo Ottocento e le sue immagini. Politica, media e spettacolo”, edited by V. Firino, G L. Fruci, A. Petrizzo. Pisa, 2013, pp. 179-192.

The arch clearly shows that by September 8 the social mobilization already started to happen and with the artistic scene not only moving accordingly, but also interpreting some strategic narratives within it. In fact, at the base of the early Pope's appraisal, there was more than an active process of personalization of the ritual connoted by depictions of contemporary events that prefigures Pius IX's mythology into Christ's deeds which is recognizable within Bezzi's and Della Longa's panels. The whole arch was also the product of an unprecedented negotiation of public pertinencies enacted in order to retrieve new spaces of extra-institutional agency, all in the turn of less than two months. The ephemeral arch by Cicconetti seems therefore to already address those processes which led to the Civic Guard's re-enactment. Most of the artists involved are in fact enlisted in the registers: Cicconetti results inscribed to the Campitelli battalion⁵⁴⁶ but "*trasferito ad incognito domicilio*" [transferred to unknown residence] already by October 1847, as he had apparently moved to the Colonna district earlier in July.⁵⁴⁷ Also in the registers was the author of the trenches decoration Bernardino Galuppi (born 1827), the youngest of three sculptor brothers (Alessandro, born 1822 and Luigi, 1816), all inscribed in the Campitelli district and living in Via Buccimazza, some hundreds meters far from Cicconetti's former residence in Via delle Pile. The various Ferdinando Battelli, Fabio Provinciale, Antoni Bisetti, Ugo Scipione, Carlo De Ambroggi, Giuseppe Palombini were all inscribed, and all were also pensioners of various Italian academies (Milan, Turin, Bologna, Naples, Flores, even the Swiss Ticino).

The mentioned re-introduction of the Papal public hearings, also functioned as a new channel for artistic production, given that portrait seats, even after death,⁵⁴⁸ were traditionally very exclusive opportunities for artists.⁵⁴⁹ Already since July 26, Pius IX spent instead hours at receiving visits not only from politicians and nobles, but also from members of the bourgeoisie and often even for

⁵⁴⁶ Mat. 251

⁵⁴⁷ mat. 70

⁵⁴⁸ In occasion of Gregory XVI's death, the Swedish painter Egron Sellif Lindgren would later reckon in his memories what a sough after and exclusive honor was that of taking a plaster out of a dead pope's face (E. S. Lundgren, *En Målares Anteckningar. Utdrag ur Dagöcker och Bref*, 1 ("Italien och Spanien"). Stockholm, 1870, pp. 91-93.

⁵⁴⁹ LA Pittura in Italia

popular representatives.⁵⁵⁰ Among these, copious were of course artists who often came from abroad on purpose, like Lorenzo Bartolini did on Spring 1847, as also his pupil Sante Varni later in the same year.⁵⁵¹ The emotive intensity within the description of these events by the various Minghetti, D'Azeglio, Pasolini, Giuseppe Montanelli, testifies the coherence between the Pope's informal and affective behaviours and the comprehensive social scope of his political design.⁵⁵² Similarly, the early portraits which were produced in quantities and varying formats, all presents a Pius IX who is either bestowing blessings or signing reforms, constantly with a smile on his face [image 8]. The human presence of the Pope was being evoked around objects which very soon became some sort of icons, like his bust performed by Camillo Pistrucci and by him exclusively financed,⁵⁵³ in exchange for the Civic Guard flag which was sent from Bologna to Rome. The consignment of the artwork was followed by a representative of the Roman Civic Guard and was also depicted in an anonymous small oil which is still today at the Civic Museum of the Risorgimento in Bologna, [. 9] as also in an engraving produced in Rome [. 10]. Portraits of the Pope will be also often offered by the artists in the Civic Guard in order to be placed in the battalion's quarters, happenings which were welcomed with celebrations like it occurred for Augusto Chatelain of the Campo Marzo district.⁵⁵⁴ Given the political relevance that these objects were charged with, the power of Pius IX icons was often in between a grey area of civil and religious meanings which artists like Pistrucci pro-actively participated in creating. One should not suppose, in fact, that Pius IX was really always smiling, as testified by an oil-sketch "*ritratto dal vero*" by Alessandro Capalti in 1846.⁵⁵⁵ [. 11]

⁵⁵⁰ Remarks on these succesful hearings are reported by a number of chronicles (see G. Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione politico-ecclesiastico da S. Pietro ai nostri giorni*, 16, Venice 1846, p. 139; Spada 1868, pp. 84-85). Initially, the hearings were even open to the "*basso popolo*", a practice which, according to Antonio Coppi, the Pope had to soon dismiss since "*divenne tale e tanta l'indiscrezione e l'importunità, specialmente delle femmine, che dovette desistere da un atto così popolare*" (A. Coppi, *Annali d'Italia dal 1750*, 9 ("Dal 1846 al 1847"), Florence, 1859, p. 48).

⁵⁵¹ On Bartolini's portrait of Pius IX see Tinti 1936, pp. 88-89, Biancale 1961, p. 56; L. Bartolini, *Mostra delle attività di tutela*, Firenze 1978, p 21,;

⁵⁵² For an overview of first-hand accounts see I. Veca, *Il Mito di Pio IX. Realtà e rappresentazioni di un papa liberale e e nazionale in Italia e in Francia (1846-1849)*, Ph.D dissertation, Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, a.y. 2015, pp. 193-199.

⁵⁵³ Spada 1868, 1, p. 354. The artwork was welcomed with a detailed account on "La Pallade" (*Pio IX e lo scultore Pistrucci*, in "La Pallade", 28 (August 4, 1847), pp. 2-3), where are emphatically underlined the national spirit and the gratuitousness of Pistrucci's work.

⁵⁵⁴ *Notizie Interne*, in "La Pallade", 207 (April 1st, 1848), p. 4.

⁵⁵⁵ G. Incisa della Rocchetta, *Il ritratto di Pio IX d'Alessandro Capalti*, in "Bollettino dei musei comunali", 10, 1-4 (1963), pp. 14-17; La Storia racconta - Natale di roma, pp. 108-109; S. Tozzi, in "Roma fuori di Roma", pp. 615-616.

Going back to the public celebrations, these were never again provided with such vast operations as Cicconetti's arch, although recurring were similar amounts of coverage and also the financial support of Brunetti, but also of other figures like the Tobacco seller Salvatore Piccioni, and most likely including at these dates some future popular leaders like Pietro Sterbini.⁵⁵⁶ Among the many names without a face - and neither an artistic one - quoted by newspapers and other printed sources in those days, a recurrent one is that of a painter born in Trieste called Pietro Venier, performing as a celebrations' designer like Cicconetti was, but with a slightly different approach. His first mention appears according to the *Festa delle Bandiere*, namely the June 17 first celebration of Pius IX's election during which reappeared the famous flag brought by the Bologna delegation that basically started the unrests leading to the Civic Guard's enactment earlier that year. In the published account of the celebration, written and presumably also funded by the amnestied Carlo Mathey, the political setting seems to be already more advanced than the previous year, as arguable by the description of the omnipresent "*uomo del popolo*" Ciceruacchio, bearing a banner with the inscription: "*A Pio IX, Padre della Patria*" [To Pius IX, Father of the Homeland].⁵⁵⁷ Venier is accounted as the executor of a decoration designed by the Neapolitan architect Antonio Cipolla, another important artistic protagonist of those days, already named by Gigli during the September, 8 celebrations and again by January 1847,⁵⁵⁸ eventually participating in the Veneto campaign but the with the troops of the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies.⁵⁵⁹ The co-ventured artwork was applied on the lodge of a palace in Piazza Sciarra consisting in four bas reliefs depicting allegories of "*Armi - Commercio ed Agricoltura - Scienze - Arti*" [Weapons - Commerce and Agriculture - Sciences - Arts] with the Capitoline Wolf in the middle, framed by decorations of flowers and garlands, and finally topped by a huge trophy carrying the inscription: "*A Pio IX / Il Suo Popolo / Grato Del Passato / Confidente dell'Avvenire*" [To Pius IX / from his People / Grateful for the past / Confident in the future]. The implications of both these message, only a month before the Guard's enactment, should hopefully sound familiar at this point, and thus even more salient is the fact that Venier was eventually picked-

⁵⁵⁶ L. Nasto, *Le feste civili a Roma (1846-1848)*, in "Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento", 79-3 (July-September 1992), p. 325.

⁵⁵⁷ C. Mathey, *Roma festeggiante l'anniversario faustissimo della esaltazione alla cattedra di S. Pietro di Pio IX O. M. ossia la Festa delle Bandiere*, Rome, n.d., p. 6.

⁵⁵⁸ *Roma 17 giugno 1847*, in "La Pallade", 2 (June 17, 1847), pp. 1-2.

⁵⁵⁹ G. Miano, v. *Cipolla, Antonio*, in "Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani", 25, Rome, 1981, pp. 702-707.

up for designing the 14 flags of the districts which will become the same adopted by the 14 - but actually 12 - battalions of the Civic Guard. As such were they described by Mathey:

*Le bandiere sì de' Rioni [...] sono tutte eguali fra loro [...]. Esso sono di lavoro e di disegno bellissimo; ricamate in oro, hanno l'aquila in vetta, nel centro la lupa romana: sulle fascie [sic] dell'asta il nome di Pio IX in un una, nell'altra il S. P. Q. dei rispettivi paesi. Il disegno e l'esecuzione, opera del benemerito Venier.*⁵⁶⁰

[The flags of the districts' [...] are equal to each other [...]. They are of marvelous design and labor; weaved in gold, they have the eagle on top, the roman wolf in the middle: on the bands of the stick [there's] the name of Pius IX in the first, in the other the S. P. Q. of the respective towns. The design and the execution, undertaken by the worthy Venier].

Veniers' success was only at the beginning. Already by August 26, he is accounted to have prepared a-not-better specified "decoration" for the celebrations in the "*Palazzo della Cancelleria*" offered to a small elite of Civic Guards invited for the election of the Colonel Lieutenant of the corp, Felice Cleter, with the presence of the Major of the Parione battalion, Bartolomeo Galletti.⁵⁶¹

How came that this apparently unknown painter came to acquire such a relevant status in such a short turn of months? The answer here is twofold. First of all, Venier was not unknown: born in Trieste by July 3 1803, he was one the two foremost pupils of the Venetian painter Francesco Bagnara, alongside his rival Pietro Bertoja.⁵⁶² Bagnara was the official scenographer of the Fenice Theater since 1812 and eventually became professor of landscape painting by the Academy of Venice in 1838, the former charge having it basically inherited from his master Giuseppe Borsato.⁵⁶³ Available informations on Venier are just exiguous, despite the surprising evidence that his name figures as scenographer within the *libretto* of some hundreds of the most important Italian Operas of the century⁵⁶⁴, among which stands out the name of Giuseppe Verdi with whom Venier was working with since the early 1840s.⁵⁶⁵ The Venetian painter was in fact employed by the most important

⁵⁶⁰ Mathey, n.d., p. 7.

⁵⁶¹ *Festa Civica in Cancelleria*, in "La Pallade", 44 (August 26, 1847), p. 4.

⁵⁶² M. I Biggi, *L'immagine e la scena. Francesco Bagnara scenografo della Fenice (1820-1839)*, Venice, 1996, pp. 17-18.

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enterprise in Italian Opera of the time, the Lanari family, based in Florence.⁵⁶⁶ Within the conspicuous Lanari archival fund today in hold at the National Library in Florence, there are in fact signs of professional contacts with Pietro Venier but also with an Angelo Venier ⁵⁶⁷ whose first name, according to the Civic registers, is the same of Pietro's father.⁵⁶⁸ The contacts between Antonio Lanari, the son of Alessandro, and the scenographer living in Rome by 1847 appears to have been established between 1841 and 1844, a period during which Venier curated the scenic design of four Verdi's plays, among which there also is "The two Foscari", premiered at the Argentina Theater in Rome by November 3, 1844. It is plausible to assume that Venier moved in the city afterwards, most likely for some kind of contract pledged with the Argentina, of which he lived only a few hundreds of meters away in Via Canestrari 7.⁵⁶⁹ It seems in fact that between 1844 and 1847 he must have been structuring his Roman enterprise by raising a team of scenographers in the Pigna district. We learn this from the opening of the 1847 Fall season of the Theater ⁵⁷⁰ (advertised by the entrepreneur Vincenzo Jacovacci from August 12, so in the same days of Felice Cleter's establishment as Colonel Lieutenant of the Civic Guard), in which Venier is sumptuously enlisted as "*Scenografo, inventore e direttore delle Scene e del Macchinismo*" [Scenographer, inventor and director of the Scenes and the Mechanisms] alongside his co-workers. These were the "First Scenographer" Vincenzo Badini (painter, from Perugia, born 1827, the only one living in Campo Marzo), the "Painters" Luigi Masi (painter, from Ancona, born 1824), Cesare Cervi (painter, from Reggio Emilia, born 1822) and Giuseppe Falcioni (not inscribed in the Guard), and the "Directors of the Wardrobe" Elisa Deduit and the spouses Luigi and Maria Corazza, which we learn from the Civic registers to be parents of Marco (painter, from Bologna, born 1826) and that the whole Corazza family lived in the same exact building of Venier in Via dei Canestrari.⁵⁷¹ There is one last member of the team Venier, his son and "*macchinista*" Eugenio, an information confirmed in the Civic registers from which we also learn that he was born in Milan by 1826, that Pietro's wife was called Maria Caprara and that their son didn't live with his family but in the Ponte district. By those days perhaps some sort of an offspring - he figured within the familial enterprise at the lowest level

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⁵⁶⁷ 1822

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⁵⁷⁰ http://www.repubblicaromana-1849.it/index.php?2/ricerca&paginate_pageNum=4&type=documento&id=4031#dettaglio

⁵⁷¹ Civic registers

- Eugenio aroused to newspaper chronicles during the Roman Revolution as being one the 14 *Vessilliferi* [flag-bearers] of the *Rioni*, alongside Ciceruacchio, Piccioni and others, a charge of much prestige that reserved a premier place during the manifestations and that also included some other degrees of active political involvement.⁵⁷² Finally, given his steady territorial presence in the district, Pietro was also elected as Lieutenant of the 2nd company in the 6th Civic battalion. Nevertheless, we should remind from the previous chapter that the *terne* for the Lieutenants were proposed by the Guards, but selected by the Pope. This redirects us to the initial question: now that we now who Pietro Venier was, it's still not entirely clear how he came to be so much "public" in the turn of a few months. In fact, as we had already clarified his class positioning and his sources of status, Venier also enjoyed some important party affiliation.

3.3 - Associations: the "Società Artistica Italiana"

In order to explain this we should first go back to January 1847. We have seen in the first chapter the importance held by the Political Circles and how from the early 1847 until the radicalizations of 1848, the *Circolo Romano* was the foremost relevant among these gatherings, especially when after June other minor circles were incorporated within it. Whereas the *Circolo Romano* was only officially opened on March,⁵⁷³ already by January 11 a small gathering of artists was already approving the Statute of a newly established "*Società Artistica Italiana*", later also known as "*Casino Artistico*".⁵⁷⁴ The Society had 3 purposes: "the progress of the arts", "the utility for the artists", "pleasant and instructive conversations aiming to the increment of glory and advantage for our Nation" [art. II]. These were purposes that the Society was supposed to pursue through the

⁵⁷² R. Giovagnoli, *Ciceruacchio e Don Pirlone*, Rome, 1894, p. 224.

⁵⁷³ Spada 1868, 1, p. 288.

⁵⁷⁴ The Statute is transcribed in Appendix.

opening of a lecture cabinet and a hall for “magnificent” temporary exhibitions “for the utility of artists and the honor of our Nation”⁵⁷⁵, the latter also aimed at accumulating funds for creating a social security fund for member artists.⁵⁷⁶ The purposes are here evidently not very far from what the *Società di Amatori e Cultori* and the *Accademia dei Virtuosi del Pantheon* have been attempting to achieve in the previous decades, and in fact the Secretary Compiler of the *Società Artistica Italiana*, Michelangelo Pinto,⁵⁷⁷ was also at that time secretary of the Pantheon’s Academy.⁵⁷⁸ What sharply separated this endeavor from the other two lies in its exclusivity. The nationalistic scope already implied in the aforementioned article II and XVII, is in fact detailed at the end of Statute:

*I Grandi Artisti sì Italiani che Esteri, ed i Letterati e Scienziati distinti che saranno di passaggio potranno essere presentati alla Società, e intervenire ai serali trattenimenti dietro la proposta e garanzie fattane da un Socio, e l’approvazione del Rappresentante di turno che ne firmerà, unitamente al Segretario, il biglietto di ammissione, la cui durata ha per limite lo spazio di giorni quindici. [...] Quindi gl’Italiani che volessero continuare ad intervenire dovranno domandare l’ammissione come Soci, salve altre determinazioni che alla circostanza stimasse di prendere il Consiglio.*⁵⁷⁹

[The greatest artists, either Italian or Foreign, and the distinguished men of letters and science which will be passing by will also be admitted in the Society, and intervene in the evening entertainments behind the proposal and guarantees made by an Associate, and the approval of the Delegate in charge who will sign, together with the Secretary, the admission ticket, whose duration lasts for fifteen days. [...] The Italians that therefore would like to continue the attendance, should apply for the Associate admission, except for further determinations that the Counsel might esteem according to circumstances].

The exclusion of foreigners from any possibility of permanently joining the circle is a clear sign of nationalistic reduction in regards to previous attempts at institutionalizing artistic communities, one for all the statute-based international composition of the *Società degli Amatori e Cultori*’s Counsel. If the intentions were not enough clear, these were again refrained in the last sentence describing the responsibilities of the Counsel members:

⁵⁷⁵ Art. 17

⁵⁷⁶ Art. 14, 20, 21, 23.

⁵⁷⁷ For a biography of Michelangelo Pinto with a detailed bibliography see S. Morachioli, *Pinto, Michelangelo*, in “Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani”, 83, Rome, 2015, pp?

⁵⁷⁸ M. Pinto *Per la genuina interpretazione della frase virgiliana 'figere cervos'. Epistola al chiarissimo signore Michelangelo Pinto segretario dell'insigne artistica congregazione de' virtuosi al Pantheon*, Rome 1846, p. 17.

⁵⁷⁹ “Statuto della Società Artistica italiana”, Art. 23.

*Ad essi singolarmente è raccomandata l'esatta osservanza dello Statuto, la retta interpretazione di esso in caso di ambiguità, l'avvedutezza e la giustizia nell'ammissione dei Soci, e il maggior lustro ed onore delle Arti, e degli Artisti Italiani.*⁵⁸⁰

[To them individually is recommended the correct conformance of the Statue, its strict interpretation in case of ambiguity, the prudence and the justness of the Associate's admission, and the greater luster and honor of the Italian Arts and Artists].

No sign of care for the international identity of the “Republic of Arts”. The lack is even more evident once we see that among the Counsel members approving this first Statute there are Luigi Bienaimè and Pietro Tenerani, namely two sculptors who had literally grown up in Thorvaldsen's atelier.⁵⁸¹ Among the others, we find all names that can be safely included in the scenic elites as we had described them in the previous chapter: Pietro Camporese, Francesco Podesti, Francesco Coggetti, Alessandro Laboreur, Filippo Gnaccarini, Giovanni Maria Benzoni, Bernardino Riccardi, Giuseppe Mancinelli.⁵⁸² With the notable absence of Tommaso Minardi, Luigi Poletti, Carlo Finelli and Giuseppe De Fabris, this list could have easily embodied by 1847 the very head and future of the artistic elites of Rome, and it is thus surprising to notice the presence of a mysteriously unfamiliar Count Giuseppe Catterinetti. Just like those of Venier and Bezzi, the name of Giuseppe Catterinetti Franco (born in Verona 1815, Vice Captain of the 3rd company in the Campo Marzo battalion) was in fact as often refrained during the Roman Revolution as “absent from history”. In a fashion not very far from that of the young Massimo D'Azeglio in the 1820s,⁵⁸³ Catterinetti Franco had in fact left his aristocratic ties in Verona and repaired to Roma in order to cultivate the Fine arts in the form of landscape painting.⁵⁸⁴ Although the exact moment of his moving is currently hard to define, a “*Veduta con valle di Civitavecchia*” was already exhibited at the *Società di Amatori e*

⁵⁸⁰ *Attribuzione dei Componenti il Consiglio*, in *Ibidem*, pp. 11-13.

⁵⁸¹ E. Di Majo, S. Susinno, *Throvaldsen e Roma: momenti a confronto*, in “Bertel Throvaldsen. 1770-1844”, exhibition catalogue (Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, November 1 - January 28, 1990, Rome), edited by E. Di Majo, B. Jørnaes, S. Susinno, Rome, 1989, pp. 17-23; S. Grandesso, *Pietro Tenerani (1789-1869)*, Rome, 2003, pp. 29-31.

⁵⁸² “Statuto della Società Artistica italiana”, p. 11.

⁵⁸³ Despite the rise of D'Azeglio political activity in the 1840s', his artistic precedents were firmly remembered by the time of his Roman comeback in April 1847 (see *D'Azeglio a Roma*, “L'italico”, 2 February 23, 1847, p. 2).

⁵⁸⁴ For a brief biographical profile see P. Brugnoli, *La Pittura a Verona dal primo Ottocento a metà Novecento*, 1, Verona 1986, pp. 190-191.

Cultori in 1839,⁵⁸⁵ a rather exiguous artistic curriculum compared to those of the other member of the *Società Artistica Italiana*. Evidences points at the fact that he must have been dramatically raising his scenic membership by 1847, especially once we see that at the official opening of the *Società* on March, 13 he is enlisted as the “*promotore principale*” [main promoter] of the initiative.⁵⁸⁶

Following the same scheme of the political gatherings of those days, the opening of the *Società* was celebrated with a feast during which were pronounced speeches of intense ideological contents by notable figures such as the president Michelangelo Pinto⁵⁸⁷ and by Massimo D’Azeglio.⁵⁸⁸ Being the new law on press recently approved, the event also received extensive coverage, as it was the first public events to which Massimo D’Azeglio participated to, as also the very first time that Lorenzo Bartolini was in Rome.⁵⁸⁹ More than D’Azeglio and Pinto’s much calculated words, it is more interesting to analyze some excerpts from the article published on “*Il Contemporaneo*” by the influential lawyer and journalist Tommaso Tommasoni, who will eventually join the Veneto campaign:⁵⁹⁰

“Gli artisti italiani, i quali sì per il deperimento della nazione, sì per quel fanatismo di positività, che spegne negli incoraggiatori quell’amore generoso e poetico del bello, sul quale è fondato direi quasi il trionfo delle arti, avean d’uopo di trovarsi più che mai uniti e serrati, onde dimostra al mondo ch’essi eran là per sostenere quel primato, pel quale, nel corso di cinque e più secoli l’Italia benché divisa, immiserita, negletta, era rimasta grande, invidiata! E Roma, che per le arti belle ha nazionale rappresentanza, vide, mercé l’opera virtuosa di pochi, unirsi in un luogo solo il fiore degli artisti italiani, collo scopo di mutua fratellevole assistenza [....] fattibile in questa nazione già maestra e dominatrice di tutto”.

⁵⁸⁵ Montani 2007, p. 394.

⁵⁸⁶ See T. Tommasoni, *Società Artistica Italiana*, in “*Il Contemporaneo*”, 11 (March 13, 1847), p. 3.

⁵⁸⁷ A fragmentary manuscript of the speech is available at the MCRR and transcribed in Appendix. For a discussion of Pinto’s documents stored at the MCRR, including the speech for the *Società Artistica Italiana*’s opening, see M. Marino, *Le carte dell’archivio Pinto del Museo Centrale del Risorgimento di Roma*, in “*Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento*”, 4 (“La satira restaurata. Disegni del 1848 per “Don Pirlone”), edited by M. Pinto, Rome, 2005, pp. 19-39.

⁵⁸⁸ The speech is transcribed in “*L’Italico*”, 9 (April 8, 1847), pp. 1-2.

⁵⁸⁹ Coming after decades of bad blood between Bartolini and the Roman scene, the first visit of the Florentin sculptor will be saluted by the President of the Fine Arts Academy of Florence as the “[...] *occasione propizia per finire di conciliare l’animo del Bartolini con gli Artisti Romani e per redimerlo dalla taccia di disprezzo nella quale presso alcuni era incorso*”. See A. Gallo Martucci, *Bartolini e l’Accademia di Belle Arti di Firenze*, in “*Lorenzo Bartolini scultore del bello naturale*”, exhibition catalogue (Galleria dell’Accademia, May 31 - November 6, 2011, Florence), edited by F. Falletti, S. Bietoletti, A. Caputo, Florence, 2011, p. 160.

⁵⁹⁰ T. Tommasoni, *Società Artistica Italiana in Roma*, in “*Il Contemporaneo*”, 11 (March 13, 1847), pp. 3-4.

[The Italian artists, who either for the nation's decay, either for that *positivity* fanaticism, which stifles in the encouragers that generous and poetic love of the beauty, upon which is founded I'd say the triumph of the arts, they felt the need to find themselves more unite and tight than ever, in order to show the world that they were there to honor to sustain that primacy, for which, in the course of five and more centuries, Italy, although divided, impoverished, neglected, remained grand, envied! And Rome, which for the fine arts has national resonance, saw, starting from the virtuous work of a few, gathering in a single place the cream of the Italian artists, with the purpose of a mutual brotherly assistance [...] feasible in this nation, once leader and ruler of everything].

The exclusive intents of the Statute seems here confirmed and recognized on a larger specter which, interestingly, draws on some aspects already raised by the various Minardi and Morichini when addressing the deterioration of the "Republic of the Arts": the ambiguous "*fanatismo di positività*" discouraging the clearly missing "supporters of that generous and poetic love of beauty". The "deterioration of the Nation" and the convergence of the best Italian artists in Rome to start the resurgence of the arts, is instead a twofold theme: on the one hand, the philanthropic scope of the *Società Artistica* and the inclusion of non-artistic members are both answers to the crisis of commission under the light of a social pact between Fine artists and buyers; the national boundaries of inclusion, the willingness to "show to the world that they were there to sustain that *primacy*" are instead rather prompted statements in political terms. The theme of Rome as the capital of the arts is in these regards dangerously leaning and possibly overlapping with that of the Neo-Guelph federal project, especially as the concept of an "Italian primacy" was since 1842 on the mouth and in the head of all those many who joined the national cause after reading Vincenzo Gioberti's *Primato*. Continues Tommasoni:

"Ideato il progetto, i soci promotori si riunirono in numerose assemblee, e passarono a voti tutti coloro che desiderando di appartenere a questo circolo di virtuosi, ne facevano particolare istanza. Ai soci artisti, si riunirono anche i soci dilettanti, dei quali ultimi sono superbo di riportare i nomi, perché essi associandosi a questa utilissima istituzione han mostrato col fatto, essere amanti come tutti gli altri italiani della patria loro, perché essi, ripeto, hanno quasi protestato perché la falsa voce che li predicava contrari alle massime dei progressivi"

[Created the project, the associates promoters gathered in numerous assemblies, and voted for each candidates who wanted to belong to this virtuous circle. To the artist associates, were joined also the amateur associates, of who I'm satisfied to enlist the names, because by associating to this useful institution they had showed with facts to be in love of their homeland like all the other Italians, because they, I refrain, have almost protested against that voice which wanted them to be contrary to the principles of the progressives].

It followed a long list of names of the most notable nobles of the city which included also the ambassadors of Naples and Turin, the brother of Ferdinand II King of the Two Sicilies, and of course the three Borghese heirs, among which of course there also was Aldobrandini.⁵⁹¹ The most notable fact is that the only artist mentioned in these articles, beside Tenerani and Bartolini, is that of Catterinetti Franco, next to the already mentioned Michelangelo Pinto as Secretary of the *Società*.⁵⁹²

Once again it's necessary to premise that the absence of structured forms of sources (in this case the almost total disappearance of the archives related to the Circoli)⁵⁹³ hinders any certain inference. Still, it is evident that these early phases of the social mobilization had not only provided artists like Cicconetti and Venier with the possibility of advancing their social stature and be provided with work and political participation for them and their companions, but also for a non-professional artist like Catterinetti to transfer his class positioning and political membership into artistic capital. The Civic Guard creation, will seal these situations: despite passing the *Società* opening without any journalistic reference, we find Podesti, Coggetti, Riccardi, Camporesi and the same Catterinetti elected in rank positions above Lieutenancy, eventually becoming a leader in the volunteer's army who joined the First Italian War of Independence on the next March, as also a close confident of Prince Aldobrandini, by then Minister of War.⁵⁹⁴

There is a strong possibility that the mirroring of hierarchies across armed service and the political circles is not casual, especially if we consider that other early members of the *Società* were already around their 60s (Tenerani, Bienaimè and Laboreur) and possibly unwilling to hold important positions in the Guard, to which nevertheless were all inscribed.⁵⁹⁵ What had actually happened, is that on June 30, 1847, under the proposal of the former, the *Società Artistica* merged with the

⁵⁹¹ “*Principe D. Marcantonio Borghese, Principe Borghese Aldobrandini, Principe Borghese Salviati, Duca Sforza Cesarini, Principe Doria, Duca Massimo, D. Marino Torlonia, Duca di Bracciano unitamente al figlio, Principe Conti benemerito promotore delle Strade Ferrate nello Stato Pontificio, Don Alfonso de’ Duchi Gaetani, Cardinale Marini, Principe Santacroce, Conte Cini, Conte D. Giuseppe Costantino Ludolf ministro plenipotenziario di S. M. il Re di Napoli, Segretario di eidem Sig. Commendatore D. Giuseppe dei Marchesi Forcella, nuovo Ministro del Re di Piemonte presso la S. Sede, e molti altri personaggi illustri*” (*Ibidem*, p. 4).

⁵⁹² The news is also reported, without much variations, in “*L’Italico*”, 8 (April 8, 1847), p.1; *Ibidem*, 9 (April 9, 1848), pp. 1,4; “*Il Contemporaneo*”, 15 (April 10, 1847), p. 1.

⁵⁹³ Spada 1863, 1, p. 32.

⁵⁹⁴ See Appendix for a newly found piece of correspondence between the two.

⁵⁹⁵ Aggiungere da lista

Circolo Romano and the fact was celebrated with the umpteenth feast during which Prince Aldobrandini was also elected as President of the *Circolo Romano*.⁵⁹⁶ It should be reminded that we are again only 5 days before the Guard's enactment and that Aldobrandini and the other Princes had already seen the Pope in order to pressure him in that sense. The *Società* had in the meanwhile grown, and while of the supposed exhibitions for helping destitute artists I have barely retrieved any sign throughout journals and newspapers,⁵⁹⁷ the allegiance between the artists and the political circles must have definitely been approaching a further phase. During the celebrations for the merging, "*L'Italico*" reported that 80 members of the *Società* were invited, and although this number seems a little bit inflated, in a printed document divulged later on December 1847 and reporting all the 309 members of the *Circolo Romano*, we can retrieve familiar names: beside early joiners of the *Società Artistica* like Podesti, Catterinetti and Pinto, there were also new entries from the artistic elites, such as the painter Alessandro Capalti, (as Major of the Campo Marzo battalion, Capalti also stands as the highest rank reached by an artist in the Civic Guard), the heir to the Castellani dynasty of goldsmiths, Alessandro, and finally Pietro Venier. It's important to underline again that the *Circolo* was possibly the strongest local organon of political pressure against Pius IX, including the real core of the political elites from a transversal section of society, spanning from the 1847 Commander in Chief of the Civic Guard, Prince Giulio Rospigliosi, and Prince Camillo Aldobrandini - who was the "gentlemen supporter of the arts" described by Koelman but also the Minister of War during the Veneto campaign - arriving to an unmistakable bourgeois like Bartolomeo Galletti and the same Pietro Venier.

We can say that very early since the mobilization's beginnings, new opportunities arose on the public scene which were rapidly seized by artists who by then remained rather at the margin of the public sphere. Through the *Società Artistica Italiana* brief endeavor we also learn that party affiliation was a crucially impactful measure in order to join such these possibilities. These, however, demanded also to meet criteria of loyalty to ideological coordinates (the Italian primacy in the arts, the exclusivity of the circles and their associated benefits) that showed immediately characteristics which would have been hard to import within the accurate balances of the artistic scene.

⁵⁹⁶ "*L'Italico*", 20 (June 30, 1847), p.1.

⁵⁹⁷ There is actually a mention of the *Società* opening exhibition, which was supposed to happen on December 27, in both *La Pallade* (issue 130, December 24, p.3) and *La Speranza* (issue 22, December 22, p. 2). As the two newspaper promised to cover it in their respective further issue, they both didn't eventually.

3.4.1 - Visualizing the mobilization: uniforms

Not very unlikely from what happened in Paris with the National Guard, the foremost public element of distinction for the Roman Civic Guard was that of the uniform. We actually don't know if the French Guard acknowledged as much importance to the uniforms' design as the Romans appeared to hold by 1847, a fact traceable back from a public debate that started only a few weeks after the Guard's re-enactment.

Once the supposed "Grand Conjuración" of July 16 was foiled, the city was apparently safe under the Civic Guard's protection, and the official organon of information, the "*Diario di Roma*", had (falsely) reported on July 24 that the Austrian troops had left Ferrara and returned in Veneto.⁵⁹⁸

Between the two terms, a pamphlet was published and retailed under the signature of Pietro Sterbini, the future leader of the Roman radical area who by these days was possibly the most "followed" journalist of the city thanks to his heated articles for "*Il Contemporaneo*". The pamphlet was entitled "*Elmo e Giaccò*" [Elm or *Kepi*] and it centered upon an evidently already relevant quarrel upon the Civic Guard's garments, a decision that for Sterbini was to fall on the first term within the two of his text's title. The beginning clarifies already the rationale he was adducing:

*"Il soldato greco, il legionario romano, il guerriero italiano del medioevo, uomini che portarono nei propri tempi la gloria delle armi ad una altezza cui non giunse mai altra nazione, e che divennero meraviglia e modello dei nostri secoli, tutti portarono la testa ricoperta di elmo".*⁵⁹⁹

⁵⁹⁸ "*Diario di Roma*", 24 / 7 / 47, p.1. Only by August 10, Farini's protests against the persistent Austrian presence in Ferrara will be published by the *Diario* (10 / 8 / 47, p.1).

⁵⁹⁹ P. Sterbini, "*Elmo e Giaccò*", n. d. [July 1847], Rome.

[The Greek soldier, the Roman legionnaire, the Italian medieval warrior, men who in their times brought the glory of weapons to an height never touched by any other nation, and which became marvel and model of our centuries, they all carried they head cover by elm].

On the other hand, the “effeminate Persian” and the “barbarian Schiite” naturally adopted a kepi, the cap with visor which came into use after the 1830 by the French infantries and the *Garde Nationale*.⁶⁰⁰ The amnestied Sterbini was possibly one the most strategically informed activists who arouse during the first year of the Roman Revolution, and also one of the most influential: when Pellegrino Rossi was murdered on November 1848, he had been vehemently storming the Minister for weeks with articles naming him “the enemy of Italy”.⁶⁰¹ But his words were already a defining force by the year before, when during the manifestations of June 16 it was for the first time heard his hymn “*Scuoti, O Roma, la povere indegna*” [Rome, brush away the shameful dust], with music composed by Gaetano Magazzari.⁶⁰² The hymn, which featured some prideful sentences like “*Delle trombe guerrier lo squillo - di Quirino la prole destò*” [The sound of the warlike trumpets - awakened the progeny of Quirino] , throughout the whole Roman Revolution by thousands of people together, and we can thus easily address the reason behind the absence of any advocates of the kepi for the Civic uniforms. Giuseppe Checchetelli, the head journalist of the most diffused and read newspaper from 1847 to 1849, “*La Pallade*”, was the only one who pushed as far as to imply that the debate was becoming deterrent against the mobilization and the military deployment. Before analyzing this fact, it’s necessary to offer some context about the editorial line and the spirit of “*La Pallade*”. These must be contextualized appropriately, especially in regards to the many anonymous articles in which directly addressed were the thoughts of the newspaper’s symbolic personification, the *Pallade*, namely the goddess Athena/Minerva whose allegorical objectification was generally associated since the French Revolution with the Republican “reason”⁶⁰³ and whose symbolism was widely imported as a base of the “Republican Religion” in Rome of 1798-1799,

⁶⁰⁰ See the French National Guard depiction in Ary Scheffer’s “The Lieutenant-général of the Kingdom welcomes at the Barrère du Trône the First Regiment of Hussars under the Command of the duc de Chartres, 4 August 1830” (1835, Musée National du Château, Versailles). For a contextual analysis of the painting see M. Marrinan, *Painting politics for Louis-Philippe. Art and Ideology in Orléanist France, 1830-1848*, New Haven and London, 1988, pp. 62-63, ill. 8.

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⁶⁰³ For a reconstruction of its symbolism see E. Gombrich, *The Dream of Reason*, in “The uses of images. Studies in the Social Function of Art and Visual Communication”, London 1999 [Italian edition, Milan 1999], pp. 176-180.

eventually mediated throughout the following decades.⁶⁰⁴ The soft but ambiguous humour of Checchetelli's paper was aptly framed in a caricature heading the first number of "La Pallade" after he had taken its direction by June 16, 1847, during the peak of the public pressures for the Civic Guard's institution.⁶⁰⁵ [12] The Pallade is swinging a sword against a mass of newspapers agitated by bats, clearly opposing journalistic "truth" against falsifications: the very first sentence of the articles says instead "Don't scream at weapons on first sight: she is holding a sword, but this *Pallade* doesn't have the foul mind of killing anyone". This kind of dissimulated humour renders often complicated to isolate the contents and the form, and the article "*Elmo o Giacò*" of July 24, clearly refraining Sterbini's pamphlet, was no exception:

*"Elmo elmo strillano alcuni: giacò giacò, strillano altri ne' quartieri della Guardia civica. Guardatelo coll'elmo in testa, e se lo impone uno dei nuovi militi, guardatelo che aria marziale! Elmo, elmo! - No, niente: giacò giacò [...] Oh vi son partiti dunque nella Guardia civica? Oibò: la è una semplice discussione di figurino, chè in fondo comunque la si decida o per l'elmo o per il giacò NE' L'UNO NE' L'ALTRO scaldereà più o meno il cuor nostro di quello che lo scalda AMOR DI NAZIONE. Comunque la sia però la discussione è accesa e quantunque estrinseca alla sostanza della guardia, pure ciascun milite vuol dire la sua; perché, se vogliamo, in questa discussione entra un poco di comodo o d'incomodo individuale. Per quale dei due parteggia dunque la Pallade, chè pur ella è scritta nei ruoli dell'armamento nazionale? Parteggiare? per nessuno: ella è iscritta nella buona causa e cancellerebbe volentieri quel verbo pure dal dizionario: che gli è un verbo indicante DIVISIONE, cui si consocia strettamente una bruttissima idea; quella di un malanno della NOSTRA NAZIONALITÀ. Via dunque quel verbo cui va appres'ando solenni funerali LA NOSTRA CONCORDIA!"*⁶⁰⁶

[Elm! some are yelling; Kepi! Kepi! some others in the Civic Guard's districts. Watch at him with the elm on his head; and if a militiamen wears it, look what a martial appearance! Elm! Elm! - No way: Kepi, Kepi (...) So there are parties in the Civic Guard? My goodness, it's only a a discussion about a uniform, that whatever the choice would be the elm or the kepi, NEITHER ONE OR THE OTHER will warm our hearts more the LOVE OF NATION. Whatever it is, the discussion is however truly turned on even outside of the guard's ranks, and every militiaman wants to have a voice; for, if we want, this touches in different ways every individual. For which side the *Pallade* takes part, being her inscribed to the files of national weaponry? For no one: she is inscribed to the good cause and would happily even delete that verb from the lexicon: for it is a verb indicating DIVISION, to which also closely partners a much foul idea; that of a disease of OUR NATIONALITY. So away with that verb for which OUR CONCORD is to rapidly to celebrate solemn funerals!].

⁶⁰⁴ See M. Caffiero, *La costruzione della Religione Repubblicana a Roma nel 1798-1799: l'uso politico della storia antica*, in "Roma Moderna e Contemporanea", 1-3 (2001), Rome, pp. 47-86.

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The unity of the civic mobilization (and the *Pallade*, with her ambiguous gender identity, is implied here as being enrolled in the militia) was intended as the most important aspect which should have pushed the debate to return “to the ranks”. At the same time it’s worth to notice that only the elm faction is mockingly elaborated here, so we know nothing about what motivated the kepi supporters, not even from a joke, nor within any other newspaper. But beyond the sake of cohesion, being the *Pallade* a Civic Guard like anyone else, what would have she chosen?

Ecco - Nell’elmo v’è della poesia e dell’archeologia: ricorda gli antichi nostri padri, gli eroi di Roma, Scipione, Camillo, altrettali: associandosi all’elmo la idea di tempi gloriosi, la fantasia si accende ad emularli : e in ciò v’è buona e bella poesia. Se alcuno di noi per gloriosa azione dovesse essere ritratto nella scoltura di un monumento o nel conio di una medaglia, come andrebbe bello ne’ posteri con un elmo sul capo! e in ciò v’è archeologia, numismatica. Ma quanto alla parte poetica se all’elmo si associa la idea de’ Catoni degli Scipioni e de’ Camilli, non si associa meno quella dei Catilina, dei Caligola, dei Domiziani. L’onore e la patria sono l’ara cui dobbiamo infiammare e cuore e mente: non son le spogli che fanno gli eroismi. WASINGTON non portava elmo: eppure domandate all’Inghilterra se fu egli eroe quanto i più grandi dell’antichità. CARIBALDI e I SUOI LEGIONARI di Montevideo non portano elmo: eppure domandate ai mercenari di ROSAS se abbian quelli operati erosimi. Quanto all’archeologia facciamo noi di meritare medaglie e scolture e il nostro giacò passerà bello nei posteri al pari dell’elmo, come vi passerà quello di WASINGTON e di CARIBALDI; chè la gloria delle azioni spande luce di simpatia sopra qualunque foggia di vestire. [...] Ma la Pallade tace: ella come tutti i suoi commilitoni si troveranno nei ranghi con qualunque uniforme: basta UNA sia la bandiera.⁶⁰⁷

[Here - There is poetry and archeology in the elm: it recalls our ancient fathers, the heroes of Rome, Scipione, Camillo and their pairs: by associating to the elm the idea of our glorious times, fantasy is turned on through emulation: and there is good and beautiful poetry in this. If for our glorious nation any of us had to be portrayed in sculpture or upon a medal, how beautiful he would pass to the future with an elm on his head! And there’s archeology and numismatic in this. But when it comes to poetry, if the elm suits the idea of the Catons, the Scipions, the Camillis, it also does for the Catilinas, the Caligolas, the Domizianos. Honor and country are the altars that should inflame our hearts and souls; spoils does not make heroisms. WASINGTON (sic) didn’t bring any elm; still, ask to England if he was any less heroic than the great ancient ones. CARIBALDI and HIS LEGIONARIES of Montevideo did not bring any elm; yet ask to ROSAS’ mercenaries if they ever performed acts of heroism. Inasmuch archeology pushes us to deserve medals and sculptures, our fine kepi will pass to history anyway just like the elm, as it also will that of WASINGTON and CARIBALDI; for the glory of actions spreads the light of sympathy over any sort of clothing. (...) But the Pallade stays silents: she will find herself in the ranks like any of her fellow militiamen with any uniform: as far as the flag remains ONE].

So, despite a slightly different positioning compared to Sterbini's, Checchetelli is evidently recognizing, and somehow sustaining, the cultural roots of the elm supporters. It is in this sense relevant the fact that the implications behind the remembrance of "glorious times", is embedded on the evidence that the heritage of any eventual military accomplishments could be portrayed upon artworks. Once again, the satire element should not be overestimated here: other than being the author of the inscription upon Cicconetti's arc of September 1846 ⁶⁰⁸ and despite his young age (he was born in 1824), Checchetelli had been already been working with basically all the possible literary environments in which a young middle-class member of Rome could have endeavored in by those years, including the artistic journals "*Il Tiberino*" and "*L'ape italiana delle belle arti*", ⁶⁰⁹ plus also authoring a work under the name "*Una giornata di osservazione nel palazzo della villa di S. E. il principe d. Alessandro Torlonia*" [Rome, 1842] in which he described and commented in detail all the artworks and decorations present in the Torlonia's palace on the Via Nomentana, a publication evidently commissioned by the same family. ⁶¹⁰ More in general, his biographic profile and acquaintances were paradigmatic of the aspiring professionals in the cultural areas of Rome in the 1840's, all of which will be heavily involved in the early phases of the mobilizations and in the Republic as well, eventually following the unification process and figuring in the Italian parliament, often on opposite sides: beside the already mentioned Michelangelo Pinto, Ottavio Gigli and Aurelio Saffi, among the others were Andrea Cattabeni, Pompeo di Campello, Achille Gennarelli, Paolo Mazio, Diomede Pantaleoni, Filippo Gualterio, Luigi Pianciani, Leopoldo Spini, Gioacchino Pompilj. ⁶¹¹ Checchetelli and his colleagues almost all belonged to the same demographic slot and the same professional areas whose endemic unemployment was considered by the government as a social problem, ⁶¹² and they had to face in first person the harsh contradictions behind the unstable antiquarian identity of the Roman cultural elites, where cultural patriotism, religious attachment, social stratifications and academic orthodoxies were rendered in some compact cultural products and mixed together by institutions, ambitions and education. At the light of what we have seen in

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⁶⁰⁹ See Bartoccini DBI

⁶¹⁰ G. Checchetelli, *Una giornata di osservazione... nella Villa di S. E. il Principe D. Alessandro Torlonia*, Roma, Puccinelli, 1842. ed. annotata da M.F. Apolloni, A. Campitelli, A. Pinelli, B. Steindl, pp. 39-141

⁶¹¹ da fare per bene

⁶¹² Da fare + Veca

the previous chapter, this situation was therefore not very different from those of the youngest members of the artistic scene trying to join the official hierarchies.

This all to say that Checchetelli was a well informed reader and observer of the cultural dynamics of Rome, and as such he could have hardly missed the evidence that an equivalent struggle between “ancient and modern” garments was already a matter of quarrel for the Italian Academies of Art at least since the 1819, when Giuseppe Tambroni wrote a review for the “*Giornale Arcadico*” in which he harshly criticized the funerary monument for the former director of the Academy of Brera in Milan Andrea Appiani, upon a project by Pelagio Palagi who had taken Appiani’s chair.⁶¹³ Palagi had in fact chosen to deviate from the Classical canons acknowledged for official portraiture, and dressed Appiani in modern clothes, a Romantic vibe which was to be banned from Roman academic environment in any possible way. Already by 1810, Canova was in fact explaining to a skeptical Napoleon Bonaparte sitting in pose, that the nobility of portraits in ancient clothes was given by the drapery and by the naked body, the only means for subtracting illustrious men from the contingencies of times, and thus of fashion.⁶¹⁴ The debate was still ongoing by the 1840s, when by Oreste Raggi launched from the columns of “*Il Tiberino*” a survey in regards to the funerary monument of the poet Vincenzo Monti executed by Giuseppe Ferrari in Ferrara, questioning what should have been the most appropriate treatment of the subject’s clothes to some of the most eminent academic interlocutors of Italy (Lorenzo Bartolini, Luigi Pampaloni, Luigi Zandomenoghi, Melchiorre Missirini, Giovanni Rosini, Giovanni Battista Niccolini), all of them, with the exception of Pampaloni, opted for the Classic garments.⁶¹⁵ Again, the “technical” content of these academic discussion must be contextualized accordingly, especially since for a stratified artistic personality like that of Lorenzo Bartolini the implications behind the depiction of a naked body were leading towards positions and formal ends often at odds with the academic environments.⁶¹⁶

On a different surface stood status and prestige, and the Roman nobles meticulously followed these addresses. Public portraits in contemporary clothes were absolutely rare before the half of the century,⁶¹⁷ and given how widely addressed were the association with the ancient Roman Republic

⁶¹³ “*Deve essere il sublime e il nudo, e quella maniera di panneggiamento conveniente e propria a quest’arte*”, Mazzocca 1998, *Polemiche e testimonianze figurative*, p. 622.

⁶¹⁴ Mazzocca 1998, pp. 624-625; Grandesso 1999, pp. 267-268; Barocchi 1998, p.118.

⁶¹⁵ Grandesso 2003, pp. 204-208.

⁶¹⁶ For an updated reconstruction of the famous *gobbo* controversy see “Lorenzo Bartolini e il bello naturale” 2011, pp. 314-319.

⁶¹⁷ An examples is Tenerani’s portrait of Maria Gabriella Massimo in S. Lorenzo in Damaso, completed by 1838 (Grandesso 2003, p. 174,179)

of the oldest aristocratic families like the Massimos,⁶¹⁸ these persistencies could be also read as elements of social distinction in the general poverty of practical means to actively manifest nobility during the Restoration. This of course doesn't mean that they walked on the Corso wearing togas and sandals, although at the base of Roman fashion were actually implied some sharp social codifications. From the little we can learn from the effective trends in clothing, "modern" accessories like the top hat have been largely making it to male fashion by the 1830s as different, more "mundane" connotations of exclusivity which were largely landed from foreign trends through specialized press.⁶¹⁹ The social constellation of Rome as acknowledged by clothing, can be easily grasped through one of the many "genre" paintings from an artist like the Dane Julius Friedlandær [13].⁶²⁰ Set on the stairs of Trinità de' Monti with Villa Medici on the background, we see an anthology of social "types": the traditional clothes of shepherds, pipers, kids and of the girl on the left, the distinguished man accompanied by his lady donating coins to a kneeling man with the soles of his feet exposed, and finally a painter approaching a perplexed *pifferaio* which was most likely being asked to model for some S. Peter or S. John. Walking in from the top of the stairs while confabbing, a proper monk and a man in a cassock (in Italian "*abito talare*"), clothes that clergy adopted in extra-ecclesiastical situations but that during the Restoration were also worn by laymen like lawyers and governmental employees in order to underline some higher social status, a trick that worked if Leo XII had to prohibit it; but this level of prohibition didn't work properly in Rome, and just like the *cancelletti* didn't tame *Trasteverini* getting drunk and stabbing each other, the cassock continued to be used promiscuously.⁶²¹ All these types are of course part of the typical visual imaginary and sources of a member of the "un-official" part of the artistic scene, and also a rather transient one: Friedländer, who stayed in Rome only between 1843 and 1845, painted this artwork in his studio in Copenhagen by 1847.⁶²²

Social codification through clothing was also refrained in some more "engaged" visual renderings of the city's life after Pius IX's election, precisely addressing the cohesion of the social mobilization

⁶¹⁸ Susinno 2009, p. 209; Album 1847, p.??

⁶¹⁹ E. Morato, *La stampa di moda dal Settecento all'Unità*, in "Storia d'Italia. Annali", 19 ("La Moda"), edited by C. M. Belfanti, F. Giusberti, Turin 2003, pp. 788-796. For a contextual image displaying the French top-hat fashion in Italy as imported already since 1831 see A. Comandini, *L'Italia nei Cento Anni del secolo XIX giorno per giorno illustrata*, 2 (1826-1849), Milan, 1902-1907, p. 344-345. For a "close-fit" theory behind the bourgeoisie's preference of the top hat see P. Perrot, *Les Dessus et les Dessous de la bourgeoisie. Une histoire de vêtement au XIXe siècle*, Paris, 1981 [Italian edition, Milan, 1982], pp. 47-53.

⁶²⁰ Qualcosa su Friedländer

⁶²¹ Demarco, *Tramonto...*, p.119; Friz.

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which was immediately recognizable by depicted crowds in which, next to modern top hats, were the Roman traditional popular clothes. Given the national diffusion of lithographies and engravings related to the early years of the Roman Revolution, it is implied that the social meaning of Roman costumes was largely acknowledged. We can't cover here the entire visual history and propagation of these, but even a "star" of Italian 19th century art, the champion of Historic Romanticism Francesco Hayez who lived in Rome some thirty years before as a pupil in Canova's *Accademia d'Italia*, was featuring the Roman costumes as the protagonists of his 1842 "*Ciociara*" [. 14].

⁶²³Already in depictions of the 1846 celebrations for the Nativity of Mary, we find at the feet of Cicconetti's arch a number of "characters": a beggar with an open shirt, ladies in either popular and mundane dresses, raised top hats everywhere [. 6]. Cicconetti's own *veduta* of the happening featured some more children (one is climbing on the column on the right) and a black cassock on the right, but the choral intentions seems to be equivalent [7] . We encounter the same variety also in an engraving designed by the long standing *Deutschrömer* painter Johann Micheal Wittmer, depicting the celebrations for the the Possessions of S. John in Lateran of November 1846.⁶²⁴ [15] Progressing through 1847, whereas happenings like the unpredicted speech which Pius IX gave in S. Andrea della Valle on January were still depicting a varied crowd [16],⁶²⁵ artworks describing some more exclusive episodes did not feature anything like that. All top-hated were the attenders of feasts like the *Natale di Roma* [Birth of Rome] of April 1847, as described by the anonymous illustrator of the Piedmontese paper "*Il mondo Illustrato*" [17],⁶²⁶ and given that the "*Elmo e Giaccò*" debate was still ongoing, all top-hated were also the Civic Guards portrayed in what apparently is their first depiction after the enactment drawn by the Florentine illustrator Nicola Sanesi,[18] presumably wearing whatever they individually felt appropriate to. This would be consistent with the discontent on uniforms which can testified starting from an article appeared by August 11 on the second issue of the newspaper "*La Speranza: giornale degli interessi sociali indirizzato alla Guardia Civica*". We learn in fact some Guards were protesting exactly because they rejected the idea of wearing unified garments, to which the author of the article answered by refraining that a common uniform "*riverbera sull'animo e lo compone a sensi di soda e maschia virilità*" [reverberates on the soul and it compounds at the light of a solid and male virility].

⁶²³ The year after the Austrian painter Von Amerling was also exhibiting a *Ciociara* in Trieste, in Levi 1985 (see "800). Nota su *Ciociara* da 800

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⁶²⁶ nota del giornale + On the happening see also Fagiolo 1997, p. 361.

Indeed, the “giaccò” line was being defeated and the dissident Checchetelli received a scornful, anonymous vignette named “*La Pallade in Giacò*” which the Director ironically accepted and eventually republished on the July 30 issue [19].⁶²⁷ At the center of the illustration was depicted Pallade’s father, called by Checchetelli with the Roman name Jupiter, and implied as representing the “elm faction” or more simply a spirit of faction.⁶²⁸ A kepi fully covered the heads of Pallade and her owl, while on the opposite side an unusually elegant Ciceruacchio stigmatized the happening with a sentence written in Roman dialect and published in reverse: “*A ja sguardrina l’Ermo nun s’encorca*” [The elm doesn’t fit for the harlot]. In the following article Checchetelli minimized the critique while underlining again his previous line, downplaying the debate, praising instead unity and hoping for a fast provision of weapons. The “elm faction” nevertheless prevailed, and by August 28 “*Il Contemporaneo*” was able to state:

*“Se la storia di Roma conquistatrice fosse tutta perduta, e con essa la tradizione popolare delle guerresche imprese, si potrebbe indovinare da oggi che il Romano popolo fu un popolo battagliero. La Guardia Civica tiene in moto bello e piacevole fra le armi e gli armati la città di Roma”.*⁶²⁹

[If the history of Rome the conqueror was lost, and with it all the popular tradition of warlike deeds, one could guess by now that the Roman people was a fighting people. The Civic Guard moves beautiful and pleasant among the arms and the armed of the city of Rome].

An official project was released only by November 10 [20],⁶³⁰ detailed within a printed document describing all the single parts of the uniform and including specific projects sheets for the dressmakers of the S. Michele Institute, who had the production’s exclusive despite “illegal” replicas.⁶³¹ The driving cultural element of Roman heritage as an identity carried on by blood, a lineage of warlike pride and exclusive military excellence, is here both refrained and objectified by style, history, and use. If the design of the elms in the end only moderately recalled that of ancient

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⁶²⁸ From Checchetelli’s article: “*Sentir parlare la figlia di amor di nazione di concordia di sacrifici da farsi a questa, era per Giove una pillola difficile ad ingoiarsi : per Giove che nella divisione de’ partiti trovava come esercitare una soverchiante potenza! Udire la figlia che unicamente domandava se trovandosi una forma svelta e simpatica di giacò, (e ciò dicendo includeva nella sua domanda la esclusione del giacò proposto, e sfidiamo a smentirla) questo più che l’elmo allontanasse il ridicolo da un milite basso e corpulento: era un udirla rinunciare alla educazione di prepotenza che egli avevale dato.*”

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⁶³⁰ “*Regolamento per la Vestimenta ed Armamento della Guardia Civica nello Stato Pontificio analogamente alle Disposizioni della legge 30 luglio 1847*”, November 10, 1847 in ASC, *Presidenza di Roma e Comarca*, b. 1710.

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Roman warriors - to which nevertheless must have conceptually belonged the long red mane reserved to the General Staff officers⁶³² - and they were also adorned by a plaque engraved with a “PIUS IX” inscription, more precise is the description of the Guards’ *gladio* [Roman sword], “*eguale a quella de’ Legionarii romani, a lama corta e larga, da ferire di punta e taglio*” [equal to that of the Roman Legionaries, with a short and broad blade, to cut from the spike or the edge]. When journalists asked for “weapons” of course they meant rifles, but when after several issues the government finally managed to order 12.000 pieces from France at the end of 1847, articles like this were appearing all the same:

*Quando Roma si risveglia nel pericolo, e come il guerriero addorrito, cui si sieno sottratte le armi, la daga e l’elmo, gridò, coteste insegne dell’antico valore, diè segno di perspicace invenzione; chè richiamare una scoperta dimenticata e calpesta val quanto inventarne una splendida nuova. I cambiamenti del mondo fisico sono più lenti di quelli del mondo morale.*⁶³³

[When Rome awakened in danger, and like the sleeping warrior who was deprived of his weapons, the gladius and the elm she screamed, these emblems of the ancient virtue, she gave sign of insightful invention; that to recall a forgotten and overcome discovery is as valuable as inventing a shining new one. The transformations of the physical world are slower than those of the moral world].

Consensus around the Civic Guard’s conceptual design was real. Of course the kind of attachment to the uniforms was declined in various forms, but at the base are constantly recognizable some steady roots under the appraisal of participation and cohesion. If on the one hand it is easy to imply that behind the Classical fascination of a bourgeoisie like Pietro Sterbini there also was a desire to appropriate those stylistic and historical attributions which belonged to highbrow society - and military use was in this sense the perfect surface to operate such eradication - some aristocrats were no less galvanized by the uniforms.⁶³⁴

The success and resonance of the Civic Guard’s “*Figurini*” [21] was so wide that unofficial lithographies were circulating even before the official publication.⁶³⁵ Engravings from notable

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⁶³³ M. M. (Michele Mannucci?) in Speranza 21, “*Ad un deputato Romano*”, p.4.

⁶³⁴ Carlo Luciano Bonaparte, arresto.

⁶³⁵ Pallade 27, August 3; “La Speranza” was also giving painted *figurini* as inserts for the subscribers already by late August, when the official uniform wasn’t approved yet (“La Speranza”, n.3).

artists like Pietro Gagliardi⁶³⁶ were produced [22] as new chapters of the visual appraisal of Pius IX's reforms, but this time also including some interesting variations on the theme, like this "*Guardia Civica femminile*" [23] which declines the common showcase of traditional female costumes from various cities of the Roma country,⁶³⁷ to military exercises. This is not fictional either: a Female Civic Guard was actually enacted,⁶³⁸ and alongside with it a Civic Guard of kids and young men called "*Battaglione La Speranza*", who according to Koelman was filled with artists' sons.⁶³⁹ [24]

Returning to our main interrogatives, we should now look for who conceived the Guards uniforms and what does imply in terms of social mobility or scenic dynamics. Unfortunately the precise authorship of the design didn't emerge from newspapers or any of the archival sources I questioned. The projects for the uniforms were performed and signed by an architect called Giuseppe Bianchi, which should most likely be the cameo engraver born in Cantalupo di Sabina who was also a long time employed by the *Tipografia Camerale*, thus possibly only being the author of the project sheets but not of the design and its leading motives.⁶⁴⁰ "*La Pallade*" reported that the uniforms model was advanced by the *Casino Artistico*, namely the former *Società Artistica Italiana* after the merge with the *Circolo Romano*,⁶⁴¹ so it must have been from this position that the uniforms' design have been advanced to the government. It is very unlikely that the most notable artists present in the *Circolo Romano* (who also were high officer in the Civic Guards ranks) weren't listened or even possibly forced by stronger political characters like Sterbini, Canino or Aldobrandini, especially since artists like Coghetti, Podesti or Capalti were all erudite history painter, and thus careful scholars of garments from the past.⁶⁴² Even a precise name, nevertheless, would not be as pointy significant as the fact that the *Circolo Romano* in its circumscribed collectivity of around 300 members was able to deploy such an effective imaginary in support of the social mobilization through symbols and images which felt as much appropriate for the ambiguous cult of Pius IX, as also for war. Established concepts of nation and religion were of course determinant dynamics of

⁶³⁶ qualcosa su gagliardi può servire

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⁶⁴⁰ Ruga in Capitelli 2011

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⁶⁴² Qualcosa sulle cattedre di costumi in accademia

the “social mind” of those years; nevertheless, striking is the fact that some persistent visual elements and their interpretations were open to different uses according to the turn in political temperature but without losing their transversal effectiveness or being formally prohibited despite some clear belligerent implications.

These became only clearer when by 1848 the radicalization of public discourse was finally on the road to war and, interestingly, the appearance of the Civic uniforms followed this path accordingly. The mobilized corps who left for the Veneto campaign (“*Iddio lo vuole!*”, was saying to the troops General Durando) were all “*fregiati dalla Croce di Cristo*”.⁶⁴³ Indeed, the mobilized’s uniform retained in a cross-shaped cockade with the Italian colors, which were already adorning the Civic Guards’ uniforms since the Commander in Chief Duke Rignano had prescribed a week before their departure, as we had learned. One of these it’s still conserved and displayed today at the *Museo Centrale del Risorgimento* [MCRR] in Rome [28].⁶⁴⁴ We find again the cockade adorning the breast of a Civic Guard’s high officer portrayed in a painting of the same museum, [29] and also in a small painting depicting a Civic Guard leaving for war, which today is conserved at the Chilean National Museum of Fine Arts in Santiago [31].⁶⁴⁵

Both these are rather mysterious artworks. Of the first, unknown are the author and the portrayed, although iconographical features and the elegant painterly execution points at an highbrow environment. The elm bearing a number “5” (Parione district) and the with strip on the portrayed’s bust tells that the uniform was that that of an high officer of the Guard, caught in a somehow relaxed posture. The typology of the portrait, with the naked hand closed in a fist and resting on the table, and the body slightly unaligned from the viewer’s point, is in line with portraits like those of Ingres and other artists who similarly moved alongside some vague Purists inspirations, but never fully adhered to their orthodoxies, addressing instead the needs of a rising bourgeoisie - or like in Italy, more often a transforming aristocracy - which repulsed explicit codifications but appreciated a sober degree of distinction. Some suggestive similarities are retrievable here with works of the Modenese painter Adeodato Malatesta, who lived in Rome during the late 1830s and eventually

⁶⁴³ Both sentences are in *Ordine del giorno del Gen. Durando*, in M. Minghetti, *I miei ricordi*, 1. Turin 1889, pp. 365-366.

⁶⁴⁴ Scarce informations are known about the provenance of this artwork. The painting belongs to former collection of the “Biblioteca Nazionale Vittorio Emanuele II” and it must have acquired no earlier than 1880 (see Pizzo M., *Il Museo Centrale del Risorgimento di Roma. La storia e le collezioni: criteri di un allestimento*, in “Museo Centrale del Risorgimento”, general catalogue, Rome 2001, pp. 11-30) and no later than 1911 (see *Inventario della Mostra del Risorgimento tenutasi a Roma nel 1911, trascritto da Federico Zoccoli*, in “Mostra del Risorgimento, Roma 1911”, exhibition catalogue edited by V. Bonanno, Milan 1913).

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maintained some strict ties with the artistic scene, including his pupil Alfonso Chierici (Civic Guard in the Trevi battalion)⁶⁴⁶ and Michelangelo Pinto, who by the days of the Veneto Campaign was a government's representative in Piedmont.⁶⁴⁷ A portrait of Luigi Poletti performed during Malatesta's Roman permanence may be a rather direct model for the Civic Guard's portrait [30],⁶⁴⁸ and in 1849, the painter had also portrayed a member of a Modenese National Guard in an artwork which remained private for years,⁶⁴⁹ thus indicating that a painter like Malatesta was not devoid of similar practices. More than an a hard to catch attribution of the artwork, a comparison with the aforementioned models strikes for the general presentation of the Roman artwork, clearly belonging to highbrow society but also in the position of boasting the cross-shaped, tricolored cockade which by 1848 was a badge for radical orientations.

The Chile painting raises instead some completely different circumstances. The canvas presents the inscription "Tirinelli F.", following what the National Museum of Santiago attributed the painting to a barely known Roman painter called Ignazio Tirinelli,⁶⁵⁰ about whom are only known a later activity in religious paintings (but starting only from 1855) and a frequentation of the S. Luke Academy from at least 1835, where he was a pupil of Tommaso Minardi.⁶⁵¹ The painting is dated 1847, although the depicted scene clearly belongs to the mobilization days of late March 1848, as it testified by the outdoor scene which seems to portray Piazza del Popolo, the actual gathering place of the volunteers before their departure.⁶⁵² The Italian flag, the rifle on the descending Guard's shoulders and the cockade, all are narrative elements which perfectly belongs to that setting. There is an interesting Romantic vibe in the gazing characters and in the general movement of the picture, which, just like the MCRR painting, is also remarkably devoid of the explicit allegorical density we have seen so far. A possible inspirational motive can be recognized in Francesco Hayez's "The last kiss of Romeo and Juliet" [31], first shown at the Brera exhibition of 1823, circulating in

⁶⁴⁶ Biblio da Kubikat

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⁶⁴⁸ G. Incisa della Rocchetta, *La collezione dei ritratti dell'Accademia di San Luca*, Rome, 1979, pp. 74, 214; attribuito in <http://www.filipposilvestro.com/AdeodatoMalatesta.pdf>

⁶⁴⁹ See the "Ritratto dell'avvocato Nicola Spinelli con la consorte marchesa Eloisa Bellincini Bagnesi" (oil on canvas, Museo Civico, Modena, n. d.), in "Modelli d'arte e devozione: Adeodato Malatesta, 1806-1891", exhibition catalogue (Foro Boario, Modena; Reggio Emilia, Convento di San Domenico, April 18 - June 14, 1998), Geneve, Milan, 1998, pp. 148-150.

⁶⁵⁰ Museum, *Exposicion*, Capitelli

⁶⁵¹ Maestà, Ovidi, Ogetti.

⁶⁵²

engravings⁶⁵³ and known by Francesco Dall'Ongaro, one of those intellectuals who reached Rome after Pius IX's advent and authored articles in various newspapers, including "La Speranza".⁶⁵⁴ Even if some strict philological rigor would prevent here a direct association, the comparison between the pictures of Tirinelli and Hayez is definitely meaningful, at least in the diverse strategies adopted in describing a similar emotive fragment. If the "scandalous" erotism of the Milanese painting - and of its more famous follower "The Kiss" (1859) - ⁶⁵⁵ puts the narrative emphasis on physical love and its social disapproval (see the old lady and the crucifix standing in the dark), the relationship between Tirinelli's characters is barely pronounced by their gaze and the touching hands on the Civic Guard's breast, which are also holding the cockade. The context here doesn't address the lovers' enemies, but rather the necessity of the departure: the Guard's hand which is not touching his beloved is here holding the Italian flag, and the only other character present in the scene is turned on its back and leaving not towards the Romantic, ascending individual escape of the lover, but rather descending towards a crowd of comrades dressed exactly like him, presumably "suffering" with the same solemn pain of the departure, which is thus collective. Tirinelli's "icon" is an evidently popular picture, already projected towards an emotiveness which will be further elaborated in the next years within the small pictures of painters like Odoardo Borrani and Gerolamo Induno, where the presence of war as an interlope between lovers becomes the absence of the soldier, who is far on the battlefield and missed.⁶⁵⁶ [32] The figurative and emotive references to a more mature "*Risorgimento* art", almost suggest an ever later execution for Tirinelli's picture than that of 1848. Nevertheless, the emphasis on the cockade and on the Civic Guard's uniform are elements which hinder suppositions in that direction: depicting such a scene after the tremendous delusions of the war, of Pius IX's withdrawal and of the 1849 events, but still maintaining emphasis on the cockade, would presume some very special reasons of which we currently have no evidence of. It's also remarkable that, coherently with what happened with Pietro Venier and Giuseppe Catterinetti Franco, artistic efforts in the mobilization mirrored matching positions in the Civic Guard, as 1 was in fact Sergeant Major in the 3rd company of the Trevi battalion.⁶⁵⁷

⁶⁵³ F. Mazzocca, in "Hayez dal mito al bacio", exhibition catalogue (Palazzo Zabarella, September 20, 1998 - January 10, 1999, Padua), edited by F. Mazzocca, Venice, 1998, pp. 100-101.

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⁶⁵⁵ *qui ci vorrebbe qualcosa di recente....* altrimenti *ibidem*, p. 178-181.

⁶⁵⁶ qualcosa sui dipinti, e magari oltre

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3.4.2 - Visualizing the mobilization: war vessels

The discursive merge of warlike and religious meanings attached to visual objects related to the Civic Guard was not exclusive to the uniforms. In truth, we may recognize the same push within no less “official” dimensions attached to military circumstances, preserving its identity even through the tangles of motivations and implications that determined the participations in the First War of Italian Independence. Indeed, the Guard’s “visual intelligentsia” was already at work and ready before the Veneto expedition was even considered. Right after the very first number issued after the beginning of the revolution in Sicily (January, 12), “*La Pallade*” had turned into a military newspaper almost like “*La Speranza*”, publishing articles at odds with those of the previous year and bearing titles such as “*Vestiamoci all’Italiana*”,⁶⁵⁸ a rhetorical argument employed by Checchetelli in order to praise the “Lombard” garments against the French ones, here implying the primacy of revolutionary inspirational motives. Right by the time of the first of the “Five days of Milan” on March 18, “*La Pallade*” publishes a dispatch from the current Commander in Chief, Duke Massimo Rignano to all the Civic battalion’s commanders:

*Avendo la Santità di Nostro Signore approvato il modello della nuove bandiere, per i Battagl. Civici, portanti i cosiddetti colori italiani, Ella farà conoscere ai militi del suo battaglione che, in seguito di tal sovrana concessione, dovranno d’ora innanzi portare tutti indistintamente sull’uniforme dal sinistro lato del petto una nappa di mediocre grandezza formata dei colori sunnominati. [...] La bandiera è uno stendardo alla foggia de’ Romani sormontato da un Aquila che spiega le ali dentro una corona: soppressa è la effigie di Pio IX. Il colore dello stendardo è bianco- giallo - con tre fasce tricolori cadenti sovrasso dalla cima.*⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵⁸ 162, 8/2/48, p. 3

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[Having the Holiness of Our Lord approved the model of the new flags for the Civic Battalions, bearing to so-called Italian colors, thou will let the soldier of your battalion know that, after such sovereign concession, from now on they all shall without distinctions bring on their uniforms from the left side of their breast a tassel of mediocre size formed by the aforementioned colors. [...] The flag is a banner in the fashion of the Romans, surmounted by an Eagle which spread its wings within a crown: suppressed is the effigy of Pius IX. The color of the flag is with-yellow - with three tricolored strips falling over it from the top].

The described flag is the “*Vessillo Pontificio*” [Pontifical Vessel] whose projects are stored by the *Archivio di Stato* in Rome within the archival units of the Roman Republic,⁶⁶⁰ together with a list of payments that the Civic Guard owed to the *Tipografia Camerale* for various works performed during the first half of 1848. [25] Although these are not dated, they are consequentially listed, and the “Detail of the flag” was printed after the “*Ordine del giorno 8 marzo*” and before the “*Ordine del giorno 23 marzo*”.⁶⁶¹ This means that the designs were already conceived before war expedition was actually approved on March 26.

The flags project were printed with a detailed description in line with those issued with the uniforms’ design on November, 10. Beside the fact that this time Italian colors were prescribed to be present next to the Papal ones (white and yellow), the ancient Roman roots of the articles were also underlined, possibly even more precisely:

“*Art. 4: Pio IX fa risorgere l’antica aquila romana sul vessillo della Guardia Civica. Questa sarà di lavoro in rame dorato, eseguito nello stabilimento galvanoplastico posto sulla rupe Tarpeia*”.

[Art. 4: Pius IX let the ancient roman eagle resurrect on the vessel of the Civic Guard. This will be crafted in golden copper, executed in the *galvanoplastic* establishment situated on the Tarpeian Rock].

The “resurrected” eagle recognizable on top the flag is a very important detail, and the emphasis posed on its production (the *Rupe Tarpeia* is the ancient name of the Capitoline Hill) it’s not casual. During the first Roman Republic of 1798-1799, the symbol of the eagle inside the garland was the official iconography of the government, present in letterheads and in coinage, reproduced by major artists such as Felice Giani [26]. The adoption of the symbol at that time was the result of a capillary study by an erudite collector of antiquities, Giovanni Battista Bondacca, who had

⁶⁶⁰ ASR - *Miscellanea Repubblica Romana* (1849), *Ministero degli Interni*, b.1367.

⁶⁶¹

published a pamphlet entitled “The Emblem of the Roman Republic” in which he reconstructed the philological route that brought him to track down the prototype image of this iconography: “the marble Eagle bass-relief existing in the vestibule of the church of SS. Apostles, on the wall standing on the right”.⁶⁶² [27] The so-called eagle of SS. Apostles, dates back to Trajan age in second century A.D., and was placed in that church by Pope Julius II by early 16th century as a symbolic element of his project of *renovatio imperii*.⁶⁶³ Those of Trajan and Julius II were two eminently “imperial” contexts, thus both were clashing with the Republican motives of Bondacca’s adoption.⁶⁶⁴ Nevertheless, this didn’t prevent it to become an highly influential and appraised symbol of the “Jacobine” Roman Republic. In his *Dictionnaire Historique d’architecture* published in Paris in 1832-1833 and translated in Italian by 1844, a long-standing expert of Roman heritage like Quatrèmere de Quincy explained that:

*L’Aquila, come è noto, era, e lo è anche oggi, lo stemma della città di Roma, e per conseguenza dell’impero Romano. [...] Non di rado l’Aquila servì pure di finimento collocandola nei fregi dei cornicioni. Di questo genere è il bel frammento che si osserva in Roma sotto il portico della Chiesa dei Santi Apostoli. L’aquila è quivi rappresentata in mezzo ad una grande corona che tiene fra gli artigli. Questo magnifico pezzo, che viene da tutti gli architetti copiato, e di cui è ben noto il disegno, ha tanto maggior prezzo in quanto che, oltre alla bellezza della scultura, la testa dell’aquila è ancora intera e ben conservata. Ognuno sa che a quasi tutte le aquile romane furono rotte le teste, come accadde anche alle quattro del piedistallo della colonna Trajana.⁶⁶⁵ Quella del portico dei Santi Apostoli può dirsi la sola in marmo, che sia scampata al furore dei Barbari, i quali si compiacquero di distruggere ovunque il simbolo orgoglioso d’una potenza che più non temevano!*⁶⁶⁶

[The Eagle, as known, was an still is today, the emblem of the city of Rome, and thus of the Roman empire. [...] Not rarely the Eagle had served as decoration by posing it in the frieze of the cornices. Of this breed is the beautiful fragment which is visible in Rome under the vestibule of the Church of the SS. Apostles. There the eagle is represented in the middle of a large crown which it hold between its claws. This magnificent piece, which gets by every architect copied, and of which is well known the drawing, hold such major value as, other than than the beauty of the sculpture, the eagle’s head is still intact and well conserved. Everyone knows that to almost every roman eagle were broken their head, like it also happened to those four at the base of the Trajan column. That of the SS. Apostles

⁶⁶² G. B. Bondacca, *Lo stemma della Repubblica Romana restituito al primiero lustro. Opuscolo dedicato al Consolato dal Cittadio Avv. Gio. Battista Bondacca*, Rome, 1799 (pages without numbers). On the whole process of creation see M. Caffiero, *La costruzione della religione repubblicana a Roma nel 1798-1799: l’uso politico della storia antica*, in “Roma Moderna e Contemporanea”, 9, 1-3 (January-December 2001), pp. 61-73; + non dimentichiamo Raccioppi

⁶⁶³ A. Pastore, *Giulio II*, in “Enciclopedia dei Papi”, 2, Rome, 2000, pp. 31-42

⁶⁶⁴ On the catechization of a crucial contribution is sill represented by L. Guerci, *Istruire nelle verità repubblicane. La letteratura politica per il popolo nell’Italia in rivoluzione (1796-1799)*, Bologna, 1999,

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⁶⁶⁶ Q. De Quincy, A. Mainardi, *Dizionario Storico di Architettura*, 1, Mantua 1844, p. 99.

can be said as the only marble one which survived to the fury of the Barbarians, who pleased themselves with destroying everywhere the prideful symbol of a power which feared no more].

“Copied by every architect”, was saying the man who conceived with Canova the idea that Rome must be “The Republic of Arts”, and the reappearance of the Roman eagle on Pius IX’s banners confirms that it was still very well known by the half of the century, together with its functioning as a proactive remark of Roman lineage for political ends. The fact that “Pius IX resurrected” it only after the Municipality of Rome was created⁶⁶⁷ and when winds of war were already blowing, should already tell much on how spontaneously the resurrection happened. In the end, a generic “golden eagle” was already put on the top of flags designed by Pietro Venier for the “*Festa delle Bandiere*” in June 1847, when for the first time the *Rioni* had started to be reacquire the relevance which the Civic Guard enactment will certificate, and in fact it also adorned the vessels of the districts distributed to the the *caporioni* when the Municipality of Rome was inaugurated on November 24, 1847. As both these may be considered as innovative moments of lay belonging to the civic community - thus the resurrection of the eagle - downplaying the religious element would nevertheless be a mistake. A “crusade” climate behind the Veneto campaign was being alimanted upon bases which were already present as soon as next to Pius IX’s “liberal” myth was associated that of “national”, and possibly even before, given the inner nationalistic implications behind Gioberti’s appraisal of the “Primacy” of the Italian population, rooted in both Imperial and Catholic heritage.⁶⁶⁸ It is once again much interesting to notice how striking was Quatrèmere De Quincy’s description of the iconographic function of the Roman eagle in SS. Apostles Church, rising to its paradigmatic role after having survived the iconoclast fever of “barbarians”: throughout the “crusade” of 1848, the Austrians and their mercenaries troops were exactly called “*barbari*” by war supporters of any extraction, from pro-liberal priests like Alessandro Gavazzi and Ugo Bassi, to Massimo D' Azeglio and Prince Aldobrandini.⁶⁶⁹

Going back to the iconography as it was conceived by Bondacca in 1799 [33], we may notice that a further iconographic element is present here, but absent from the eagle of the SS. Apostles as well

⁶⁶⁷ In the section 4 of the Municipality were included “Statistics” and “Civic Guard”. It is not clear how this innovation was balanced together with the former attributions, but nevertheless the Commander in Chief and its authority were the same.

⁶⁶⁸ c’èera un libro su google mi pare...1

⁶⁶⁹

as the one in the Civic Guard vessel: other than the “obvious” Phrygian cap in its mouth, the eagle is holding with its claws the consular fasces. This is once again an iconographical element as strictly associated with ancient Roman history as historically subject of varying semantic functions.

⁶⁷⁰Already used by Etruscan civilization, the wooden rods held together in bundle (thus the latin name *fasces*, used in plural form) were the prominent feature of the *littori* [lictors], a special class of civic servants present in republican and imperial ages who had the duty of protecting those special Roman magistrates who held the right of *imperium*, namely the faculty of forwarding military orders which the citizens could not refuse to observe.⁶⁷¹ In such cases, the lictors included in the fasces an hatchet with the blade exposed on its side, a sign which indicated the extraordinary status of “magistrate dictator”, in case the armed fasces were brought within Rome. The meanings acknowledged to the fasces were actually larger at the height of the mature Imperial age, also including uses of funerary celebrations like those described by Petronius in Trimalchio’s dining room.⁶⁷²

Although possibly already implied by the consensus which was at the base of magistrates’s powers during the republican age and thus of the strength of the laws they were enforcing,⁶⁷³ a reading of the fasces as signifiers of civil unity and cohesion was largely spread by 19th century. We may again rely on Quatremère De Quincy’s lexicon:

Presso i Romani il fascio, o fasci, che erano uno de' segni esteriori del potere e della dignità, si componevano di rami d'alberi o di verghe legate da coregge, in mezzo alle quali eravi una scure che innalzavasi al di sopra. I fasci, che abbiamo or ora descritti sono rappresentati su molti antichi monumenti di scultura, e particolarmente sopra alcune tombe di personaggi consolari. Il significato di questo simbolo era conosciuto da tutto il mondo, e divenne un oggetto di ornamento assai comune.

*Presso i moderni i fasci non hanno più alcuna significazione politica; altro non sono che un emblema morale dell'unione e della forza che ne risulta. L'uso tuttavia di aggruppare insieme lance o drappi ha conservato o rinnovellato, nella decorazione dell'architettura, l'uso dei fasci; e vengono talvolta impiegati in composizioni guerriere, a guisa di pilastri o colonna addossate. Questa invenzione però appartiene più alla decorazione che l'architettura.*⁶⁷⁴

[Among the Roman the fasces, which were the exterior signs of power and of dignity, were composed by tree branches or sticks tied by laces, in the middle of which there was an hatchet standing from the top. The fasces, which we have now described are represented on several

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⁶⁷² J. R. W. Prag, *Cave Canem*, in “The Classical Quarterly”, 56-2 (December 2006), pp. 538-537.

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⁶⁷⁴ I, p. 638.

ancient sculpture monuments, and in particular upon some tombs of consular characters. The meaning of this symbol was known by the whole world, and became a much common ornamental object.

Among the moderns the fasces no more political significate; they are nothing else but a moral emblem of the union and of the strength which it produces. However, the usage of holding together spears or draperies has maintained or renovated, in architectural decoration, the use of fasces; and they are sometimes employed in warlike compositions, like pillars or leaning columns. This invention however belong more to decoration than architecture].

Not unlikely from what he had written about the SS. Apostles' eagle, the specific configuration of meanings acknowledged to the fasces is contextualized by Quatremère at the light of the its architectonical "use", explicitly downplaying the political meaning while at the same time underlining that the bundles are nevertheless often employed in "warlike compositions". Again, an apt and somehow prophetic interpretation.

To my knowledge, the first appearance of the fasces during the Roman Revolution is attested during the first anniversary of the amnesty on July 17, 1847 whose celebrations, as we know already, were abruptly interrupted because of the "Grand Conjunction" foiled two days before. An ephemeral monument was nevertheless executed by the Milanese Sculptor Carlo De Ambrogio d' Ambrogio⁶⁷⁵, who already collaborated in the triumph arch by Felice Cicconetti the year before. The colossal sculpture was hosted during its making in Piazza Venezia and transported in Piazza del Popolo in the night of July 11, accompanied by a crowd of praising people, singing aloud "*Scuoti, o Roma, la polvere indegna*".⁶⁷⁶ The monument was described by Checchetelli in "*La Pallade*" 's issue of July 22 (with an illustration [34]) as divided in various parts, including a sculpture of Pius IX with open arms on the top, and a square block at the base at the angles of which were posed four allegorical personifications (peace, charity, faith, prudence). On its four sides were instead bas-relieved three happenings of Mastai Ferretti's pontificate in line with the image and intentions of those included back in the 1846 arch ("Pius IX protecting the children upon the example of Christ", "The Civic Guard's institution", "The committee for the reforms of the regulations"), and finally a eulogistic inscription:

PIO IX P.O.M. IL PATRIZIATO ROMANO AFFRATELLATOSI AL POPOLO NELLA GRATITUDINE E
NELL'AMORE VERSO TANTO PONTEFICE

⁶⁷⁵ The Civic register of the Trevi battalion, where the sculptor was ascribe to, reports the surname "d' Ambrogio", and Spada calls him the same (Spada 1868, I, p. 248).

⁶⁷⁶ *Pallade* 16, Luglio 10,11,12, p.1

[Pio IX *Pontifex Maximus*. The Roman patricians united to the people in gratitude and love towards such a Pontiff]

These same details were also mentioned in other accounts like those of the Mazzinian Filippo De Boni (exiled in Switzerland but well connected in the Italian States) and of the Milanese journalist Antonio Zoncada,⁶⁷⁷ both of which didn't actually see the monument. Checchetelli instead did, and his description presents in fact a further element:

“[...] la statua colossale di Pio magnanimo che sta sopra un ottagono facente parte della base, in cui, “secondo il nostro debole parere da rivedersi” [sic] male vediamo posti ad ornamento i fasci consolari. Da essi forse situati a significare unione avremmo volentieri vedute smesse le scuri, chè in un monumento tributato da popolo amante a sovrano amoroso, colla soavità di questa affezione mal consuona qualunque oggetto risvegli una idea ad essa opposta”.

[The colossal statue of the great Pius that stands upon an octagon part of a base, in which, “to be revised, according to our humble opinion”, we see the fasces as an improper ornamental addiction. Possibly placed to signify union, we would have gladly seen the hatchets dismissed, as in a monument offered by the loving population to an amorous sovereign, with the gentleness of this affection improperly sounds any object that would awaken an opposing idea].

Once again is hard to contextualize Checchetelli's articles at the light of some generally coherent directions, as only three days before “*La Pallade*” was publishing an article dedicated to the Civic Guard and entitled “*Evviva l'unione dell'armi*” [Long live the union of arms].⁶⁷⁸ That said, the presence and the meaning of the hatchet is unavoidably precise and dangerous. Possibly not for a chance, in the published images and also in another drawing which is stored at the *Museo di Roma* [35], the illustrators took in fact efforts to avoid the edges where the fasces would have been more visible. It is at this point interesting to notice that, whereas the public celebrations of the first year of Pontificate were financed by public subscriptions that mostly involved individuals like Ciceruacchio or the same author in the case of Pistrucci's bust, the first artwork produced after the Civic Guard's creation was instead commissioned by an aristocrat, don Antonio Boncompagni Principe di Piombino, namely one of those noble delegates (including Aldobrandini) who

⁶⁷⁷ F. De Boni, *La congiura di Roma e Pio IX. Ricordi di Filippo De Boni*, Lausanne 1848, p. 121; *Pio IX e l'Italia ossia....* Milan 1848, p. 212.

⁶⁷⁸ *Pallade* 19, 18-19 luglio

approached Pius IX to ask for the Civic Guard's enactment on late July.⁶⁷⁹ Once again it's not safe to assume who conceived the iconographic program of the monument and thus decided to include such an evidently controversial element like the fasces. That said, a "vertical" involvement in the artwork's production it's suggested by an interesting document from the archives of the Academy of S. Luke, in which the Secretary Salvatore Betti was replying to a missive forwarded by the card. Camerlengo on September 4, after some evidently insisting pleas by the same De Ambrogi:

*LO SCULTORE CARLO DE AMBROGI HA IMPLORATO CHE CODESTA ACCADEMIA DI S. LUCA DIA IL SUO PARERE SUL COSTO del Monumento del Popolo per solennizzare l'anniversario dell'amnistia. Il sottoscritto Cardinal Camerlengo di S. R. Chiesa nello inviare a V. S. la relazione artistica presentata dal Ricorrente ⁶⁸⁰dichiara non aver egli difficoltà per sua parte di abilitare l'Accademia a procedere al suddetto giudizio, dipendentemente peraltro dai regolamenti in vigore. Passa intanto consensi della più verace stima a ripetersi.
Il crd. Riario Sforza Camerlengo*

[The sculptor Carlo De Ambrogi has implored that this Academy of S. Luke shall give its opinion on the cost of Monument of the *Popolo* to solemnify the amnesty anniversary. The present Cardinal Camerlengo of the Holy Roman Church, by delivering to you the artistic relation presented by the proponent, declares to retain no preventions in order to authorize the Academy in proceeding to the above-mentioned judgement, depending moreover by the regulations in force. In the meanwhile I forward again my truest esteem.
The Cardinal Riario Sforza, Camerlengo]

Betti answered on October 8 after a Counsel meeting only to briefly state that "*l'accademia non dà giudizio d'oggetti d'arte che possono essere campo di liti*" ["the academy does not give judgements upon artistic objects which may leave room for litigations"], despite the fact that the Camerlengo was allowing the Academy to "procede on the judgement".⁶⁸¹ That of academic expertise in the the evaluation of past and present artworks is still a topic which retains shadow areas,⁶⁸² as despite the academic preventions, in the private letters of an elite member like Tommaso Minardi there are

⁶⁷⁹ Other sources also includes the intervention of Marino and Alessandro Torlonia, who apparently had organized a pyrotechnic show which is unclear wether it actually happened or not (Fagiolo 1997, pp. 363-364).

⁶⁸⁰ I didn't find it in the Academy's archive.

⁶⁸¹ da regolamenti, available somewhere.

⁶⁸² capitelli?

hundreds of such requests⁶⁸³ and it is absolutely not clear whether these advices were retributed or justified by other motives. In the absence of reliable philological devices, we should again remain within what the images can tell alone, and in the case of the fasces on the amnesty's monument, these were a corollary of the Civic Guard's enactment, thus they should be addressed alongside the "*elmo e giacò*" debate and more precisely as its most direct precedent. The appropriation of Roman war heritage through iconographic symbols was not an individual idea of De Ambrogi rather than Prince Boncompagni Ludovisi, but most likely the product of some very precise, oligarchic dynamics embodied by the party work of the *Circolo Romano* through its collective presence and power. Although both Quatrèmere de Quincy and Checchetelli framed a mutual exclusion of the significant "unity" and "war" as signified by the fasces, the reality is that the whole Roman motives created around the Civic Guard's visual representations were all relying upon a same imaginary of redemption aimed at involving all the Roman citizens in a military endeavor which, in fact, ultimately lead into a war that was instead undesirable for the Holy See. As a last evidence, one should also consider the name of the volunteer corps (including the mobilized Civic Guard) which participated in the war with Austria: the *Legione Romana*.

3.4.3 - *Visualizing the mobilization: ideological artworks*

So how it became possible that the employment of this set of Roman military iconographies was allowed without any substantial hinderance from the government? A likely answer lies in the fact that the "unity" of the social mobilization was as vital for war-oriented nationalists as it was for Pius IX and his leadership. Both their agendas had to rely on society's cohesion in order to achieve respective goals and thus engendering strategies aimed at downplaying explicit critiques to one another, but without renouncing to ideological clarity.

⁶⁸³ Fesch, Campana collections.

I would like to support this interpretation with a rather special artwork, which presents a comprehensive anthology of the visual rhetoric of the Civic Guard and of whom the survival already presents in itself a substantial evidence of the government's compliancy, given the place in which it is conserved. [36-41] I'm referring to a fresco decoration present in a small chamber with a curved ceiling surface (called *volta a schifo* or *a gavetta* [keel or "through" vault], often used for frescoes) at the ground level of the *Palazzo della Cancelleria* [36], namely the place in which Pellegrino Rossi was killed.⁶⁸⁴ This room was in fact part of the quarters for the Parione battalion, devolved to this purpose from early December 1847.⁶⁸⁵ According to the Civic regulations, to every of the twelve battalion was in fact reserved a quarter serving for a variety of functions. Alongside the rushed arming of the Guard after the "Grand Conjuraton" failure, the battalions were all hosted within spaces owned by their respective commanders. In truth, the government had to pay the rent for these spaces, and in fact all the contracts are still today available at the *Archivio Storico Capitolino*; all but those relative to the Parione battalion, for which a rent was never necessary. For reasons which remains unknown, the Civic Guards of the 6th district were in fact left in a "*luogo adatto piuttosto a stanza di topi che di soldati*"[a place suitable as a room for rats rather than soldiers]⁶⁸⁶ until the government decided to save a space in the *Palazzo della Cancelleria* which had already hosted the feast for the appointment of Felice Cleter as Colonel Lieutenant of the Civic Guard in the previous August, when some unknown space in the palace was "decorated" by Pietro Venier. As the possession of the quarter was still ongoing by late December,⁶⁸⁷ we can safely assume that the inscription "PIO IX INSTITVIVA — ANNO MDCCCXLVII" is not indicating the execution, but simply referring to the corp's institution. The griffon in the middle of the ceiling and refrained in the small banners on the frame is the symbol of the Parione district, reproduced in its medieval form. These same icons were reintroduced with the creation of the Roman Municipality on November 24, 1847⁶⁸⁸ when the various Brunetti, Piccioni and the son of Pietro Venier, Eugenio were nominated flag-bearers of the *rioni* by Pius IX himself. The remaining iconographies are heavily centered on military motives: the piles of armors, weapons, shields, trumpets and, of course,

⁶⁸⁴ Unnoticed by Lavagnino (E. Lavagnino, *Il Palazzo della Cancelleria e la Chiesa di s. Lorenzo in Damaso*, Rome, n.d.), the presence of the frescoes has been noted by Schiavo (A. Schiavo, *Il Palazzo della Cancelleria*, Rome, 1964, pp. 192-193, f. 139) and ????? Orbiciani

⁶⁸⁵ The news is announced by "*La Pallade*" by November 29, n. 110, p. 3.

⁶⁸⁶ *ibidem*

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⁶⁸⁸ Pietrangeli 1953, in "Capitolium", 6, pp. 182-193

elms, sorted as some sorts of still life, represents an accustomed decorative elements which even a “fashionable” painter like Giuseppe Molteni had in its atelier as common tools [42]; but we have now learned that, in this environment, these Classical warfare symbols hardly are casual inserts. The quantity of consular fasces spread throughout the decoration is in this sense surprising: they pervade all the surfaces and the trophies, they emerge from the armors’ holes, they hide behind the monochrome shields, they function as illusionary pillars with hatchet in the angles refraining the exact use which Quatremère de Quincy was already addressing in his description. Some similarly “militarized” features are embedded in the two female winged pictures [39-40] bearing garlands, somehow refraining the similarly acting figures present in Cicconetti’s arch which nevertheless didn’t hold the trumpets, elements which are perfectly coherent with the warlike iconographies employed in the frescoes, where the musical instruments stands next to the fasces. The globes upon which they stand, were also elements studied by Bondacca during his researches of 1799 and often included in revolutionary iconographies.⁶⁸⁹ Finally, there is also the Roman eagle, introduced only once and without the fasces [40].

The variety and the accuracy of the respective designs address the evidence that the executor (or the executors) was employing here some cultivated tools together with a safe handling of the fresco technique, given the illusionistic treatment of the “still” painted elements of the architectures and the trophies, interrupted by the more naturalistic physical behaviours of the draperies rendered as falling from the ceiling. In this sense, the only resounding name present in the Parione battalion is that of the Urbino-born painter, *Cavalier* Filippo Agricola, a long established insider of the artistic elites as his father Luigi was before him.⁶⁹⁰ During the 1840s, Agricola’s career was going through a process of institutional success which is possibly depending on the elderly decline of Vincenzo Camuccini, who died in 1844 and was unable to work since a paralysis stroke him on February 1842.⁶⁹¹ Agricola would then replace him as Inspector of the Vatican and the Capitoline galleries, in the Mosaics Studio in S. Peter’s Fabric and also as “*Primo cattedratico di Pittura*” in S. Luca, plus a further series of academic recognitions.⁶⁹² Agricola was also “Inspector of the paintings in the Sacred Apostolic Palaces”, position from which he directed the long and controversial restoration

⁶⁸⁹ Caffiero 2001, pp. 64-65.

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process of the so-called “*Terze Logge*” of the “*Logge Vaticane*” (better known as “*Logge di Raffaello*”), one the most famous and appreciated fresco decorations of Rome designed by Raphael for the west wing of San Damaso Palace in the Vatican complex but mostly performed by his closest pupils in the early 16th century.⁶⁹³ A detailed account of the process was written by Agricola and published in 1842 explaining how the conditions of the frescoes needed a substantial intervention, being them basically painted over the ceiling and columns of a balcony, and as such heavily exposed to weather conditions. The best part of the frescoes and the stuccoes were in fact basically lost, and the painters who were involved in the Restoration had to propose new *cartoni* for them, based on some thorough study of the so called “*grottesche*”, a specific decorative motive often used in frescoes inspired by the mural paintings retrieved in the *Domus Aurea* and of which the Raphael’s lodge were the first and most famous iterations. [43] The same Agricola credited in this sense the “Divine Painter”’s pupil Giovanni da Udine who also extensively employed the *grottesche* in other decorations like those of Villa Madama in Rome [44].⁶⁹⁴ Just to specify the rediscovery which accompanied the *Terze Logge* restorations, the painters who forwarded the new/old *cartoni* were also employed in the Torlonia yards, as visible through the works of the Bellunese painter Pietro Paoletti, who worked in the *Terze Logge* together with Domenico Tojetti and Filippo Bigioli.⁶⁹⁵ We can definitely recognize the inspirational motives of the *grottesche* in the standing winged figures of the *Cancelleria* frescoes, even more precisely employed as decorative architectural elements given how the stretch of their arms reaches the exact angles left uncovered by the curved surface of the red lunettes with the trophies, employing the same *horror vacui* feeling which was a defining element of decorations like those of Palazzo Madama.

Agricola could have definitely been involved in the decorations, as he was apparently a supporter of the Civic Guard. The registers offers us a tiny but crucial information in this sense, given by the false biographical informations that Agricola had forwarded by the time of the enrollment: despite being notoriously born in Urbino in 1795,⁶⁹⁶ the register reports that he was instead born in Rome by 1808, next to his correct father’s name, Luigi, and his residence’s address, Via di Chiesa Nuova 8, where Agricola is attested at least since the late 1830s.⁶⁹⁷ Was he trying to be no less Roman and

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⁶⁹⁵ Vizzuti F., *Pietro Paoletti, pittore bellunese dell'Ottocento*, in “Archivio Storico di Belluno, Feltre e Cadore”, 254 (1986).

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⁶⁹⁷ *Mercurio*, 1843.

young than his Civic comrades? It is possible, given that we also know that Agricola gave a small but significant oblation to the Civic Guard in the occasion of the Veneto expedition.⁶⁹⁸ On the other hand, in absence of some more precise informations, is not even sure whether the frescoes were actually performed by members of the Parione battalion, as we had seen that the artistic hierarchies behind the Civic Guard's visual rhetorics were much more bound to party dynamics, than those forwarded by the battalions. It should not be forgotten, in facts, that the wide presence of fasces could hardly belong to a phase in which the appraisals of the Civic Guard and that of Pius IX were coexisting. If we look once again to the frescoes, we can in fact recognize that next to the military appraisal of the trophies and to an element like the district's symbol, well rooted in the lay identity of the city, the references to Pius IX are rather exiguous. Beside the small "PIUX IX INSTITVIVA" inscription on the ceiling, we only find a reference in one of the flags in the corners, bearing the pontifical colors and the inscription "*Pio IX*" [41]. This is a long way down from the days of the ephemeral monuments and the rampant days of Neo-guelphism. Although many persistent supporters of the liberal myth of Pius IX remained in their position even after the withdrawal of the April 29 allocution,⁶⁹⁹ the radicalization of the political discourse happened for real and many followed its course. The Colonel Lieutenant of the Parione battalion, Bartolomeo Galletti, was definitely one of these, volunteering in the Veneto campaign as Major of the mobilized corps in the first *Legione Romana*, and eventually acting as military leader during the Roman Republic.⁷⁰⁰ A possibly equivalent process can be noticed by following again the feeble biographical traces left by Pietro Venier, namely one of those bourgeoisie who benefited the most from the social mobilization releasing structural hinderances. His name figures among the donors for war support,⁷⁰¹ but also as one of the first members of the *Circolo Romano* who turned to the *Circolo Popolare*, of which Sterbini will progressively become the leader in the course of 1848.⁷⁰² Also in 1849, the name of Pietro Venier figures as the co-scenographer for the premiere of "*La Battaglia di Legnano*" (libretto by Salvatore Cammarano, music by Giuseppe Verdi), performed at the Argentina Theater on January 27, a week before the Republic's inauguration and eventually remaining

⁶⁹⁸ The names were published throughout four issues of "*Il Contemporaneo*" (37-40), published after by the last days of March 1848.

⁶⁹⁹ G. Martina, *Pio IX (1846-1850)*, Rome 1974, pp.255-256, 273-274.

⁷⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 276-280. On the atmosphere in the city preceding the murder of Pellegrino Rossi see also D. Demarco, *Pio IX e la rivoluzione romana del 1848. Saggio di storia economico-sociale*, Modena 1947, pp. 81-131; G. Quazza, *La Questione romana nel 1848-1849. Da fonti inedite*, Modena, 1947, pp. 19-29.

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testified as one of the utmost “fragments of *Risorgimento*” throughout the Roman Revolution.⁷⁰³ For that play, Venier’s co-scenographer was a Venetian painter under the name of Lorenzo Scarabellotto, or Scarabellotti, again a barely known name.⁷⁰⁴ We know that this worked extensively in Trieste until the 1834, when he moved to Rome, eventually working in the Torlonia palaces on the Via Nomentana and in Piazza Venezia but also figuring among the restorers in the Raphael’s lodges of which Agricola was giving account of in 1842. Could Scarabellotto be also the author - or at least one of them - behind the Civic frescoes in the *Palazzo della Cancelleria*? It is possible. First of all, several evidences points to the fact that his acquaintance with the influential Pietro Venier was consistent. Not only they both grew and worked in the same areas, but they also equally built a career in the theater world based upon an academic education, so not unlikely from Venier’s masters Francesco Bagnara and Giuseppe Borsato, artistic personalities about whom we can at least infer on upon some figurative bases. Hundreds among their sketches for set designs are in fact today conserved between the Fondazione Cini and the Correr Museum in Venice, as also published by Maria Ida Biggi.⁷⁰⁵ Especially in the case of Borsato, the iconographical similarities are striking [45].

Scarabellotto’s catalogue is meek, but at least not as blank as that of Venier: a signed painting, “*Architettura fantastica con sculture e giardini*”, sold on June 2007 by Pandolfini Auction House in Florence,⁷⁰⁶ presents some possible parentage with the Parione frescoes [46]. This “fantastic architecture” is definitely set in Rome, as we can notice from the monument visible through the window which could either be the *Teatro Massimo* or the Coliseum, but also from the Classic marbles, much resemblant of the painted winged figures in the *Cancelleria*, as also of the armors among the trophies. Moreover, the ceiling of the painting’s architecture, with the curved surface effect conveyed via an expert optical distortion achieved by progressively morphing the regular patterns of the decorative diamonds, communicates the same capabilities shown by the draperies in the *Cancelleria* frescoes, which also includes an eminently theatrical detail like that of the big ropes visible to the point of letting the drapery appear like a curtain.

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⁷⁰⁴ Bonagura 1997 reports that he was born in Trieste, although with a question mark; the Civic registers reports him as born in Spinea, near Venice, in “1898” (which should be 1798) whereas Bonagura’s biography says that Scarabellotto was born in 1796.

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Likely, but yet insufficient evidences. Despite being close to Venier and thus possibly to Bartolomeo Galletti's patronage who already engaged the Trieste-born scenographer in August 1847 to work in the *Cancellaria*, Scarabellotto in the end was not even militant in the Parione's battalion, but in the Ponte one. What is instead safely certain is what the artwork tells in regards to his (or their) author's creative tools, and the ends to which these were put at use: an academic language, rendered with a an elitist, Roman technique like the fresco, employed and redistributed to address a very specific and, in the end, controversial reading of the Civic Guard as a political entity. This was not a rare pattern through the Roman social mobilization of 1846-1848. A very similar but possibly even more comprehensive endeavor is in fact traceable within the biography of Ercole Morelli, a painter born in Ancona in 1818, scholar of Tommaso Minardi and ascribed to the Civic Guard as Vice-Captain of the 7th company of the Colonna battalion, which we have known from the previous chapter as being the district that saw the highest count of artists who volunteered for the Veneto campaign.⁷⁰⁷ Morelli was no trend-denier in this: he did not only fought the First War of Independence, but also managed to become Lieutenant Colonel of the second *Legione Romana* and eventually fought on the battlefield during the 1849 siege.⁷⁰⁸ Morelli's military involvement was paralleled by his artistic efforts: throughout the whole Roman Revolution, he had been in fact collaborating with the printing factory owned by Michele Danesi (Civic Guard in the Colonna battalion, born 1804 in Rome, profession "*disegnatore*") a few hundreds meters away from Morelli's residence, in Via del Gambero (Morelli instead living in Via del Pozzetto). Danesi's establishment played a major role among those structures of mediations which conveyed Pius IX's myth inside and outside of Rome, printing newspapers, pamphlets, lithographies (the reproductions of Cicconetti's arch were also issued by his industry), sometimes even falling under censorship during 1846,⁷⁰⁹ eventually being picked as the semi-official printer of the Civic Guard, as personally attested by the same Aldobrandini who in May 1848 was signing a payment of 4.48 *scudi* for 200 copies of the aforementioned "*Vessillo Pontificio*".⁷¹⁰ Under Danesi's enterprise, Morelli co-ventured with the "*disegnatore litografico*" Paolo Guglielmi (Civic Guard in the Colonna battalion, born 1804 in Rome, profession "*pittore*") in order to print lithographies upon the former's drawing and the latter's engraving, and distribute these throughout the peninsula. Already

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⁷⁰⁹ Veca 2015, p. 155.

⁷¹⁰ ASC, "Rendiconti del maggiore Ferdinando Cappello dell'intero anno 1848", tit. XXI, b, 1, f.1

by 1846, the group was authoring an acclaimed image dedicated to the amnesty of which Sandro Morachioli aptly traced the inspirational model in Raphael's frescoes of the "*Stanza di Eliodoro*" in the Vatican Palace.⁷¹¹ [48] The influence of the "Divine Painter" is also clearly recognizable in an image issued in 1848, bearing the inscription "*Benedite, Grand Dio l'Italia*" [49], a crucially meaningful sentence pronounced by Pius IX on February 10 which the Italian nationalistic movement basically interpreted as the authorization for uprising. The image presents a sworded personification of Italy (we recognize it from the curious "wall-hat" which already adorned the head of the "Italy" by Canova within Vittorio Alfieri's funerary monument in S. Croce, Florence)⁷¹² kneeling and vowing at the feet of Pius IX who wields his pastoral stick like a crusade banner, bearing the inscription "*In Hoc Signo Vinces*" [In this sign you will conquer], namely the sentence which was allegedly told to Emperor Constantine I in a dream by Christ himself by the night before the Battle of Ponte Milvio against Licinius which signed his prevail, eventually turning into Christianity's victory when the Emperor proclaimed the freedom of cult in the "Milan edict" of 313.⁷¹³ Whereas Pius IX's is standing and leading to war, on the Holy See is sitting instead the Gospe which, as Ignazio Veca has first noticed, is "shining of its own light" against the Pope, who stares at God in turn.⁷¹⁴ At their sides, we see a flying angel fighting a demon and three figures which are related to Ireland (see the celtic arp) and to the national hero Daniel O'Connell, died on 1847 in Genoa while on its route to meet Pius IX.⁷¹⁵ Finally, up in the clouds, we find God with the four evangelists, personified by an ox, a lion, an eagle and an angel. Now, the implied message at the eve of the 1848 revolutions is actually rather straight forward, literally endorsing Pius IX's myth towards national war. What interests us is the employment of figurative models, and how these are reworked. The God and evangelists group is in particular inspired (again) by a Raphael's painting, "The Vision of Ezekiel", [50] which illustrates the exact biblical tale from which the so-called *Tetramorfo* (the symbolic rendering of the four evangelists) was inspired from, eventually engendering a long standing figurative tradition upon which Morelli had evidently operated several

⁷¹¹ See Morachioli 2013, pp. 185-186.

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⁷¹³ Eusebio Di Cesarea..

⁷¹⁴ Veca 2015, p. 609.

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changes.⁷¹⁶ The Tetraporph is in fact completely rearranged: beside the angel with crossed arms which tepidly refrains Raphael's, the positions of the lion and the ox are inverted. An objection may naturally be that copy engravings are always rendered as mirror counterparts of the image they are restituting, but we already learned that these images were exactly created in order to be printed in first place, so the positions could not possibly be casual; furthermore, God is watching here on our left, towards Pius IX, and towards the same direction is also watching in Raphael's "The Vision of Ezekiel". The transposition didn't occur in a very smooth fashion as part of one of the ox's legs seems missing under the clouds, while the position of its neck is also different. The changes appear to be directed in giving relevance to the lion, upon which in fact God is putting a foot almost like the animal is sustaining him. The same function was instead covered by the eagle in Raphael's picture, namely the personification of St. John, "the doctor of the church" upon whose Gospel are built the theoretical foundations of the Christian doctrine.⁷¹⁷ The Roman God of 1848, is instead resting on the lion, namely the strength of Pius IX's revolution as already identified since the days of Cicconetti's arch as the people, chorally mobilized to achieve "progress". In Morelli's picture, in fact, God is not opening his arms and watching towards the small, worldly Ezekiel in order to bless him, but is instead leading a direction to Pius IX, almost like it was a paradoxical rendering of Delacroix's "Liberty leading the people" [51]. Although the French painting existed as an engraving since at least the 1830,⁷¹⁸ such a connection would need further philological work proofs before being proven. The purpose is simply to point at how crucially evident is the transformation operated upon Raphael's model, and how the "leading" gesture could not possibly be misunderstood. Just like the female figures employed by Giovanni da Udine in his *grottesche* were turned into a trumpeted "angel of war" in the *Cancellaria* frescoes, God's embrace of the adoring Ezekiel has become in Morelli's image a signal for the crusade resting upon the people (he is, not Pius IX). Finally, on his right side, what was the "sustaining" St. John as turned into the a symmetric animal which dangerously resembles the Roman eagle of the SS. Apostles, basically identical to that iconography save for the head's orientation, most likely bent to have it watch towards God like the angel and the other animals.

⁷¹⁶ T. Henry, P. Joannides in "Late Raphael", exhibition catalogue (Museo Nacional del Prado, June 12 - September 16, 2012, Madrid; Musée du Louvre, October 8, 2012 - January 14, 2013, Paris), edited by T. Henry, P. Joannides, Madrid, 2012, pp. 109-117.

⁷¹⁷ Filoramo, Menozzi, I,

⁷¹⁸ Bibliothèque nationale de France, département Estampes et photographie

That Morelli was consciously endorsing Raphael's model seems out of question; less certain are the leading motives behind such operation. We had learned how both the academic education and its related patronage acknowledged much importance to the figurative sources employed by an artist, of whom intellectual carriage also determined the "nobility" of its artworks. Morelli here shows to be no exception: beside Raphael, in his "*Benedite Gran Dio L'Italia*" he was also quoting Classical sculpture in the Irish mother on the left, clearly reminiscent of the "Sleeping Ariadne", [52] a Roman copy from a lost Greek original which definitely stands among the most famous and quoted artworks of the Vatican Galleries, also bought by the same Julius II who put the Roman eagle in the vestibule of the SS. Apostles Church.⁷¹⁹ Morelli's orthodoxies doesn't play here in support of its creative skills, but the diffusion of the previous, similarly derivative engraved produced by the Danesi-Guglielmi-Morelli venture, testifies that as much as evoking the ancient Roman heritage was an effective way of stimulating military involvement, picturing contemporary events through a cultivated figurative grid, was also a successful strategy. Furthermore, even by isolating such "professional" dynamics, remains the evidence for which Morelli's artistic membership in the social mobilization was also paralleled by a substantial military involvement through the Civic Guard and we can't help but feel his delusion within the first words he pronounced after being nominated as Lieutenant Colonel of the first *Legione Romana* by June 28 o after the April 29 allocution and the defeats of Cornuda (May 8-9) and Vicenza (May 23-24):

Militi del 1o Battaglione, compagni e fratelli d'arme

Mi è affidato il comando di questo battaglione, peso soverchio alle mie forze. Non lo ricuso, perché quanto più grave è l'incarico, tanto più è impegnato il cuor del buon cittadino a sopportarlo. Non lo ricuso, perché quantunque la parola comando sia militare, essa non ha senso per me che ho da trattare con una milizia fraterna. Io non conosco che l'ordine, e per mantener questo non v'è d'uopo di comando con voi. Voi mi aiuterete a mantenerlo. Non è il capo-battaglione che comanda coi militi cittadini, ma è l'ordine che comanda a tutti.

Noi siamo presso a muovere di quà per la Capitale. Noi vi ritorniamo senza qualcuno de' nostri Camerata spenti sul campo della gloria. Onore ad essi! — Ma le anime di que' forti ci seguono, e godranno del nostro dignitoso contegno; esulteranno nell'udire fra gli amplessi de' nostri cari, che noi li vendicheremo tornando a conquistare la libertà d'Italia, a vincere la santa causa per la quale patirono essi il glorioso martirio. Vivano nella memoria e nel cuore de' fratelli morti per la redenzione della patria.

Voi avete sofferto assai, voi soffrite ancora. Ma appunto per questo voi avete diritto alla stima de' vostri concittadini dell'Italia e del mondo. Appunto per questo vi basterà per essere amati il dire - io appartengo alla Prima Legione Romana.

⁷¹⁹ http://mv.vatican.va/2_IT/pages/x-Schede/MPCs/MPCs_Sala04_01.html

Udite alcuna maligna e invidiosa voce che usa contro di voi la menzogna ed il sarcasmo? Dispreghiate voi. — Chi è magnanimo sdegna di venir a contesa col bugiardo e col derisore. La nostra ragione è nei fatti, la nostra gloria è da questi, e la storia che li registrerà non potrà essere smentita.

Duro pane vi ha cibato talvolta; ma dolce sarà ricordarlo, perché vi ha fruttato onore, poiché via ha radicato nel cuore il principio di fraternità e l'odio all'individualismo. Non prestate orecchio a ciarle che intendono ammorbare la nostra concordia coll'infame zizania dell'egoismo municipale. Siamo fratelli tutti dall'alpi al mare: io vi sento proclamarlo, e ne godo. Se vi riferiscano che un fratello vi ha offeso, voi rispondete al relatore. - Noi gli perdoniamo, noi accettiamo questa circostanza come una prova della nostra generosa grandezza. Voi dimostratevi miei fratelli cooperando col mantenimento dell'ordine, ed io potrò compromettere me stesso, ma non cessare mai dal sostenere contro chiunque il vostro diritto.

È nostro nemico chi tenta illanguidire con pretesti di falso amor patrio la vigorosa armonia di patria carità, che collega l'uno all'altro cuori italiano. Voi condannereste colui che conculcasse quel santo principio, fonte unico della nostra gloria avvenire. - Ed io seguendo la volontà nostra punirei solo colui che promovendo disordini osasse insidiare ai fratelli, disonorare questo corpo che ha scritto sulla sua divisa. - Onore ed Italia.

Viva l'Italia indipendenza, Viva la legione romana, Viva la memoria de' martiri di Vicenza.

Il Ten. Colonnello Ercole Morelli⁷²⁰

[Militiamen of the 1st battalion, brothers and fellows in arms,

I was entrusted the command of this battalion, a burden too heavy for my strengths. I don't refuse it, for the more it's the task grave, the more a good citizen's heart is willing to bear it. I don't refuse it for inasmuch the word command it's military, it has no sense to me, as I have to deal with a brotherly militia. I know nothing but order, and to keep this with you there is no such need as commanding. You will help to save it. It is not the Chief Commander who commands with the citizen guards, it is rather order that commands everyone.

We are about to move for the Capital. We are getting back without some of our comrades who faded on the battlefield of glory. Honor to them! - But the souls of those strong ones they follow us, and they will rejoice for our dignified conduct; they will rejoice among the embraces of our dear ones by learning that we will avenge them and go back to conquer the freedom of Italy, to win the holy cause for which they had to suffer the holy martire. May they live in the memory and in the hearts [as] our dead brothers who died for the homeland.

You have suffered much, and you still are. But this is also why you are entitled to receive the esteem of your fellow citizens from Italy and the world. Indeed you will be loved only by stating: I belong to the First Roman Legion.

Are you listening to any evil and envious voice that uses lies and sarcasm against you? Despise it. - Who is magnanimous refuses to come down to pacts with the liar and the mocker. Our reason comes from what happened, our glory comes from it, and our history could not be denied.

Hard bread fed you at times; but its recall will be sweet, for it fruited you honor, for it rooted in your hearts the principle of fraternity and hate to individualism. Don't give ear to rumors aimed at making your harmony morbid through the infamous danel of municipal selfishness. We are all brothers from the alps to the sea: I can hear you claiming it, and I'm gratified by it. If someone would tell you that a brother insulted you, you shall answer to the informer. - We would forgive him, we would accept such event as a proof of our generous greatness. You first show yourselves as true brothers by cooperating to safekeeping, and I could eventually compromise myself but never cease to support you against anyone.

It's our enemy it who pretends to use false love for the country to weaken our strong harmony made of patriotic charity, which ties Italian hearts to each other. You shall condemn the one who would

⁷²⁰ Pallade 283, 3 / 7 / 48, p. 3.

deny such holy principle, sole spring of our glorious future. - And by following our will I would punish only it who by promoting disorders would cause any risk to the brothers and dishonor this corp which bears on the uniform the inscription: Honor and Italy.
Hurray for Italian independency, hurray for the Roman legion, hurray for the memory of Vicenza's martyries].

I transcribed here the whole speech in order to underline that not a single word was devoted to Pius IX, to Roman Catholicism or to anything that resembles the leading motives of the pre-war months as were instead clearly present in the “*Benedite Gran Dio L'Italia*” engraving. All Morelli's argument could be entirely taken and contextualized without anomalies in any military speech given by the most popular Italian leaders of the following twenty years: family, honor, fatherland, martyrdom, redemption, are already the leading motives of the Mazzinian civil religion, as well as Garibaldi's public exhortations but also of the “deep images” which Banti traces back to the literature of the *Risorgimento* canon.⁷²¹

As could be not surprising that Morelli's military involvement continued during the Republican months of 1849,⁷²² the break of the unifying myth of Pius IX also implies the end of the social mobilization, as we already quantitatively delineated in the previous chapter. If varying and ultimately unpredictable are the individual motives of a painter volunteering for national war, it seems clear that Morelli has been coherently pursuing a specific political agenda through the whole Revolution among which his artistic efforts appears as a coherent part. Could his endeavor act as a paradigm for all the Roman artists who actively followed the whole 1846-1849 years? Putting ahead some necessary cautions, this is definitely possible. In this sense, it is extraordinary to see what happened to the Roman warlike iconographies once the mobilization was entirely realigned on different track by the Republican phase. The evidence that the wealth of consular fasces in the *Cancelleria* frescoes was somehow “inappropriate”, is given by their lack in any of the official images tied to the Civic Guard. This is visible in an engraving for a kind of receipt certificate for the inscription to the Guard, of which various copies are stored at the Archivio Storico Capitolino [53].⁷²³ We find here the same anthology of military trophies present in the *Cancelleria* frescoes, but with the relevant exception of the fasces. The designer and engraver of this image is the architect Giovanni Montiroli, elected pupil of Luigi Canina, scholar of Giuseppe Valadier and Luigi

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Poletti who will eventually pursue a successful career in Ireland and Great Britain, as, just like Morelli, he also prominently figured among the armed defenders of the city during the siege of 1849.⁷²⁴ Watching things in perspective, one couldn't help to notice in fact that, despite the lack of the fasces, his engraving for the Civic patents was rather unbalanced between the military and the "pontifical" elements, especially at the light of the evidence that these engravings were payed at the end of August 1848, which means that, roughly following the same timing which took Michele Danesi to be paid for the "Pontifical Vessil" prints, these patent could have been delivered no later than June. What remains rather prominent, is instead the Roman eagle, whose value appears to be unaltered by the withdrawal of the "*non semel*" allocution and the failure of the Veneto campaign. All the same, we eventually see the Roman eagle "resurrected" by Pius IX grasping back the fasces and turn again into the symbol of the Republic as introduced by Bondacca in 1799, but this time upon an Italian flag.⁷²⁵ Introduced only three days after the declaration of the Republic with a crowded and enthusiastic celebration which reminisced those for Pius IX, the official symbol of the Roman Republic was endorsed whenever necessary, including the new coinage approved by the Constituent Assembly in March, together with the quintessential Mazzinian motto "*Dio e Popolo*".⁷²⁶ Although the eagle had its wings closed in the coins, the one present upon the elms of the Republican army was instead represented in its consueete form [54]. The eccentric power of the Roman eagle - or at least its belief - proved to retain relevance, together with the need of conceiving cultural instruments under which the *Popolo* was willing to mobilize for *Dio*, united like the fasces.

3.5 - *Visual agency in the mobilization*

It's time to trace a balance on the "involved" part of the artistic scene alongside the social mobilization and its visualization. We have seen how already since the very first public artworks

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produced after Pius IX's election, it is clearly attested that his figure and messages were actively engaged by artists and commissioners who emerged in the public discourse and had the chance to play active roles which couldn't have been possible before. By the time of the Civic Guard's enactment, these same mechanisms and their "visual rhetorics" had reached a further step. Already emerging from Sterbini's chants and Mathey's descriptions, at the eve of July 1847 we find for the first time a monument dedicated to Pius IX adorned with a military element reminiscent of Roman warlike heritage. This proved to be the right string to pick in order to further structure the kind of mixed breed of nationalism and religion already prompted years before by intellectual areas who enjoyed the cultural patriotism of Roman elites, but also the Neo-guelphism of Gioberti. The union between Catholic and Italian primacies, both of which implied a Capital role for Rome with its artistic and iconographic heritage, proved to be an effective mean to involve a largely transversal share of the Roman society in which bourgeoisie and nobles were all side by side and working to redeem their jaded status, individually pursuing whatever object their individual agency was addressing upon that same track. All those who had interests to pursue, had to necessarily believe in the social mobilization and in its cohesion, necessary for Pius IX as well as for moderate and radical political activists. This is evident in the fact that even those like Checchetelli who opposed the employment of cultural motives behind the visual accessories of the Civic Guard, largely supported both the mobilization and war. As religion was a mandatory glue in this, Roman heritage proved to be instead a less stable surface whose deploy the government did apparently nothing to tame. The survival of the frescoes in the *Palazzo della Cancelleria* appears in this sense a substantial evidence: as controversial remained the circumstances of Pellegrino Rossi's murder, the Parione battalion was present and naturally deputed to the defense of the Counsel members, and the failure has been underlined by several voices.⁷²⁷ After his return in Rome by April 1850, Pius IX actively participated to the material mourning of his former Prime Minister by personally contributing to a commemorative monument which took Pietro Tenerani more than fifteen years to complete and eventually ended up in Carrara, where both the sculptor and the politician were born.⁷²⁸ Rossi was even buried in the church of S. Lorenzo in Damaso (his cenotaph was sculpted again by Tenerani), which is incorporated inside the *Cancelleria* complex.⁷²⁹ Within the papers that the Civic Guard secretaries continued to fill at least since the 1852 as the product of the continuing aid they had to

⁷²⁷ Rimandare a prossimo capitolo (o a quello prima?)

⁷²⁸ Grandesso 2003, pp. 178-179

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provide to the French provisional government in the severance of the Republican structures, an operation which also included the dismantling of the Civic Guard quarters, there are documents about all of the battalions' barracks, but not for the Parione one.⁷³⁰ This is a mystery which shall demand some dedicated investigations; in the meanwhile, I propose to safely exclude that the frescoes remained there and unnoticed for all these years.

Turning now to the artists' involvement in the creation of the Civic Guard visual imagery, this appears discontinued and lacking some more specific evidences before addressing a coherent scenario. The paths of Venier and Morelli can be definitely assumed as the product of possibilities opened with the social mobilization, prizing those professionals who demonstrated to better interpret and reinstitute the prevailing political motives. Attempts at emphasizing a common cultural identity in the Roman warlike heritage must be definitely acknowledged to the influence of Pietro Sterbini, at least in its most evident outcomes. In this sense, we can presume that visual arts and their reception definitely played a role in empowering the dramatic dynamics which brought to the "national crusade" in Veneto. In the figurative rearrangements as visible in Morelli's engravings and in the *Cancellaria* fresco at the expense of a "sacred" heritage like that of Raphael and his school, there is not only the leveraging of the artistic capital offered by the "Republic of the Arts", but also the address of a visual patrimony which was widely recognized for its "nobility" and for its christian and national "*Primato*".

The fact that allegorical language was so widely endorsed, it's an opening to interesting questions regarding its reception. We wonder whether these symbols and their reading were only reserved to intellectual elites, or if their comprehension and implications were really part of the cultural "toolkits" of all the social varieties which we had seen reproduced in their respective garments codification throughout the contemporary visual accounts of the social mobilization. These questions, however, probably belongs to another dissertation.

Now that we have addressed the existence and the strategies of a "leading group" within the pre-Republican phases of the Roman Revolution, it's time to understand which part of the artistic scene stood at the peripheries of the social mobilization, and in particular those who refused it or didn't embrace its motives. Once again, religion and nationalistic warfare played determinant roles.

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CHAPTER IV

Exclusions

4.1 - Peripheries of the mobilization

Inasmuch the call for the civic mobilization was so widely and actively answered by consistent strata of population, it would be a mistake to consider this a comprehensive phenomenon. On the contrary, efforts at downsizing consensus toward Pius IX's and the government's activities is a refraining evidence within revisionary perspectives like that of Giuseppe Spada⁷³¹ but also within works in which explicit political ends are totally contingent, like that of Cristoforo Roncalli.⁷³² Although quantifying the diffusion of hostile sentiments against the mobilization may be a daunting and possibly pointless operation, by watching once again at how such developments in the public life of Rome affected the artistic scene we should obtain a fertile point of view for reciprocally understanding transformations in specific groups and society at large. In this sense, the most consistent patterns which I have retrieved throughout the 1846-1848 period are associated with some specific categories within the artistic scene which also necessarily corresponds to different positioning against central power, a determinant index in order to measure the personal investment that goes together with the "Civic" experience.

Compared to the coherence of inclusive processes implied in the mobilization, that of the exclusions is a more varied landscape. Among these, we don't encounter the violent democratic push behind

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the sake of “unity” which, as we have seen, also worked towards a leveling of internal opposition for the greater purpose of preserving Pius IX’s highly successful relationship with his subjects, namely the most precious asset of his government’s ambitions. If therefore even an involved supporter of the mobilization like Giuseppe Checchetelli was happy to abdicate his positions for the sake of “unity” during the *Elmo e Giaccò* debate, it’s easy to imagine that substantial oppositions to the mobilization were not exactly happening under the sunlight. Neither are easily retrievable explicit statements in terms of textual or visual sources which may help us to weight motivations and define orientations. In other words, the smooth overlapping between the citizen and the artists that we can recognize in the actions of an enthusiast Guard’s member like Ercole Morelli could have never occurred with the same coherence for those who did not support those same political developments. Whereas artists like Morelli stole the stage by taking full advantage of the new possibilities opened with the mobilization, these same processes exercised a completely unprecedented push against existing groups within the artistic scene which only very rarely has been expressed in explicit cultural terms. Available textual and visual sources, however, presents paths which can be followed to trace back how the mobilization was elaborated by those who felt or have been excluded from it.

In particular, throughout my investigation I encountered recurring evidences for which the mobilization pushed to a parallel process of exclusion two much different areas of the artistic scene: the “high hierarchies” identified as such by closeness to power, institutional presence and prestige, and the artists falling under the ambiguous label of “nordics”, called *tedeschi* despite being often Dutch, Belgian or Scandinavian, identified as exclusive presences despite being often fully acclimatized in the city since years, stigmatized as opposers to society’s mobilization advocated by Pius IX despite being often catholics. *Tedeschi* and “high hierarchies” embodied some very different dynamics of the scene for several aspects, but the strength of the civic call was such that it polarized the entire dynamics of the city around its axis, so that even antipodal groups found themselves the same at peripheries of the mobilization. In this chapter we will therefore follow a thematic path somehow symmetrical to Chapter IV and try to understand which forms took the avoidance of the mobilization by the “deans” of the artistic scene and by the “bohème” of the *Tedeschi*: were these due to some similar motivations?

4.2.1 - High Hierarchies and their pupils

Having learned about Pius IX's care in opening public participation to the "best" areas of citizenship, it is a natural question that of addressing how the highest hierarchies of the artistic scene coped with this call throughout its phases. Within a more "traditional" field of enquiry, one may start by looking at specific commissions or more in general at related cultural policies, hoping to retrieve a governmental agency that counterbalanced popular endeavors like that undertaken by Ciceruacchio and his companions for Felice Cicconetti's arch. Despite Pius IX's pontificate provided many examples in this sense throughout his whole extension, the 1846-1848 appears instead a rather blank period in terms of artworks performed,⁷³³ most likely due to the intensity of the political agenda. While tracing back the early history of the arts under Pius IX, Giovanna Capitelli retrieved no substantial discontinuity in the periods preceding and following the republican bracket, underlining that Mastai Ferretti had continuously identified Purism as the visual language of choice for what will become an intense artistic agenda throughout his pontificate.⁷³⁴ A prospectively relevant evidence is in fact offered by the Pope's attempts at involving Purism's leaders into decisional processes behind artistic policies already after his first year of pontificate.⁷³⁵ With a Sovereign decree delivered on 17 September 1847, Tommaso Minardi, Friedrich Overbeck

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and Pietro Tenerani were in fact all nominated members of a Commission which had to offer artistic counseling to the Administration of the Apostolic Palaces.⁷³⁶

A main objective behind the mentioned appointment was that of providing projects for the decoration of the Papal palaces on the Quirinale and the Vatican, with Minardi ending up being the most involved member. Following an idea already advanced by Camuccini in 1839,⁷³⁷ Minardi proposed to create a collective funding for local painters to produce copies of Raphael's frescoes in the *Stanze*, commissions which were eventually assigned to artists who received their training from the same Minardi: Antonio Bianchini, Luigi Cochetti, Nicola Consoni, Alessandro Mantovani, Annibale Angelini and Eugenio Agneni.⁷³⁸ From this standpoint, the governmental innovations of Pius IX didn't touch the relationship between power and a network leader like Minardi, in charge of applying his scenic knowledge in order to select the most worthy artists. In fact, letters from pupils begging to receive some governmental attention or patrons trying to advance their *protégé* are several within Minardi's personal archive.⁷³⁹

In truth, the painter's public presence has been rather evasive between the 1846-1848, a fact to which must have contributed some personal hardships like the loss of his brother Rinaldo⁷⁴⁰ and of his pupil and friend the countess Chiara Colonna,⁷⁴¹ which caused him long months of depression and inactivity. A famous misadventure also occurred to Minardi during 1847 is due to the unfortunate circumstances for which the leading conspirer of the "Grand Conjunction" was also called Minardi. Koelman reports that the painter's house was assaulted by a mob looking for the conspirer and pushing the former to leave Rome; but this is a false information, as the artist was already in Frascati since early June, apparently for health reasons.⁷⁴² The news nevertheless ran, and a close companion of Minardi like the Lucchese painter Michele Ridolfi was sending him a open-hearted letter by July 29 testifying the dread nights he passed before discovering that the revered

⁷³⁶ Ovidi, 1847

⁷³⁷ *Per reale vantaggio*....p. 154

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⁷⁴² ASR - Fondo Ovidi

painter was actually not part of the conspiracy.⁷⁴³ Some same concerns were expressed in a less elegant manner by Domenico Sforzolini, one of Minardi's pupils in Umbria where he had maintained some close contacts since the years of his direction of the Fine Art Academy in Perugia.⁷⁴⁴ Just like the vast majority of the letters Minardi received by those years, Sforzolini's missive of September 16, 1847 was more utilitarian than Ridolfi's:

Stim.to Sig. Professore

Se la Guardia Civica è cosa veramente desiderabile quale la caratterizza l'entusiasmo dei popoli, come tutte le cose nuove. Se è vero che il buon Governo ha ordinato un costume stabile, io pure ho schizzato questa prima idea per provare se mi sia avvicinato al loro modo di vedere. Io però amo la pace più che stimolare gli uomini alla guerra, perciò bramerei che tutti fussimo concordi in una vera fratellanza. Per me è veramente un gran peso e una grande distrazione la carica da sergente maggiore. Ella sa quanto raccoglimento richiedono le arti belle. Per la prima volta abbiamo comandato un comandante provvisorio, fantastico irruente. Speriamo che l'invasione tedesca sia un'ipotesi immaginaria, troppo tuttora è la memoria dell'invasione de' barbari distruggitori d'ogni più bel monumento di arte e di scenza [sic], ritornando quei tempi infelici conosciam piangere povere fatiche, povere madri."

Confortiamoci che il destino de' popoli Iddio li ha posti nelle mani de' Sovrani: attendiamo per loro la suprema emanazione.

È da tempo che non ho sue notizie, mi dispiaceva che il suo nome glorioso si appiccicasse con quello del Majnardi sdegno de' popoli.

Quando avremo la sorte di rivederci? Che forse i nostri colli sono indegni di tanto onore? ma il bello si trova ovunque Dio ha dato equilibrio alle cose, nella solitudine si trova la pace, nel magnifico molte volte, la confusione. Ma i grandi ingegni devono istruire la moltitudine. Noi pover lumachelle dentro la nostra buccia ci pascoleremo della poca rugiada campestre.

Sono con questa mia per rinnovare la riconoscenza, l'affezione più sincera come sempre mi protesto

Vostro Aff.zionato Obl.mmo Discepolo

Domenico Sforzolini

Gubbio 16 settembre 1847.

[Esteemed Professor,

⁷⁴³ On Ridolfi see A. P. Torresi, *Ridolfi Michel Angelo*, in "Neo-medicei, restauratori e copisti dell'Ottocento in Toscana. Dizionario biografico", Ferrara 1996, pp. 183-184; B. Nicastro, *Due manoscritti inediti di Michele Ridolfi: sul metodo dell'encausto; sulla tintura dei panni*, Lucca, 2005, pp. 11-40.

if the Civic Guard is truly as desirable as the enthusiasm of the gents characterize it, like all the new things, if it is true that the good Government ordered a stable costume, also I had sketched this first idea in order to prove if I got close to their way of seeing. I love however peace more than moving men to war, therefore I would desire that we all were united in true brotherhood. For me the charge of Major Sergeant it is truly a heavy burden and a distraction. You know the concentration that the fine arts demands. For the first time we had a provisional Commander, a fantastic arrogant. We may hope that the german invasion is an imaginary hypothesis, still fresh is the memory of the invading barbarian destroying every beautiful monument of art and science. By returning those misfortune times, we know poor mothers will be crying.

Let's confort ourselves, that the destiny of the people, God put it in the hands of Sovereigns: we wait for their supreme emanation.

I didn't hear from you since time, I was sorry that your glorious nam was sticked to that Majnardi scorn of the people.

When will we see each other again? That maybe our necks are unworthy of that honor? The beauty is everywhere, God given balance to everything, in solitude one finds peace, in marvel, often confusion. But the greatest ingenuity must teach the multitude. We, poor tiny snails, within our skin, we will graze with that few country dew.

I renovate my gratitude, my sincerest affection, as always I profess myself

Your affectioned obliged Disciple.

Domenico Sforzolini

Gubbio 16 September 1847]

Sforzolini was not a member of the artistic scene of Rome, but his impatience against Civic service is attesting thoughts which must have likely passed the minds of at least some of his Roman colleagues. Minardi didn't have such problems as he was not ascribed to the registers: given his age, he must have been able to avoid the Civic service by simply referring to his notorious and recurring health issues.⁷⁴⁵ Sforzolini proved nevertheless to be a careful follower of the Roman events, and despite the debate for the Civic uniforms was by the half of September already settled, he added in his letter to Minardi some draft models with the hope of intercepting the government's attentions. [fig. 1] The bad timing of Sforzolini's proposal and the apparent evidence that Minardi didn't have any involvement in the political Circles point to the fact that, from Gubbio, he was simply badly informed, or perhaps hoping to leverage his master's influence in the hierarchies of the *Tipografia Camerale*, at the head of which this had in fact managed to put Paolo Mercuri, former student of the S. Michele Institute but also of the same Minardi.⁷⁴⁶ The proposed design, is nevertheless

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interesting as a rare record of what could have looked like an alternative to the Civic Guard visual rhetorics, conceived somewhere in between a Purist-medieval reminiscence (the sword design, in particular) and the weird 16th century *pastiche* of the dolphin-like elm (see the animals in Raphael's "Triumph of Galatea" [1]). In his iconographical and network strategies, but also in his frustration against Civic service, that of Sforzolini should be recognized as an "excluded" reaction to the mobilization.

For individuals like him, the opening of civic society to a modern concept of citizenship did not imply much novelties in terms of access to Papal commissions: artists who regularly relied on gravitating around scenic leaders like Minardi did not perceive, apparently, the mobilization as a way to fulfill their professional needs within the now rising civil society. It is interesting to notice the extent to which the influence of Minardi in regards to the professional and the artistic/stylistic spheres, shaped two entirely different ways at coping with the mobilization by his pupils. In fact, the painter's influence was also rather substantial within the "Civic" artworks by artists like Pietro Gagliardi, Ignazio Tirinelli and Ercole Morelli, all artists which studied with Minardi and absorbed some substantial pictorial influence from him. Given that the lists of Minardi's scholars attempted by De Sanctis and Ovidi presents some hundreds of name,⁷⁴⁷ it is not surprising that it's quite common to encounter their artworks and biographies running across the Roman Revolution, including eminently radical experiences like that of Filippo Vittori, who went from portraying Pius IX in 1847⁷⁴⁸ to depicting the siege of Rome by 1850.[2]

Turning now back to questioning how to contextualize the high hierarchies within the mobilization, where does it stand their peculiar placement alongside the rise of active citizenship? Was there any mutual relationship between their priority within a specific aesthetic climate (for instance, Purism) and the placement within the "best" part of society? And how did this positioning evolved alongside the radicalizations of 1848?

If we are to judge from happenings throughout the first year of the mobilization, an element of "unity" rather than hierarchies exclusiveness is what emerges by the unprecedented success collected by Papal portraiture. From the heavy political implications behind the Pope's bust

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performed and spontaneously financed by Camillo Pistrucci ⁷⁴⁹ or the attempts by an unsuccessful professional like Cherubino Cornienti at riding the hype for Pius IX,⁷⁵⁰ we see many highly established painters and sculptors: Alessandro Capalti, Giuseppe De Fabris, Cincinnato Baruzzi, Alexandre Laborerur, Francesco Podesti and many others.⁷⁵¹ Transversally acclaimed and practiced, the frequency of Pius IX portraiture reflects of course the pope's "totemic" power of those days and also the general consensus around his religious and political image. Even a father of Purism like Pietro Tenerani rushed to finalize a bust of the Pope already by August 22. ⁷⁵² Such enthusiasm, however, didn't left any other artistic elaboration beside this plethora of portraits, and it will be only after the restoration that Tenerani will elevate his position as the premiere sculptor of Pius IX long pontificate.⁷⁵³ Something similar we can say for Minardi, who before fading into the aforementioned private retirement was an early admirer of the Pope. Ovidi tells in fact that he had already known Mastai Ferretti in person before his election and was even asked by the *gonfaloniere* of Faenza to participate as member of a municipal representation with the aim of

*"[...] umiliare al Trono Sovrano i sentimenti di devozione e di sudditanza da cui è penetrata la Faentina città verso la Santa Sede nella fortunatissima occasione, che all'E.mo sig. Cardinal Mastai Ferretti per volere della Divina Provvidenza e per il bene dello Stato e dell'intero mondo cattolico è stato concesso il supremo comando".*⁷⁵⁴

[...] expressing to the Holy Thrones the sentiments of devotion and subjection towards the Holy See of which is the city of Faenza is permeated for the much fortunate occasion, that is Cardinal Mastai Ferretti being bestowed with supreme command for the will of the Divid Providence and for the good of the State and of the whole catholic world].

⁷⁴⁹ Chapter IV, p.

⁷⁵⁰ S. Zatti, *Cherubino Cornienti, un pittore "nato ad essere grandissimo e dalla maledetta sfortuna assassinato"*, in "Cherubino Cornienti pittore (1816-1860)", exhibition catalogue (Castello Visconteo, March 14 - May 5, 1996, Pavia), Vigevano, 1996, pp. 11-14.

⁷⁵¹ Capitelli

⁷⁵² lettera da tenerani a raggi 22 agosto 1946, in Raggi 1880, pp. 276-277

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⁷⁵⁴ Ovidi 1903, p. 162

Substantial evidences about the Purists' deans reactions according to the mobilization's evolution are however not easily retrievable throughout primary and secondary sources, with the latter being often efficient mirrors of controversies rather than facts. Even within much later biographical works about Tenerani or Minardi, we may in fact retrieve partisan arguments which could have fairly belonged to the years of the Roman Revolution and its factions. The reticent narrative criteria adopted within the chapters dedicated to the half of the century, also testifies the protracted and complicated heritage of those days, as also the inevitability of the topic. For instance, still in 1900, Minardi's biographers Francesco De Sanctis was attempting a risky reprisal of the 1848 expedition, calling it "a holy war against the stranger".⁷⁵⁵ Ernesto Ovidi in his "*Minardi e la sua scuola*" describes with details the painter's enthusiasm for Pius IX, while eventually explaining that Minardi left Rome under the Republic only because he had health problems.⁷⁵⁶ Also the chapter about the Roman Revolution contained in Oreste Raggi's work on Tenerani communicates the effortful elaboration undertook by post-unity biographers in order to establish some coherently "national" individual endeavors, whereas the actual facts more often presents trajectories full of fractures and afterthoughts:

"[...] non solo queste lettere comprovano quali opinioni si avesse il Tenerani come uomo politico, ma lo comprovano i pubblici ufficii, ai quali fu chiamato in quei giorni di libertà; lo comprovano i Circoli che lo desideravano e lo ebbero a loro socio; lo comprovano le visite e le dimostrazione di stima e di affetto che gli facevano gli uomini più noti per sentimenti patrii. E trovo fra gli altri che nel 14 di dicembre del 1848 venne a visitarlo nello Studio il generale Giuseppe Garibaldi, quando Garibaldi si rendeva veramente benemerito della libertà e della patria, era a buon diritto nella stima e nell'ammirazione universale.

[(...) not only these letter proves which opinions Tenerani had as a political man, it also proved by his public offices, to which he was summoned in those days of freedom; it is proved by the Circles looking for him and associating him; it is proved by the visits and the demonstrations of esteem and affection that the most notoriously patriotic men homaged him with. And I find among the others that by 14 December 1848, came to pay him a visit in his atelier the general Giuseppe Garibaldi, when Garibaldi was being worthy of freedom and of fatherland, rightful receivers of universal esteem and admiration].

⁷⁵⁵ De Sanctis 1900, p.93.

⁷⁵⁶ Ovidi 1903, p. 56.

With an attitude revealing of the transformations which the artistic scene went through after 1849, by 1880 Raggi was still questioning how happened that “this free citizen who has always been disgusted by ancient and modern tyrannies, and namely the foolish and foul government of the clerics” died surrounded by rumors of being “too devoted to the absolutism and to the temporal government of the Church”.⁷⁵⁷ Even if posed some thirty years before, the doubt could have been legit all the same: as representers of the “premiere” visual climate of the last decades in religious arts, did the Purists automatically joined the mobilization as a mean for liberal-nationalist uplift under the sign of catholic doctrine? Or rather: to which extents the institutionalized hierarchies of the artistic scene took advantage of the “opening” of active society? Curiously, a mean to address an answer to this enigma lies in Raggi’s very same text, in which he claims without doubts that the Purists “fathers” adhered to Neo-guelphism and Gioberti’s ideals.⁷⁵⁸ Tenerani and Minardi were in fact reported to be among the very first, enthusiastic readers of Gioberti’s “*Primato*” in Rome already by 1843, less than a year after its first edition was published.⁷⁵⁹ Even from the words of an outsider of the scene like the Sienese sculptor Giovanni Duprè (in Rome during 1844)⁷⁶⁰, we learn that Minardi, Tenerani and Poletti were habitués of the *soirées* organized by Clementina Carnevali where the Tuscan artist also met Salvatore Betti, Michelangelo Caetani, Massimo D’Azeglio and the same Oreste Raggi.⁷⁶¹ In the end, elective affinities between the two movements were substantial, being both the *Primato* of the Italian civilization and of the early modern Italian art mutually motivated by their proximity with the Holy See.⁷⁶² Tenerani, in particular, was personally nominated and praised by Gioberti in his 1842 treaty “*Del Bello*”⁷⁶³ as the worthy successor of Canova in embodying a paradigmatic model for beauty, understood in an eminently catholic

⁷⁵⁷ Raggi 1880, p. 283.

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⁷⁵⁹ Aggiungere Spalletti su Duprè

⁷⁶⁰ On Duprè’s journey in Rome and his contacts with Purism see E. Spalletti, *Giovanni Duprè*, Milan, 2002, pp. 28-101.

⁷⁶¹ G. Duprè, *Pensieri sull’Arte e ricordi autobiografici*, Florence, 1879 [edition Florence, 1921], pp. 140-141. See also “Il salotto della caricature. Acquerelli di Filippo Caetani 1830-1860”, exhibition catalogue (Museo Napoleonico, November 5, 1999 - February 27, 2000, Rome), edited by G. Gorgone, C. Cannelli, Rome, 1999, pp. 43-48.

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⁷⁶³ Monsagrati in *La Pittura di Storia in Italia*

meaning: “Non v’ha forse uomo talmente cieco alle impressioni della bellezza che non sia commosso dalle Grazie del Canova o dalla Psiche del Tenerani?”.⁷⁶⁴

Neo-guelphism, however, was only a trench of the mobilization. Inasmuch Tenerani gave several proofs of being a real supporter of Pius IX⁷⁶⁵ and a passionate follower of Gioberti, other evidences points to the fact that he was not an advocate of armed involvement or any related thematic. We can desume this within a letter dated December 20, 1847, sent by his brother Giuseppe to Pietro’s pupil Ferrari, who was living in Ferrara:

*[...] “Non voglio terminare senza dirvi ancora qualche notizia della Capitale, che pul dirsi veramente che è la città che dipende da Marte non si parla altro che di gradi nella Milizia, di armi e fucili. Io pure sono stato nella terna di Tenente nella mia compagnia, e mio fratello nella sua sarebbe stato Capitano in Seconda, ma abbiamo creduto miglior cosa di rimanere semplici soldati, senza avere altre responsabilità che quella di fare il semplice servizio”.*⁷⁶⁶

[I don’t want to end without telling you also some news from the Capital, you can truly say that the city depends on Mars by the fact that it’s all talking about ranks in the Militia, of guns and rifles. I was also in the Lieutenant triads for my company, and my brother would have been Vice-Captain in his, but we thought that it would have been better remaining simple soldiers, without having further responsibilities than those of the simple service].

As a further evidence supporting the conclusions drawn in Chapter 2 on the fact that the rank’s elections represented an important moment of bottom-up processing and social progression for otherwise marginal areas, a rich and recognized professional like Pietro Tenerani didn’t feel any need to rally for a chair as Captain or Colonel, an evidence that pairs with Sforzolini’s frustration for Civic service and that thus appears to have been relevant even in areas of the State other than Rome. An insightful further element of reflection lies in Raggi’s description of Sterbini contained in the same biography of Tenerani:

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⁷⁶⁵ 1847 portrait

⁷⁶⁶ Grandesso 2003, p. 244.

[...], *nonsenza ingegno nè senza sapere, facendola da tribuno della plebe, sebbene si atteggiasse da Caio Gracco, aveva piuttosto di Apuleio Saturnino. Egli fu il mal genio di Roma e della libertà in quei giorni, e non credo ingannarmi se dico che si ebbe non ultima parte nella uccisione del Rossi.*

[(...)not without ingenuity and knowledge, playing the part of the plebs' tribune despite acting like Caio Gracco, he resembled more Apuleio Saturnino. He was the foul genius of Rome and the freedom of those days, and I don't believe I am being cheated if I say that he also had a part in Rossi's killing].

Despite being published some thirty years after the Roman Revolution, this portrait perfectly fits within the taxonomical landscape of those days, as also to Tenerani's avoidance of Civic rethorics. The stigmatization of Sterbini's acting like a Roman tribune is fascinatingly resonant with the debate for the classical versus modern garments in portraiture, which was launched by the same Raggi in 1840, and the eventual *Elmo contro Giaccò* debate. Also the accusations of “*populista*” and “*demagogo*” which were indiscriminately cast upon any radical suspect by clerical-oriented newspapers,⁷⁶⁷ were precisely used by Raggi in a polemic pamphlet published in October 1849 to dismiss some accusations related to the siege.⁷⁶⁸ As close as Raggi was to the same Tenerani,⁷⁶⁹ we can therefore safely assume that the sculptor had some rather specific ideas on the mobilization which were built upon an updated knowledge of the leading cultural orientations (Gioberti), a militant interpretation about contemporary facts and people (Sterbini), a reaction to the Civic guard which has been tepid at best, and possibly eventually hostile when his close compatriot Pellegrino Rossi was murdered surrounded by still militants of the Parione battalion.

Such tendency seems to have been rather diffused among the high hierarchies. At least in regards to Tenerani's unexcited response to the Civic call, configuration of socially relevant artists without an according recognition in the Civic ranks appears in fact as paradigmatic: Luigi Poletti, Virginio Vespignani, Filippo Agricola, Alessandro Laboreur, Luigi Fioroni, Antonio Sarti, Tommaso De Vivo, Vincenzo Luccardi, Luigi Bienaimé, Quintiliano Rainmondi were all highly “institutionalized” artists who figured in the Guard's rank as simple militiamen.⁷⁷⁰ At least within

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⁷⁶⁸ <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.hw5xk4;view=1up;seq=9>

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the analytic boundaries of Civic service, several of the major artists of Rome largely welcomed the social mobilization without enthusiasm, possibly even as a burdensome novelty.

The most relevant function which the artistic elites of Rome actually played in the institutional reshuffling of Pius IX's reforms was the inclusion among the members of the Municipal Counsel, opened by November 24, 1847.⁷⁷¹ Not differently from what will eventually happen with the Republican government, the turmoils didn't allow any long-term political activities which we could infer some indications from, but is nevertheless relevant for our discussion to understand under which motivations the status-positioning within the artistic elites was weighted by the time in which these were transferred to the political spheres. The results, I anticipate, are not surprising: given that we have framed the elites at the light of their proximity to power, these were basically all the same translated to the 100 Municipal Counsel seats, of which only 4 were reserved to the clergy, completed by an executive magistrature composed by 1 *Senatore* and 8 *Conservatori*.⁷⁷² All these were personally selected by the Pope from five different clusters of the citizenship, scaled according to census and profession: 64 were "*possidenti*" (divided in three strips by respective wealth) whereas 32 were what we have framed as owners of "intellectual capital" (scientists, literates, shopkeepers and artists).⁷⁷³ The selected artists were 8 (Luigi Canina, Francesco Coghetti, Carlo Finelli, Tommaso Minardi, Francesco Podesti, Pietro Tenerani, Clemente Folchi, Antonio Bianchini, Giuseppe Girometti, this being the only non-Fine artist in the group) of which only 2 (Coghetti and Podesti) featured in the Civic Guard with prominent roles, possibly because they also were the only ones among the groups to be under their 50s.

An illuminating pamphlet issued by "*La Tipografia della Pallade*"⁷⁷⁴ alongside the same Municipal Counsel opening, provided some short biographical resumes of all the Counsel's members aimed at endorsing the inclusion of the counselors within a municipal representation that, in the end, was actually top-down imposed by the government's head. Interestingly, there is an effort at basing such choices between moral remarks and professional achievements:

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⁷⁷² Bocci in RSR, numero speciale Repubblica Romana 1999

⁷⁷³ ASR - Carte Castellani

⁷⁷⁴ "*Album dei cento consiglieri che siedono in Consiglio nel giorno 24 novembre 1847: rappresentanza del municipio di Roma con brevi cenni biografici*". Rome, Tipografia la Pallade, 1847.

COGHETTI PROFESSOR FRANCESCO

Distinto pittore e costumatissimo, cui l'arte ha già fruttato molta fama - Amico tenero del bene, e dell'Italia
 [Distinct and very mannerly painter, whose art had already yield much fame. Tender friend of good and of Italy].

FINELLI prof. CARLO

Scultore celebre. D'indole coraggiosa e italiana. Se in lui gli anni scemarono le forze, non affievolirono però d'un capello la nobiltà dell'animo.
 [Famous sculptor. Of brave and Italian temper. If the years waned his strengths, they did not hurt a hair of his soul's nobility].

FOLCHI Prof. Cav. CLEMENTE

Ingegnere Architetto, che molto operò a commissione del Governo. È altresì membro del Consiglio d'Arte che si distingue singolarmente nell'esame ed approvazione dei progetti d'opere pubbliche.
 [Architect engineer, who much did under commission of the Government. He his also member of the Consiglio d'Arte which exceptionally distinguished itself in the examination and approval of projects for public works].

GIROMETTI Prof. Cav. GIUSEPPE

Abilissimo incisore e coniatore di Medaglie, e come eccellente nell'arte così integerrimo in tutto il corso della sua vita civile. Come amò il bello studio che gli ha fatto onore, così ricercò la virtù per segno della sua cittadinanza.
 [Much skilled engraver and medals coiner, and inasmuch excellent in his art, so upright he was throughout his civil life. As much as he loved his beautiful studies which made him honor, so he seek virtue through the sign of his citizenship].

MINARDI CAV. PROF. TOMMASO

Artista sommo, che al genio naturale congiunge squisita intelligenza; Amico dell'onesto e del vero, molti vantaggi potrebbe recare alla patria se maggior coraggio adoprasse in divulgarlo e sostenerlo.
 [Highest artist, who to his natural genius united an exquisite intelligence; loyal friend of the honest and the true, many advantages he may bring to our homeland if he only adopted more courage in divulging and sustaining this].

PODESTI PROF. FRANCESCO

Rinomato pittore, cui natura fu cortese di vaghissimo colorito. Spirito amoroso per la Patria.
 [Renowned painter, to whom nature was kind for his beautiful coloring. Loving spirit of the homeland].

TENERANI PROF. PIETRO

Scultore sommo, che conosce le vie tutte del bello. Animo semplice, ma forse debole - Amante della verità ma inimico del dispiacere

[Highest sculptor who knows all the roads to the beauty, but perhaps weak. Lover of truth but enemy of displeasure].

“Italianissimo”, *“Spirito amoroso”*, *“Amico tenero del bene”*, they all look like rather “bourgeoise” selection criteria within the “best” part of a civil society. One might expect at least some light references to religious qualities which, in truth, definitely conditioned the artistic inclusions in the Counsel.⁷⁷⁵ In this case, the narrative presented by public press has overshadowed actual political processes by forcing a worldly texture upon actual inclusion criteria which were in the end unaddressed by the press. These emerge clearly if we watch at the list of 56 eligibles *“Accademici e Virtuosi”* for the Counsel, among which stands out the names of non-Italian artists: the Russian painter Fyodor Antonovich Bruni (who actually was absent from Rome since the 1845),⁷⁷⁶ the American sculptor John Gibson, the sculptor and painter Johann Martin von Wagner (the artistic “plenipotentiary” of Ludwig I),⁷⁷⁷ a long-standing Academician and former President of S. Luke like the Spanish sculptor Antonio Solà, the resigning Director of Villa Medici Jean-Victor Schnetz (by 1847 this was Jean Alaux), and finally Friedrich Overbeck. At the light of the national hinderances which we had recognized within the founding act of the *Società Artistica Italiana*, it should not be surprising that non-Italian individuals weren’t desired in the Municipal Counsel and thus excluded.

4.2.2 - “Federico Overbeck”

Before further investigating the foreigners’ exclusions from the mobilization, it’s worth to analyze the case of Friedrich Overbeck. He was no less a Purism forefather than Minardi and Tenerani, but also a pivotal presence within the informal gatherings of foreigners; furthermore, he was

⁷⁷⁵ It is actually demonstrated through the following sentence. So a better phrasing may fill the gap.

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simultaneously a *tedesco* but also a pivotal reference for Catholic arts at the European level.⁷⁷⁸ These characteristics made him an unavoidable but problematic support for the mobilization. An article entitled “*Federico Overbeck*”⁷⁷⁹ was published in eleven parts between January 27 and February 19 on “*La Speranza*”, the newspaper owned by Vincenzo Gioberti’s editor in Rome, Alessandro Natali.⁷⁸⁰ The piece was authored by Camillo Laderchi, a writer born in Bologna but based in Ferrara, who since the 1830s had closed a troubled involvement in the *Carboneria* and turned into a committed loyalist of the Papal government.⁷⁸¹ Laderchi was a first-hour enthusiast of Pius IX and when by spring 1847 he reached Rome having published a pamphlet dedicated to the press edict, it is likely that he intended to expand his network in the city. A recommendation was in fact forwarded by the premiere figure of the Purist movement within the Academy of Venice, Pietro Selvatico, to Tommaso Minardi in order to welcome his companion Laderchi who had authored in 1843 an article about Selvatico’s “On the education of the modern history painter” published on the prestigious “*Rivista Europea*”.⁷⁸² The “*Federico Overbeck*” article, as we learn from the editorial interlude, was first written by Laderchi on June 1847 and it looks like a prelude to the more comprehensive biography on the German painter which the same author published also in Rome by 1848, although not through Natali’s establishment.⁷⁸³ The largest part of the eleven issues of “*Federico Overbeck*” are occupied by the translations of a article by Charles de Montalembert, on the leading intellectuals of French liberal catholicism and member of the parliament since 1837, fervent admirer of Daniel O’Connell but tepid supporter of the July monarchy.⁷⁸⁴ Both Montalembert and Laderchi contributed in rendering a biography of the Viennese painter in which traits of his personalities (humility, devotion, privacy) are contextualized alongside his life choices, and together with the superior religious power of his art. The relationship with institutions followed accordingly: the break with Wien “*fuggendo l’invasione francese, che col far violenza*

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⁷⁷⁹ In Appendice [*da inserire*]

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⁷⁸¹ DBI + Auf Der Heyde

⁷⁸² Direct connections with Laderchi were also underlined by Pietro Selvatico within the same article (see P. Selvatico, *Sull’educazione del pittore storico odierno italiano. Pensieri di Pietro Selvatico*, edited by A. Auf der Heyde, Pisa, 2008, pp. 329-330).

⁷⁸³ C. Laderchi, *Sulla vita e sulle opere di Federico Overbeck*, Rome 1848.

⁷⁸⁴ On Montalembert see also A. Auf der Heyde, *Per “l’avvenire dell’arte in Italia”: Pietro Selvatico e l’estetica applicata alle arti del disegno nel secolo XIX*, Florence, 2013, p. 49.

all'indipendenza germanica, veniva apprestando mezzi efficacissimi peli riacquisto dell'unità nazionale", but also with the Academy, where "*I maestri lo educavano all'imitazione materiale della natura e dell'antichità pagana*", teachings in "*aperta contraddizione coi sentimenti che ingeneravagli la vita del mondo esteriore*".⁷⁸⁵ The theory that Classicism within the Academies was part of some sort of "pagan conspiracy", is endorsed by Montalembert as a proof of Overbeck's artistic and religious pride - indistinguishable from each other - at the moment of his Catholic conversion:

*Rinnegando i principi artistici dell'epoca malamente chiama il risorgimento [Rinascimento], dovette rinnegare anche quelli della sedicente riforma religiosa. Dicono che l'Overbeck, essendosi posto a studiare le immagini della Madonna, verso la quale lo riconduceva continuamente un'indole aperta alle più mistiche ispirazioni del cristianesimo, comprese che per riprodurre la divina bellezza, era d'opo aver il cuore penetrato dalla fede. E divenne cattolico.*⁷⁸⁶

[Betraying the artistic principles of the time badly called as the *Risorgimento* (Renaissance), he also had to betray those of the so-called religious reform. They say that Overbeck, putting himself at studying the images of the Lady, toward which he was constantly drawn because of his nature, open the most mystical inspirations of christianity, he understood that in order to reproduce the divine beauty, a heart pierced by faith was needed. And he became catholic].

The role of biographical myths is here fairly underlined by the mysticism of Overbeck in front of the *Madonne*, which could figure as a caption of the painter's depiction in the seen Von Kaulbachs' programmatic painting of the *Deutscherömer* [3].

Following back the article, the choice of Rome and the experience of the "Nazarene" life disclosed to the painter the realm of the early modern Christian art, internalized by Overbeck to the point where he managed to be, according to Laderchi, the first worthy successor of Beato Angelico, Peugino and the early Raphael. Thereafter, the signer of the article addresses Overbeck as a patrimony of the city, and thus of Christianity:

Non sono solamente le antichità, i magnifici monumenti, o i capo lavori delle arti, che attirano la mia attenzione nelle grandi città. Un altro desiderio sul movermi; altrettanto e

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forse di più. Conoscere gli alti intelletti; udire la loro parola; sapere la loro vita. È un sentimento che forse ha un po' dell'egoistico, supponendo il piacere che si prova esclusivamente nostro, non diviso con le generazioni passate, nè con le avvenire. E nondimeno, e forse anche perciò, è un sentimento naturale, mi pare: testimonio, la folla che ora corre a vedere Pio IX. - Dopo di lui, e in una sfera ben diversa, tra l'altre meraviglie viventi, c'è in Roma un uomo, che in me ha sempre destato ammirazione, e più ancora commozione, tenerezza, affetto, e venerazione al massimo grado Egli è FEDERICO OVERBECK: il pittore cristiano, anzi cattolico per eccellenza.

[Are not only the antiquities, the magnificent monuments, or the art masterpieces which lures my attention in the great cities. Another desire usually moves me; as strong, and perhaps even more. Knowing the intellects; listening to their word; knowing their life. It is maybe a selfish feeling, supposing that such pleasure is only ours, shared not with the previous generations, nor with the future. It is nevertheless, and perhaps exactly for that, a natural feeling, it seems: I can now testify of the crowd that runs to see Pius IX. - After him, and in a rather different sphere, among the other living marvels, there is a man in Rome, who has always awakened admiration in me, and furthermore commotion, tenderness, affection, and veneration at the highest degree. He is FEDERICO OVERBECK: the christian painter, the actual catholic painter par excellence].

The attempts at including Overbeck within various kind of religious, national or stylistic canons was everything but a novelty, and liberal catholicism was in this no exception.⁷⁸⁷ Laderchi's article appears nevertheless very careful in remaining within the primacy of Overbeck as a Catholic painter while never trespassing the "national" line, definitely suggested by the recourse to illustrious artists which instead were often evoked elsewhere in those days in order to aliment the concept of an ecumenical "Italian primacy", also visible in the arts.⁷⁸⁸

The Viennese painter, on his side, will thrive during the years of the Second Restoration, whereas we don't encounter his name during the Roman Revolution beside the refusal of a commission from the Pope himself for an artwork in S. Paul outside the walls (according to Laderchi this will be redirected to Minardi and his pupil Luigi Cochetti)⁷⁸⁹ and some terrified reactions to the 1849 events.⁷⁹⁰ In Laderchi's article, Overbeck was evidently pictured as part of the mobilization tied to the "liberal" Pius IX, but not to the "national" one. He was in fact already well contextualized with the cultural orientations of Gregory XVI as resumable from the painting-manifesto of the Viennese

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⁷⁸⁸ See *La Grandezza degli Italiani*, "L'Italico", n.3.

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⁷⁹⁰ Grewe 1988, Thimann 2005.

painter, the Raphael-inspired “The Triumph of Religion in the Arts”, completed by 1840 and largely described with some special emphasis in Laderchi’s piece. [4] It must be also underlined, that it would not entirely be correct to contextualize Overbeck within the artistic elites as we have described them in the previous chapter, as most of his artworks were sold elsewhere, an aspect that ties him to the “informal” side of the scene but without the communitarian intensity of it. Just like the mentioned painting was commissioned by the *Städlesches Kunstinstitut* in Frankfurt and there delivered after its completion,⁷⁹¹ the same Montalembert confessed that he had mostly known Overbeck’s pieces through engravings, including the “Triumph”, the *cartone* of which was nevertheless exposed for years in his studio, seen and discussed. The same Laderchi lamented that, despite being in Rome, he had faced some hard times at seeing any of his original artworks.

4.3.1 - *Foreigners*

The special status of Friedrich Overbeck and his volunteer absence from the Revolution puts him at the margins of the mobilization, although his artistic achievements and skills made him one of Pius IX closer artists already by 1847 and on until his very late years of activity⁷⁹². The ideological density of Laderchi’s catholic appraisal of the painter and the “use” of his personality, introduces however an issue which we have been only partially addressing, namely the role of those many non-Italian artists throughout the mobilization. It should not take any far-reaching supposition, in fact, to presume that during the most heated phases of the “crusade” against Austria that to any spoken German word in the streets corresponded suspicions. A glaring and largely confirmed happening was for instance the storming of the Austrian embassy by March 21, 1848,⁷⁹³ following the news of

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⁷⁹³ La Pallade 199, 22 / 3 / 1848

revolutionary turmoils in Vienna. In Rome, the mob paraded through the Corso and assaulted the Austrian assembly with a group of “*uomini d’arte*” taking down the huge stone emblem on the top of Palazzo Venezia’s portal, a practice which is also reminiscent of similar episodes happened in the city during 1798 but at the expenses of local aristocracy, rather than a foreign embassy.⁷⁹⁴

Koelman’s diary presents on these issues an “even” treatment, accounting both episodes of nationalistic turmoil as also of transnational brotherhood,⁷⁹⁵ although these are mostly attested by the Dutch artists during the 1849 events. Remaining within the social mobilization, we should take back the evidences emerged from data in the previous chapter, namely the low count of foreign artists present in the Civic Guard.

Despite decreased in comparison to the previous decades, resident foreigners in Rome were still several hundreds and the need to address their political condition alongside the social mobilization is attested by the clause “*inclusi gli esteri regolarmente domiciliati*” present in the second article of the Civic Guard regulations.⁷⁹⁶ What this sentence exactly implied is unclear today as it was for the artists back then, for which this social status spanned by ten years period of residence, according to Johann Michael Wittmer,⁷⁹⁷ five years according to Gustaf Wilhelm Palm’s biographer Gustaf Lindgren,⁷⁹⁸ the marriage of a Roman woman according to Koelman.⁷⁹⁹ The extent to which this matter was important for the leading groups of the mobilization is easily traceable by the evidence for which, within those many complaints for the Civic Guard regulations which were moved to the government,⁸⁰⁰ or publicly via pamphlets,⁸⁰¹ the status of foreigners was never addressed as a problem. The Civic call, instead, seem to have been a troublesome happening for artists like Koelman:

⁷⁹⁴ Racioppi, Caffiero

⁷⁹⁵ Koelman 321-323

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⁷⁹⁷ Salmer 2005,

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⁸⁰⁰ In ASR there is a whole document with questions and answers.

⁸⁰¹ Carlo Matthey published “*Sul regolamento per la Guardia Civica dello Stato : alcune osservazioni di Carlo Matthey a sua eccellenza il signor marchese Nicola Sacripanti tenente-colonnello de civici del rione Ponte*”, published on August 1847 by Alessandro Natali.

*“Coloro, che fino a quel momento, erano rimasti in disparte, perché assolutamente privi d’interesse verso la causa italiana, furono obbligati anch’essi ad occuparsi più attivamente degli avvenimenti [...] In quanto a me, non avevo gran voglia di diventare soldato pontificio e di portare la coccarda bianco-gialla e tanto meno i miei colleghi d’arte olandesi”.*⁸⁰²

[Those that ever since that moment remained aside, as being absolutely deprived of interests toward the Italian cause, were also obliged to take more active part in the happenings. [...] As for me, I never had much interest in become a pontifical soldier and brining the white-yellow cockade, and neither my fellow countrymen artists].

Such attitude must have been rather common, if we are to judge from the recourse to diplomatic intervention for avoiding civic service, an aid which many foreign artists invoked.⁸⁰³ If the absence of Villa Medici’ French guests is in this sense absolutely not surprising,⁸⁰⁴ more intriguing is a collective request of exemption which all the English residents moved the British consular agent, the banker John Freeborn. As soon as it became known, the motion was welcomed with scorn by the public opinion.⁸⁰⁵ Checchetelli in particular, aimed to the English sculptors which, according to him, “*stanno qui a fare fortune da un po*”, a kind of discontent which “*La Pallade*” had already expressed by January 1, criticizing the quantity of English tourist in Campo Marzo which had presumably pushed the Roman to move to the peripheries.⁸⁰⁶ The quarrel went on through the 1848,⁸⁰⁷ when things finally get settled upon the decision of turning the duty of service into a forced oblation. Demands for weapons and uniforms, in fact, were already exceeding adhesions not much differently from what happened when the same measure was introduced for the *Garde National* of 1789 in Paris.⁸⁰⁸ Throughout the whole debate, the respectability of Freeborn remained untouched by the Roman public opinion, and this not for a chance: beside being a member of the *Circolo Romano*,⁸⁰⁹ Freeborn was in fact among the early supporters of the Civic Guard, as attested by

⁸⁰² Koelman 1963, I, p. 120.

⁸⁰³ Liedekerke de Beaufort, Ghisalberti 1948. Koelman says that his brother Jan had to join the Civic Guard, although his name is absent from the lists. (I, 120).

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⁸⁰⁵ *La Pallade*, 99, 104, 110.

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⁸⁰⁷ *Pallade* 138

⁸⁰⁸ See Chapter 1

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diplomatic dispatches that he sent to the British Minister, lord Palmerston.⁸¹⁰ Koelman states in fact the it was the same Freeborn who recalled his fellow countrymen to the need of attending the Civic service as a sign of gratitude towards the hosting government, and the same rationale was adduced by the Dutch consul Liedekerke de Beaufort, who was also Catholic.⁸¹¹ Catholic were also the Polish residents of Rome, of which we already addressed the enthusiast presence in the Civic Guard.⁸¹²

4.3.2 - *The Swedish case*

The relevance of diplomatic presences, and thus of political power, appears to have been a crucial factor for the “Civic” destiny of foreign artists. Not for a chance, the only national group of artists comprehensively ascribed to the Guard was that of a largely Protestant country like Sweden, with which foreign affairs were abruptly interrupted at the eve of the Restoration.⁸¹³ King Karl Johan XIV, royal name of Jean Bernadotte, was in fact the only European sovereign appointed by Napoleon who maintained his place after the Council of Wien, as he had turned against his Emperor before his fall.⁸¹⁴ Before then, Bonaparte considered him the perfect soldier and let him marry his former promised, the sister of Joseph Bonaparte’s wife Bernardine Désirée Clary.⁸¹⁵ Whereas Bernadotte’s predecessor Gustav III Vasa, whose son was overthrown by a military coup, operated several opening towards Catholic confessions (he was also an excited customer by the Roman art

⁸¹⁰ Freeborn to Palmerston, 5 July 1847, in S. Matsumoto-Best, *Britain and the Papacy in the Age of Revolution, 1846-1851*, Woodbridge 2003, p. 43.

⁸¹¹ Koelman

⁸¹² Names of the polish painters

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market),⁸¹⁶ Bernadotte was and remained a known anti-papist, promoting in turn the study and the reprise of ancient Scandinavian culture and mythology in every sector of the arts.⁸¹⁷

Among the Swedish artists resident in Rome, of which is a beautiful record a group of daguerreotypes by the French Philibert Perraud by May 1845 [5],⁸¹⁸ only three were those who met the criteria for the Guard: the landscape painter Gustaf Wilhelm Palm, the genre painter Egron Sellif Lundgren and the corporal of the Colonna Civic battalion, Carl Gustaf Plagemann.

Given this peculiar situation, is worth to watch closer at the Swedes' situation throughout the 1846-1848 biennia, as their attitudes against the mobilization touches a number of dynamics which were common for the majority of foreign artists in Rome. Let's go in order and start from an empirical reflection: the most crucial urban risings during the first year of Pius IX's pontificate occurred on summer: see his election on June 1846, the following announcement of the amnesty and prominently the unfold "Grand Conjury" of July 1847. Those were generally months in which the city did not see many foreign presences. In fact, as counseled by a large share of travel literature of the period including the Murray guides, the tourists were suggested to avoid the season in Rome⁸¹⁹: with the air hot and malarial, it was advised to flee the city for the *Campagna*, and even the most navigated members of the transnational artistic colonies were generally loyal to this advice.⁸²⁰ Palm's "organic" portfolio of drawings stored today at the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm, tells us that he was in Frascati every summer between 1846 and 1848,⁸²¹ while Egron Lundgren left the city on September, explicitly bothered by the population's enthusiasms.⁸²² Specifically about these, the painter gives some ironic depiction of the happenings in his 1870 diary:

"The Romans are delighted with their new pope and like to carry him on their hands. At the very least, they worn his insignia "Pio IX" on pins, and the men bring their vests widespread on the chest ornamented, one side with the Pope's portrait lithographed and the other with his Arms and the keys of heaven. A triumphal

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818 Bengtsson in *Drömmen*,

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arch of painted panels is under construction in the Piazza del Popolo, for they think that Pio Nono is liberal-minded”.

These narrative details are surprisingly accurate: the intrusive abundance of Pius IX’s effigies, the triumphal arch in Piazza del Popolo, even happenings like that of the mob carrying the carrion with their hands which we see depicted in this anonymous engraving [6], all reflects the actual atmosphere of the city in those days like only an interested observer could have noticed. About the visual accountings of Cicconetti’s artwork [7] and of the variegated mob at its feet, which we have identified as an early and faithful document of the cohesive conception of the mobilization’s by its most involved supporters, it is striking to compare these images with the major artwork performed by Lundgren throughout his Roman period,⁸²³ “*Procession at the Feast of Corpus Christi in Rome*” celebration [8], his academical essay sent by autumn 1847 but in development at least since 1845: the crowd here falls more in the “costumes parade” area, rather than the politically informed, somehow “realistic” mobs of Cicconetti’s. Even the Pope himself is actually hard to recognize, as he doesn’t look like either Gregory XVI or Pius IX. This a further evidence about Lundgren actual perspective on the happenings: he is aware, as we have seen, that the reproductions of Pius IX became some sort of popular icons; nevertheless he depicts the pope in a much generic way. As we can see by the oil sketch for the painting [9], the spot for the Pope was actually left blank. This imply that, wether the study was performed in front of the subject or in the studio, resemblance of the Pope’s feature was not supposed to a primary important element of the artwork. In fact, the painting seems to pay debt to an image contained in a famous series of lithographies called “*Un an à Rome et dans environs*” published in Paris by 1823 and based on drawings by the French painter Antoine Jean-Baptiste Thomas [10].⁸²⁴ Lundgren’s picture of 1847 seems to have borrowed much from this piece: even the depicted Pope, who is clearly Leo XII, died in 1829. [11]

The explicit refusal of Pius IX’s iconic power by an artist already during the first year of his pontificate must be definitely contextualized as a very specific strategy in being excluded from the mobilization, given that Lundgren seems to have been frustrated by the happenings both as a Protestant and as a member of the artistic scene. More in general, that of reaching the *Campagna* to avoid urban enthusiasms was the choice for many artists: Palm, Lundgren, Koelman, as also

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Wilhelm Mastrand, Thorald Læssøe, Franz Dreber, Johann Jakob Frey, Adolph Hoeninghaus, they all spent at least of the summer in the countryside.⁸²⁵

Once we turn to the Swedes' Civic service, secondary sources often presented this experience in an unclear and misleading way, apparently unable to operate an effective analytical separation between the implications of the early mobilization and those of the Republican months.⁸²⁶ The unsafe conditions with which the three artists approached the files is testified by the registers under the voice "religion": Palm openly lied by stating that he was "catholic", the more informed Plagemann left the space blank, whereas Lundgren attempted the safest road by declaring himself simply "*Cristiano*". An element of distinction, however, emerges alongside the registration date of the enrollment: whereas Plagemann was already serving since the earliest days (13th July 1847), Palm and Lundgren were instead ascribed only during 1848 (respectively February 10 and April 13), meaning that they were reserves and that they may only have done a few guards in the period in order to substitute someone else. Plagemann's long standing presence in the city (he was in Rome since the 1833)⁸²⁷, seems to have resulted instead in some deeper relations with the Romans, as it is strongly suggested by the relevant hierarchic position he had achieved in the Civic Guard. Already by October 1847, he was in fact elected Corporal in the first company of Colonna district battalion. The outmost reason of interest behind this happening lies in the fact that, whereas the highest ranks in the Civic Guard were top-down imposed by the government, the lowest were instead elected by the Guards themselves. This confirms what has been often suggested, namely that in the years Plagemann had reached a substantial social recognition in Rome. From a brief self-biographic sketch which is also stored today at the Kungliga Akademien för de Fria Konsterna in Stockholm, we learn that one of the main motives behind his armed involvement was that of "joining his friends".⁸²⁸ At the light of the documental findings, this a substantial statement, as it implies that joining Civic service for Plagemann meant an act of loyalty towards the actual local community, thus some larger concept than the artistic or national colonies. This same characteristic approach, I have retrieved in a commemorative biographic article about the American sculptor Thomas Crawford, another long standing member of the local artistic scene. Once asked why he did join with enthusiasm the Civic ranks, Crawford stated that he felt obliged because of loyalty towards his

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⁸²⁶ Lindgren, Asplund, Lindwall, Bull.

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⁸²⁸ KGA

local friends, so absolutely not because of actively supporting the idea of the national and liberal Pope, being him Protestant but also wealthy and diplomatically protected enough not to feel any pressure of hiding his religion like Plagemann did.⁸²⁹

As we will see in the next chapter, the eminently lay basis of their civil conception helped Plagemann and Crawford in shaping a Civic experience which had elements of continuity throughout the whole Roman Revolution, a rather uncommon trajectory for artists enrolled in the Guard.

14.3.3 - *The last Cervarofesten*

Going back to the larger “scenic” picture, it is quite safe to state that together with the social mobilization, raised were also cultural barriers that didn’t affect the world of artists before. A salient record, is in this sense the grave unrest with which for the first time was greeted the *Cervarofesten* on 1847. The *Carnevale dei Tedeschi* was usually celebrated a few days after the “Birth of Rome” of April 21, a feast that actually wasn’t object of much participation during the previous decades.⁸³⁰ That year, instead, the event was celebrated with enthusiasm and political connotations, as we had learned [17], an atmosphere which did not match the usual tolerance and curiosity that accompanied *Cervarofesten* and its mockery of Roman traditions. A pamphlet, in fact, was apparently circulating during the “Birth of Rome”, containing harsh critics of the inappropriate artistic celebration and the embarrassment which “*la Patria subiva da simili irriguardosi trattenimenti*” [the homeland suffered

⁸²⁹ T. Hicks, *Thomas Crawford*: A Euology, in “The Atlantic Monthly”, 24-141 (July, 1868), p. 50. The fact is also confirmed by Margaret Fuller (Memoirs of Margaret Fuller Ossoli, edited by J. F. Clarke, R. W. Emerson, and W. H. Canning (London 1852), III, pp. 169-170.

from such ignominious entertainments].⁸³¹ Koelman's diary offers a detailed narration of the 1847 celebration, although possibly embellished and inexplicably referring to the year 1848 (but again, the feast is that of 1847).⁸³² The account is by far the most evocative and complete description of the feast that we have, detailing the costumes, the games, the roles and topical moments like the divination of the sybil, which that year sentenced that:

*“finché la progenie di Quirino si trovava in lutto e mestizia, il genio dell'arte non avrebbe potuto spiegare le ali, ma adesso che stava sorgendo una nuova aurora, anche l'arte avrebbe deposto le catene che l'inceppavano, per innalzarsi come l'aquila fino a raggiungere l'antico splendore.”*⁸³³

[Until the progenies of Quirino will remain in mourning and melancholy, the genius of art won't be spread its wings, but now that a new dawn is rising, also the arts will depose the chains that restrained it, to rise like the eagle up to reach the ancient splendor].

A set of familiar concepts for us at this point, sufficiently denotative in regards to the idea that Koelman had about expectation that Roman artists more directly involved in the social mobilization were thinking during those days. In his much involved perception of the artistic scene, he arrives to the point of “depicting” the presence at the feast of Tommaso Minardi, Peter von Cornelius,⁸³⁴ Friedrich Overbeck, Pietro Tenerani, Francesco Podesti, Nicola Consoni, “*i corifei dei pittori Romani*”,⁸³⁵ of whose habitual attendance at the *Carnevale dei Tedeschi* it not attested elsewhere, although definitely a possibility. It must be said, nevertheless, that a no less prejudicial but generally accurate chronicler like Nicola Roncalli, coldly attested:

⁸³¹ *La Pallade*, April 30, 1846; *Spada*, I, p. 208; Nasto 1992, p. 328.

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⁸³³ At the end of the celebrations, Koelman accounts that the mobilization for the Veneto campaign had suddenly started, but that happened on March 26, whereas the *Cervarofesten* recurred on April 29; but even on this, Koelman says that it was April 27 (I, 133).

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⁸³⁵ I, 141.

“ 29 di cadente, solita festa dei tedeschi a Cerbaro per solennizzare il Natale di Roma. “In quest’anno poco concorso specialmente nel mezzo ceto e basso popolo”; eccone il motivo”.⁸³⁶

[29 of the current month, usual feast of the Germans at Cerbaro to solemnize the Birth of Roma. “This year low was the attendance especially for the middle and the low census”; here is the reason”].

The following year, in fact, there wasn’t any *Cervarofesten*: that of 1847 will remain the last iteration for years, and even when it will re-enacted by the 1860s this would be a completely different, nostalgic event.⁸³⁷ By 1848, in particular, there also was no regular *Carnevale Romano*, given the tensions which pushed “*La Pallade*” to dedicate an article to the issue named “*Cannoni, non maschere*” [cannons, not masks].⁸³⁸ On the same year and the one before, the in-charge president of the *Cervarofesten* organization and of the *Società di Ponte Molle* was the Leipzig-born watercolorist Karl Friedrich Werner, former student of the Munich Academy under the Nazarene Julius Schnorr Carolsfeld ⁸³⁹(his was also the voice of the Sybil in the Cervaro caves, according to Koelman).⁸⁴⁰ Given that Koelman strictly avoids to talk about the censure of the feast, we can’t say much about how this fact was received. Nevertheless, it comes in aid a very interesting 1848 watercolor part of two pieces which were sold on the private market and exposed during the *Maestà di Roma* exhibition in 2003.[12] The “anthologies” of costumes were traditionally exaggerated in quantity and varieties by painters in the depiction of Carnival scenes, upon which a painter like Ippolito Caffi elaborated dozens of highly sought-after variations and copies.⁸⁴¹ Werner’s picture doesn’t look like a very different scoped artwork in this sense, as it is suggested by the insertion of a clearly recognizable and, after all, not strictly necessary narrative element like Villa Medici. Nevertheless, certain details within the mob, at the light of the 1848 events, appears somehow bittersweet and possibly even sarcastic, as totally out of contexts are the Civic uniforms, perfectly

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⁸³⁷ Zanrgarini Grassi 1989.

⁸³⁸ Pallade, 22 gennaio 1848.

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⁸⁴⁰ .I, 133.

⁸⁴¹ M. E. Tittoni, *Caffi e l’ambiente romano della prima metà del XIX secolo*, in “Caffi. Luci del Mediterraneo”, exhibition catalogue (Palazzo Crepadona, October 1, 2005 - January 22, 2006, Belluno; Museo di Roma - Palazzo Braschi, February 15 - May 2, 2002, Rome), edited by A. Scarpa, Geneve-Milan, 2005, pp. 87-92.

described in their garments, the elm and the sword like in Tirinelli's painting. In the same space, appears together a Civic Guard, a *Dragone Pontificio* on the horse, a bearded man with the *quattr'acque* hat, and a masked man holding a book on one hand and on the other an undefinable object of which the bearing and the form dangerously remember that of the fasces.[13] Finally, on the center left there is a woman (the only masked one present) with the so-called "Phrygian hat", the foremost symbol of modern Republics since 1789,⁸⁴² of which the profile directly recalls the codification of the *Marianne* as Delacroix was also quoting in his *La Liberté*.⁸⁴³ That Werner did not know what the most evident symbols of the Civic Guard looked like is of course impossible: as a long standing member of the scene (and thus also a long standing inhabitant of Rome), Werner was immediately ascribed to the Monti battalion since the very early days.⁸⁴⁴ All the same, it looks so much unlikely that this watercolor, performed during the same year in which both the actual Roman carnival and also the *Cervarofesten* were aborted for the first time since decades, does not implicate also a political vision, or at least a reflection of a political climate under which the "informal" side of the artistic scene was getting marginalized in its identity and peculiarities.

4.3.4 - Staring at pifferari

We understood that religion bounds, and consequently the liberal and national mythification of Pius IX, must have functioned as a substantial hinderance against foreign artists for the inclusion in the mobilization. An active prevarication like in the case of the *Società Artistica Italiana*, religious distance was also a consequence of extra-artistic processes like those which is possible to recognize in the Holy See's struggle against Protestantism, as also in the stigmatization of *tedeschi* which was in truth specifically aimed at the Austrian enemy on the battlefield and motivating the crusade

⁸⁴² Gombrich 1999.

⁸⁴³ M. Agulhon, *Marianne au combat. L'imagerie et la symbolique républicaines de 1789 à 1880*, Paris, 1979; for a more comprehensive and updated perspective on the matter see "La République et ses symboles. Un territoire de signes", edited by G. Monnier, Paris, 2014.

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climate of 1848. Even for those who didn't fall within such categories, Civic service and the overall heated and unsafe climate of those months exercised a limitation in the fruition of scenic assets which were crucially important in order to determine the positive circumstances of practicing the artistic profession in Rome, like the lack of distractions and the collective sympathy of which events like the *Cervarofesten* were cardinal pillars. Given how often the cheaper cost of life was praised by foreign artists in Rome,⁸⁴⁵ the disastrous financial crisis which prolonged between 1847 and 1849 must have also played a relevant part.

In terms of active statements, however, this excluded fringe doesn't seem to have been as loquacious as the mobilization's advocates. One is left wondering if these artists had any more "substantial" perspective about the events, or rather if there's any textual or visual evidence which can offer materials for investigations in that direction. In order to address this lack, I present here a very special oil painting which has recently emerged from the private market unfinished, anonymous and undated.[14]

The medium-sized canvas presents a group of music players between a mother and child on the left, apparently busy in devotion practices, with an elegant man sitting on the right and watching the scene. The rather generic setting is specified by the Colosseum in the foreground, implying that the scene is set in the Imperial fora, possibly around the area of Santa Maria Romana and Santa Maria Antiqua. The players are the so called *pifferari*, one of those characteristic presences within the streets of Rome which amused painters and motivated their iconographic inclusion in plenties of genre artworks.⁸⁴⁶ The religious connotation is here reminded by the drop of the players hats as a pious form of devotion, further underlined by the woman wearing a traditional popular costume with a child praying in front of what we can assume as a devotional niche, despite the evident damage upon the painting's surface. Such happenings were traditionally called *novene*, performed in front of a votive icon (usually a *Madonna*) in the streets and enduring for days.⁸⁴⁷ A traditional features of christmas times, the *pifferari* used to come in Rome from the Abruzzo mountains on the East in the hope of finding a chance to meet audiences and collect acts of charity.⁸⁴⁸ Despite the unavoidable familiarity associated with such ordinary presences in paintings, details seems to be much accurate: the older member of the group playing the pipes or *zampogna*, the younger ones

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⁸⁴⁶ Bonfait

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⁸⁴⁸ After 1800, authorization was needed

alternating singing and the small flutes called *cannamele*, the philologically exact depiction of the clothes;⁸⁴⁹ all details whose inclusion must have been the product of careful direct observations or of an acknowledged possession of the “Roman genre”⁸⁵⁰ typical features.

Whereas the *pifferari* and the praying mother and child are part of a rather coherent group, the distinct man on the right appears as a diverse entity, narratively excluded by the column, the step he his sitting upon and by a mild shadow from which he stares, apparently unseen, at the performance. His same characterization remarks a distanced attitude through accessorial features such as the hat, the walking stick and the newspaper. Once seen in detail [15], the paper is detailed with readable informations telling that the man is holding an issue of a true existing 1848 Roman newspaper called “*Il Cassandrino*”, specifically the “*ANNO I, SABATO 19, N.21*” issue. Once confronted with the original newspaper, the painted version appears as a faithful depiction, made exception by the heading’s contraction within the already small canvas spot. Given how specific was the painter in contextualizing the paper’s detail, is worth to understand what kind of newspaper the “Cassandrino” was before questioning the purpose of such inclusion.

With its biting and shrewd perspective, the Cassandrino released its first issue during July 1848 across the days of the Veneto volunteers comeback in the city, the heated months in which the cohesive phases of the mobilization started to crumble between the Pope’s turnaround and the radicalization of parties. Somehow a consequence of those days’ tensions, the city press started to feature a stream of satirical newspapers that will eventually feature the most famous “*Don Pirlone*”, directed by Michelangelo Pinto.⁸⁵¹ Whereas this was the organon of a specific moderate but belligerent opinion area, Cassandrino was since its beginnings an eminently “*nero*”, “*sanfedista*”, “*retrogrado*” paper, in the words of “*La Pallade*”,⁸⁵² who against it published incendiary articles during summer 1848. Just like in Checchetelli’s paper, Cassandrino’s attitude was synthesized by a sort of newspaper’s personification that occupied the header in every issue: the 18th century-reminiscent puppet protecting himself from accusations with an umbrella, was in fact a paradigmatic presence in marionette’s plays, embodying a decaying nobleman loyal and pious towards his family, often cheated because of the same reasons.⁸⁵³

⁸⁴⁹ La Stella 1982

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⁸⁵² “*La Pallade*”, n. 340, 1848, p.3.

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Radical in its conservative approach, Cassandrino embodied since the beginning an unprecedented presence on the revolution's public scene as an active propagator of anti-nationalistic propositions, explicitly offensive against the military involved part of the mobilization but more in general against any proposition attached to ideas of progress, liberalism or democracy.⁸⁵⁴ The extent to which such approaches were tolerated in those days may be easily measured by the murder of Cassandrino's principal editor, the abbey Francesco Ximenes, after less than a month from the journal's inauguration (July 26, 1848).⁸⁵⁵ The paper however survived: before floating towards an unclear position which the same succeeding editor will define as "*democrazia cristiana*"⁸⁵⁶, Cassandrino endured in its aggressively reactionary attitude as we can recognize also in the issue which our sitting gentleman holds in the *pifferari* painting. The last two pages in particular, presents an article called "*DIALOGO FRA CASSANDRINO E LA COMARE VERONICA*" to which the artists wanted to specifically refer to. Confronting again the painted and the actual first page, in fact, a substantial difference emerges with the editorial's title: whereas the fictional version is entitled "DIALOGO tra...", the actual one is "SOLILOQUIO fra' CASSANDRINO E CASSANDRINO", meaning that the painter had explicitly transformed that first page to make the "*Dialogo*" the hermeneutical key of the artwork.

The article is a piece of theater dialogue between Cassandrino and a certain Comare Veronica, also a recurring figure of the marionette's plays, usually embodying a forceful and hard working mother who has to fill with her fatigue for the misfortunes of her family⁸⁵⁷ [*this will end up in the Appendix*]:

Cass: Oh chi vedo! e che vuol dire da queste parti?

Comm: Vi dirò, Cassandrino, era del tempo che avevo stabilito di venirvi a trovare per congratularmi con voi della cura che vi prendete nel vostro giornaleto di dir delle verità a vantaggio di noi povere genti; ma non avendo alcuno che mi stasse attento alla creatura finché era malata, ho aspettato che si rimettesse per

⁸⁵⁴ See "*I tre fiaschi*" on issue 9, 1848, pp. 1,2

⁸⁵⁵ Spada, I, p. 327.

⁸⁵⁶ Majolo Molinari, p. 204

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portarmelo, ed eccolo.....

Cass: Chi Menicuccio? Oh carino, che ha avuto povero figlio?

Comm: Mette i denti canini, e capite...

Cas: capisco purtroppo; sono cose tanto comuni...oh...mi rallegro davvero, fate un bell'allievo

Comm: poverello è sciupato

Cas: Figuratevi Mastro Peppe...la contentezza...eh!

Com: Oh, compare mio, state quieto

Cas: Ch'è stato? forse qualche disgrazia...

Com: E che disgrazia! Bisogna proprio dire che chi non ha malanni suoi, ne va in cerca.

Cas: Ma parlate, non mi fate stare così agitato

Com: E appunto per parlare di Peppe sono venuta. Ma per carità sapete che non sappia niente....sarebbe una casa d'inferno, direbbe subito : vedete che belle mogli, vanno screditando i mariti, e poi con chi? con quelli che sono i migliori amici....che possono all'occorrenza....Basta; mi raccomando. Dunque sappiate....Sta zitto Menicuccio mio....già il compare permette, gli do un sorso di latte per quietarlo.

Cas: fate pure

Com: Sappiate adunque che Peppe mio è divenuto poco di buono....daccché è civico non se ne raccapezza più affatto. Ogni tanto la guardia, la manovra, la passeggiata, il Te Deo, la Messa da morto, per cui io sono condannata per lo più a starmene in casa sola, ancora quel boccone di Festa; e poi quando sia in casa non ti risponde mai a tono, sempre a pulire il fucile, la dagha, l'elmo, a scopettarsi l'uniforme, i pantaloni, e poi la sposa....e poco o niente lavora più.

Cas: Oh questo è male; ma nel resto, commare mia, avete torto. E come vorreste opporvi alla smania di vostro marito di fare, quello che oggi fan tutti? Non sapete che la Civica è un'istituzione santissima, ch'essa è destinata dal Sovrano a mantenere l'ordine e la quiete interna del Paese, ad assicurare le proprietà e le sostanze de' cittadini, per cui se Peppe vostro è zelante nel disimpegno de' suoi doveri, voi dovrete esserne contenta, e portarne vanto sulle vostre vicine.

Com: Sì ma quando non vi è da mangiare, non si trova chi ce ne porti, ed io da un'anno circa a questa parte sto tutto il giorno al telaro a schiattare l'anima mia per campare; quandocché prima, che mi prendevo qualche ora di spasso, avevamo sempre qualche piastra riposta.

Cas: ebbene tutti dobbiamo faticare, vostro marito per la patria, voi per esso ognuno per l'altro insomma, secondo i diversi obblighi e doveri.

Com: Sia pur come dite, perché già non mi è mai rinscresciuto il lavoro; ma ciò non basta. Peppe da qualche tempo in qua non è più lui; prima non si parlava, in casa nostra che della cucchiara, della pianza, dello schifo, della calce della pozzolana; ed ora niente di tutto questo, indipendenza, libertà, Carl'Alberto, Mantova, Peschiera...

Cas: tanto meglio. È segno che vostro marito si va istruendo e cammina col secolo: sta bene che si conservi il mastro muratore com'è nato: ma non è men vero che con queste nuove cognizioni potrà addivenire una prima cucchiara, e poi anche Capo Mastro, perché già saprete che per sollevarsi al di sopra della sua condizione bisogna saper presentarsi alle case principesche; e star lì come muratori, pregiudica. Volete mettere quando

un Mastro conosce come stanno gli affari del mondo, altra stima, altra considerazione....

Com: Tutto questo ancora potrà essere; ma ditemi compare mio, perché Pepe divento Capo Mastro ci sarà tempo assai?

Cas: Secondo le circostanze; una protezione di un Deputato; una commendatizia di un Ministro...e poi sarà conosciuto. M'immaginavo avrà compagni....amici...

Com: Così non fosse. Ne ha tanti, che son troppi. Figuratevi che in ogni riunione popolare esso è il primo. Quando senza saper niente ad un tratto sento un fischio sotto la finestra, e Peppe spicca un salto, e via. Mi affaccio, e veggo altri otto o dieci che l'attorniano, e in un momento è sparito. Quando torna, ch'è sempre ad ora avanzata, gli domando dove sei stato? ed esso mi risponde sempre: Pel corso, per la guerra, per l'armamento e giorni sono mi dette ad intendere ch'era stato dal Ministro di Francia.

Cass.: Povero donna vi compatisco, voi vi trovate da qualche tempo in un nuovo mondo, ed esservi dovuta togliere dalle abitudini antiche vi da afflizione. Ma che volete tutti presso a poco navighiamo nelle stesse acque !!!

Comm.: Che brutt'acque compare mio, che brutt'acque. Io anzi era venuta aregarvi se così... alla lontana... voleste dire.... qualche cosa a Peppe, non perché si dimetta da civico, e neppur lasci d'istruirsi giacché voi credete che da ciò deriva un bene alla patria e può migliorar la sua condizione... ma almeno a non lasciarmi sola di notte; a non frequentar tanto l'osterie, ad attendere al lavoro, a non ubbriacarsi, a non tornare in casa senza un baiocco, e poi...ma è meglio che taccia.

Cass: Ho capito. A non bastonarvi....

Com: Sì; ma non sempre sapete: successe al più lungo martedì il giorno della Madonna...si alzò dopo pranzo e scese giù all'osteria vicina, e con molti compagni si misa a giocare a morra. Io non dissi nulla sperando sempre che tornasse su presto; perché nelle feste di precetto le osterie prima si chiudevano; ma rimasi ingannata perché oggi per colmo di disgrazia di noi povere mogli i caffè le osterie i ridotti non si chiudono più ne mattina ne giorno. allora vi dico la verità divenni una furia entrai dentro e detti una buona ingiuriatura all'oste, e ciò fu cause che Peppe mi bastonasse.

Cass: non proseguite di più perché mi stato proprio sul cuore. Buon Dio, mentre i Protestanti in Inghilterra osservano con tanta edificazione le feste, noi nella Capitale del mondo cattolico, non abbiamo più sacre neppure le ore degli uffici divini! Commare vi lascio, perché ho un appuntamento; io vi prometto di far qualche cosa; ma non tutto, perché le opinioni non vanno assalite di fronte. Intanto armatevi di pazienza, e raccomandiamoci al cielo, che ci dia giorni più sereni e tranquilli. Un bacio al pupo.

Com: Addio Cassandrino

Cass: Addio

[Cassandrino: Oh my, who do I see! And what you say here?

Commare: I'll tell you, Cassandrino, I settled to come and visit you since long in order to give you my congratulations for the care you take in you little journal for telling the truth in advantage of us poor gents; but not having anyone who could watch over my little creature as long as he was sick, I waited until he resumed and bring him, so here he is...

Cass.: Who? Menicuccio? Oh sweetly, what he had the poor son?

Comm.: He's teething, and you know...

Cass.: I know unfortunately; these are things so common...oh...I rejoice indeed, you're raising a beautiful pupil.

Comm.: Poor thing, he's worn

Cass.: Imagine Mastro Peppe...happiness...eh!

Comm.: Oh chum, be quiet.

Cass.: What was it? A disgrace perhaps...

Comm.: And what a disgrace! One should truly say that he who has no misfortune goes looking for any.

Cass.: But speak, don't leave this troubled.

Comm.: And indeed to talk about Peppe I came. But please let it be that he knows nothing of this... that would be hell's house. He'd say: see the nice wife, who goes discrediting their husbands, and with who then? with those who are the better friends... that if necessary they may.... enough; I recommend you. So know this...Shut up Menicuccio of mine...since the chum allows, I give him sip of milk to quiet him.

Cass.: help yourself.

Comm.: So know then, that my Peppe has become a crook...since he is Civic he can't himself a way out. Every once in a while the guard, the maneuver, the walk, the *Te Deo*, the dead's Mass, therefore I am mostly confined at home alone, and that's all; and then when he's at home he never answers good, always at cleaning the rifle, the dagger, at brooming the uniform, the trousers, and then the bride...and he works little more than nothing.

Cass.: Oh this is bad; but for the rest, my friend, you are wrong. And how would you oppose to your husband's frenzy to do what today everyone does? Don't you know that the Civic [Guard] is a much blessed institution, that it's destined by the Sovereign to maintain quiet and order in the Country, to secure the property and the substance of the citizens, so if your Peppe is zealous in his duties, you should happy about it, and wear pride over your neighbors.

Comm. : Yes but when there's nothing to eat, there's no one would bring some, and it has been a year since I stand bursting at the loom for a living; whereas before, I used to take a few hours of entertainment, we always some put away plates.

Cass.: Well we all have to sweat, your husband for the homeland, you for him and both for the other, in short, according to you respective obligations and duties.

Comm.: So be it, since I really never felt sorry because of work; but there is more. Since some times Peppe is not who he used to be; once in our house there's wasn't a speech but for those on trowels, chisels, vaults, pozzolan; and now none of those, independence, freedom Charles Albert, Mantua, Peschiera....

Cass.: Better off so. It's a sign that you husband is getting educated and walks with the century: it's fine that he remains the master carpenter he was born; but no less trues is that with such new knowledge he may become a first trowel and then even Master builder, for you know that to uplift above one own's condition one should also introduce himself to the princely houses; and being there like carpenters, it jeopardizes. Can you figure out when a craftsman knows the world's business, a different esteem, a different consideration...

Comm.: All this may still happen; but tell my friend, for Peppe to become Master builder would it take much time still?

Cass.: It depends on circumstances; a Deputy's protection, an assignment from a Minister...and then he'll be known. I'd imagine he has companions...friends...

Comm.: If only wasn't. He had so many that their are too much. Just think that at every meeting he his the first. Out of the blue I'd hear a whistle coming from out of the window, and Peppe jump up, and go. I lean out, and see other eight of ten surrounding him, and in a moment he's gone. When he come back, which is always late at night, I ask him "where have you been"? and he always answers "by the Corso, for the war, for the arming", and days ago I'd let me intend that he had been at the Minister of France.

Cass.: Poor woman I pity thee, since some times you find yourself in a new world, and stripping yourself of old habits must have given you afflictions. Alas, we all sail the same waters!!!

Comm.: How bad are these waters my friend, how bad. I came in fact to pray you to...kind of...if you'd tell... something to Peppe, not for have him resign from the Civic, a neither to drop his education since you think that from that would come good for the homeland and also improve his condition... but at least to have him leave me not alone at night; to stop attending the tavern, to attend work, to not get drunk, to not come home without a *bajocco*, and then...but it's better if I shut.

Cass.: Understood. To not give you beatings.

Comm.: Yes, but not always you know: it happened on Tuesday the most, on the Madonna's day...he woke up after lunch and went down at the nearest tavern, and with many companions he started to play the *morra*. I said nothing hoping as usual that he would come up soon; because on religious holidays the taverns used to be closed; but I was left cheated, as for the sake of disgrace today, poor us wives, the café and the taverns they don't close anymore in the morning and neither in the evening. So to tell you the truth, I became a fury inside and gave a fine obloquy to the innkeeper, and that caused Peppe to beat me.

Cass.: Don't follow on anymore since this really was on my heart. Good God, while Protestant in England observe celebrations with much edification, we in the Capitol of the Catholic world, we don't have anymore sacred not even the hours of divine offices! Friend I leave you, for I have an appointment; I promise you to make some about this; but not everything, for opinions must not be faced directly. In the meanwhile arm yourself of patience, and let's recommend ourselves to the sky, let's hope it will give us more serene and peaceful days. A kiss to the baby.

Comm.: Goodbye Cassandrino.

Cass.: Goodbye.

Advocated as the one accustomed to "*dir la verità a vantaggio di noi povere genti*", Cassandrino is plead by Commare Veronica to solve her a "*disgrazia*" which is troubling her life: "*Peppe mio è diventato un poco di buono...dacché è Civico*". Detailing the encumbers of the Civic life (the parades, the praises of Pius IX, the celebrations, the maneuvers), the woman associates them with deteriorations in her husband's attitude towards his family and his job, the latter's stability (we understand that Mastro Peppe must have been a stone worker) getting substituted with vague ambitions of social elevation due to a militant education in politics which would eventually open him the chance of "*presentarsi alle case principesche*". After denying its moral identity as father, husband and worker, Mastro Peppe finalizes the mortification of his "*obblighi e doveri*" by turning

his back to his religious community through the inobservance of celebrations, now substituted by the ordinary dynamics of the Civic Guard's life. At last, the loyal supporter of the mobilization is even overrun in devotion by an English Protestant, namely what in Rome was the epitome of mundane avoidance of religious rectitude. This implies the failure of the “*istituzione santissima*” identity that the Guard was supposed to embody: as a verifiable consequence, Peppe beats his wife instead of “*assicurare le proprietà e le sostanze de' cittadini*”.

Rarely the association of the mobilization and the Civic Guard as a determinant impact factor for the social order of the city has been expressed in such clear terms. In its paradigmatic stigmatization, the article synthesizes a campaign prolonged throughout the whole summer and precisely aimed at downsizing the national heat of the Romans at the expense of their actual responsibilities against families and professions:

Scolare: Mi pare non abbisognino tante spiegazioni per far intendere ciò, che tutti già sanno.

Maestro: Sarebbe a dire?

Scolare: Oggi in Italia nessuno vuol andare alla guerra, nè re, nè nobili, nè ricchi, nè possidenti, nè negozianti, nè medici, nè chirurghi, nè legali, nè pittori, nè speziali, nè sartori, nè calzolai, nè fabbri, nè ferrari, ec. ec. ec. Solo i parolai vanno alla guerra sui giornali, e questi soli possono salvare l'Italia meglio di ogni altro. E con quanta loro consolazione e diletto!

Maestro: Accennatemi almeno il modo di riuscire in questa gloriosissima impresa?

Scolare: Niente di più facile. Colleman in sacoccia seduti al caffè essi soli hanno il segreto di uccidere a migliaia li tedeschi, perché vi son riusciti tante altre volte. Diffatti quale compiacenza cacciarli oltre monti senza muoversi neppure da Roma?⁸⁵⁸

Student: It looks like not many explanations are needed to have this understood, that everyone already knows.

Master: What would that be?

Student: Today in Italy nobody wants to go for war, neither kings, nor nobles, nor riches, nor

⁸⁵⁸ From “*Esercizi di ripetizione*”, n. 23, 1848, p.4.

owners, nor shopkeepers, nor physicians, nor lawyers, nor painters, nor apothecaries, nor tailors, nor shoemakers, nor blacksmiths, nor iron workers, ecc.... Only the windbags goes to war, and these alone can save Italy better than anyone else. And with much consolation and delight from them.

Master: Hint at least the way the succeed in this glorious venture?

Student: Nothing would be easier. Sitting at the café with the hands in their pocket, they exclusively hold the secret to kill thousands of germans, for they managed to do so many times. In facts, how pleasant shall it be to flee them over the mountains without barely moving from Rome?

Going now back to our painting, it is clear that the sitting man is the aforementioned Englishman in an eccentric waistcoat with a tartan pattern that would have as rare in Rome as common in London by those days.⁸⁵⁹ The alien presence now becomes the *pifferari*, never mentioned in the article as impossible to be included in the stone workers social area to which Mastro Beppe belonged. In fact end, as a companion professional area like that of the *vetturini* (drivers who also were seasonally coming from Abruzzo) have been rioting for several times throughout the 1848 against the lack of job due to the poor touristic season,⁸⁶⁰ so the *pifferari* may hardly be contextualized within the social mobilization.

So how the weight the players' implication in the painting? Despite their ordinary status, it's actually not easy to fully contextualize their public presence by those days. If on the one hand the *pifferari* performance were heavily relying on rituals and charity, so two pillars of Catholicism and thus of moral conformity, their identity was also associated with an "otherness" character (their provenance from the disadvantaged rural communities in the Abruzzo mountains) and with an increasingly cumbersome independence from their original "mandate", evident by the habit of transforming religious lyrics in a series of phonetic sounds that left only little space to spiritual implications.⁸⁶¹ Another *pifferari's* increasingly common praxis during the 19th century was that of progressively over-filling performance space by playing throughout the whole day and collect as

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many charities as possible. In this sense must be read a prohibition act of playing *novene* before 4 in the morning promulgated by Leo XII⁸⁶² in 1828, a “problem” which also refrained in Stendhal’s words of 1827:

*“21 dicembre. Sono quindici giorni che i pifferari, o suonatori di cornamusa, ci svegliano alle quattro del mattino. È gente capace di far odiare la musica. Son rozzi contadini ricoperti di pelli di capra, che in occasione delle Feste discendono dalle montagne abruzzesi e vengono a Roma a fare serenate di nove giorni, sera e mattina. Chi vuol essere stimato dai vicini e non vuol incorrere in una denuncia del parroco, nonché tutti quelli che temono di passare per liberali, si abbonano per due “novene”. Non c’è niente di più odioso dell’essere svegliati nel cuore della notte dal suono melanconico delle cornamuse, un suono che dà ai nervi come quello dell’armonica”.*⁸⁶³

[December, 21st. It has been fifteen days since the *pifferari* or bagpipe players they have been waking us up at four in the morning. It’s enough to have a man hate music. They are rough peasants covered with goats leathers that comes down from the mountains of Abruzzo during Festivities and gets to Rome to make serenades nine days long, day and night. He who would like to gain the neighbors’ esteem and not to cross a parish’s charge, as also all those who fear to pass as liberals, they all subscribe for two “*novene*”. There is nothing more hateful than being awoken in the heart of the night by the melancholic sound of bagpipes, a sound that takes on nerves as much as an harmonica does].

More than his lack of sleep, Stendhal’s account testifies how the public display of devotion implied in paying for a *novena* was an effective way of appearing morally conformed. But thus what the picture is actually aiming to communicate? The elegant man may be in the end either a liberal who hides his ideology behind such practices or the proof that alongside their identity crisis even a Protestant was more observant than the agitated Romans. Whereas in the former interpretation the Cassandrino issue would function as a further element of camouflage, in the latter the image would underline the article’s conclusions.

A steady explanation of the artwork’s destination is at this state impossible, given that we don’t know anything about its material history, its original market output and thus of an eventual commission. Finally, the lacks and the bad restoration on the left part are also hard to explain, given how the rest of the picture looks instead rather finished. In the lack of more indicative evidences, it’s worth to look for elements which could at least address a possible author and thus its

⁸⁶² Maes 1880

⁸⁶³ *Promenades*

motivations. A key element resides in this sense in the position of the Englishman, reminiscent of an iconography which was first introduced by Bertel Thorvaldsen in one of his famous plaster design for the “Priam Pleads with Achilles for Hector's Body” base-relief (1815, a plaster is today in the collection of the S. Luke Academy) [16].⁸⁶⁴ Achille's position, of classic reminiscence,⁸⁶⁵ eventually became the basis for Thorvaldsen's portrait contained in the acclaimed collective portrait of 1837 by Ditlev Blunck “Danish artists at the Osteria La Gensola in Rome” which became the paradigmatic representation of the Danish artistic community in Rome of whom the sculptor was the undisputed patriarch.[17]⁸⁶⁶ As dense was the traffic of drawings and motives among the *tedeschi* and the Scandinavians in particular, it's not surprising to discover that Thorvaldsen's / Achilles' posture became subject of many re-elaborations.⁸⁶⁷ Among these there is an interesting little drawing contained within the private portfolio of Lorenz Frølich stored today at the National Gallery of Denmark in Copenhagen [18]. Achilles became this time a “*Fattig Bissens Genius*” [Genii of miseries's subsidies], trying to cope with a multitude of beggars which should be considered as an aftermath of the Revolution's end. The Danish artist performed in fact this small piece by 1850 in Rome, where he returned after leaving the city on the early 1849 for Florence due to political events. Now, as the goddess position is evidently a very strict relative of the Englishman, the implications of the two pictures may also refer to equivalent contents, given that both offers some rather precise political statements: an admonition against the advocates of the mobilization for all those lefts behind for which the Revolution only implied a worsening of their precarious life conditions, including *pifferari*, beggars, the many Commare Veronica that must have been in Rome by those days, as also decaying bourgeoisie standing in line with the miseries. Interestingly enough, artists like Frølich surely felt themselves as part of the same group, as the “*Fattig Bissens*” picture was produced for a “Kunstnerne romserkse Hjælpekasse” [Saving fund for the Roman

⁸⁶⁴ Hartmann, J. B., “*Priamo ed Achille*” del Thorvaldsen e le sue fonti antiche, in “Rendiconti della Pontificia accademia romana di archeologia”, 53-54 (1980-1981; 1981-1982), pp. 297-312; “Bertel Thorvaldsen 1770-1844. Uno scultore danese a Roma”, exhibition catalogue (Rome, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, November 1, 1989 - January 28, 1990), edited by E. De Majo, B. Jørnaes, S. Susinno. Rome 1989, pp. 161.

⁸⁶⁵ The model is likely to be the sitting god Mercury in the “Rape of Proserpina” marble bass-relief on a Roman sarcophagus of mid second century A.D., owned by mid 17th century by the Rospigliosi family and today still in the Casino of Palazzo Rospigliosi in Rome (Bober P., Rubinstein R., *Renaissance Artists & Antique Sculpture*, Oxford 1986, pp. 56-57). For the whole philological reconstruction of Thorvaldsen's model see Hartmann J. B., *Antike Motive bei Thorvaldsen. Studien zur Antikenrezeption des Klassizismus*, Tübingen 1979, pp. 15, 125-126.

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artists] which was created during 1848 in order to overcome vertical drops in the local art market efficiency.⁸⁶⁸

As a further consolidation of Frølich's attribution, the *pifferari* painting presents also other elements which point in that direction. First, the only known painting that Frølich performed in 1848 is absolutely close [19] in terms of palette (also reminiscent of his master's, Christoffer Wilhelm Eckersberg), sensitivity towards emotive temperature of the scene and Frølich's typical care for costumes details which will buy him the trust of Hans Christian Andersen who will chose the painter as the principle illustrator of his stories, namely the work which will grant him a handful of recognitions during the second part of the century.⁸⁶⁹ The praying child's profile, in particular, should be regarded in this sense a signature Frølich's detail. [20]

4.4 - Ideologies of exclusion

So, if my interpretation is correct, our mysterious painting must have been most likely performed somewhere between 1848 and 1850, after which Frølich left Rome for Paris. The image is a visual commentary to the Cassandrino's article and thus an endorsement of a polemic perspective towards the whole mobilization as an imaginative cultural disease which is undermining the safety of the local society. Such an attitude is perfectly coherent with Lorenz Frølich's biography: in the same 1848, on April 26, his dearest friend, compatriot and colleague Johan Thomas Lundbye died on another 1848 battlefield, that of the First Schleswig War between Denmark and northern Germany for which he voluntarily enrolled.⁸⁷⁰ Lundbye was a former *tedesco* in Rome as well, as he had left the city only less than a year before, and it is likely that his death must have been a shocking news for the whole community, already burdened by national and religious discriminations, as also by the

⁸⁶⁸ Hendriksen 1920

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⁸⁷⁰ Hendriksen 1920

enlarging irruption of civil society. In this sense, the Englishman with the Cassandrino is actually forwarding a different interpretation of citizenship compared to that offered by the Civic Guard model, one that does remark the necessary dimension of social boundaries as a form of safekeeping. So despite exactly replicating the most conservative positions available on the palette of Roman politics, the contextualization of these ideologies within the communitarian dynamics of the artistic scene created an inversion of meanings: whereas the *sanfedisti* party based their stigmatization of the mobilization for religious meanings, a contextualization of this ideas among Frølich and his companions implied instead a condemn of the same because of its being ultimately exclusive and ultimately anti-utilitarian, since with the Civic Guard neither the local population and the foreign artists weren't able of working anymore, and thus unable to provide for themselves and their families. Such attitude should be also recognized as eminently Protestant, thus implying a non-coherent relationships between political ideas and groups within the artistic scene for which the closest and the farthest positions ended up in an agreed condemnation of the mobilization. In this sense, this is an active position which emerges from a push towards exclusion.

A more militant implication behind the mobilization's refusal is instead readable in Koelman's diary, ultimately representing the hermeneutical key of his work and possibly the engine behind his distortions and reshuffling of historical events appearing next to otherwise surprisingly accurate and genuine testimonies. Several parts of the pre-1848 events, are in fact told through the perspective of three very different characters, everyone playing a fixed "part". There is Koelman himself, smart, deferential and critic of the Romans at the same time, fiercely attached to his national and religious national culture, of which he never lose the occasione to boast an historically rooted superiority of which the Papal government is constantly the living, negative proof. Then there his friend and colleague "*Victor*", a Flemish Catholic painter, ardent supporter of Pius IX and enthusiast member of the Guard of which there is actually no trace within the registers. Whereas Victor is always approaching the events with faithful candor, reproached is all the time by the vanishing *Dottor Leonardy*, which plays instead the part of the disillusioned and far-reaching Roman, who after having seen much of the Restoration governments was also skeptical about Pius IX's myth, as also of the same Gioberti, to which are dedicated some long criticizing remarks.⁸⁷¹ By the time in which war begins, Leonardy's figure starts to disappear, replaced in importance by a young Cuban painter called Pedro della Rocca nicknamed *Perrequillo*, pensioner of the "association of S. Cecilia" and

entrusted to Koelman.⁸⁷² Young, hasty, sentimentally attached to war and always ready for sacrifice, *Perrequillo* represents instead the spirit of the *Risorgimento* generation, and possibly of those many peers who died during the siege, like Koelman's nephew in law Enrico Narducci, 19 years old student of the S. Luke Academy and first-bed son of Jan Hendrik Koelman's wife Enrica Narducci (also a painter, born in Tuscany), who will be remembered as the first fallen of the siege.⁸⁷³ The balance of the Dutch's moral landscape, is all centered upon a "myth" of Pius IX which is not built as a collective symbol, but as a sovereign who holds and administrate an absolute power of decision, eventually contrasted by popular and bourgeoisie agency (the difference is often vague) acting by the natural and necessary mechanisms of oppression and reaction:

*"Si era creduto di trovare in Pio IX anzitutto un italiano, restauratore del proprio paese, il quale rivestito di un duplice potere, fosse in grado di rialzare dalla sua umiliante condizione la patria, culla di tutte le arti e le scienze, dandole un posto di primato tra gli Stati illuminati; si era pensato che opportune e libere istituzioni, costruzioni di ferrovie, libero scambio e libera espressione del pensiero, avrebbero risvegliato a nuova, splendida vita, lo spirito oppresso da lunghi anni di restrizioni monacali, grette e meschine. Ormai erano cadute le bende dagli occhi[...] Allo stesso modo come tutte le cose rimanevano oscure nel paese retto da un capo in cui si concentrava il duplice potere temporale e spirituale, anche il fatto di aver voluto mandare, o meno, le truppe a guardia delle frontiere, o in Lombardia, per associarsi alla guerra d'indipendenza, risultò impenetrabile mistero"*⁸⁷⁴

[They first and foremost believed to find in Pius IX an Italian, restorer of his country, who invested with a double power, was able to rise the country from its humiliating condition, the cradle of all arts and science, giving it a place of primacy within the enlightened States; they thought that favorable and free institution, the building of railroads, free exchange and free expression of thought, would have awakened to a new, splendid life the spirit oppressed by long years of petty and miserable monastic restrictions. By now, fallen were the bends upon the eyes [...]. In the same way in which everything remained obscure in the country ruled by the chief with the double power, temporal and spiritual, also the fact of sending or not the troops to the frontier

⁸⁷² I also retrieved no trace of Della Rocca, of the S. Cecilia association and of the frescoes which Koelman say were performed by the Cuban in the Academy of La Havana. (II, 510)

⁸⁷³ Cartocci, *Un Mistero chiarito : la pretesa fotografia di Roma, 3 giugno 1849*, p. 506. See also M. Lizzani, "1849". *Paolo Narducci ed un suo diario inedito*, Strenna dei Romanisti, X, 1949, pp.35-45.

⁸⁷⁴ I, 161

war, or in Lombardy, to associate with the war of independence, equally remained a mystery].

In the “mystery” of the Veneto expedition, no part is played by the Civic Guard, nor by Aldrobrandini, Sterbini or any of the artists who embraced the social mobilization as active members of a party network for which an ideologically driven employment of iconographic symbols and visual sources played a strategical role since, at least, the days of the celebrations of Piazza del Popolo by September 1846. The collective and particular interests of artists like Venier and Morelli, both of which sought and found in the Revolution social advancement, political and professional opportunities, are necessarily downplayed at the light of a depiction of the artistic scene which seems safer and reassuring than the one which is existing behind the Cassandrino painting.

Having the mobilization ignited and created the basis for new strategies of collective participation and symbolic interactions, we have retrieved evidences testifying that even a negative attitude against an institution like the Civic Guard helped shaping a precise positioning against contemporary events, transforming the normal dynamics of the artistic scene but also its artistic practices.

In this sense, isolated remains the high hierarchies area in an exclusion process which turned out to be rather passive. After having greeted the new pope with an enthusiasm which may be as contingently due to Pius IX specificities as also to the canonical compliancy which was expected by institutionalized members of the scene, the deans welcomes the Civic Guard with a modest enthusiasm and progressively fades according the rise in political temperature. From such a standpoint is actually hard to stabilize those few traces which we have analyzed and draw a line; but on the other hand, we have retrieved anyway signs of a coherent attitude by established artists against a social development from which they had probably little to gain from, at least in individual terms. They would have had much to lose instead from the prospected idea of a Pontifical State without the Pope as political and spiritual leader, but as soon as the mobilization climate was active, the high hierarchies of the scene opted for a carefully retired attitude, “appearing” only when and if summoned. Strategically determinant in the case of artists like Minardi and Tenerani who will remain among Pius IX closest referents until their deaths, this choice also opened the space for the ideological juggling of their later biographers, who will instead take efforts in order to acclimatize these trajectories of conformism in the entirely different cultural hegemony of post-1870 Italy.

Finally, the same could not be said for the master's pupils which, at least from what we have seen for the crowded lineage of Tommaso Minardi, seemed to leverage their master's connection in different ways according to their respective agenda. Emerges, however, the persistence of institutionalized education as a tremendously determinant asset, as Minardi's artistic influence must be recognized at the base of both included (Ercole Morelli) and excluded (Domenico Sforzolini) forms of coping with the mobilization. Will the value of this educational asset remain intact after the Revolution's end?

CHAPTER V

Revolution and aftermaths

5.1 - From Civic to National: mobilization's end

Following the failure of the Veneto expedition and the subsequent return of the volunteers in Rome, the Civic Guard will basically follow the course of events leading to the radicalization in political

discourse until the breaking of the cohesive mobilization that was going on since the half of 1846. A conservative observer like Giuseppe Spada was able however to formulate a positive balance regarding the deeds of the Civic Guard throughout the subsequent steps of the Revolution:

*“diremo che il corpo della guardia civica o nazionale non ostante la intrusione di eterogenei elementi che ne viziaron la essenza, rimase in complesso un corpo onorato, nemico di disordini, alieno dalle rapine, amante dell’ordine pubblico. Non si potrebbe al certo predire quali sconcerti sarebbero potuti accadere in una città come Roma, fatta in allora nido e adunamento di tanti torbidi elementi, se non avesse esistito quel corpo. Esso è vero, non operò tutto il bene che avrebbe potuto, non fu il più saldo sostegno della sovranità bersagliata; però quanto alla tutela dei cittadini, risparmiò molto male che non si vide, ma che sarebbe accaduto inevitabilmente.”*⁸⁷⁵

[We will say that the Civic or National Guard corp, despite the intrusion of heterogeneous elements who spoiled its essence, remained an overall honorable corp, enemy of disorders, alien to robberies, lover of safekeeping. It’s hard to exactly predict what bewilderments would have happened in a city like a Rome, by then nest and gathering of many torpid elements, if that corp did not exist. It is true, it didn’t work all the good that it could have, it hasn’t been the most stable support of stormed sovereignty; yet when it came to citizens’ safety, it spared many otherwise unavoidable pain and it did away from lights].

Within that “*non operò tutto il bene che avrebbe potuto*”, however, Spada skips over some substantial happenings. The Civic Guard as a collective body had in fact some serious responsibilities in at least four, crucial dynamics:

- 1) The heavy pressure which the Veneto volunteers exercised towards the government throughout the months preceding Rossi’s murder. Nicknamed *panuntelle* because of their untidy coats which became dirty during the hardships of war and were never supposed to be washed again,⁸⁷⁶ the volunteers, under the guidance of Bartolomeo Galletti, progressively became an entity of their own within the Civic Guard, often remarking their superior status in face of their

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⁸⁷⁶ Although the term *panuntelle* later came to identify any radical member of volunteer’s militia during the post-July 1848 periods, its precise contextualization must be traced back to the second battalion of the eight regiment of the infantry troops which fought in Veneto, files which were largely populated by Civic Guard volunteers led by Bartolomeo Galletti (“Catalogo della esposizione romana per la storia del risorgimento politico italiano”, Rome 1984, pp. 276-277).

comrades who didn't join war in the north. After having deliberately occupied and set their quarter in the Church of the Gesù at the expanses of the now banished order of the Jesuits,⁸⁷⁷ thus engendering a practice of expropriation of ecclesiastic estates which will be normative under the Republic,⁸⁷⁸ the *panuntelle* will constantly be present in the most heated happenings. By 1849 they formed as an independent military body often called, interestingly, "*Civica mobilitata*", which under Galletti's lead will be employed on the battlefield during the siege and providing a crucial contribution to the battle of April 30.

2) Even by disregarding the *panuntelle*'s activities as a separated fringe, it's not possible to overlook the evidence for which the Civics of the Parione battalion quartered in the *Palazzo della Cancelleria* were mounting guard during the opening assembly of Pellegrino Rossi's government on the fatal November 15. I didn't find a single source that does not underline how the "*mare inerme di divise blu*" provided the murder an easy way out off the scene.

3) The Civic Guard figured prominently during the siege of the Quirinale Palace in November 16, to which also "contributed" the two cannons "S. Pietro" and "Pio IX" delivered on late September by the National Guard of Genoa as a gift.⁸⁷⁹ Beside the death of the pope's secretary Mons. Giandomenico Palma, hit by a rifle bullet, the storming of the Quirinale also forced Pius IX to approve a new government under Giuseppe Galletti's leadership, namely the same men who after the Pope's flight will decide to summon elections for the Constitutional Assembly preceding the Republic's turn. Already by November 17 the Civic Guards were overthrowing the Swiss Guards as protectors of the Apostolic Palaces, and by the day after they were also controlling Castel S. Angelo.⁸⁸⁰

4) The non-intervention against the developments which lead to the Constitutional elections, a behavior which was officially proclaimed by the Guard's General Giuseppe Gallieno in front of the whole army during a general assembly held on the night of December 19 by the quarter of

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the Trevi battalion in SS. Apostoli square.⁸⁸¹ Although Spada denounces the foul interference of the *Circolo Popolare*, the decision was officially taken by the whole Guard through a democratic poll.

As a fact, the official story of the Civic Guard created in 1847 by Pius IX as a transversal process of inclusion for the “active” citizenship area, ends with its disbandment ordered by the 1849 decree of March 18 issued by the Constitutional Assembly that ordered its immediate re-enactment as “National Guard”.⁸⁸² Provided with a series of important reforms among which stands out the shift of the enrollment boundaries (Art. 1: “*Tutti i cittadini della Repubblica dai 18 ai 50 anni inclusivi fanno parte della Guardia Nazionale*”) and the clause for which the body was part of an actual national army that counted on the eventually failed annexation of Tuscany,⁸⁸³ the National Guard ended being a much more evasive entity if compared with its precedent iteration. Whereas the Civics were the most eye-catching and featured presence on the public scene, mentions of the National Guard were instead more common within the Government’s decrees for denouncing infiltrations of untrustworthy subjects⁸⁸⁴ and non-fulfillment of duty.⁸⁸⁵ Furthermore, with the gathering of armies to face the approaching papal retribution on one side and the Republican system on the other, possibilities for active participation were actually much wider than the internal police service which in the end represented the main purpose of the Civic / National Guards.

In regards to the artists, we already underlined in Chapter II how continuities between Civic service and its internal processes of military radicalization were already exiguous by the time of the Veneto expedition, remaining upon some very similar proportions at the height of the French siege (at least from what the Civic registers tells). It must be also underlined that at the irruption in Rome of the “*Risorgimento* intelligence” after the Constitutional elections of January 21-22, a great deal of those voluntary corps spread throughout the peninsula which were still recovering from their 1848 delusions, immediately repaired to the city as soon as the revolutionary spark became evident again. With these, also arrived a number of artists which, despite figuring as forerunners of the

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882 Pieretti 1999, p. 155.

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paradigmatic “soldier-painter” figures that will rise in notoriety throughout the latter part of the century, actually lived only a portion of the Roman Revolution. Gerolamo and Domenico Induno, Stefano Lecchi, Gabriele Laviron, Eleuterio Pagliano, they all skipped the most intense and “united” phases of the mobilization of Roman society, the actual breaking moment of the theocratic regime most direct subjects from the ancient regime towards a modern but ultimately unachieved civil life, an organization from which many also expected a melioration of their existence as artists and citizens. As a matter of fact, the whole urban militia experience while remain stigmatized as the “Civic Guard”, namely the exact term to which was precisely referring the French General Oudinot when he ordered the erasure of the army and of its assets by July 7, 1849.⁸⁸⁶

5.2 - Institutional Redistributions

With the progressive cleaning of the mobilization’s original setting, the exclusion and inclusion criteria in the artistic scene went through a series of further transformations. As the religious hinderance was of course the first tear to drop, it also ignited an overall more democratic atmosphere that also favored the diffusion of less exclusive notions of nationalism and thus offering new means to access active participation. That said, the dynamics involved in such processes are different from each other, especially if one wants to intend these not as sudden manifestations of the *Risorgimento* teleology (a rather common historiographical mistake)⁸⁸⁷ but as further steps in a progression of events which found its track since the election of Pius IX.

A first step should therefore be recognized in the institutional reshuffling, which necessarily redirected the relationship between the artistic scene and governmental power. Despite the shortness and frenzies of those days didn’t allow any substantial operation, the few but relevant happenings which occurred retains a very interesting relationship with the established scenic dynamics, especially in regards to what we have defined as its “high hierarchies”.

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Already with the provisional government which Pius IX was forced to approve after the Quirinale storming of November 16, the appointed minister of “Fine Arts and Commerce” was Pietro Sterbini. In this role, his main concern seems to have been the lack of work for the artists, as he was already stating in front of the assembly by December 8:

*“Vi è una classe di persone, che ha bisogno di lavoro [...] non vogliamo che sia la beneficenza la quale paga la gente che non lavora affatto; io desidererei che fosse impiegata l’opera di tante persone per cose utili al paese e allo Stato”*⁸⁸⁸

[There is a class of people who needs work (...) we don’t want charity to pay for people which doesn’t work at all; I’d like that the work of many people to be employed for the things useful to the State and the country].

Although propagandized as a liberal measure and evidently advanced under pressure, such an approach does not substantially differ from that of the Papal government. When Sterbini was motivating the allocation of funds *“per dare lavoro a varie classi di artisti che vivevano nell’ozio e nella miseria”*, in the hope of *“mantenere l’ordine e la quiete nella città”*⁸⁸⁹, was basically using the same arguments advanced by Carlo Luigi Morichini in order to justify the “subsidy for the public works”⁸⁹⁰ in which were employed around 1500 “*artisti*” payed 15 *bajocchi* per day and closely followed by religious control of morality. The main reason behind such continuity is of course based on the persisting cumbersome presence of the yard of S. Paul outside of the walls, which has been absorbing the largest part of resources since its burning some twenty-five years before.⁸⁹¹ The habit of helping the artistic social areas with direct endowments did not stand in line with the major orientations of the Republican parliament, as it is also underlined by the active negation of the right of work, an absence from the late Constitutional chart which has often been interpreted as the foremost support evidence for those political historians who does not consider the Roman Republic as a “leftist” political experience.⁸⁹² As much as “the assistance was motivated by necessity, not by politics”,⁸⁹³ the inspirational motives undertaken by Sterbini as Minister of Fine

⁸⁸⁸ Ass. Ris. II 178, cit. Demarco 1949, p. 32.

⁸⁸⁹ Ass. Ris. II, p. 160

⁸⁹⁰ *Degli Istituti pubblici di carità*.

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⁸⁹² See Rossi 1999, in RSR special

⁸⁹³ Morelli, quote by *ibidem*

arts and Commerce does present instead some rather substantial continuity with the traditional mechanisms. First, the recourse to individually attributed works of restoration of monuments and artworks, advanced by Pietro Sterbini by January 26 this time directly to the Senator of the Municipality:

*“ [...] aprire una qualche lavorazione nella quale occupare la manodopera specializzata dei lavoratori del marmo, una delle categorie di artigiani, insieme ai pittori, mosaicisti ed altri esercenti arti decorative e minori, tutte gravemente colpite nelle circostanze attuali dalla disoccupazione. A favore di questa classe di cittadini per i quali può a ben diritto dirsi che si mantenga vivo il ramo quasi unico del nostro commercio attivo e che colla loro industria e coi loro lavori fecero entrare nello Stato molto denaro estero ”.*⁸⁹⁴

[(...) to open some sort of yard in which employing the specialized labor of marble workers, together with the category of artisans, also with painters, mosaicists and others practicing decorative and minor arts, all grievously hit under the current circumstances by unemployment. To aid this class of citizens, to which one can truly say we owe the existence of what is basically our last active branch of commerce, and that with their skills and work allowed much foreign money to flow in the State].

Despite the emergence of new but hard to trace groups like a consortium of sculptors gathered by the academician of S. Luke Filippo Gnaccarini and Rinaldo Rinaldi,⁸⁹⁵ the distribution of these commissions was again accounted to the old artistic elites.⁸⁹⁶ But these had largely tried to remain as much as possible at the margins of active society, especially after November 15: Tenerani, according to Raggi, was in fact disgusted after the murder of his friend Pellegrino Rossi and flight the city by the first months of 1849;⁸⁹⁷ Poletti was left by Giuseppe De Fabris (also gone)⁸⁹⁸ as the only representative of the S. Luke Academy, who refused the bestowing while calling it an *“intempestivo ed oneroso”* [untimely and heavy] burden. His responsibilities at the S. Paul yard had become already excessive⁸⁹⁹ and the architect left the city after a few weeks, turning the presidency

⁸⁹⁴ Il ministro del commercio belle arti industria e agricoltura Sterbini al Senatore Corsini, 2 gennaio 1849, quoted in Francescangeli 1999.

⁸⁹⁵ *ibidem*

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⁸⁹⁸ N. Stringa, *Giuseppe De Fabris. Uno scultore dell'Ottocento*, Milan, 1994, p. 33.

⁸⁹⁹ S. Luca, De Fabris a Poletti,, 26 / 2 / 1849, v.108, n. 1274.

to Giovanni Silvagni.⁹⁰⁰ More interesting is instead the position of Tommaso Minardi. Ovidi reports a document forwarded by the painter to Poletti, presented as a proposal for a reform of the Academy which was presumably sent by Minardi to Sterbini in a moment of “hope” towards the Republican government.⁹⁰¹ Documental sources presents instead the evidences of some prolonged pressures from Sterbini towards the Academy starting already from the previous November, as is attested by a letter by the S. Luke Academy dating March 2, 1849:

*Questo ministero non ha ancora ricevute risposta nella sua lettera dei 15 novembre 1848 colla quale vi si faceva premura di recapitare subito il progetto di riforme del regolamento statuario di codesta accademia di s. luca.
Volendo il sottoscritto ministro che sia eseguito quanto è stato ordinato v'invita a dargli prontissimamente l'aspettata replica, onde possa definirsi questo affare
In tale aspettativa auguro salute*

*Il Ministro P. Sterbini*⁹⁰²

[This Minister hasn't received any answer yet to his 1848 November 15 letter with which it asked you to deliver immediately the project of reform to the statute regulations of this Academy of S. Luke.

Willing this Minister of having this done, it invites you to immediately send the expected response, so that this business can be assessed.

In the meanwhile, I wish you health,

The Minister P. Sterbini].

On the same day, Minardi was receiving a no less urgent letter from Poletti, who basically refrained the same demands.⁹⁰³ When the project was finally forwarded by March 12, the few points of the elaboration were briefly proposing to add another professor of drawing, donate some “classical originals” for the class of painting, of providing dedicated spaces in the Academy for the painters and of reserving to the Academy an exclusivity of choice for the promotion to the “Academic Chief”.⁹⁰⁴ Some rather generic ideas, somehow reminiscent of the reception of the *meisterklassen*

⁹⁰⁰ ASC

⁹⁰¹ Vodi 1903, pp. 55

⁹⁰² v. 108, doc. 8598 (31).

⁹⁰³ ASC - Fondo Ovidi, b.6.

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model for which Morichini was praising Minardi of the idea back in 1842. Already by April, Minardi had however left for Gubbio, guest of the earls Della Porta.⁹⁰⁵

A turn in the governance occurred with the resignation of Pietro Sterbini by March 8, who will by then progressively marginalized by Mazzini and later accused of sustaining a military dictatorship under the command of Garibaldi.⁹⁰⁶ The new Minister Mattia Montecchi, maintained the endowments for S. Paolo and proposed an excavation campaign in the Imperial Fora, plus elaborating a program together with those few representatives from the various Fine Arts remained in the city (involved were Silvagni, Rinaldi, Podesti, Capalti, the architect Fortunato De Sanctis and the first pupil of Tommaso Minardi, Luigi Cochetti).⁹⁰⁷ The proposed idea, signed by De Sanctis, Rinaldi and Silvagni, was to integrate the Restoration campaigns already suggested by Sterbini with the gathering of the most praised and fragile artworks present in Rome in order to form a National Gallery, while commissioning copies to be put in place of the original and hopefully boost the tourism market of copies while retaining :

*“ [...] una memoria di ciò che ha formato la maggior gloria della nostra pittura, evitando così il biasimo di vedere un giorno tali copie nella Francia, nell’Inghilterra, nella Russia e non presso di noi, dove esistevano gli originali ”.*⁹⁰⁸

[(...) a memory of what has embodied the glory of our painting, avoiding thus the sorrow of seeing one day these copies in France, England, Russia and not by us, where the originals once were]

This interesting concept was never perpetuated. The eight commissions who analyzed the project, and finally the parliament itself, also decided to cut the initial expenditure from 18.000 scudi to 10.000, before approving the decree by May 26. Beside the copies, decided was also that the sculptor would have to produce a series of busts depicting “Illustrious Italian men” of the past, an operation which directly reminds to that financed by Canova for the Pantheon after the Restoration, and that as such might be easily be traced back to his pupil Rinaldi.⁹⁰⁹ Distributed according to lists proposed by the aforementioned commission, the anticipations were still being given by the the fall

⁹⁰⁵ Ovidi 1903, p. 56.

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of the Republic, and the deliveries of the artworks lasted until December 1850. The marbles are those same still visible today on the walk of the Gianicolo Hill, but were put there by the Municipality years after the Republic's fall.⁹¹⁰

5.3 - *The lay turn*

A no less responsive dialectic between bottom-up and top-down processes is also recognizable within the important lay turn that characterized the Roman 1849. It has been often underlined that beside the most eye-catching decisions, the Republican government had to balance its community propaganda in between a necessary lay connotation and the persistence of religious devotion and practices which not even the shocking escape of the pope came to wither.⁹¹¹ In this sense, the management of collective consensus presented challenges which Mazzini himself has been facing already since years and which he resolved by translating the ends of catholic epistemology towards the same civil community, an approach aptly summarized by its famous motto "*Dio e Popolo*", where the two terms are meant to reflect each other.⁹¹² As questionable is whether this processing was actually effective in Rome by 1849 and if popular strata were able to suddenly absorb it, it is hardly deniable that the Republic found its compromise through an employment of "safe" narratives.⁹¹³ Among these, we meet once again a contested symbol whose ambiguous adaptiveness was already clear since 1847, namely the employment of the Roman eagle as official symbol. The fact that by relying on its classical heritage Rome was swiftly able to become laic without losing its "thick" identity, is measurable by the recognition which the eagle received by "strangers". An early recognition in that sense is retrievable within a group of letters sent to the conservative

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newspaper of Basel, the “*Basler Zeitung*”, by the Bohemian painter Wilhelm Kandler, former pupil of Overbeck under the protection of the Austrian foreign minister in Rome, Lützow.⁹¹⁴ As a subject of the Austrian government, Kandler’s account are all very cautious and descriptive, only seldom leaning toward attestations of Garibaldi’s military valor and more often instead testifying the progressive disappearance of German speaking artists and of their community, as also a certain “dislike” of popular enthusiasms. The aspect upon which Kandler’s curiosity and admiration are less hidden is toward the action of the the Republican government, of which he recognize the hardships of coping with the disastrous inefficiencies of the Papal administrations while also maintaining a grip on popular consensus. The fact of noticing and appreciating the strategies behind the sophisticated Mazzinian civil religion puts immediately Kandler among the most disillusioned observers of the Revolution.⁹¹⁵ Still, he falls totally victim of the Republic’s aesthetics:

Tra le leggi del triumvirato si trovano in testa le disposizioni sui colori della bandiera nazionale, lo stemma nazionale e il conio. L'armata, chiamata dal popolo « I soldati del sacro sepolcro », può d'ora in poi combattere e vincere solo con la coccarda a tre colori e sotto la bandiera tricolore d'Italia, rosso, bianco, verde, forza, innocenza e speranza. Al posto della tripla corona, che così pesantemente gravò su questa terra sfortunata, si presenta - come una fenice dalla cenere - l'aquila dell'antica repubblica, con ali spiegate, i fasci consolari negli artigli, il tutto circondato da una corona civilis, il simbolo della virtù civica. Ancora più commovente è il conio che viene proposto. Tutte le monete d'oro e le monete d'argento più grandi recano sul recto Roma cimata a mezzo busto e attorno le parole « Repubblica romana », sotto l'indicazione del valore. Sul verso si vede lo stemma della Repubblica e sotto la scritta « la legge è la forza ». Un'altra sentenza adorna il margine: « Dio vuole l'Italia unita ». Nelle piccole monete d'argento e in tutte le monete di rame quelle parole cadono, come se fossero completamente superflue nelle monete di piccolo taglio. [...] Le leggi della rinata Repubblica sono tutte date nel nome di Dio e del popolo e per questo motivo iniziano con le parole: « In nome di Dio e del Popolo »⁹¹⁶

[(...) At the top of the Triumvirate’s laws there were dispositions on the colors of the national flag, the national banner and coinage. The army, called by the people “The soldiers of the holy sepulcher”, may from now on fight and win only with the tricolored cockade and under the tricolored flag of Italy, red, white, green, strength, innocence and hope. In place of the triple crown that so heavily burdened this unfortunate land, it is present - like a phoenix from ashes - the eagle of the ancient republic, with open wings, the consular fascies in its claws, all surrounded by a *corona civilis*, the symbol of civic virtue. Even more moving it’s the proposed coinage. All the bigger golden and silver coins they have on the *recto* a half-bust Rome with a *cima* and surrounded by the words “Repubblica romana”, below the value the indication. On the *verso* it is visible the Republic’s emblem and below the writing “law is strength”. Another

⁹¹⁴ Arrigoni 1996

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sentence decorates the margin: “God wants Italy united”. In the small silver coins and in all the copper ones, this words are absent, like they were totally unnecessary in the small value coins. (...) The laws of the reborn Republic are all given in the name of God and people, and that’s the reason for they all begin with the words: “In the name of God and people”].

If even an Austrian catholic like Kandler was won by the Mazzinian turn, the adhesions by Protestants after the marginalization of the last years were no less enthusiastic. The eagle is in fact again mentioned in a letter sent by Gustaf Palm on May 12 to his comrade Lorenz Frølich, who was already in Florence:

My honorable friend Frølich! I have every reason to hope that you happily reached Florenz. Molin and Winstrup were also happy to get away, and Jerichau and Læssøe are leaving without hindrance on Sunday morning... still lives the Republic, entering the fourth month of her age. The Roman eagle flaps its small wings and bawls bawls a little, but it all has no meaning ... 18000 Neapolitans are in march to Rome and chasing for the eagle ... The Government sent General Garibaldi with his bands to meet out to face the Neapolitans, and they are learning to have a certain fear of this LIMP FAIRYTALE, because after a few small skirmish, he cleaned the Campagna entirely ... a lot of Neapolitan prisoners and wounded have been transported to Rome; (I've spoken to several of those prisoners who are Swiss) ... Here comes daily reinforcements from the provinces of all the armies. ⁹¹⁷

Caught in a moment of increased tension, the eagle embodies for Palm the Republic who tries to escape what was already appearing as an inescapable destiny. He continues on the same letter with comment added four days later:

Rumors tells that a French plenipotentiary must have arrived yesterday, but we don't know not yet the object of his arrival. - As you can easily imagine, we live yet here in a constant fear ... but as this concerns me, neither I can, or I want to leave Rome before the war ends, whatever will happen, I hold too much sympathy for Republic and freedom, for now the moment of danger keeps me awake, and with it expose me for a poor judgement by my Italian acquaintances. I have been invited to join the National Guard artillery, although I didn't start yet. Your true friend Palm, Citadino [sic] Romano.

It is evident that with the Republic and the taming of the mobilization's crusade climate, Palm also found the means to access his own way of being a “*citadino romano*”, as also find himself being sympathetic with the eagle that only a few months before was on the Civic banners. Whereas for the

Romans' vast majority the fact of embracing rifle and uniform through Civic service was a way to achieve an otherwise impossible participation, Palm joins the conflict because of a newfound citizenship pride that he refused when, under Pius IX aegis, this only implied the crumble of his ordinary artistic life in the city and the employment of political narratives in which individuals like him were refused. Whereas Cassandrino's Mastro Beppe was happy to let down his individual interests and responsibilities for the sake of an idealism matured at the light of Civic service, so at the center of the mobilization, Palm is now willing to risk his life moved by a sense of duty which simply didn't emerge before the lay turn. That of loyalty towards his "Roman friends", was the exact same explanation forwarded by Carl Gustaf Plagemann when detailing the reason of his much more intense Civic involvement.⁹¹⁸ An absolutely rare attitude in general and thus even more remarkable for a Protestant, Plagemann even left us a no less precious testimony of this persistence through a watercolor in which he depicted himself a few moments before the battle of April 30, caught busy at painting in his studio while wearing the Civic uniform.⁹¹⁹ [img. 1]

But again, Plagemann's is a unique trajectory. It is no surprise that we find in Koelman's diary a number of foreign artists who spontaneously joins the fight for the Republic after having explicitly refused the mobilization call. The events were also followed with an ecumenical interests by a number of foreign newspapers including "*The Illustrated London News*" and the "*New York Daily Tribune*", both of which had reporters in Rome. The Republic also a number of local supporters in the persons of Margaret Fuller, Thomas Crawford, Nicholas Brown and Lewis Cass jr., among the others.⁹²⁰

Substantially recurrent is the evidence for which new cultural access doors to the Revolution were also provided through emerging symbols which symmetrically cut the moderate perspectives revolving around Neo-guelphism and Pius IX. In her study on the creation and propagation of Giuseppe Garibaldi's figure and myth throughout the 19th century, Lucy Riall had contextualized the cradle of its diffusion within the accounts about the heroic conduct of the General during the French siege, together with Romantic descriptions of the man, his voice, his movements, his care for his comrades, his picturesque garments and look, and finally his willingness to sacrifice

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anything for his political ideals.⁹²¹ The international “explosion” of Garibaldi’s fame throughout the following decades (his arrival in New York by June 1850 was saluted by celebrating crowds, yet only small outcomes in comparison to his triumphant “tour” of England of 1864)⁹²² was part of a calibrated political design. Already active by the days in which he was in Uruguay and prolonged after the 1849 thanks to the development in the print industries but also of the pre-1848 maneuvering of Mazzini and his associates, such mediations rapidly brought his fame outside of the political sphere. We had seen in fact that Garibaldi's name was already mentioned as an *exempla* by Checchetelli next to Washington’s since the days of the “*elmo e giacò*” debate, and the same Koelman attests by May 1848 that:

*“per pochi baiocchi mi fu venduto il ritratto e la descrizione della sua vita, la cui lettura, in un primo momento - debbo onestamente confessarlo - mi fece sorridere. [...] in quel periodo, avevo visto soltanto pochi (per non dire nessuno) esempi di magnanimità e di abnegazione fra gli Italiani”.*⁹²³

[for a few *baiocchi* I was sold the portrait and description of his life, of which the reading, at a first time, I must confess, made me laugh. (...) by those days, I had only seen a few, if any, example of magnanimity and abnegation among the Italians].

Throughout the following events, the General’s myth keeps growing dimension and depth, as Garibaldi’s epiphanies gets treated by Koelman with some special descriptive care:

Involontariamente ci voltammo tutti; Garibaldi stava sulla porta. Vedevo per la prima volta l'uomo il cui nome a Roma tutti conoscevano e sul quale già fin d'ora molti avevano riposto le loro speranze. Oggi ancora mi sta davanti agli occhi come lo vidi per la prima volta. Di media statura, ben costruito, con larghe spalle e petto quadrato, che si delineava sotto la giacca dell'uniforme dando a tutta la figura un'impressione di forza, stava lì, davanti a noi, con i suoi occhi azzurri tendenti al viola, abbracciando con lo sguardo tutto il gruppo nel vestibolo del convento. Gli occhi avevano qualche cosa di straordinario, sia per il loro colore, sia per la schiettezza, - non saprei trovare parola più adatta, - dell'espressione. Spiccavano stranamente fra quelli scuri e sfavillanti dei suoi soldati italiani, così come i capelli di una castano chiarissimo che gli ricadevano liberi fin sulle spalle, accanto ai riccioli neri e lucenti degli altri. I baffi folti e la barba a due punte in un biondo pallido davano un aspetto guerriero al viso aperto ed ovale, coperto i efelidi ed

⁹²¹ Ryall 2007, 55-104.

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⁹²³ I, 146

arrossato vivamente dal sole. Il tratto più caratteristico però era il naso, dalla radice eccezionalmente larga: ciò gli era valso l'appellativo di leone e a dire il vero ad un leone faceva effettivamente pensare; somiglianza che, secondo i suoi soldati, maggiormente appariva in battaglia, quando gli fiammeggiavano gli occhi e i capelli biondi ondeggiavano intorno al capo come una criniera. Vestiva una giubba rossa con brevi falde e in capo aveva un piccolo feltro nero, a punta, con due penne di struzzo. Nella sinistra teneva una semplice leggera sciabola da cavaliere; a tracolla, sulla spalla sinistra, portava una cartucciera da cavalleria.⁹²⁴

[Involuntarily, we all turned back; Garibaldi was on the door. I stared for the first time at the man whose name in Rome everyone knew and on who so many already relied their hopes upon. It still stands in front of my eyes today just like I saw him the first time. Of medium height, well built, with wide shoulders and a squared chest that outlined under the uniform's jacket, giving to the whole figure an impression of strength. There he stood, in front of us, with his blue-purple eyes, embracing with his sight all the group standing in convent's vestibule. His eyes had something extraordinary, both for their color and the honesty - I couldn't find a more fitting word - of their look. They stood out among those dark and sparking black eyes of his Italian soldier, just like his light brown hair falling free on his shoulders, next to the curly and glittering black hair of the others. His pale blond beard and double-edged, thick mustaches gave a warrior look to his open and round face, covered with freckles and vividly reddened by the sun. The most characteristic trait was however his nose, of an exceptionally wide root: this had gained him the epithet of lion, and to tell to truth he really resembled one; according to his soldier, this feature appeared even strongly on the battlefield, when his eyes flamed and his blond hair fluttered around his head like a mane. He dressed a red blouse with short fringes and on his head he had a pointy black felt with two ostrich's feathers. In his left (hand) he only had a simple and light knight saber; on his left shoulder he brought a cartridge belt].

Inasmuch a fascinating symbol Garibaldi was for a Protestant like Koelman in order to connect with the Republic, the larger effectiveness of its symbol was also shared by artists and non-artists, Catholics and non-Catholics.⁹²⁵ As such it has little to tell about the artistic scene per se, beside some previsional availability within the respective artists' cultural "toolkits".⁹²⁶

There's however an interesting parallel between the "hero of the worlds" and a rather spread habit across the informal fringes of the artistic collectivity: the "look". While detailing how the 1849 Roman Republic has been the cradle of Garibaldi's myth, Ryall gave special attention the visual texts, their diffusion, their sources, their adjustments. A conclusion was that by those days the General's iconographic features collectively expressed some rather varied interpretations.⁹²⁷

⁹²⁴ 245, I,.

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⁹²⁶ Swidler

⁹²⁷ Ryall

Inasmuch by 1846 artists coming from any part of Italy and Europe stood literally in line in order the portrait Pius IX, in 1849 the most sought after subject was instead Garibaldi, who before then was only depicted by Gaetano Gallino in Montevideo.⁹²⁸ Relying upon his known exotic and much exterior but ultimately little known features, illustrators tended to over-emphasize descriptive elements and often appeal him as a sort of highwayman [img 2]. Although such a confusing tendency was pushed to the point of impressing his features upon an evidently Christological iconography by 1850 [img 2], Garibaldi's identification constantly tied with recurring elements, already present since Gallino's portraits: the exotic look of his garments, his long hair and beard. Now, it's not the association of such features and a certain liberal conduct that interest us here. We may find some similar intense staring, long hair and bearded faces within the "galleries" of 1848 revolutions, like the German revolutionaries August Schärle and Friedrich Hecker.⁹²⁹ [img 3] Possibly matching such anti-conformism, we also find a very similarly looking man in one of the very first depictions of the Pontifical Civic Guard after its re-enactment by July 1847. [img 4] The illustrator, a Florentine painter and engraver called Nicola Sanesi, is describing here a true happening, the visit to all the Civic battalion's quarters which the recently appointed Secretary of State, Card. Gabriele Ferretti, performed on July 24, ending with the crucially meaningful sentence: "*Mostriamo all'Europa che bastiamo a noi stessi*" [Let's show to Europe that we are enough for ourselves].⁹³⁰ The fact that Sanesi and his partner Lasinio transcribed the phrase on the engraving, pushed Giuseppe Spada to say that the motto became spread exactly because of the artwork.⁹³¹ This is less certain than Spada assumed, given that his account is the only source which states that Ferretti pronounced the phrase in the quarter of the Pigna battalion, whereas newspapers didn't report it that way.⁹³² We can nevertheless still confirm that Sanesi attended the episode, as both Ferretti (here in his *abito talare*) and what looks to be addressed as the battalion's commander, the Prince Andrea Doria-Pamphili, both corresponds to their actual features as we know them from other artworks [img 5]; finally, the urban setting which appears through the door on the right is how looked like Piazza Venezia before the reorganization operated later in the century in order to create

⁹²⁸ "Garibaldi arte e storia", (Palazzo di Venezia, June 23 - December 31, 1982, Rome; Museo Centrale del Risorgimento", June 23 - December 31, 1982, Rome), exhibition catalogue, 2 ("Arte"), Rome, 1981, pp. 58, 238.

⁹²⁹ *Illustrierte Geschichte der Deutschen Revolution 1848-1849*

⁹³⁰ See "La Pallade", n. 23, July 25, 1847.

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⁹³² *Pallade*, Italico, Contemporaneo; Giovagnoli 1984; Ovidi 1903.

space for Vittorio Emanuele II's National Monument, thus implying that the quarters were hosted within the Prince's familial palace, an evidence which is in fact confirmed by the Guard's bookkeeping.⁹³³

The interesting fact about Sanesi's actual presence during the depicted scene, resides in the Civic Guard on the left, somehow less tidy-looking than his comrades given his blooming facial hair (and that of the hatless Guards on the right) and by his hat, also worn by another Guard in the back line, facing the observer's perspective. The general look of this "eccentric" Guard is not much different from that of the painter depicted in Julius Friedländer's 1845 depiction of the Spagna stares [img 6], and this is possibly not a coincidence. The facial hair and the habit of leaving them grow without care, were both features of artists like the Nazarenes since some decades, but also an habit commonly associated with some unappreciated anti-communitarian liminality and with wine consume, in general reflective of attitudes not in line with the kind of delicate military service that the Civic Guard was attributed with.⁹³⁴ An article published on *La Pallade* by late 1847, thus reflective on some already fully organized Guard's companies and battalions, was legitimately asking if anyone was attempting to form a "*Repubblica di peli*" [Republic of Peels]⁹³⁵. As ironic as Checchetelli's paper could have been by those days, such a sentence would have been everything but amusing in Rome after the end of French siege, when "the demon" Garibaldi with his wide beard had become the face of the Italian radicals.⁹³⁶

Another feature of the "eccentric" Civic Guard that resembled the painter portrayed by the Danish artist, is the hat. The model was the so called *quattr'acque*, [four-waters], called in this way by his large and descending brims which favored the fall of water in case of rain; as such, it was the hat of choice for those who spent much time outdoor,⁹³⁷ a category in which those many landscape and genre painters of Rome largely fell within. The social characterization of the *quattr'acque*, was nevertheless older, as we encounter it in a famous self-portrait by Annibale Carracci [7], in which, according to the historical interpretation of Daniele Benati, the hat played a specific role in engendering an anti-conformist status for a painter like Carracci,⁹³⁸ who definitely was a close

⁹³³ ASC - Tit. XXI ...

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⁹³⁵ guardare Pallade n. 9 29.30 giugno 1847, "Signor Florindo", p. 3.

⁹³⁶ Ryall

⁹³⁷ *Dizionario degli Accademici della Crusca*, 1, Florence 1863, p. 163.

⁹³⁸ Benati 2007

observer of common people's life of his time.⁹³⁹ If a direct association spanning for more than two centuries might seem a little far-fetched, among the several depictions of Roman artists with the *quattr'acque*, various forms of that model were worn by all but one of the painters portrayed in a programmatic artwork dating 1848 and performed by the German Wilhelm von Kaulbach, an artwork produced for the galleries of the Neue Pinakothek of Monaco in honor to the major patron of the *Deutschrömer*, Ludwig I.⁹⁴⁰ [8] An even more resemblant depiction, is that of a watercolor by the Lorens Frølich stored in the *vännersalbum* [friend's album] of Gustaf Wilhelm Palm, today at the Nationalmuseum of Stockholm.[9]⁹⁴¹ The practice of collecting small drawings and watercolors by fellow artists was a common practice and this watercolor in particular most likely belongs to one of the many communitarian habits of the *Società di Ponte Molle* and the *Cervarofesten*, as we can desume from the ironic treatment of Palm himself with his broken sleeve (the inscription "*Saa saag han ud*" means "so he looked like at the time") and the reference to wine and smoke, as symbolized by the unsightly licentious cherub on his right. Palm here could have definitely figured as the perfect representation of the least appreciated guest of Rome, at least in the government's perspective. The eccentric Civic Guard depicted by Sanesi is unlikely to portray Palm or any of his companion that we know,⁹⁴² and neither it must be necessarily identified as an artist; that said, his resemblance to the type, or at least to the social status associated with features such as the *quattr'acque* and blooming facial hair, should definitely be marked as direct evidences of the diversities that were allowed in the corp, a diversity which was soon to be leveled only to remerge by 1849 as an internationally relevant asset of Garibaldi's public image. Whereas such open acts of anti-conformism in Rome were until then only tolerated in regards to some eccentric landscapist who traveled the countryside, the consequences of the Roman Revolution were such that even the Restoration failed to entirely curb such extravaganza, still after the return of Pius IX in the city. In a circular letter sent by 1850 to its offices, the Roman Minister of Internal Affairs was stating that:

"Veggonsi tuttavia molti Impiegati di Governo in orni ramo, e specialmente nel Politico, e non pochi di quelli Comunicativi di far pompa di barba e baffi, che cominciarono a portare insinuati

⁹³⁹ Zapperi, Macellerie, Arti di Bologna,

⁹⁴⁰ Maestà di Roma, p. 390.

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⁹⁴² Palm was ascribed to the reserve of the Colonna battalion, and in the Pigna I retrieved no artists' name that could fill such profile.

*specialmente dai Superiori, che resero l'anarchico distrutto Governo, mentre in precedenza non ne andavano forniti... Faccia sentire a quegl'impiegati quanto sarebbe bene che si togliessero da quella usanza..”*⁹⁴³

[You however see several Employees of every branch of the Government, and especially those in the Political, and not few from the Communicational, showing off beard and mustaches they started to display as insinuated by those Superiors who turned to anarchy the destroyed Government, whereas they weren't provided with any before... Let those employees hear how better would be if they would drop that habit.]

5.4.1 - *Redefinition of capitals*

The end of the Roman Republic entailed some severe consequences for the artistic scene. Specific and conjunctural circumstances varies a lot according to individual cases as availability of meaningful sources varies dramatically, but it should be highlighted that all those known hardships of the post-1849 Restoration, the grained control activated by the so-called “*Triumvirato rosso*” (a commission composed by the cardinals Altieri, Vannicelli and Della Genga put in charge of the revolutionary aftermaths disposal), the systematic eradication not only of the presence but also of the memory of the republican events, all these 1849-related dynamics piled up upon some already thick process of transformations which was ongoing throughout the last three years. Whereas we have seen in fact that the Mazzinian bracket has been joined by individual artists only according to rather specific, subjective circumstances, the mobilization instead hit the city transversally. On one hand, a lazy local population of which apparently everything was known suddenly rises and violently demands to be recognized as civil society; on the other, a plentiful of subtle differences implied but intangible under the theocratic regime sleepy aegis emerges as inclusion barriers. With the deterioration of scenic infrastructure within both the institutionalized and the informal areas of the artistic scene, artists were literally hit by the “obliged” call for citizenship to be achieved via armed service. But while this call gets defined by a professional condition to which are presumed to

⁹⁴³ Friz, *Soldati e Burocrati...*, p.33, n. 3

belong also a moral, intellectual and economic position, that same job seems to possibly be successfully performed only by remaining well at the center of the mobilization, riding its opportunities and joining emerging social networks at the light of an absolute militancy.

Within the pressure for liberal developments, it is exactly free enterprise to be left behind: with the disappearance of tourists, with the tapering of arts' "prolonged times" and of the calm to which was used to Roman "Boheme", with the crumbling at last of the frail residual grip of the local economy, the artistic scene gets damaged exactly at the base of the sources of artistic capital which, built after years of functional endurance, also defined that particular social ecology and bourgeoisie identity, as also its survival and the chance of relying on extra-urban networks, either governmental or private. Seeing in the sense the 1849's aftermaths without taking into account the consequences of the mobilization would require to flatten such deep transformations under the shadow of the most heroic and eye-catching events, namely also the republican heritage which has been the most sensitive in regards to revisionist maneuverings. As we have already grasped by the cautious historical treatments put in action by Oreste Raggi, Ernesto Ovidi and Francesco De Sanctis when detailing the biographies of Pietro Tenerani and Tommaso Minardi, it needs to be kept in mind that so many Roman artists found themselves in the position of redefining their own artistic capital, a process in which a careful management of one's individual narrative throughout the Roman Revolution.

In this last part we will therefore attempt to analyze some specific cases by starting from three larger dynamics and investigating how those affected the artistic capital management of some specific involved artists: the infrastructural rupture of the scene, the exiles and the transformation of society leading to developments in the audience.

5.4.2 - Ruptures

Already ongoing throughout 1848, artistic emigrations have come to represent an increasingly evident phenomenon by the year after. Johann Wittmer tells that by 1849, the largest part of German artists had left the city, after the vertical drop of tourism and thus of incomes, for the lack of which

he had also to approach the Munich's academy to ask for a pension which he ceased to collect since more than 15 years.⁹⁴⁴ Although it is not clear if this process should be entirely ascribed to either merely economic reasons or also to politics and religion, we can measure the depth of this crisis by the reviews of the annual "*Amatori e cultori*" January exhibition, whose organization fell under the Ministero del Commercio after the creation of the Municipal Counsel on late 1847, although the measure was only enforced during 1848.⁹⁴⁵ Advertised on the "*Gazzetta di Roma*" as opening its doors January 8,⁹⁴⁶ the usually overcrowded rooms by Piazza del Popolo only presented a meager offer: an "*Osteria romana*" by Koelman, a landscape and a S. Sebastiano by Wittmer, a small sculpture by Filippo Gnaccherini and a handful of copies which sums up an exhibition made of only 12 artworks. The reporter of the English-Roman newspaper "*The Roman Advertiser*" was in fact rather suggesting to walk around the artists' studio and hope to find one open.⁹⁴⁷

Apparently, things didn't get any better soon. On the issue of 22 September 1849, the "highbrow"⁹⁴⁸ artistic review "*L'album*", which throughout the whole Revolution has only presented a very few contribution related to politics, published a long article authored by the marqués Pompilio De Cuppis dedicated to the reconstruction of the Roman siege. From the introduction:

*"Non appena cessarono le ostilità che un numeroso stuolo di artisti di ogni genere si recarono sul luogo delle operazioni militari onde ritrarre le vedute prospettiche dei vari edifizi che l'azione del cannone aveva più bizzarramente sconvolto. - In breve d'ora si videro esposti presso i principali fondaci di belle arti in Roma buon numero di disegni, i quali con molta somiglianza al vero rappresentano ora i ruderi di un casino, ora un bastione aperto in breccia, ora una batteria sfascellata. Se l'unione di queste grafiche espressioni è per vero dire sufficiente per fornire un Poliorama pittoresco, un Souvenir, de' guasti cagionati, dalla guerra d'assedio, testé combattuta, ai vari edifizi del suburbio di Roma; è però poco o nulla per dare una esatta cognizione delle azioni guerresche dell'assedio medesimo, come delle sue differenti fasi, e della cronologica successione con cui le opere militari si eseguirono."*⁹⁴⁹

[As soon as hostilities were over, a crowded band of any sort of artists started to reach the military theatre in order to portray prospective views of the various buildings which the cannons' actions had

⁹⁴⁴ Salmen

⁹⁴⁵ Circolare ministeriale 6552, 8/6/1848 in ASR: "[...]dipendendo dal ministero del commercio tutti gli istituti di belle arti a senso del motu proprio 29 dicembre 1847 e comprendendovi tra quelli anche la società amatori e cultori".

⁹⁴⁶ *Gazzetta di Roma*, 8 gennaio 1849, n. 5, p. 30.

⁹⁴⁷ *The Roman Advertiser*, 27 gennaio 1849 n. 94, p. 321.

⁹⁴⁸ Pallade criticized the high price of l'album on december 1847

⁹⁴⁹ Album XVI, 22 September 1849, p. 242, quoted by Colucci in *Risorgimento a colori*, p. 126.

shattered in the most bizarre ways. In the turn of an hour a fair number of drawings started to be exhibit at the main Fine arts shops in Rome, depicting with much resemblance now the ruins of a *casino*, now a smashed battery.

Whether the gathering of these graphic expressions is well sufficient to offer a picturesque overview, a souvenir of the damages caused on the various urban buildings of Rome by the war just fought, it is however nothing or little more if it is to offer an exact cognition of the same siege acts and on the exact chronological series in which the military operations occurred].

Artistic proofs of De Cuppis' statement are still today available in quantities within various Roman museums and private collections.⁹⁵⁰ The immediacy with which painters literally "assaulted" the battlegrounds is definitely illuminating if seen at the light of the problems of professional sustainability which were afflicting the Roman scene since at least the half of 1848. An artist like Carl Werner co-ventured with the engraver Domenico Amici, in the same Civic company with Ercole Morelli,⁹⁵¹ to produce a series of etchings dedicated to the siege (only published by 1858)⁹⁵² for which he sketched open-air watercolors like this piece stored at the National Gallery of Washington D.C. [10] Isabella Colucci analyzed the symbolic impact that the devastation of the Gianicolo hill, of Ponte Milvio and of the other areas severely damaged by war had within the accounts of "foreigners" like Margaret Fuller and the French envoy Charles Baudin. Given the relevance that the outcomes of the siege had on international politics and the care with which the Republican happenings were followed in Italy and outside, it should be no mystery that measuring the devastating consequences of the present upon the established visual canons of the city was both an interesting variation on the theme of "ruins", as also a new direction for the employment of the artistic capital offered by the urban landscape. Possibly the most fascinating and salient iteration on the theme is offered by a group of oil-sketches and studio paintings performed by a veteran of the scene like Giambattista Bassi, one of the most paradigmatic figures that leaned in between the official and the unofficial side of the scene throughout the Restoration years.⁹⁵³ [11-13] An insider of the Canova circles earlier in the century, Bassi was well contextualized within a group of French, Flemish and Dutch painters (primarily Pierre-Athanase Chauvin, Hendrik Woogd, Martin Verstappen and Abrahaam Teerlink) which during the 1820s elaborated an approach to landscape

⁹⁵⁰ Risorgimento a colori

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painting based on natural observations but rendered with a measured Romantic taste for light variations.⁹⁵⁴ The groups which still by the 1860s were praised by Massimo D’Azeglio as

*“[...] i dominatori di una delle più felici epoche artistiche delle quali abbia memoria. Essi si trovarono artisti provetti e nel vigore dell’età del 1814, quando l’Europa non ne voleva più dell’odore della polvere, né della vista del sangue, ed anelava di ricrearsi lo spirito colle benedizioni della pace”.*⁹⁵⁵

[(...) leaders in the happiest artistic season of which I have memory. They found each other skilled artists in the vigorous youth of 1814, when Europe had enough of the smell of dust, of the sight of blood, and yearned to regrow its spirit with the blessings of peace].

Bassi’s expert pictorial craft and taste for subtle but eloquent details (see the wind shaken tree and the dark-on-dark colored soldier vanishing presence the foreground of the studio painting [12], both absent in the open-air oil-sketch [13]) renders his depictions of war heritage the perfect *trait d’union* between the most recognizable features of the Roman landscape art and the reaction to the end of the Revolution, the umpteenth scar over a world of nature and history which persists, together with the tools of its artistic observers. What seems to be missing is the market. Bassi’s professional issues during 1849 are in fact attested in a letter forwarded by Pietro Sterbini to Tommaso Minardi on January 26, asking the Faenza-born painter if the old and poor landscape artist was possibly the right person to work on the restoration of a damaged painting by Nicolas Poussin in the church of S. Martino.⁹⁵⁶ Just like his old foreign comrade Teerlink, about whose vertical drop of success Koelman dedicated a long paragraph,⁹⁵⁷ the “old-fashioned”, discrete landscape depictions by Bassi were being less and less appreciated and he will die a few years after in 1852 working in poverty.⁹⁵⁸

⁹⁵⁴ G. Romano, *Studi sul paesaggio*.

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⁹⁵⁶ ASR - Archivio Ovidi.

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Going back to De Cuppis' statement about the plethora of landscapists depicting the war heritage, we may add that also artists who have been directly involved in the city defense were busy in such activities. It makes therefore sense to see a painter like Gustaf Palm taking visual notes before, during and after the siege [14]. The financial conditions of the Swedish artist were in fact no less precarious than Bassi's, since he never fully enjoyed a proper funding from his reference institutions, the Kungliga Akademien för de Fria Konsterna of Stockholm, despite having been begging for help since the day he arrived in Rome by June 1842.⁹⁵⁹ Compared to his older colleague, however, Palm had at least two other resources to rely upon: his age (he was born in 1810) and a home-country to repair to. Nevertheless, we find him spending the weeks following the siege's end in the countryside near Frascati, namely the same area in which he spent every summer throughout the mobilization years. As fascinating is the idea of him constantly coping with political dangers by repairing to that same landscape from which he somehow managed to draw his living from, we should also not forget that by daily feeding his portfolios of drawings and sketches, Palm was also managing his primary source of capital. We see him therefore aware of the rising currency of Garibaldi-related themes and producing a very interesting watercolor depicting the Republic's fugitives in a moment of rest alongside a grand oak. [15] Whether this picture was actually taken in "front of the subjects", as the painter reported, it's actually not so obvious, given that he reports "August" as an execution date, whereas Garibaldi's files were actually around the area S. Marino by those days and trying to reach Venice.⁹⁶⁰ These may be however some independent offsprings which spent the following months hiding in the woods just like Palm, or the painter Nino Costa, who apparently managed to prolong such lifestyle for almost three years.⁹⁶¹

Not without troubles,⁹⁶² Palm manages to leave the city only on September 5 and repair to Sicily, where he had planned to spend an artistic travel since long⁹⁶³ and return in Rome only at the end of the year.⁹⁶⁴ Surprisingly, despite almost all of his comrades had left the city and notwithstanding the tense atmosphere of the city,⁹⁶⁵ in 1850 and 1851, Palm will enjoy more commissions than what

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he had received since 1842.⁹⁶⁶ These were nevertheless almost entirely coming from Sweden, where he had since then some hard times at establishing himself. An opportunity to investigate this relevant evidence is given by the product of his Frascati escapes throughout the Revolution. By summer 1846, when Rome was greeting Pius IX for the first time, we find Palm sketching a drawing of the *Tuscolo* theater, an ancient Roman heritage which stood among the principal attractions of the area [16]. The site must have intrigued him, so he goes there again to perform this amusing oil sketch which emerged from the private market in the last years after having figured in the collections of Egron Lundgren's biographer Karl Asplund [17].⁹⁶⁷ Such a careful and finished depiction was usually aimed at a larger studio elaboration, which in fact we should recognize in a painting from a Roman private collection which has often appeared in Italian exhibitions [18]⁹⁶⁸. Signed and dated 1850 upon the same canvas, and thus performed in Rome for an unknown buyer, the painting presents a setting which is evidently reminiscent of its previous open-air elaboration. We find however some studio additions: in an unusually dark foreground there is a peasant sitting next to a pair of saddled donkeys, while in the far distance a distinct couple seems to enjoy some sightseeing in the brighter Frascati valley. Far from the spectator's point of view but still in spatial dialectic with the other group, some sort of association between the peasant and the couple is definitely suggested, like the sitting man was some kind of driver waiting for the other two. The iconographical concept of the distinct couple expresses some clear German Romantic parentage, reminding the backs of those many intense watchers of natural spectacles inaugurated by Caspar David Friedrich and his closest circle with which Palm spent some quality in Dresden by 1839 through Johan Christian Dahl and Thomas Fearnley.⁹⁶⁹ Even more meaningful is therefore to see the employment of such model in a painting which has been elaborated across that 1848 which many will regard as the tombstone of the disinterested and detached early Romantic artistic lifestyle.⁹⁷⁰ Whereas the role of small figures in Palm's paintings has always been absolutely pleonastic and aimed at balancing the overall image or contextualizing the scene with the expected presence of traditional peasants and animals of the "Roman genre" (he even admitted once to be quite bad at

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drawing figures)⁹⁷¹, we see for the first time in his canvases a modernly dressed, highbrow couple that will remain an absolute isolated case. It is therefore highly possible that with this painting Palm was constructing a kind of bitter social criticism by attesting how far was the reality of the Grand Tourists - namely, his principle reference market - from the actual life of the Roman population, plagued by an inefficient government, violently hit by the Revolution and destined to remain a small presence in landscape paintings again.

This sort of sympathetic progression that we can ascertain by pairing textual and visual statement expressed by Palm throughout the Roman Revolution, also matches an important evolution in his public figure by the time he was in Stockholm again on 1852 after fifteen years of travels. Once back in the north, Palm will in fact surprisingly become an absolutely institutionalized artists. That same academical environment which rejected him when he was in Italy, now welcomed him for the same exact reasons: Palm will in fact become a teacher in landscape art, praised exactly for his Roman training that gained him the life-lasting nickname of “*Palma il vecchio*”. This success will last for some other decades, despite some criticism of stylistic immobilism of which he will be target especially from the late 60s when young Scandinavian artists started to get increasingly fascinated by the nationalistic inspiration of landscapes depictions by Hans Gude and Adolph Tidemand,⁹⁷² among the very first painters who decided to have their “abroad experience” in Düsseldorf, rather than by the apparently over-conditioning Italian nature. By the time in which Edvard Berg was formulating at the end of the century in Florence his symbolic “farewell” to southern landscape (“Art in Sweden must be necessarily barren and hard to face, for in the North art does not sprout from fortune, but from desire”)⁹⁷³, Palm was getting described like this by his pupil Carl Rupert Nyblom:

It is like meeting a ghost, when one sees gathered in one spot the many memories of the labors of his paintbrush; but it is not something scary, it is rather a friendly spirit, a champion of an ideal that perished half a century ago.

The sudden rise in artistic currency which Palm went through after 1849 is not an easily explicable issue, given that little is actually known about the many buyers of his paintings which are listed

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⁹⁷³ Bergh R., *Svenskt Konstnärskynne*, Stockholm 1900, p. 141

within the sales record he constantly updated throughout his life.⁹⁷⁴ A simple explanation may be of course that with the rise of bourgeoisie in Sweden that was already on track since 1815, Palm's genuine, "realistic" and affordable pieces were much sought after in the rising art market of the country. Also relevant must have been the eventual phenomenon for which, under rising nationalism⁹⁷⁵, his paintings must have felt increasingly alien and definitely repetitive.

Nevertheless, Palm also proved to enjoy some special connections in the artistic establishment of Stockholm: for instance, just a year before becoming professor at the art Academy, he married the new director's daughter, Eva Sandberg.⁹⁷⁶ Another important acquaintance made by those years was that with an increasingly influential intellectual named August Blanche who Palm known by 1852 in Paris, and for whom he was painting a view of Palermo from the Monte Pellegrino already the next year, the first of many others.⁹⁷⁷ Blanche will eventually rise to active politics during 1850s and achieving the Swedish parliament in 1856 within a liberal stream that was by those days fascinated by a long essay published on the same year by Gustaf Lallertedt and entitled "Scandinavia, its hopes and fear".⁹⁷⁸ Enduring the pan-Scandinavian project which Sweden continued to nurture throughout the whole century, Lallerstedt was promoting for his country an emulation of the role which Piedmont have been pursuing in the unification of Italy, so an economic and political leadership aimed at joining the international consensus of national bodies from a more powerful position.⁹⁷⁹ Lallerstedt's work received tremendous success and was active pursued by Blanche in politics, an attitude which implied a substantial intellectual solidarity with the current Italian situation. When in fact at the dawn of the Second War of Independence Garibaldi and the *Società Nazionale Italiana* were internationally promoting the notorious subscription for providing "a milion of rifles" (October 1859)⁹⁸⁰, advertisements also appeared on the Swedish newspapers *Aftonbladet* and *Fäderneslandet* asking the Swedish people to contribute with money for the Italian cause.⁹⁸¹ Among these, a further stance was promulged by August Blanche through a parallel

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⁹⁸¹ B. Eimer, *Cavour and Swedish Politics*, Lund, 1978, pp. 184-186.

subscription named “*Semper idem*” for those who did want to contribute but refused to fund weapons provision. It is therefore not surprising that among the thousands of subscribers, mostly coming from bourgeoisie areas and including women, we also find the names of both Plagemann (who was actually back in Italy on 1855 after a short comeback in Sweden) and Palm.⁹⁸²

How should be exactly weighted the ambiguous interplay between Palm’s artistic or political capital related to this Italian years, is a question which will hopefully receive some further investigate upon a stronger documental base. Yet it is evident, even at the descriptive level, that his southern experience turned into something entirely different in a short turn of years after his comeback in Sweden. While the struggles of Italian unification were constantly watched over by public opinion and hampered by the fascinating figure of Garibaldi who was also highly acclaimed in the north, Palm’s paintings of Roman subject were getting a terrific commercial success on the private market, a much welcomed institutionalization process within the national Academy, but also the scorn of a younger generation of landscapists which rejected the burdening persistence of his “classical” conception of painting, still reminiscent of 17th century masters like Lorrain and Poussin, as also the unaddressed possibilities yet to be explored in regards to the natural heritage of Scandinavia as a mean for pursuing national pride. Despite the fact that he actively joined the Revolution only on its very last months, Palm’s identity will remain strictly tied with its participation to the 1849 events and formed an ambiguous and hard to define interrelation between artistic and political capitals in which the former seems to have been actually weaker and in the end crucially helped by the latter. It must be in fact underlined again that before being a “*citadino romano*” of the Roman Republic, Palm’s paintings were basically ignored in Sweden. Yet by 1870 he was instead in the position of saluting the annexation of Rome to Italy by presenting a small painting at the annual *Konstföreningen* exhibition entitled “View of the Roman Campagna with the residue of a grapevine after the 1849 war”. [19]. Still after more than 20 years, Palm was still leveraging on his artistic-military capital while balancing a persisting political positioning (solidarity towards the tormented lower stata of population) and the visual resources of his Italian portfolio, a capital acquired at the light of the Roman scene’s resources. The broken lady mourning war’s aftermaths that just like the peasant in the 1850 “*Tusculum*” canvas is sitting on the ground, is in fact an iconographical feature which was handed to Palm by his Danish companion the painter Albert Küchler, who was also a Civic Guard and who left in chase Rome before the siege’s beginning.⁹⁸³ Drawn on a paper and

⁹⁸² *Ibidem*, p. 187. The fact is also remarked by Plagemann in an unpublished autobiographic manuscript which is today stored at the Kungliga Akademien för de Fria Konsterna in Stockholm.

stored by Palm in his *Vänneralbum* [20], the motif represented a sort of paradigmatic element that the Scandinavian community bequeath from hand to hand, as we may find the lady in older Kückler's paintings, as also in the canvases of Ernst Meyer who spent almost his entire life in Rome and throughout Italy.⁹⁸⁴ The measure to which Palm's careful management of his capitals proved to be successful, may be easily attested than his 1870 painting was bought by the queen of Sweden Josephine, wife of Oskar I and daughter of the Napoleon's stepson Eugene de Beauharnais. Despite being famous for her strict Catholicism and for having pronounced herself against the 1848 riots which also stroke Stockholm aiming at achieving a Republican turn, Josephine was still able to acquire a painting performed by a man whose involvement in the Roman 1849 was largely known, not to talk about his Protestant faith.⁹⁸⁵ The inner pauperism and affection for the left-behinds that naturally arouse and united the bourgeoisie identity of both the Scandinavians artists in Rome and Napoleon's granddaughter apparently ended up in embodying a safe narrative to ground the political and artistic capitals of Palm, with the former looking like a more persistently efficient asset than the latter.

The extent to which such pattern may be deducible also from other artistic biographies stories in post-1848 Europe is a question which is yet to be addressed. Yet, some same similar recurrences may be drawn from the deeds of another dissident like Koelman, who by the years of his diary's publication was as institutionalized in the Dutch artistic world as Tenerani or Minardi were in Rome, and this despite having entirely transformed himself as an entirely different artist.⁹⁸⁶ After going back to Den Hague in 1857, he turned in fact from the genre painter he was in Rome into a classically informed sculptor,⁹⁸⁷ eventually becoming Professor of architectural ornament by the Fine Arts Academy of Den Hague by 1861 (in 1870 he will also become its director). By 1863, his project for a commemoration monument of the 1813 war won against France for Dutch national independence was unanimously approved by the government,⁹⁸⁸ while in the same year the weekly

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987 See his detailed accounts of the Belvedere gardens in the Vatican palace, underlining how only a dedicated study in Rome disclosed him to the secrets and the appreciation of such masterworks.

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episodes of his Roman diary were already being published on the liberal “*De Nederlandsche Specator*” and passionately followed by thousands of readers.⁹⁸⁹

5.4.3 - *Exiles*

If we are to watch again at the overall artistic panorama of Rome immediately following the Republic’s end, the largest part of the artistic scene seems to literally disappear from statistics: the same instruments which by 1846 testified the presence of 1860 “individuals professing the Fine Arts”, 1810 in the 1845 and 1843 in the 1844, by 1853 counts instead only 1075.⁹⁹⁰ It’s worth to notice that this deficit it’s not due to political reasons, or at least not because of judiciary treatment. Artists are in fact just a few within the “*Stato degli inquisiti*” [Conditions of the prosecuted subjects] produced by the *Sacra Consulta* [Holy Counsel], the congregation charged of prosecuting trials “*a iniziarsi o da proseguirsi a carico degli autori o de’ complici dei delitti ed attentati commessi contro la nostra Santa Religione ed i suoi Ministri, contro la Maestà del Sovrano e contro la pubblica e privata sicurezza, in particolare durante l’epoca luttuosa della ribellione e della sovversione di ogni ordine pubblico negli Stati della Chiesa e maggiormente in questa Capitale*” [which shall be commenced or continued in charge of the authors of the accomplices of the murders and the aggressions committed against our Holy Religion and its Ministers, against the Majesty of our Sovereign and against public and private security, in particular during the mourning period of the rebellion and of the subversion of any public order in the Church States and mainly in Rome].⁹⁹¹ Among the overall 3223 subjects prosecuted, the artists were in fact

⁹⁸⁹ Hoogewerf 1963.

⁹⁹⁰ Risultati del censimento del 1853 per Roma e suo Agro: (presa da P. Castiglioni, *Della popolazione in Roma in Monografia della città di Roma*, II, pp. 362-367

⁹⁹¹ In “*Giornale di Roma*”, August 24, 1849.

only 69,⁹⁹² and of these only more than a half are to be considered professional in the liberal and in the mechanical arts.⁹⁹³ This implies that the largest part of the artists who left Rome in the years of the Roman Revolution weren't at all touched by the actual political retribution.

Although general figures does not present high quantitative presences in that sense for the artists, the “quality” of the expatriates and of their exile experience presents on the other hand some relevant evidences for addressing the resilience of the artistic scene and its sources of capital. Several are in fact the artists who left not only Rome, but Italy: next to ventures like that of the landscape painter Alessandro Castelli and the architect Giovanni Montiroli, who are lacking some beneficial research investigation, well known are the endeavors of the painters Costantino Brumidi and Eugenio Agneni, both of which we have encountered as high officers of the Civic Guard. The latter was born in Sutri by 1815 (the civic registers reports an inexplicable 1824), in the province of Rome, and by the time of Pius IX's election was an already established painter, trained between S. Luke and the studios of Francesco Coghetti and Tommaso Minardi, while also maintaining opportunities of patronage in his town.⁹⁹⁴ Already figuring as the representative of the Academy among a delegation of “bourgeoise” received by Pius IX on the eve of 1847, Agneni followed a very similar path to that of Ercoli Morelli: enthusiast for the Pope, Captain in the Civic Guard, mobilized for Veneto, soldier of the Republic.⁹⁹⁵ Personally praised by Garibaldi for his deeds on the battlefield, Agneni also became a close associate of Mazzini, and as such, he was among the most wanted after July 1849. Several notables like the former triumvirate were endowed with British diplomatic passports already before the end of the siege,⁹⁹⁶ but despite being provided with one of those, Agneni remained for the rest of 1849 hiding in Rome, and only by 1850 will start a peregrination throughout Italy that ended up in Paris, where the artist remained until the 1859. The French years were apparently signed by failed attempts at configuring his capabilities with the local scene and its radically different conditions, which Agneni attempted to

⁹⁹² 34 Fine (11 painters, 8 architects, 8 sculptors); 35 Liberals (20 stone carvers, 12 goldsmiths, 2 engravers of which 1 *incisore di camei*). The stone carvers is a much interesting evidence to be compared with those of the wood-carvers which counted instead 30 individuals. For a more general account of these numbers, including those not related to the arts, see D. Demarco, *Per la storia della classi sociali del Risorgimento: i rivoluzionari del 1848-9 nello Stato Pontificio*, in “Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento”, 1 (1947), pp. 221-241.

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⁹⁹⁴ Stendardo.

⁹⁹⁵ Apolloni +

⁹⁹⁶ Freeman

chase by insisting on Romantic history paintings that even in Italy were already falling outside of favor since the 1840s.⁹⁹⁷ His biggest effort was a wide canvas entitled “*Rêve d’un exilé*” [Dream of an exile] and later renamed “*Le ombre dei grandi uomini fiorentini che protestano contro il dominio straniero*” [The shadows of the illustrious florentine men protesting against the strangers’ domination], which received tepid reactions at the *Salon* of 1857 despite being eventually acquired by the king of Italy Vittorio Emanuele II in 1862, and still stands today in Turin [21].⁹⁹⁸ The *Risorgimento* acclimatization of the “parade of illustrious men” motive which had also inspired the Roman Republic artistic policies, was ironically stigmatized by his friend Luigi Calamatta:

“Ti devo ancora far dispiacere e avvertirti che non credo doverti il quadro grande giovar molto [...] temo che [tu] non abbia preso il costume che piaccia alla Francia moderna, ed è per te di una tale importanza che ti prego avanti di far vedere il tuo quadro, di consultare due o tre amici sinceri.”⁹⁹⁹

[I should make you sorry again and warn you that you won’t benefit much from the big painting (...) I’m afraid that you didn’t take yet the customs that modern France enjoys, and this is so important for you that I beg you to consult at least two or three sincere friends before showing off your painting].

Some better fortune Agneni had in London, where he moved by 1859 to follow Mazzini and escape the accusation of being involved in Felice Orsini’s assassination attempt at the expenses of Napoleon III.¹⁰⁰⁰ Praised by Mazzini for his efficient contributions in service of the *Giovine Italia*,¹⁰⁰¹ Agneni will eliminate politics from his artworks and find in Victorian England the highbrow environment in which prized were his skills in portraiture and in fresco painting, but also in a dismissed but still practiced in Rome technique like the painting of mirrors. In the turn of a few years he became rich and reached back Rome ten days after the breach of Porta Pia.¹⁰⁰²

⁹⁹⁷ Sgarbozza in *Roma fuori di Roma*.

⁹⁹⁸ “Garibaldi arte e storia”, 2, pp. 56-57.

⁹⁹⁹ Dinoia

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¹⁰⁰¹ G. Mazzini, *Dear Kate. Lettere inedite di Giuseppe Mazzini a Katherine Hill, Angelo Bezzi e altri italiani a Londra (1841-1871)*, edited by R. Sarti, N. Mayper, Catanzaro, 2011, p. 316.

¹⁰⁰² Apolloni

Even more successful was the endeavor of Costantino, or Constantino Brumidi. Son of a Greek innkeeper working in the Monti district, Brumidi was raised in S. Luke under Tommaso Minardi and prolongedly trained in fresco painting with Vincenzo Camuccini and Filippo Agricola. He started early to work in the Torlonia yards together with Domenico Tojetti as also in other contexts related to the government, for which we can definitely assume that by the 1840s he was advancing in the path to institutionalization within the elites.¹⁰⁰³ Not for a chance, Brumidi was still largely at work when he was convicted to an 18 years imprisonment by January 1852, under a number of accusations matured in 1849 as captain of the Civic Guard, including the expropriation and aggravated assault of three churches and a monastery which, according to the defense, were ravaged to find room for men and munitions as also furniture for barricades.¹⁰⁰⁴ As an evidence of the social status of Brumidi, he was however pardoned by the Pope in a few months, but had to leave for the United States before June 1852. After a few years of peregrinations between New York and Mexico, he finally rested by 1854 in Washington DC and managed to impress the Quartermaster General of the United States army Montgomery Meigs who was directing the edification of Capitol.¹⁰⁰⁵ Rapidly, Brumidi became the responsible of the fresco decorations, on which he worked for the following twenty-five years alongside the Civil War and until his death, not without controversies forwarded by local painters who didn't appreciate that such a relevant role was being attributed to a foreigner, painting in a foreign language.¹⁰⁰⁶ These became more intense when Brumidi, before dying, counseled the Capitol's architect to entrust the decorations' completion to another Roman and former students of S. Luke, Filippo Costaggini.¹⁰⁰⁷ Brumidi's endurance testifies the value of the artistic capital attached to his "Roman" status at the eyes of political leaders (Meigs refrained in several occasion that he wanted an Italian master for the Capitol)¹⁰⁰⁸, but also to the eminently "Roman" craft and secrets of the fresco technique which he employed in order to face the challenge still attested by the hundreds of meters of painted surface that adorn today the US Capitol. This transmigration of capabilities, of a moving individual importing knowledge from far to employ it within large public artworks, resembles centuries-old precedents that perfectly resumes the

¹⁰⁰³ Campitelli A., Steindl B., *Costantino Brumidi da Roma a Washington. Vicende e opere di un artista romano*, in "Ricerche di Storia dell'arte", 46 (1992), pp. 49-59.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Nazzaro

¹⁰⁰⁵ Wolanin, Miller

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misalignment of time and space which we framed among the necessary premises for approaching the impact that modernity had on the Roman artistic scene during the first half of the 19th century. Not surprisingly, in fact, the *grottesche* decoration in the Capitol apartments [22], the Classical quotations of the Rotunda [23], but also the recurring iconographical motives which could have easily figured among the most heated phases of the social mobilization during the Roman Revolution (the holding symmetric eagle, the fasces with the hatchet, the Phrygian hat, the garlands, the trumpets [24]) testifies that Brumidi's figurative culture was raised in the same environment in which the author of the Civic frescoes in the *Cancellaria* developed his.

5.4.4 - *Developments*

In the general economy of the visual treatments which the events and the characters of the Roman Revolution received afterwards, images dedicated to the Republic, as we have already specified, outnumbers the others by far. Beside the specific orientations which will see from time to time higher trends in one, rather than other episodes - everything, always, with a high degree of militant, lined up spirit - what emerges immediately from even a brief overview of the Risorgimento visual culture in the second half of the century is an extremely detailed diffusion and reception of texts by a public large as never before, prompted by a rising technological development, averagely less rich and pretentious, very often no less militant than the same propagators of political ideas. Within these processes stands out a shift in the way in which artists intended their role and public identity alongside wider transformations. The years in which the 1847-1848 National Guards starts to rise all over the peninsula, are also the awakening times of the "soldier-painter", paradigmatic synthesis of a professional class that was feeling the necessity to actively participate to the national projects through one's own military contribution, almost always a voluntary act, in parallel to a militant and dedicated artistic endeavor. To that end, the soldier-painter endorses a visual lexicon fine-tuned upon a variegated array of approaches tied to "realism", with constant attention towards rising

technologies, including photography. The patriotic circle was made full by the attempts of bringing back on the canvas that military experience from which also depended the final moral approval of the spectator, hit in his emotiveness by the intense telling of a shared struggle for the nation.

It was therefore with an embarrassing transversal enthusiasm that were welcomed the early war-related artworks performed by the Milanese painter Gerolamo Induno, who with his brother and fellow artist Domenico followed the Italian 1848 from the barricades of Milan to Florence and finally to Rome in 1849 among the volunteers gathered by Giacomo Medici, who will die during the siege. The same Gerolamo miraculously survived a heavy French charge during the battle for the Barberini palace, leaving him with tens of grave injuries for which he almost died. During the long months of recovery in Rome and then back in Milan, Induno started to further elaborate the “realistic” taste of his genre paintings, previously judged by 1847 as “absent of meanings for the mind and for the heart” by a reviewer of the Brera exhibition.¹⁰⁰⁹ The result was a series of acclaimed paintings dedicated to the Roman siege, featuring the narrative and iconographical protagonists of the events from Garibaldi to the ruins, to the depiction of the picturesque garments of the General’s personal army, portrayed in formats which are derivative of the *figurini* traditionally employed for the visual description of official uniform, including the Civic Guard.[70] The kind of suggestive narrative upgrade from the anonymously depicted soldiers of the *figurini*, also lead to the wide success of the most acclaimed artwork by Gerolamo Induno of those years, the “*Trasteverina uccisa da una bomba*” [71]. Based upon the attested death of a young girl hit by a cannonball in a house of the Trastevere district, the painting was exhibited in Brera by 1850, striking Carlo Tenca as “terrible, in its simplicity”:

*“[...] un episodio del glorioso assedio fatte dalle armi francesi a Roma, quando una bomba penetra nella stanza di una povera fanciulla e questa sta rovesciata in sul terreno immersa nel proprio sangue. Il soggetto benissimo eseguito fa raccapricciare l’osservatore e deplorare le umane miserie”.*¹⁰¹⁰

[(...) an episode from the glorious siege made at Rome by French arms, when a bomb penetrated in the room of a poor maid and she stands overturned on the ground immersed in her own blood. The very well carried out subject makes horrifies the observer and make him deplore human misery].

¹⁰⁰⁹ Rivista europea a. VII, 17-18, pp. 348

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Induno here employed some very well known iconographical peculiarities attached to genre paintings and popular prints, while rendering them with a Romantic realism which would have been severely criticized in the “Eternal City” but that was starting to get accustomed within the art scene of Milan. The close aftermaths of the failed revolutions alongside a projection of distance from the revolutionary Rome (exclusive prime-hand experience was were the fascination behind the painter-soldier figure resided), hampered the suggestions given by the traditional costumes and rendered artworks like the *Trasteverina* a watershed against the reception of such traditionally “Roman” iconographies to which Hayez was still referring to by 1842. As the crude realism of style and narrative details were being addressed as a value factor for the quality of the picture, also will be the status of “painting soldier” as inaugurated by the Induno brothers, a characteristic which will hold a major role in defining the Italian artistic hierarchies for the following decades.¹⁰¹¹

The postwar success of Gerolamo Induno signs an unprecedented and unrepeatable strategy in the valorization of Roman sources of artistic capital, an operation which was nevertheless strongly relying on the scenic peculiarities of Milan. The city held in fact an exhibition structure like that of the Brera Academy, where a painter was in the position of presenting controversial artworks in front of informed journalists and of “ready” patrons like the marqués Giulio Litta Modigliani, who will remain Induno’s strongest buyer and supporter for the next years.

The same, is clear, didn’t exist in Rome. At his return in Rome on 12 April 1850 after the polishings operated by the Red Triumvirate under the protection of French garrisons who will remain in the city until 1864, Pius IX will substantially make a step back from active politics to fully dedicate his energies to repair the image and the authority of the Holy See.¹⁰¹² This included both a large requalification and program of restorations for the city of Rome, as also a wide international diffusion of Roman religious artworks to reinforce old partnerships around the world and create new ones.¹⁰¹³ Predictably, the pope largely relied for this endeavor upon the resources still offering by the institutionalized part of the artistic scene. Having had no substantial involvement with the Republic beside what was perceived as “institutional duty”, Minardi, Tenerani, Poletti, Overbeck and the best of part of the high hierarchies became even more relevant and influential. Having

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recognized the importance of the arts for the Church's survival among rising enemies, Pius IX acknowledged a superior status to his closest artists but demanded also absolute compliancy. Among the artistic protagonists of this prolonged dusk of the "Second Rome"¹⁰¹⁴ was Francesco Podesti, painter born in Ancona by 1800 and former pupil of Vincenzo Camuccini. Podesti was already a rising star after a few years of his arrival in Rome, where he progressively fine-tuned his academic identity up to subtly start including several romantic features in his expressive palette and update from the inside the Roman tradition of history painting. Even violently pushed in portraits and other "private" pieces, color was both the most remarked and criticized aspect of Podesti's paintings, an aspect of his art which he largely matured at the light of his frequent excursions throughout the peninsula. Such blend of approaches was transversally appreciated: Podesti received praisings from Mazzini as also from Carlo Alberto of Piedmont, for which he performed the paradigmatic painting "Solomon's judgement" in 1836-1841, today still at the Royal Palace collections in Turin.¹⁰¹⁵

Steadily successful throughout pre-48 Italy, the social mobilization of Rome caught him as too much a public figure and not enough old or unhealthy to possibly refuse an active involvement, and thus he rapidly became Captain in the Civic Guard.¹⁰¹⁶ Next to his presence in the register, all that we know about Podesti's behaviors throughout the Roman Revolution comes from two autobiographic manuscripts (one edited and printed in 1884 by Clemente Feroso, the other unpublished until 1982)¹⁰¹⁷ which, given their later elaboration, must be taken with no less caution than what we had for Oreste Raggi's and Francesco De Sanctis' works. We learn therefore that he taken Civic service as a burden, although one that he had to perfectly fulfill in order not to lose his revered public stature. This also gained him a place in the Municipal Counsel of Rome as "*Consigliere della Sezione de 'Spettacoli'*", a charge he kept until the Republic's end which he salutes in the manuscript with a "*Oh!!... E questa è fatta. Ora pensiamo seriamente alle cose nostre*". His memories of the days as a Civic Guard may remind either Koelman or Minardi:

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“Quindi per le guardie spesse, per la scuola del battaglione, e per l’esercizio della scherma, cui era iniziato fin da giovinetto, e per le grandi passeggiate, riviste, e manovre a fuoco, passavo il tempo in fatiche e brighe senza nulla concludere”.

[Therefore for the much frequent guards, for the battalion’s training, and for the exercise in fencing to which I was initiated since I was a young lad, and for the grand parades, reviews, fire maneuvers, I was spending my time in labor and bothers without concluding anything].

Podesti’s worries of losing time were most likely directed to his most important work of those days, an enormous 385cmx510cm canvas commissioned by the City Counsel of Ancona. After a proposal inspired by the same painter and advanced by his main patron marquis Carlo Bourbon del Monte, the Counsel wanted to have an ambitious and resounding artwork about the city history performed by “its” leading artist. The chosen event refers to the 12th century history of the city, when the Republic of Ancona was racing with Venice for the most rich and wealthy city of the Adriatic, having entrenched close commercial relationships with the Byzantine empire, the *Serenissima*’s first rival.¹⁰¹⁸ As a consequence, once Venice became an ally of the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire Frederick I Hohenstaufen in his Italian campaigns against the communes of the north, Ancona also became a target, so the Emperor dispatched his plenipotentiary, the Archbishop Christian of Mainz (*“guerriero terribile, che una volta colla mazza sfracellò trenta nemici, e insieme voluttuoso”*)¹⁰¹⁹ to storm the city in 1174. The chosen happening depicted by Podesti in his artwork, occurred after some weeks since hostilities begun and in particular to an attempt of instigating an act of submission operated by an embassy sent by Mainz, which offered peace in exchange for the acceptance of Imperial banners and the imprisonment of the Byzantine emissaries. Despite scarcities of food and outnumbered forces, Ancona decided to resist and eventually managed to win the invaders thanks to the upcoming support of other Italian cities endeavored in the wars against the Holy Roman Empire. The dramatic moment in which the blind senator Bonifazio Faziolo drove away the enemy diplomats and accepted to seriously risk the inhabitants life for the (apparent) sake of republican freedom, remained known as the *“Giuramento degli Anconetani”*, from which Podesti also took his artwork’s title [25].

The episode was of course particularly apt for a depiction at the light of the Romantic history painting which thrived across the peninsula at least since the 1820s. In this sense, we can measure the degree of Podesti’s intentions from a sort of project forwarded by him and reported

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within the verbals of the 1843 Municipal Counsel stored at the State Archive of Ancona:

*“Rappresenterai il momento in cui nel Consiglio il Veglio ancora non tace, e già eccitati gli animi di tutti a generosa indignazione, fidenti nella Divina Misericordia, vengono i Messaggeri nemici cacciati, e fatto giuramento di morire con la patria, o salvarla, esprimerai le diverse passioni, gli sdegni, il giubilo del disperato pronto a combattere, la gioia, e la prostrazione delle Madri, delle Mogli, delle Figlie al grido della tremenda risoluzione; lo stupore, la rabbia de’ Messaggeri, per tanto coraggio in tanta estrema miseria; la gioventù baldanzosa, la vecchiaia, che rivive alla gloria; l’amore, amicizia, la povertà, la fame, il rossore, il coraggio. [...] Tutto si unisce a far grande, ed interessante il soggetto, che io scelgo a preferenza de’ molti altri, come passo eloquentissimo, ed eminentemente drammatico”.*¹⁰²⁰

[I represented the moment of the Counsel in which the Elder does not fall silent yet, and excited already everyone’s soul with generous indignation, confident in Divine Mercy, they banish the enemy Messengers and swear to die for the homeland or save it; I would like to express their various passions, their scorn, the rejoicing of the desperate who’s ready to fight, the joy, the Mothers’ prostration for so much courage in such extreme misery; the bold youth, the old reliving in glory; the love, the friendship, the poverty, the hunger, the redness, the courage (...) All gathers to bring grandeur and interest in the subject, which I chose among many others for it’s a much eloquent passage, and an eminently dramatic one].

After having officially received the commission by 1844, in three years the painting was basically complete, although the canvas will remain in Podesti’s studio also throughout the Revolution waiting for the last touches that its author didn’t have time to finalize. During the siege, when Podesti was watching over the city’s internal safety as Civic Guard (interestingly, he never uses the denomination “National”) , he tells that the canvas seriously risked to be destroyed for a bomb which hit his palace and miraculously remained unexploded.¹⁰²¹ Completed by late 1850, Podesti and his artwork leaves Rome for a sort of European tour, starting with a side event of London’s Great Universal Exhibition of 1851:

“Nella circostanza della grande Esposizione universale deliberai di andarvi, inviandovi prima, dietro l’invito che si faceva all’altra esposizione di Pittura lontano dal quartiere della prima, il mio quadro dell’Assedio di Ancona; e per colà mossi prendendo la via di mare. Mai più ebbi un tempo così tranquillo, e una compagnia più brillante, essendovi molti Romani”

[In the circumstances of the great universal Exhibition I resolved to attend it, sending my painting of the Siege of Ancona after being invited in another Painting exhibition away from that quarter; and hence I left for it on the seaway. Nevermore I had such a peaceful time, and a more brilliant company, being many Romans there].

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Noticed with amusement by the “*Morning Post*”¹⁰²² as “a great historical picture, containing forty life-size pictures, painter by the Cavalier Podesti”, the effortful artwork somehow faded alongside the plethoric multitudes put in display at the Crystal Palace :

“ [...] visitai intanto tutta Londra e i suoi contorni: ritornai a vedere più e più volte la meravigliosa Esposizione nel gran Palazzo di cristallo; però non mi rallegrò molto dopo diciotto secoli di Civiltà nuova il gusto dominante del presuntuoso presente in fatto d’arte, in tutte queste infinite manufatture”¹⁰²³

[In the meanwhile I visited all London and its surroundings: I went again and again to see the marvelous Exhibition in the great crystal Palace; but I didn’t enjoy much the presumptuous dominant taste in matters of art that came to be after eighteen centuries of Civilization within all these infinite manufactures].

Some similar frictions, Podesti seems to have perceived during the next exhibition, a triennial organized by the Art Academy of Brussel. As the Roman academicians were officially invited through the S. Luca Academy,¹⁰²⁴ Podesti was also guest in a lunch organized by the King of Belgium for the exhibiting artists among which also stood Gustave Courbet, who was then showing off his “*Les Casseurs de pierres*”, judged “ridiculous” by the Belgian art critic Victor Joly ¹⁰²⁵ and already present some months before at the *Pavillion du Realisme*. The *Giuramento* didn’t make it to the exhibition, so Podesti only brought two small paintings. From his words, the distance between his art and the leading European trends was no less substantial than what he had perceived in London:

“[...] viddi due mie povere creature, cioè due quadretti posti in alto, così che poco vi dava lo sguardo dei visitatori; e, come cose di maniera Romana, e classica, erano quasi dimenticati, regnandovi il gusto romantico e il fare barocco. Mortificato del poco conto, in cui si tenevano le cose italiane, fossero pure pensate con sana filosofia, e trattate con tutta la ragione della pura estetica, lamentai sospirando i bei nostri tempi, in cui Italia poteva essere ascoltata e riverita almeno in fatto d’arti”.

[I saw two poor creatures of mine, meaning two small paintings put on top so that the visitor’s sight only have little for them; and being things of Roman and classic manner almost forgotten, reigning instead the romantic taste and the baroque doing. Mortified by the lame regards with which Italian things were tread, even those pondered with sound philosophy and treated with all the reason of pure

¹⁰²² July 26 1851,

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¹⁰²⁴ ASL - b. 107 ,f.129, 25 agosto 1848

¹⁰²⁵ V. Joly, *Les Beaux-Arts en Belgique de 1848 à 1857*, Brussel-Leipzig, p. 103.

aesthetics, I complained by yearning the good times of ours, in which Italy was able to be listened and revered, at least in matters of art].

After figuring also at the Universal Exhibition of Paris in 1855, the *Giuramento* finally makes it to the walls of Ancona's city halls in the following year, where the painting was inaugurated with astonishing participation. Now, despite some deeper critical investigation may prove otherwise, the appreciations received by Podesti's canvas throughout Europe were mostly revolving around specifically pictorial features and the ability of the author in displaying an absolute mastership in what was however evidently perceived as a yet relevant, but not exactly fashionable, updated way of producing a painting. No word was said about any political interpretation of the painting, nor of the symmetry between the 1174 besieged Republic of Ancona and the fresh memories of 1849, of which Belgian, French and English press previously gave much more space in their columns than the attention to the prolonged execution of the *Giuramento*. Leaving aside the Roman facts, the same Ancona was in the end besieged because of the Papal retribution. Whereas Oudinot and the Frenchs were in fact supposed to attack Rome from the sea, while Naples and Spain were advancing from the South, Austria was supposed to clear hostilities in the rest of the Papal States, and as Ancona was with Bologna the most tenacious resistant, General Kandler decided to attack the city from the sea, eventually taking the city after weeks of bombings and remaining in the city until the annexation to the Italian Kingdom.¹⁰²⁶ If someone expected that such memories wouldn't arose back in front of an historical painting dramatically exposing the story of Republican Ancona pushed to the extreme sacrifice in order to save its independence from the German intrusion of the Holy Roman Empire, such hopes would have remained disappointed. From the memories of the eye-witness Enea Costantini:

“ Il successo fu immenso; la folla si pigiava a tutta le ore nella non vasta sala ad ammirare la tela meravigliosa, che tutti volevano vedere, studiare, esaminare e commentare [...] l'insieme della grande scena, piena di movimento e di sentimento, colpiva e affascinava: lo scopo era raggiunto e allora bastava. Non negherò che al successo contribuì anche il soggetto, suggestivo sempre, specialmente in quei momenti. Si vedeva rappresentata Ancona stretta d'assedio da un esercito tedesco, e ciò dopo appena sette anni dacché la città era uscita da un frangente consimile, e mentre si trovava coi tedeschi vincitori entro le sue mura; quindi si può immaginare come gli animi si esaltassero innanzi alle grandi memorie che suscitava la scena del giuramento. Il gruppo degli ambasciatori tedeschi venuti per proporre agli anconitani una resa disonorevole, cacciati a furor di popolo, dopo che il vecchio Fazio aveva arringato per la resistenza ad oltranza, era in special modo osservato; e molti stavano a guardare l'effetto che

*produceva quella scena sugli ufficiali austriaci, che in gran numero andavano a vedere il quadro".*¹⁰²⁷

[Success was immense; the crowd milled around at every hour in the not so big hall to admire the marvelous canvas, which everyone wanted to see, study, examine and comment (...) the totality of the great scene, full of movement and sentiment, it stroke and enthralled: the scope was achieved and that was enough. I won't deny that the subject widely contributed to success, always suggestive and during those moments in particular. Ancona was represented as grasped in a siege by a German army, and this only seven years after the city came out of a very similar event, and while the German vanquishers were still inside its walls; so one can imagine how exalted were the spirits in front of the great memories caused by the scene of the oath. The group of German ambassadors reaching to propose a dishonorable surrender to the people of Ancona, banished by popular acclaim after the old Fazio's harangue had settled for resistance with a vengeance, was observed with particular care; and many stared and look the effect that the scene produced over the Austrian officers, who in throng came to see the picture].

It is worth to underline that right before leaving for Paris the year before, Podesti was just prized by Cardinal Antonelli with an honor that a member of the artistic scene didn't receive since the times of Giulio Romano: a commission for painting a fresco in the *Stanze vaticane* next to Raphael's masterpieces to depict the Immaculate Conception dogma which remained one of the topical theological legacies of Pius IX.¹⁰²⁸ Having the execution of this artwork lasted until 1865, Podesti didn't have any space for being accused of even the smallest suspicion of being a supporter of the Italian cause, given the strict compliancy rules of the Holy See. The same artist, remembers the enthusiasms following the collocation of the *Giuramento* with mixed feelings:

"Il Quadro riuscendo a soddisfazione del pubblico, che in grande concorso vi accedeva giornalmente, concertarono i miei Compatrioti di darmi qualche segno di parziale considerazione; ed una sera in Teatro, ove mi trovai testa a testa con una Signora che ivi accompagnai nel proprio palchetto, nell'intervallo del primo al second'atto dell'Opera, mi lasciarono solo con essa, perché io non potessi allontanarmi senza commettere un atto d'inciviltà. Una voce stentorea dall'alto pronuncia un motto di plauso col mio nome, ed ecco una pioggia infinita di fogli cader da tutta la loggia superiore, accompagnata da evviva e da lusinghiere espressioni. [Among the papers he receives a laurel crown] ... la baciai al loro aspetto come cosa carissima. Vero è bensì che in questo secolo d'una civiltà senza carattere proprio, impastata sul gusto di tutte l'età passate, si sogliono dare a profusione e ghirlande e corone, e con più corone alle mime; e se in tal tenore prosiegue si concederanno anche le palme del martirio glorioso alle Mademoiselle Violette".

[The painting managed to satisfy the public, who in long throng acceded daily, so my Compatriots resolved to offer me a sign of partial consideration; so one evening at the Theatre, where I found myself next to a Lady who I was escorting to her balcony between the

¹⁰²⁷ Costantini 1916, pp. 248-250.

¹⁰²⁸

first and the second act of the play, they left me alone with her, so that I could not leave without committing an act of rudeness. A stentorian voice from above pronounced an acclaim with my name, and there started an infinite rain of papers falling down from the upper balcony, accompanied by cheers and the most flattering expressions. [...] (Among the papers he receives a laurel crown)... I kissed it in front of them as a much precious thing. Truth to be told, in this century of civilization without a proper character, dried out on the taste for every age of the past, it's common to give out profusions and garlands and crowns, and even more crowns to imitators; if it keeps going like this, the palms of glorious martyrdom will be conceded to the various Masamoiselle Violettes”].

A glad, but absolutely not enthusiast reaction. In the end, in his memories Podesti formulates a rather neat judgement over the Republican 1849, no less annoying for him than the “united” phases of the mobilization, including Civic service. After having described the circumstances of the Guard’s re-enactment, he states:

“[...] intanto le cose pubbliche s’intorbidivano, e le esultanze camminavano di gran passo verso la via de’ dolori, perché tutto quello che si era ottenuto, si stimava per nulla; già stabilito che nella grande orchestra del dramma avvenire, come dicevano, non era che la prima arcata di violino. Tutti sanno quanto avvenne nel 1849. Accennerò soltanto che io mi trovai spettatore affatto innocuo [...]”.

[(...) in the meanwhile public things became torpid, and the celebrations started to walk fast toward the road of pains, for everything that was gained was esteemed for nothing; established already that in the great orchestra of the drama to come, as they used to say, this was just the first violin bow. Everyone knows what happened in 1849. I will only mention the facts of which I found myself harmless spectator...].

Despite Elena Barolo¹⁰²⁹ and Judith Huber¹⁰³⁰ have taken efforts in trying to base their respective pro-national and anti-national interpretation of the painting’s inner message, it is hardly deniable that Podesti actually never gave any sign of leaning on one side or the other. Even in a private autobiography written when the Papal States were only already doomed, his loyalty towards Pius IX and the “*Repubblica delle arti*” of Rome (terms explicitly used by himself and refraining Minardi and Canova before him)¹⁰³¹ never gives any chance of appearing questionable. Furthermore, the painting was entirely conceived and performed by 1847, when none of the eventual events were in any manner foreseeable. It is evident that the public’s contribution to the hermeneutical processing

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of the artwork proved to be even stronger than the intentions of its creator and of the intellectual enclosures forwarded by the Austrian garrisons in the city. Possibly, the emotive investment of Ancona's inhabitants was even stronger than the artist's, an interpretation which strongly arouses by the reading of a long explanatory essay published in Loreto on 1856 by the "*almanacchista*" Evaristo Masi in which he defines the terms of a revisionist teleology that associated every single fragment of the painting to the republican heritage of the 1174 and the need of being "*essere sempre pronto al sacrificio della vita, per difendere fino all'estremo la patria libertà*".¹⁰³² A fear which must have invested the same Masi throughout the previous years: the Civic register tells in fact that his son Luigi (not to be mistaken with the more famous, Assisi born Luigi Masi son of Giovanni), painter born in 1824 and pupil of the same Podesti, joined the Civic Guard in the same battalion, same company of Pietro Venier and his entourage, voluntarily mobilized for the Veneto expedition, involved in the *panuntelle* lead by Bartolomeo Galletti.¹⁰³³

In the end, no cultural device seemed to be effective in erasing the legacy of the 1849 events and the development of *Risorgimento*. Between the rise of the painter-soldier and the global strategies for the promotion of arts endeavored by the pope, it is clear than the latter was attempting to enlarge the ecumenic network of the Holy See while at the same time attempting to isolate Rome from its immediate environments. Although by alluring the most prominent talents of the artistic scene with hard to refuse offers - the possibility of painting in the *Stanze Vaticane* was definitely one - the pope was able to perdure the resourceful presence of the artistic scene in its relationship with the government, the world outside the city walls seems to have been regardlessly living its course. In this sense, politics have been playing as a deterrent for the capitalization of artistic skills traditionally attributed to the Roman artists: a public able not only to influence market trends, but more in general to factually understand art, is definitely a strategic form of capital for an artistic scene, and in this sense, the maturing of new narratives also prompts transformations in the way arts are perceived, a force which may determine even preposterous consequences as the *Giuramento*'s inauguration clearly shows.

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APPENDIX

DOCUMENT 1

“Statuto della Società Artistica italiana”

in ASC, coll. 14970-16.

Statuto della società artistica italiana

Roma pei tipi di Gaetano A. Bertinelli
Via sistina 46
1847

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art. I

La Società artistica italiana che dovrà sempre conservare, come ritenne al suo nascere, l'Artistica istituzione non esclude però che i dotti cultori delle Lettere e delle Scienze possano farne parte, qualora il loro merito eminentemente distino le procuri maggior lustro e decoro. Solo non potrà giammai esservi incluso chiunque non provi di essere legalmente riconosciuto cittadino italiano

art. II

la Società ha per iscopo, I. Il progresso delle Arti; II. L'utilità degli Artisti; III. Il conversare piacevole ed istruttivo, mirando sempre all'incremento di gloria e vantaggio per la nostra Nazione. [4] Vi saranno perciò Sale per una grandiosa esposizione, Gabinetto di lettura, e Camere di intrattenimento.

art. III

L'Adunanza generale, che abbraccia l'intera Società, si convoca d'ordinario nei mesi di Giugno e Dicembre per l'ammissione dei Soci, la elezione delle cariche, e la discussione di qualche articolo che si stimasse necessario aggiungere o rettificare nello statuto, qualora ne proponga il Consiglio, il quale potrà inoltre far convocare in casi straordinari l'Adunanza generale ogni qual volta lo reputi opportuno. Ciascun Socio avrà diritto d'interloquirvi previo il permesso della parola da domandarsi a chi presiede, e niuno potrà domandarla finché parli il propinante.

art. IV

Il Consiglio che dovrà eleggersi in ciascun anno nel Dicembre per essere in esercizio al 1. Gennaio seguente, avrà l'intera amministrazione della Società, che deve in esso riporre la fiducia e la stima più estesa. Verrà composto di dodici Consiglieri (fra i quali di necessità tre Scultori, tre Pittori, tre Architetti), un Segretario, un Bibliotecario, un Cassiere. Si convocherà ordinariamente ogni mese. La Rappresentanza o Presidenza verrà sostenuta per turno mensile da uno dei dodici Consiglieri per ordine di elezione, il quale presiederà pure alle Adunanze generali

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art. V

Eleggerà il Consiglio fra i suoi membri sei Sindaci per l'esposizione, (due in ciascuna delle nominate classi), due Censori, due Direttori delle Sale, un Vice Segretario, ed un Vice-Bibliotecario.

art. VI

Tutte le cariche si elegeranno per schede segrete e a maggioranza assoluta di voti fra i Soci presenti. In caso di parità si rinnova l'esperimento, e persistendo fino alla terza volta inclusive, decida la sorte. È vietata la conferma nelle cariche per acclamazione; non già quante volte risulti da forma regolare.

art. VII

A servizio della Società e del Consiglio, ed in aiuto specialmente del Segretario e del Cassiere vi saranno stipendiati un Esattore che ha l'incarico delle copie e della esigenza, e due bidelli.

art. VIII

Ciascun socio che abbia alcuno a proporre per essere ammesso dovrà darne il nome al Segretario. Questi lo presenta al Consiglio; ed ogni Consigliere ne prende nota ad ottenerne le più esatte informazioni, singolarmente nella parte morale. Nel seguente Consiglio si esporrà da ciascuno la propria opinione basata sul risultato delle indagini praticate, e quindi a pluralità di voti si stabilirà se debba o nò proporsi all'Adunanza generale. In caso negativo non si avrà [6]per escluso, ma potrà di nuovo proporsi dopo tre mesi, intendendosi escluso soltanto quando si rinnuovi la negativa risoluzione. Niuno avrà diritto di domandare in ciò le ragioni, che trattandosi di cose delicate per l'intera Società, pe' membri del Consiglio, per l'individuo proposto, e riponendosi d'altronde la fiducia nei Consiglieri, è desiderabile che tutto venga trattato colla maggior prudenza.

art. IX

I proposti dal Consiglio all'Adunanza generale verranno in essa annunciati dal Segretario, e a pluralità di suffragi, mediante ballottazione, approvati od esclusi.

art. X

A cura del Segretario dovrà sollecitamente rimettersi agli approvati un biglietto acciò dichiarino la propria volontà e dietro l'apposizione di loro firma s'intenderanno definitivamente ammessi.

art. XI

Nell'ammissione de' Soci la parità de' voti s'interpreta in senso favorevole: negli altri casi, tranne il contemplato all'art. VI, si rinnuova per altre due volte la ballottazione, e persistendo la parità si rimette la proposta ad altra sessione.

art. XII

Dal momento che si entra a far parte della Società si dovranno da ciascuno contribuire Scudi dodici annui, la rata parte di mese in mese anticipatamente: né possa esimersene veruno, se non decorso un anno almeno dal giorno di sua ammissione, quand'anche non volendo far più parte della Società ne emettesse formale rinuncia. A titolo poi di ingresso, e per bilanciare le spese sostenute dai primi Soci nell'impianto, dovranno tutti i nuovi ammessi dopo la pubblicazione dello statuto, corrispondere a doppia tangente per lo spazio di sei mesi.

art. XIII

Sarà in arbitrio del Consiglio, dopo averne dato doppio avviso in iscritto, di ritenere per esclusi dalla Società, o di convenire giudizialmente quei Soci che non avessero adempiuto a qualunque di tali obbligazioni per lo spazio di cinque mesi.

art. XIV

Delle contribuzioni, il ventesimo dovrà prelevarsi, e far parte della cassa Filo-Artistica; di cui all'art. XXI

art. XV

Pubblicandosi talvolta articoli ove leggesi sublimata capricciosamente o depressa la fama degli artisti, pronunziato erroneo giudizio in cose di arte, travisata la verità dei fatti per ignoranza o malignità negli scrittori, sarà decoroso per la società [8] che si rendano di pubblica ragione quelle osservazioni che, entro i limiti, di una moderata e ragionata critica, stimasse di rilevare nella sua saggezza il Consiglio, per amor dell'arte e per onore della verità.

art. XVI

A tal'uopo rinvenendosi articoli meritevoli di tali osservazioni, si faranno da qualunque dei Soci pervenire ai Consiglieri di quella classe artistica cui si riferiscono. Questi ne prenderanno nota, e trovandolo a proposito stenderanno di concerto le opportune richieste. Verranno quindi sottomesse al giudizio dell'intero Consiglio la prima volta che si radunerà, e potranno pubblicarsi in nome del Consiglio della *Società Artistica Italiana* qualora venga ciò approvato con due terzi dei voti fra i Consiglieri presenti.

art. XVII

Siccome è scopo della Società di procurare ad un tempo l'utile degli Artisti e il decoro delle Arti Italiane, vi saranno delle grandiose esposizioni, in cui ciascun Socio avrà diritto di porre le proprie opere previo quanto riguarda l'Art. XVIII. Avranno queste luogo ordinariamente dal Gennaio a tutto Maggio, ed in casi straordinari verranno dal Consiglio annunziate.

art. XVIII

A tale oggetto l'opera che vuole esporsi verrà consegnata ad uno dei Direttori delle Sale, che la [9] farà porre nella Camera di Consiglio. La prima volta che questi si riunisce s'inviteranno i Sindaci per l'esposizione ad esternare il parere pel collocamento, e dietro il loro rapporto il Consiglio deciderà in proposito.

art. XIX

Potrà accedersi alla esposizione col mezzo di biglietti d'invito stampati a nome della Società Ciascun socio avrà diritto di domandarne e distribuirli, apponendovi il proprio nome.

art. XX

Qualunque Socio esitasse alcuna delle opere esposte dovrà rilasciare un decimo sul prezzo ritrattone, da far parte della nominata cassa Filo-Artistica.

art. XXI

Questa cassa, che dovrà partitamente tenersi dal Cassiere, formata coi ventesimi delle contribuzioni, come all'Art. XIV e coi decimi sugl'incassi di oggetti venduti alla esposizione come all'Art. XX. viene destinata , I. a sovvenire gli Artisti caduti nella indigenza per età, per malattie, o per isventure; II. all'acquisto di qualche opera riconosciuta di merito, ed il cui autore necessitato ad esitarla non lo possa a prezzo equo, sia per l'opportunità del momento, sia per qualunque altra circostanza.

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art. XXII

Dell'uno e dell'altro caso sarà giudice il Consiglio, il quale pure determinerà nelle relative circostanze il quantitativo delle sovvenzioni, e i prezzi convenienti alle opere presentate.

art. XXIII

Gli oggetti in tal modo acquistati dovranno anch'essi far parte della esposizione, ed in caso di vendita, il prodotto, qualunque ne sia, si verserà nella cassa Filo-Artistica.

art. XXIV

I Grandi Artisti sì Italiani che Esteri, ed i Letterati e Scienziati distinti che saranno di passaggio potranno essere presentati alla Società, e intervenire ai serali trattenimenti dietro la proposta e garanzie fattane da un Socio, e l'approvazione del Rappresentante di turno che ne firmerà, unitamente al Segretario, il biglietto di ammissione, la cui durata ha per limite lo spazio di giorni quindici. Decorsi questi, potrà confermarsi per altrettanto tempo una volta soltanto . Quindi gl'Italiani che volessero continuare ad intervenire dovranno domandare l'ammissione come Soci, salve altre determinazioni che alla circostanza stimasse di prendere il Consiglio.

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ATTRIBUZIONE DEI COMPONENTI IL CONSIGLIO

Il Rappresentante di turno convoca ordinariamente e straordinariamente col mezzo del Segretario le Adunanze generali e i Consigli ; presiede sì alle une che agli altri; ne firma unitamente al Segretario gli atti; rilascia gli ordini al Cassiere per i pagamenti ordinari, e propone le cose che stima più utili al buon andamento della Società. In caso di assenza supplisce in sua vece il Consigliere Rappresentante che lo ha preceduto.

Il Segretario registra le decisioni delle adunanze e dei Consigli , richiama all'osservanza dello Statuto le lettere, tiene la corrispondenza, e legalizza colla sua firma e col sigillo di cui è custode tutte le carte della Società. Ne fa le veci all'occorrenza il Vice-Segretario.

Il Bibliotecario custodisce la Biblioteca e ne tiene esatto registro, provvede coll'intesa del consiglio i Giornali che stima più convenienti alla Società ; e dirige in ogni sua parte il Gabinetto di lettura. Il Vice-Bibliotecario assume in sua mancanza l'ufficio.

Il Cassiere passa all'Esattore nota delle esigenze mensili, ne spedisce le ricevute che divide dall'apposito bollettario munite del rispettivo numero progressivo, ha in serbo e responsabilità le somme consegnategli, tiene coll'assistenza dell'Esattore doppia regolare Scrittura d'introito e d'esito, effettua i pagamenti ordinari dietro l'ordine rilasciato dal [12] Rappresentante di turno, da esso firmato insieme al Segretario, e munito del Sigillo della Società. Per i pagamenti straordinari, oltre alle nominate, si richiedono le firme dei Consiglieri rappresentanti del seguente mese, ed in assenza, di altri due Consiglieri. Ritene le giustificazioni in apposita filza coi regolari numeri richiamati nei libri, le presenta alla prima richiesta dei Censori, e rende esatto conto della sua gestione alla fine dell'anno, ostensibile all'adunanza generale. Dovrà inoltre render conto della sua gestione in qualunque tempo piaccia al Consiglio di domandarlo.

I Censori avranno cura particolare di esaminare i conti dell'amministrazione economica della Società, verificarne le giustificazioni, riferirne al Consiglio di cui si reputano incaricati, riferirne al Consiglio di cui si reputano incaricati speciali, e proporre alla circostanza opportuni miglioramenti in quella gestione.

I Sindaci per la esposizione daranno rapporto al Consiglio sulle opere presentate, come all'Art. XVIII. e ne stabiliranno , d'accordo coi Direttore delle Sale, il collocamento.

I Direttore delle Sale invigilano alla decenza e all'ordinamento di esse; hanno cura del mobilio , provvedono alle occorrenze giornaliere per l'illuminazione ed altre spese indispensabili, ed ottengono dal Consiglio gli ordini per le somme necessarie, presentando sempre le relative giustificazioni.

Nel consiglio poi risiede la tutela del decoro e della economica sociale, e la rappresentanza delle volontà di tutti i Soci. Debbono perciò tutti indistintamente [13] i membri del Consiglio occuparsi della retta amministrazione della Società, e procurarne i vantaggi. Godono a tale effetto di ugual diritto nell'esternare il proprio parere, e dare il voto nelle deliberazioni in cui decide sempre la pluralità, tranne il caso contemplato all'art. XVI. Ad essi singolarmente è raccomandata l'esatta osservanza dello Statuto, la retta interpretazione di esso in caso di ambiguità, l'avvedutezza e la giustizia nell'ammissione dei Soci, e il maggio lustro ed onore delle Arti, e degli Artisti Italiani.

Tutti gli articoli del presente Statuto letti nel Consiglio della Società Artistica Italiana, riunitosi la sera delli 11 Gennaio 1847, vennero dopo la discussione ballotati, e tutti a pieni voti approvati nel senso e nella forma qui sopra espressa.

Nella seguente sera riportatane dell'Adunanza Generale, si stabilì di pubblicarlo colla stampa.

CONSIGLIO

nominato per la redazione dello statuto

il consigliere rappresentante di turno

CAV. PIETRO CAMPORESE

i consiglieri

PROF. FRANCESCO COGHETTI

CAV. PIETRO TENERANI

CAV. FRANCESCO PODESTI

CONTE GIUSEPPE CATTERINETTI

CAV. ALESSANDRO LABOUREUR

PROF. FILIPPO GNACCARINI

PROF. LUIGI BIENAIMÉ

GIO: MARIA BENZONI

BERNARDINO RICCARDI

GIUSEPPE MANCINELLI

il segretario compilatore

MICHELANGELO PINTO

Imprimatur Fr. D. Buttaoni O. P. S. P. A. M.

Imprimatur J. Canali Patriarch. Constaninop. Vicesger.

DOCUMENT 2

“Discorso letto nell’adunanza generale della Società Artistica Italiana la sera delli 7 Aprile 1847 dal Segretario M. Pinto.”

in MCRR, “Carte Michelangelo Pinto” - b. 884, n. 15 (I).

1

Quella Nazione o Signori che già un tempo come da centro comune dalla vetta sublime del Campidoglio dettava Leggi all'universo, che vedeva tremare a suoi piedi i soggiocati tiranni, quel magnanimo popolo che gloriavasi di superare gli emoli orgogliosi a solo fine di procurar loro incivilimento e felicità per abbracciarli poi siccome amici e fratelli, non altre che in grandissima mercede da sempre generosità ritraeva. I barbari o gli esteri, come più vi piace chiamarli non contenti di affratellarsi co' nobili figli d'Italia, e dividere seco loro i frutti dolcissimi di questa terra beata, ne giurarono la funesta rovina. Quindi simulata gratitudine, ed amicizia con perfido consiglio abusando della fiducia degli ospiti, e dei fratelli loro adottivi, presero di scacciarne i nazionali padroni, e insignorirsi esclusivamente di questo Eden meraviglioso.

Il diritto di cittadinanza romana prima consilia avvedutezza rispetto ai soli Italiani, quindi improvvidamente esteso da Caracalla a tutti i sudditi del romano impero, accordava ai Francesi, ai Germani, ai Bretoni e a quanti altri piegavano la

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superba cervice alla romana grandezza gli stessi vantaggi, e i diritti medesimi onde gl'Italiani godevano. Generoso certo il pensiero, ma non tale che si pregiasse dai barbari. Che anzi servendosi eglino di tutti le arti possibili seminavano dissenzioni e discordie fra gl'Italiani, e strusciandosi presso i gradini del Trono non isdegnando gli uffici i più vili e riprovevoli si diedero amendicar protezione e sostegno presso Principi tanto improvidi, quanto corrotti, di cui lodando gli errori, adulando i vizi, lusingando ed eccitando le più abominevoli passioni col servire ad un tempo da Ganimedi, da Mercuri, e da Veneri pervennero a tal grande d'obbrobrioso dominio da ridurre non di rado in loro mani la somma delle cose. E giunti persino ad ascendere il soglio imperiale e avestire [sic] la porpora calcarono superbi quel Campidoglio, che vide già gli avi loro trascinarvi le risorse del servaggio di che il carro glorioso del trionfatore italiano.

Ma neppure ciò bastava a distruggere il romano colosso che la cercata corruttela [sic] de' popoli l'intrusione dei barbari la viltà

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dei Principi non erano ancora valevoli ad atterrarlo, ove non si aggiungesse l'infernal divisione. Questi esecranda Crinni uscita dalle Satanniche bolgie, fomentata e nudrita dagl'invidi nostri nemici infievoliva la parte morale della nazione ove consiste la forza, minava le fondamenta del sociale edificio e giunta al suo colmo per l'errore imperdonabile di quel Costantino che nomar grande gli adulatori e gli stolti, compì finalmente l'orrenda catastrofe e rovinò Roma con l'Italia.

Sbloccarono a guisa di straripato torrente le vandaliche schiere si gittarono sul romano gigante divenuto quasi cadavere, ne dilaniarono le viscere palpitanti, ne divisero fra loro insanguinate le membra. E per tema che a tanto strazio commosso l'Eterno non rendesse un alma a quel corpo, tennero sempre quei barbari immerso nel suo cuore un pugnale, e con mano di ferro ne calcarono l'elsa piombata. Vili che tremano pure de' morti!!!

E pasciuti de' suoi ricchi prodotti, inebriati nel suo dolce liquore, beati da questo Cielo di zaffiro assicurarsi nell'ozio, nella

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infingardaggine ripartendo in tante frazioni questo popolo di Eori, ne spensero lo spirito nazionale, ne paralizzarono le forze.

Ma se perdeva l'Italia il dominio delle armi, se agli oppressori cedeva non pel valore, ma pe' manneggi e per numero non si spegneva però quella divina scintilla, che largiva nella creazione ai dilette figli l'Eterno.

Perlocché sedata appena, non estinta la sete di sangue nei barbari ripartè il genio d'Italia, qual Fenice dal fogo, sollevò ella di nuovo la fronte gloriosa sulle proprie rovine. E come già Cajo Cesare fra' le battaglie e fra' l'armi lasciava al mondo quei saggi ammirandi de' letterarii suoi studi, così il Divino Alighieri in mezzo agli odi e ai furori di parte dettava pure, l'impareggiabil poema.

In questa lotta mortale ove Guelfi e Ghibellini trucidavansi avicenda senza riflettere che si uccidevan fratelli, e che quel sangue era pur sangue Italiano, che da Italico braccio armato però di velenoso ferro straniero si versava in Italia sorgeva la profonda mente del Fiorentino poeta

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adestare la prima favilla di quella luca chiarissima, che diffusa quindi su tutta la terra dall'immortal Galileo rivendicava alla gloria e consecrava alla venerazione e al rispetto l'onorando nome Italiano. E colle lettere e colle scienze rinascevan le arti. Ne andò pari che l'indomito spirito di Michelangelo, il maggior forse fra i portenti della creazione fu visto ad un tempo e riempir volumi di poetiche e filosofiche produzioni, e sorprendere il mondo lanciando in aria la Cupola smisurata, e dar vita al marmo col suo parlante mosè, e atterrire le genti coll'indefenibil giudizio. "E davanti a guarnire di fortificazioni la ridente Firenze, e a battagliaiar sulle mura, e a piantare le colubrine, e ad abbattere i baluardi nemici e a negoziare di politici trattati, e a sostenere quella diletta sua patria, che prese d'ultima apugnare per l'indipendenza italiana, a resistere sola alla potenza di Carlo V cadde anch'essa dopo lungo contrasto più tradita che vinta" [Niccolò de' Lapi - prefazione]

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E che virtuoso Italiano [1. Il Chiaro marchese *Massimo d'Azeglio*] nelle lettere profondo e nelle arti maestro, che che qui siede fra noi, che si al vivo ritrasse gli ultimi generosi aneliti della tradita Firenze, che nobile e degno sostenitore dell'amore nazionale che, "non hai un affetto non un pensiero che non sia dedicato alla patria" [2. Niccolò de Lapi - pref.] per servir devi d'esempio agli Italiani scrittori. Te ne accendesti al racconto lacrimevole avvenimento che costa in quegli estremi dell'Italica indipendenza al Ferrucci e a tanti prodi la vita, a Firenze la libertà, a detta Italia lacrime e sangue per secoli. Quanti cuori balzavano, quanti si accenser di sdegno al racconto "di quegli antichi uomini, che negli amore, nelle ire, nella fede, ne sacrifici, e persin ne' delitti mostravano una ferrea natura tanto lontana dalla moderna fiacchezza [3 - Niccolò de Lapi]. Che se "le orme impresse sul secolo di Firenze da suoi antichi abitatori la moderna civiltà le ha cancellate se le hanno cancellate

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gli stranieri che scendevano a godersi e vilipendere quasi cortigiana l'Italia [Niccolò de Lapi - pref.]" tu ne rinvenisti le traccie. E la sua voce simile a quella mistica tomba che porterà a vita gli estinti, render seppie vivi e reali quegli uomni che presentasti al meravigliato lettore. Oh sia pur benedetto quello spirito che guidò la tua penna, vero e degno figlio d'Italia! Che o trionfino a Barletta i campioni dell'onore nostro, o perisca Niccolò sotto la scure del manigoldo a Firenze come egualmente fecondo si spande d'emulazione e d'amore per la virtù, e per la gloria pe' traditori e pe' vili d'esecrazione e d'infamia.

Ma a non lasciarsi troppo oltre guidare dalla esaltata fantasia, piacciavi ricordare meco o Signori che sorgevano col Buonarroti, Raffaello, e Tiziano, e Lionardo, e Correggio, e Bramante, e Donatello, e Palladio a dettare i precetti e porgere modelli ed esempi del vero bello nelle arti. E app.o questi siccome altri minori, ma fulgentissimi infinita schiera di grandi a sostenere incessantemente l'onore e la supremazia delle

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arti italiane fino a che il sommo Canova appare a coronare l'ottavo decimo secolo.

E pure in mezzo a tanti essi continui trionfi mancavano il più bel vanto alle artistiche glorie della nostra bellissima Italia.

D'essa tiranneggiata da quel sistema politico che in mille brani la disgiunse e assoggettò alla perniciosa influenza i proprio suoi figli, e come divisi da insormontabil barriere dissentirono nelle opinioni, ne' sistemi, nello stile presso che tutti gli artisti Italiani. Questi erano nei principii, queste riprovevoli massime dagli invidi e dagli oppressori nostri mantenute a bello studio fra noi: questa sognata differenza di patria, mentre a tutti è patria comune l'Italia, se non bastarono a soffocare il genio delle menti creatrici impedirono per le meno che affratellandosi gli animi nelle varie città della penisola raggiunger potessero in tutte parti la meta.

Progrediva però il nostro secolo, e nel suo progresso s'avvide una volta l'Italia dell'insidioso laccio straniero.

9

Indi voci di generosi figli proclamavano "la necessità di soffocare in essa ogni favilla di discordia con larghe e reciproche concessioni, conche data mano da tutte alla grand'opera della nostra rigenerazione non possa negarsi più oltre all'Italia quella nazionalità colla quale tendono tutte le razze, tutte le lingue che vivono sparse sulla superficie del globo.

E se per non essere entrati francamente in questa via gl'Italiani sono stati e sono tutt'ora, più che compatiti, e decisi" [I, D'azeglio ultimi fatti della Romagna]" sorgono ora d'ogni parte numerose utilissime associazioni al comun bene dirette ove riunendosi que' figli già segregati e divisi in un amplesso fraterno nelle braccia di così nobile madre, si tornerà pure una volta a riconoscere in noi il popolo di una sola nazione.

Che se Roma non fu la prima a prestarne l'esempio non si deve recarsi a sua colpa. Voleva Essa già da gran tempo seguire l'esempio dell'odierno incivilimento, ma più d'uno attentossi di rinnovare in opposto senso il meraviglioso prodigio di Giosué arrestando il corso del Sole allorché rischiararne l'opposto emisfero tentavasi divertirne in tal modo i luminosi raggi da questa Santa Città, quando spuntava a quell'aurora bramata che invertendo con risoluta luce la terra, mostrò poi nel pieno meriggio in mezzo all'iride benedetta il venerato nome di Pio. Tornò allora ne' popoli a brillar novellamente la fede, un vivo raggio balenò ardor di speranza, di fratellevole carità, s'infiammò allora il cuor nostro. Ricercò il pastor la sua gregge, e lo smarrito armento si ridusse sotto l'affettuoso pastore, richiamò il padre gli errandi suoi figli, e questi al suo seno accorrevano e mescevano i riconoscenti loro palpiti co' palpiti eterni del paterno suo cuore. Prescrisse il Monarca savie leggi a sue genti e riflettosi e grati plaudendo obbedivano i popoli benedisse il vicario di Cristo, i seguaci del Salvatore, e tutto l'orbe cattolico genuflesso e devoto implorava a sue colpe il perdono da questo Dio sulla terra. E pastore padre, Sovrano e Pontefice null'altro egli volle null'altro bramò, che la sicurezza del gregge, l'amore de' figli, l'unione e

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la fratellanza dei popoli la pace e il rispetto fra le nazioni. Gloria a quel grande che potè solo col volerlo ottenere un tanto bene a suoi sudditi procacciare tanti vantaggi all'Italia assicurare dagli urti del mar procelloso la mistica nave di Pietro.

Ne sono voci la mie di adulazione servile che ripugnar deve ad onorato cittadino il piegarsi a cotanta bassezza, ma sono l'eco fedele di quelle lodi che ciascuno comparte al Pontefice generoso e magnanimo il cui nome rispettato da più lontani popoli della terra, veneratosi in tutta europa benedetto in Italia diverrà forse al più grande che suona possa nel mondo. E figlio di tali sentimenti a quel desiderio vivissimo che nutre ogni cuore Italiano di contemplare sebbene da lungi l'immagine di che novello esempio fornisce la

patria di Michelangelo dondesi recava fra noi l'esimio Cav. Bartolini per ritrarre nel marmo in una solla effigie l'alta mente di Pio . E questo artista sublime cui non valsero a chiamare finora nella Eterna Città il Campidoglio, il Colosseo, il Vaticano, se Roma finalmente fra le sue mure l'accoglie

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se ci allegra di questa sera di sua grata presenza lo si deve solo alle brame della gentile Firenze che vuol bearsi coll'ammirare nell'opera dell'illustre dello scultore l'immortale Pio IX, che possa lunga stagion e risplendere dai sette colli un astro benigno che di tanta utilità richiede a suo popolo di tanto la sia feconda l'Italia, di tanta luce rispecchiava la terra e che n'è dato appellarsi senza tema di errore l'ornamento più bello del suol nostro.

Non più dunque impedita ma rianimate e protette le utili ed innocenti congreghe si scosse Roma all'istante e d'ogni parte germogliavano municipi di filantropiche associazioni. Ma sia lode a voi generosi amici d'Italia che primi fra i primi a nobilissimo scopo riteneste colla istigazione di questa artistica società Italiana.

Scorgeste appena la possibilità che propagaste il pensiero e il propagarlo e l'eseguirlo per l'opra sol d'un istante. Sorse come d'incanto, s'accrebbe e diresse grande in un giorno, e giganteggiava ora apparisce all'invidioso straniero. Ed a mostrar a qual

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fine vi riuniste o signori fu primo nostro pensiero vostra cura e volere che varie leggi si dessero a dichiararne e mantenere lo spirito primitivo di così nobile istituzione ed eleggesse un consiglio che con provvido intendimento di quell'ufficio si occupasse. E come abbia questo composto alla commune affettazione voi lo dichiaraste o signori quando d'unanime consentimento approvaste in ogni sua parte quello statuto che alla vostra avvedutezza fu sottoposto che vi piacque pubblicandone le stampe.

E per tal guisa manifestando il vostro scopo, e la nobili mire, smentiste le false accuse ondevi gravarono gl'invidiosi e gli sciocchi. Che senza dipartirvi giammai dall'amistica istituzione abbracciasse siccome sorelle delle arti, le scienze e le lettere, riunisse nella società vostra e chi professava, e chi si diletta delle arti. Vedeste tanti nobili personaggi bramosi di appartenere a questa illustre società, e li accoglieste lieti acclamandoli, e conservaste pur sempre quella uguaglianza perfetta, che, ne' la nobiltà de' natali ne la distinzione dei titoli, ne' la social

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posizione, ne' l'amistico merito valgono ad alterare o rimuovere. Qui non supremazia nei diritti, non perpetuità nelle Cariche, il nome persino di Presidente è sbandito, non privilegi, non eccezioni, tutti uguali, tutti del pari rispettati da tutti solo han potere le leggi.

E a custodirle siccome già a compilarle voi con liberi suffraggi nominaste un Consiglio. Questo rispettate quale rappresentanti della volontà di ciascuno e rispettare fedele di quelle leggi che voi stessi immaginaste che sanzionaste con un formale decreto. Ne' mancheranno perciò detrattori e nemici, ma voi con sferzante silenzio ne ribatterete i vostri non mancheranno mordaci epigrammi, ma voi riderete delle arguzie e compiangere l'ingegno sprecato, e quando anche stavolta per cause particolari dovesse alcun di voi sperimentare una leggera amarezza si consideri generoso della patria, e non si dia esempio fra noi di disprezzo e di scismi.

L'unione che è fondamento di ogni umana società e pur la catena che la mantiene vigorosa ed intatta, e noi ne

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daremo alla patria, alla nazione, all'Europa un luminoso esempio il più bello forse onde possa vantarsi ai nostri giorni l'Italia. Ma se di questa catena si apre solo un anello guai che forse potrebbe crollare l'edificio. Ne voglia il Cielo così funesto pensiero. Riflettete che stabiliti nella Eterna Città i primi i più grandi i più famosi artisti d'Italia e del Mondo, dettano leggi all'universo

ma in pari tempo hanno su loro rivolti gli occhi di tutte le straniere nazioni. "Si consideri che è di somma gravità per noi Italiani l'appoggio dell'opinione lungeva e che deve porsi ogni studio a serbarcela propizia, e a non perder quella stima alla quale siamo soliti presso di lei, che ci ha offerto il tributo della sua ammirazione" [Lette di M.o D.Azeglio al Prof. F. Orioli]. Non si spezzi dunque questa catena, non se ne sciolga pure un anello che tutti ugualmente riescono alla comune utilità necessarsi, quando il patrio amore ne guida. Si mostri alle genti che voi primi nell'arte sicché i primi eziandio rianimarsi da quello spirito patrio

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quell'amore di nazione che tante luttuose vicende soffrirono per alcun tempo ne' petti italiani. E bella prova ne daste ponendo a base precipua di questa istituzione che ad appartenersi si richiedesse indispensabilmente la cittadinanza Italiana.

Non è egli già come taluno potrebbe falsamente avvisarsi che non si abbia da voi il rispetto e la stima dovuta a quei grandi uomini appartenenti a straniere nazione che in ogni classe della umana società si distinguono per le opere dell'ingegno e dell'arte. Siamo anzi i primi noi stessi a valutarne il merito a pregiarne il talento, a lodarne le opere che i sommi genii hanno tutti a mira comune la terra perché tutti da uno stesso raggio partecipano qualche divina scintilla. Ma solo si volle in questa società riunire il fiore delle arti italiane per mostrare al mondo i parti del genio nazionale e perché vogliano considerarci fra noi come porzione d'una sola famiglia come figli di una madre medesima. Questo spirito di nazionale affratellamento sia il perno principale su cui volgasi la società degli artisti, ne sia

[at least two pages are torn apart]

squisitezza del senno colla scintilla del genio raggiungerai la meta gloriosa. Talche penetrato dagli ispirati tuoi detti vorrai ognuno la pietra a quel grande sociale edificio onde chiaro apparisca a che il mentre si spezza, che giovane di vigore di speranze unità di desideri, e di affetti bella e rigogliosa esiste ancora e fiorisce una nazione in Italia.

DOCUMENT 3

Letter “da Catterinetti Franco, G. a Principe Camillo Aldobrandini, Ministro delle Armi. Da Terni, 31 marzo 1848”*in MCRR - b. 202, n. 6.**Stimatissimo principe*

Benché non possa recarle veruna notizia politica m'è troppo lusinghiero il dirigerle qualche lettera, secondo il suo desiderio o comando; per cui le dò parte pria di tutto che oggi il General Ferrari, Capo della Colonna mobile civica mi destinò al servizio di Capitano nel terzo battaglione che si sta ora formando. Credo sarà comandato dal Tenente Colonnello M.e Patrizi che sta già qui.

Gli altri due battaglioni questa sera pernoveranno a Spoleto e domani sera a Foligno. Marciano come soldati della vecchia guardia, io feci seco loro il viaggio fin qui sempre a piedi, senza punto stancarmi. Terni si mostrò cordialissima, fece gran festa al nostro arrivo, diede ospitalità completa a tutti.

Le assicuro che è la gran bella vita quella del soldato in marcia, non si pensa che ad arrivare e a partire, l'antesignano cresce in ragione delle fatiche, e l'idea di una crociata italiana fatta a segno da animare gli avvenimenti più prosaici, come furono quelle di Monterosi che ci lasciarono senza pane e senza letto.

Il Generale Ferrari fu ricevuto dai battaglioni con iterati evviva segni del suo merito, tutta va regolarmente, i rapporti del Comandante ne sono testimoni. Si seppe con piacere che i Gesuiti se ne vanno da Roma, però non si pensa che alle frontiere. Quando il Santo Padre ci disse di guardare i confini, io spero nel suo cuore avrà inteso quelli d'Italia, cioè l'Alpi Rezie (?). Ella sarà più a giorno di me delle cose di Lombardia, ma e il Veneto? Voglio sperare che sarà causa comune.

I trecolori ornano ovunque uomini e donne, fino le villane nei campi li portano e ci gettano fiori al nostro passaggio. Da per tutto si grida evviva Pio IX e l'indipendenza italiana, e morte o fuori gli stranieri, i tedeschi. Credo che a Foligno ci fermeremo qualche giorno, ma già di ciò poco ne so, e ne voglio sapere, il tamburo suona verso il Nord ed io lo seguo senza badare, soddisfatto intanto della buona intuizione. Dio faccia che veniamo alla prova, perché certo non si ha più da transigere colle patate o una memoria gloriosa e o un ritorno trionfante, ecco l'adagio dei miei pensieri e che si spesso rendo manifesto a tutti i militi, perché Iddio lo vuole.

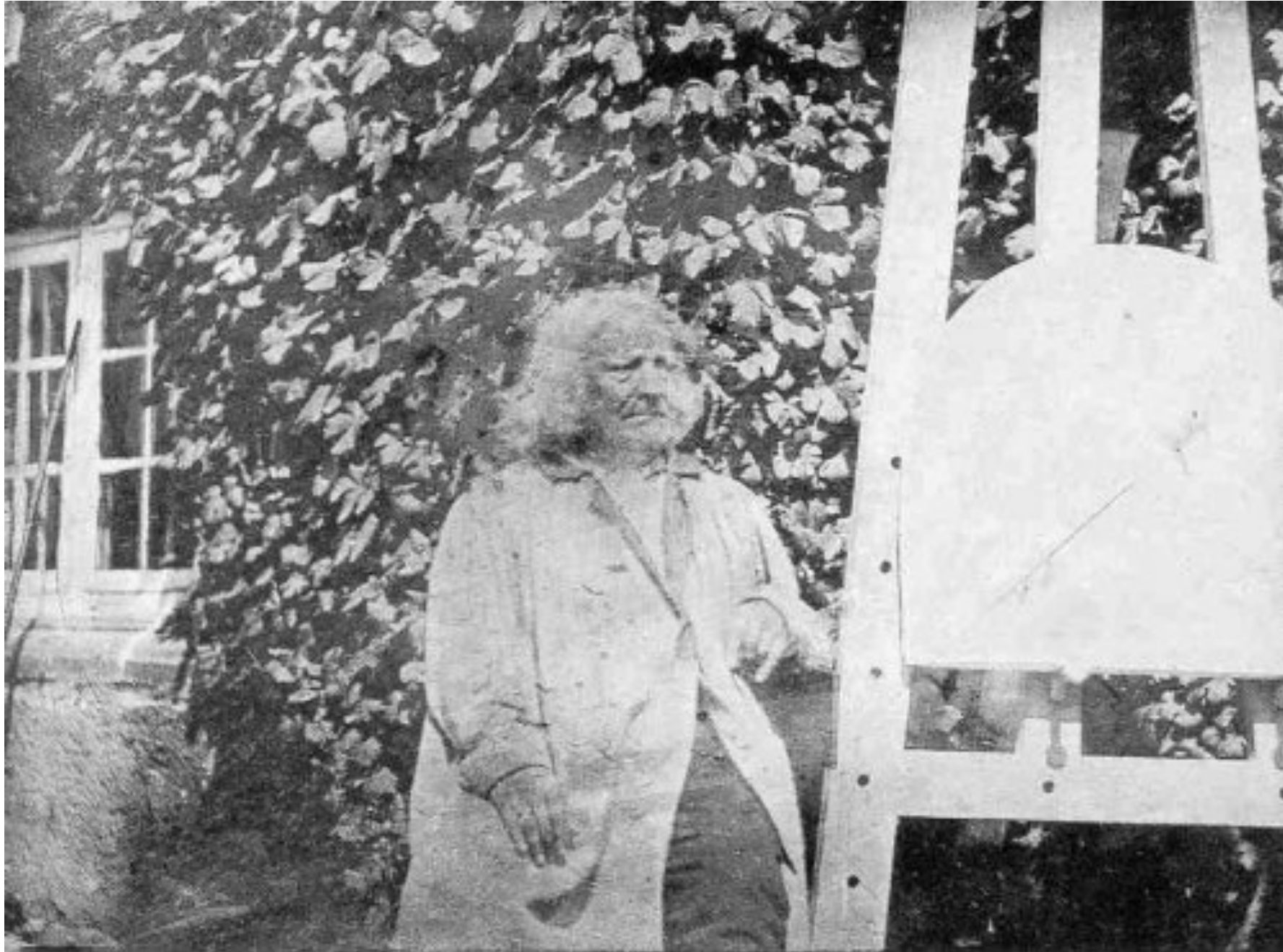
Mi duole di non aver materia per renderle meno noiosa questa lettera. Se avessi notizie interessanti mi farei onore così domando solo di passare per iscusato. Il piacere però di avere una diretta occasione per manifestare i sentimenti di ammirazione verace e attaccamento per il mio Colonnello e Ministro della Guerra, che desidererei averlo alla testa del mio battaglione, mi rende superbo di adempiere la mia missione. Se avvenisse qualche cosa di straordinario o nell'armata o alla frontiera, o anche prima, calcoli pure che la terrò illuminata a parte a parte, e vorrà credere con la verità la più splendida e senza poesia, nemica capitale della politica, in un secolo tanto calcolatore; e anche poco opportuna all'attualità delle italiane vicende.

Mi creda con molta stima

Suo dev. cap.no Catterinetti

Terni, 31 Marzo del '48.

IMAGES - CHAPTER 2

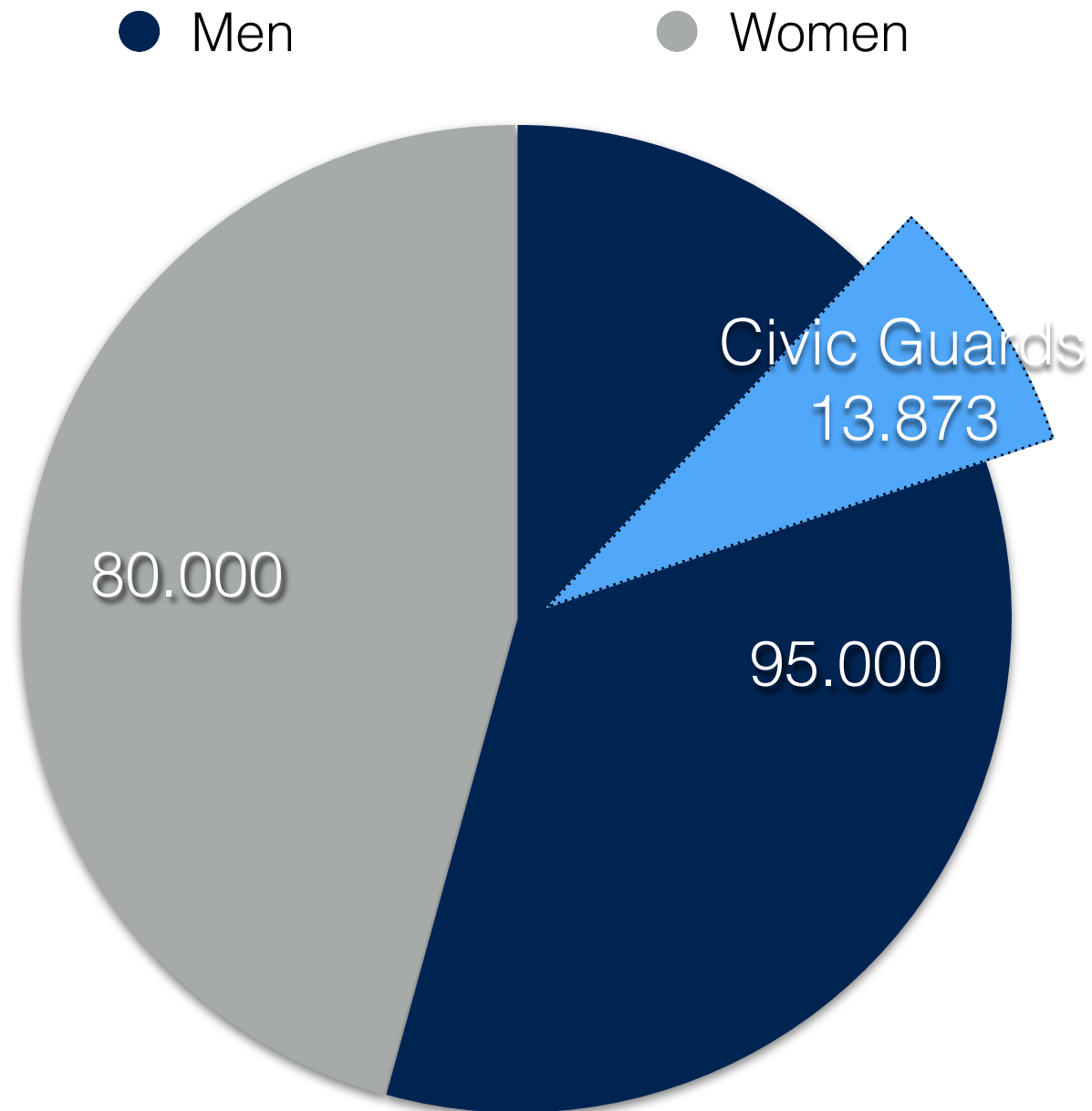


Anonymous, *Bertel Thorvaldsen in his house garden in Copenhagen*, daguerrotype, 1840.
Thorvaldsen Museum, Copenhagen.

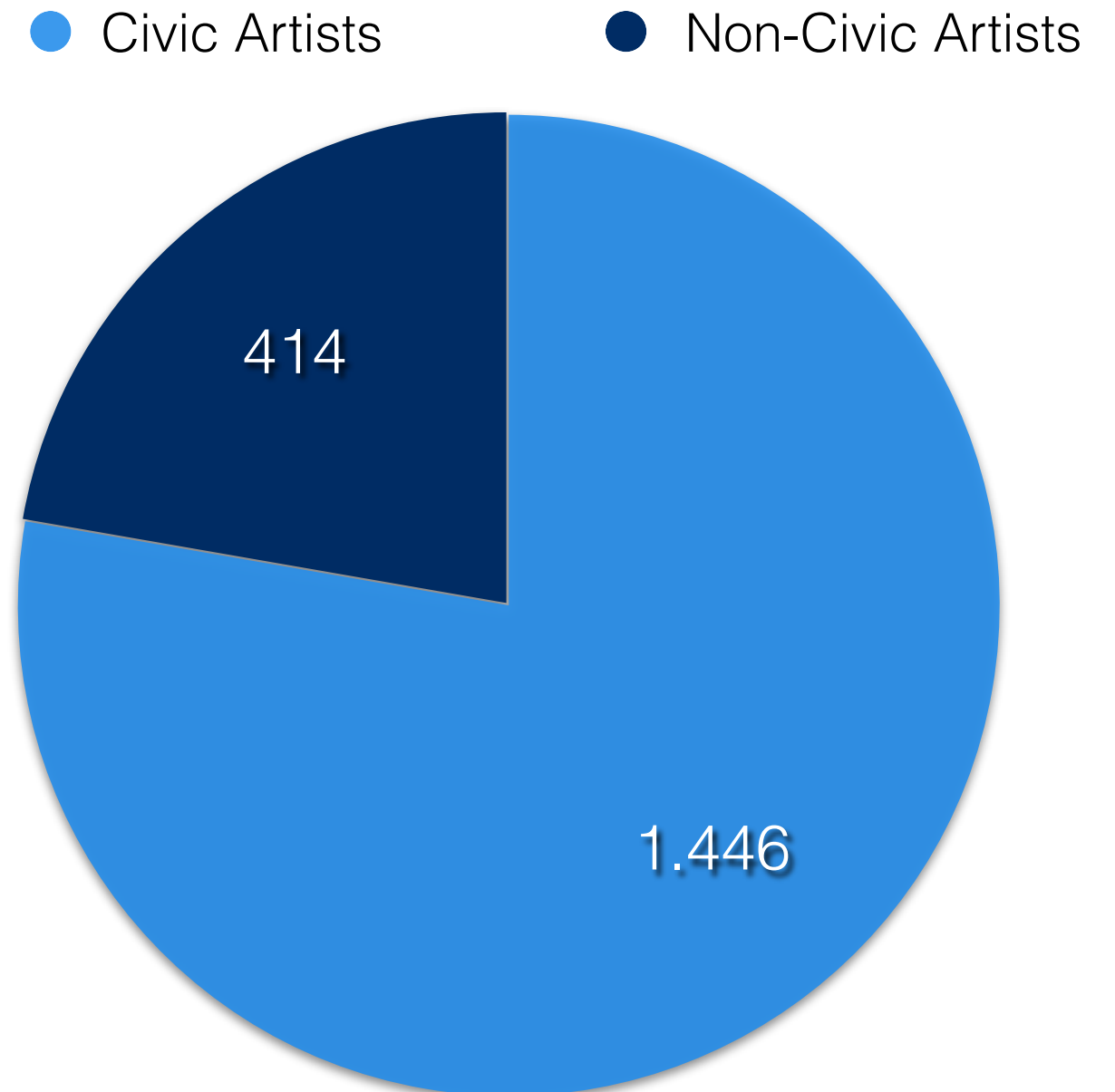
2"	3"	<p><i>Leopoldo</i> Figlio di <i>Leopoldo</i> Nato a <i>...</i> Delegazione di <i>...</i> Li Professione Religione Statura Pollici Capelli Ciglia Occhi Fronte Naso Bocca Mento Viso Barba Colore Segni apparenti <i>Via S. Nicò in Arima # 104 -</i></p>	<p><i>1808</i> <i>Sittone</i> <i>Qad</i> Piedi 5 Linee 9</p>
		<p><i>Leopoldo</i> Figlio di <i>...</i> Nato a <i>...</i> Delegazione di <i>...</i> Li Professione Religione Statura Pollici Capelli Ciglia Occhi Fronte Naso Bocca Mento Viso Barba Colore</p>	<p><i>1808</i> <i>Sittone</i> <i>Qad</i> Piedi 5 Linee 9</p>

Generic entry of the matriculate register for Ponte battalion (V), ASC, Rome
 [to be substituted]

Artists in the Civic Guard

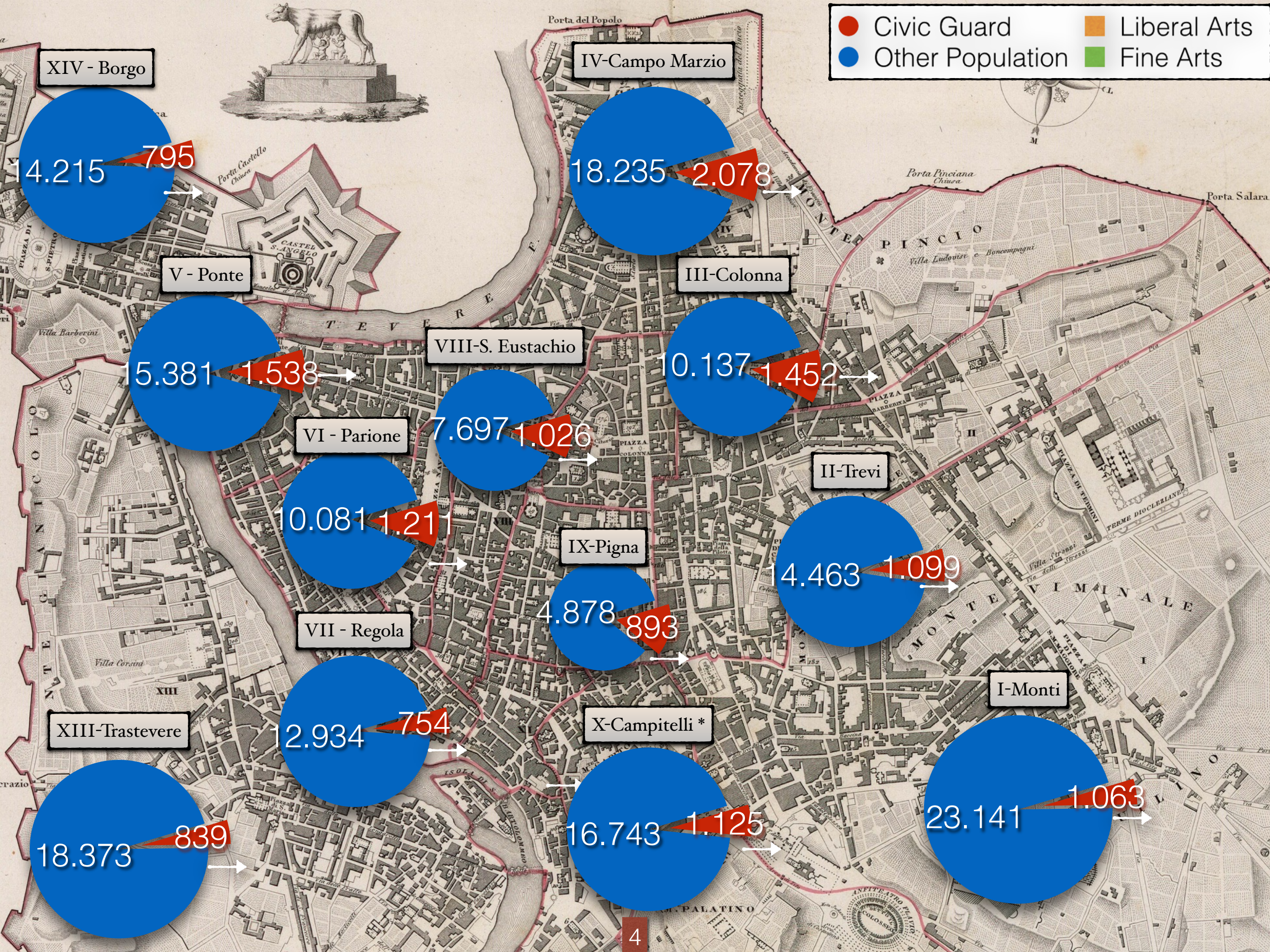


- Overall "Civic" area by 1846: 64.476



- "Individui che professano le belle arti" (1846): 1860

Data taken from "*Quadro statistico della Popolazione di Roma al dì XIII Dicembre*" (1846). Rev. Camera Apostolica, Rome, 1847.



Civic Guards in districts

	Population	Civics [rel.]	Civics [abs.]
Monti	●●●●●	1 / 22	●●
Trevi	●●●	1 / 14	●●
Colonna	●●	1 / 8	●●●
Campo Marzio	●●●●	1 / 10	●●●●
Ponte	●●●	1 / 10	●●●●
Parione	●●	1 / 8	●●●
Regola	●●	1 / 17	●
S. Eustachio	●	1 / 8	●●
Pigna	●	1 / 6	●
Campitelli	●	1 / 7	●●
Trastevere	●●●●	1 / 22	●
Borgo	●●●	1 / 17	●
X,XI, XII	●●●	1 / 16	●●

Population

●: > 10.000
 ●●: 10.000 - 14.000
 ●●●: 14.000 - 18.000
 ●●●●: < 18.000

Civics [absolute]

●: > 1.000
 ●●: 1.000 - 1.200
 ●●●: 1.200 - 1.500
 ●●●●: < 1.500

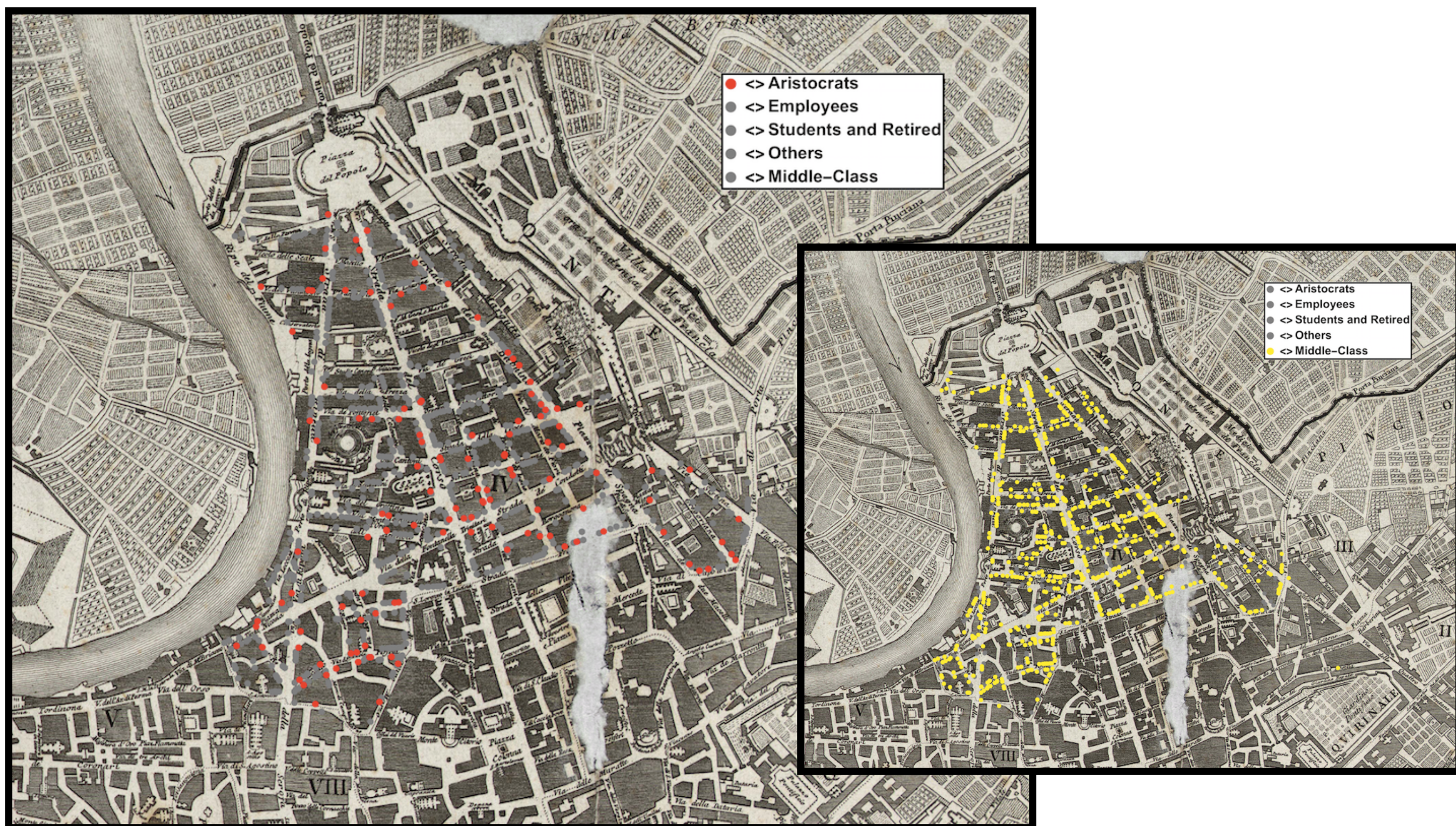
Aggregate

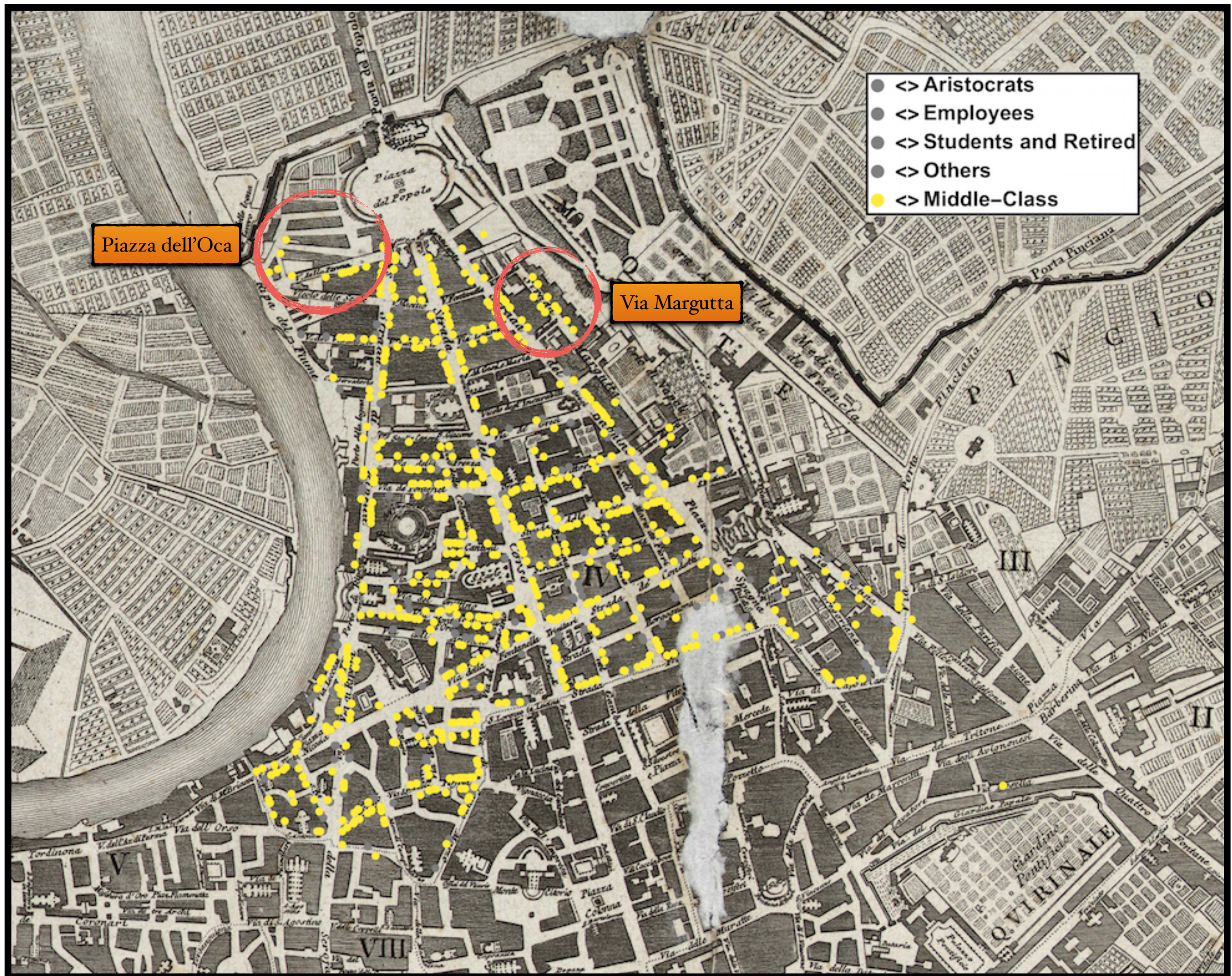
●: > 100
 ●●: 100 - 200
 ●●●: 200 - 250
 ●●●●: < 250

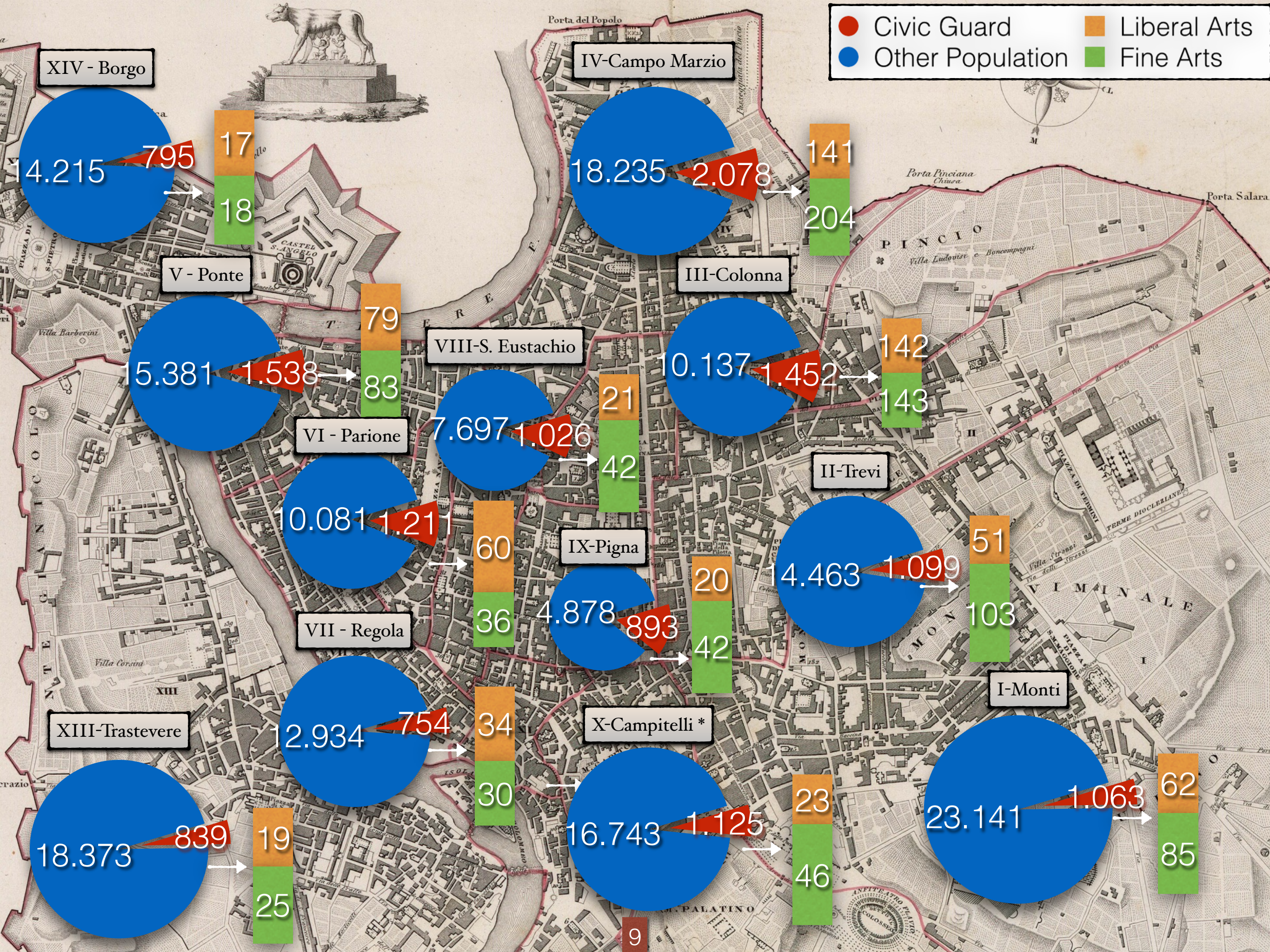
Civic Guard reserves

	Total Reserves	Tot. Batt.
Monti	27	1063
Trevi	216	1099
Colonna	232	1452
Campo Marzio	417	2078
Ponte	343	1538
Parione	296	1211
Regola	134	755
S. Eustachio	144	1026
Pigna	182	893
Campitelli	143	1124
Trastevere	124	839
Borgo	201	795
Total	2459	13873

Aristocracy & Middle-Classes's residencies in Campo Marzio







Artists in the Civic Guard

	Population	Civics [rel.]	Civics [abs.]	Artists Aggr.	Fine arts	Liberal arts	Civics / Artists
Monti	●●●●●	1 / 22	●●	●●	●●	●●	1 / 7
Trevi	●●●	1 / 14	●●	●●	●●●	●●	1 / 7
Colonna	●●	1 / 8	●●●	●●●	●●●●	●●●	1 / 5
Campo Marzio	●●●●	1 / 10	●●●●	●●●●	●●●●●	●●●●	1 / 6
Ponte	●●●	1 / 10	●●●●	●●	●●	●●	1 / 9
Parione	●●	1 / 8	●●●	●●	●	●●	1 / 12
Regola	●●	1 / 17	●	●	●	●	1 / 12
S. Eustachio	●	1 / 8	●●	●	●	●	1 / 16
Pigna	●	1 / 6	●	●	●	●	1 / 14
Campitelli	●	1 / 7	●●	●	●	●	1 / 16
Trastevere	●●●●	1 / 22	●	●	●	●	1 / 19
Borgo	●●●	1 / 17	●	●	●	●	1 / 22
X,XI, XII	●●●	1 / 16	●●	●	●	●	

Population

●: > 10.000
 ●●: 10.000 - 14.000
 ●●●: 14.000 - 18.000
 ●●●●: < 18.000

Civics [absolute]

●: > 1.000
 ●●: 1.000 - 1.200
 ●●●: 1.200 - 1.500
 ●●●●: < 1.500

Aggregate

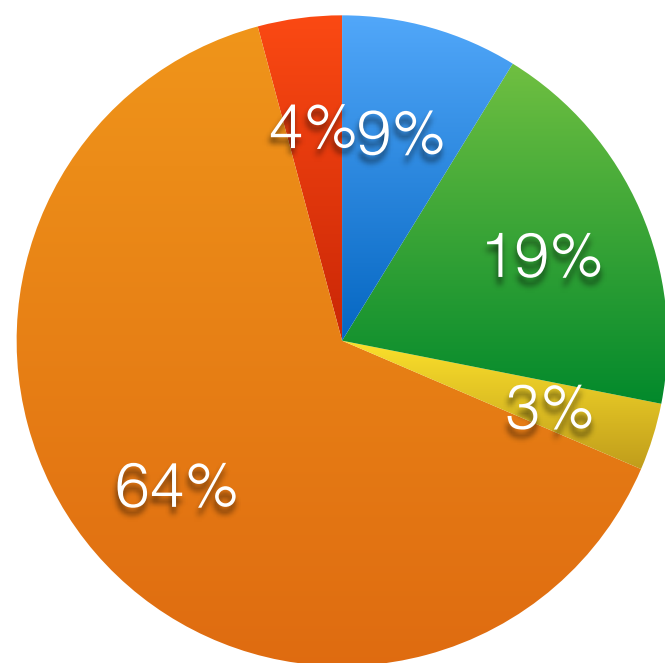
●: > 100
 ●●: 100 - 200
 ●●●: 200 - 250
 ●●●●: < 250

Fine / Liberal

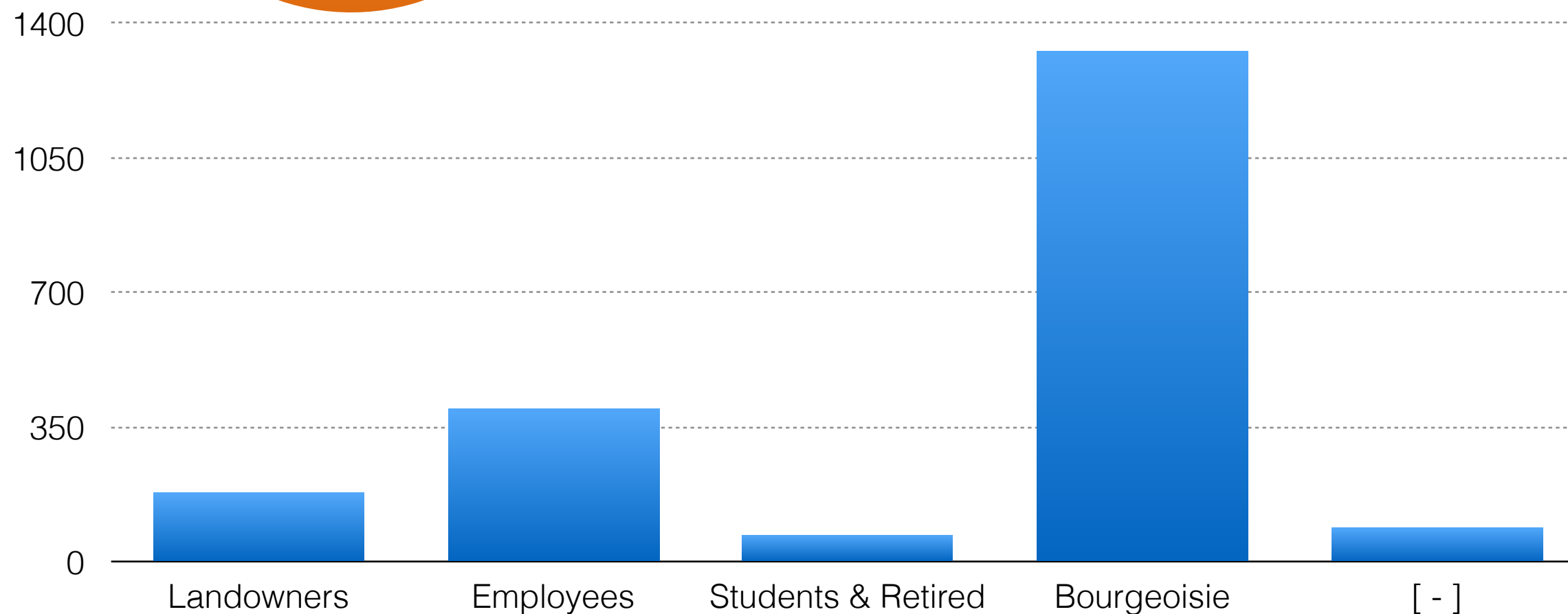
●: > 50
 ●●: 50 - 90
 ●●●: 90 - 110
 ●●●●: 140-170
 ●●●●●: < 170

Campo Marzo - Social Classes

Landowners Employees Students & Retired Bourgeoisie [-]

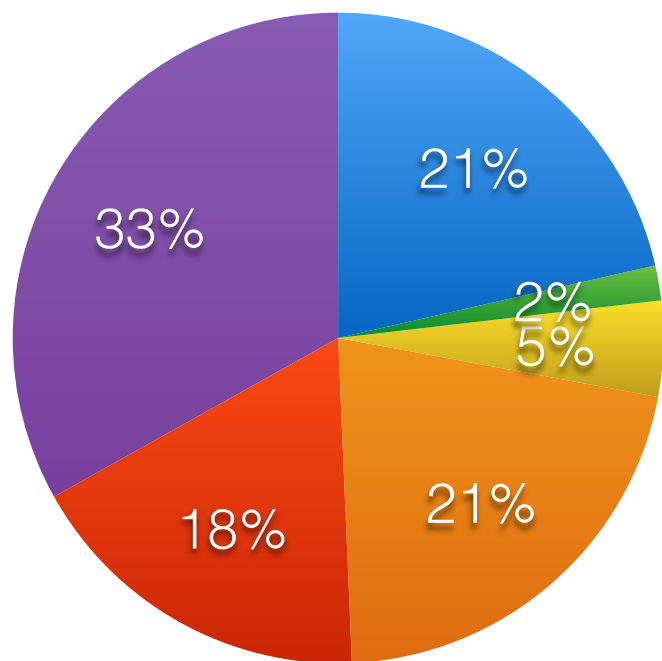


Social Classes	
Landowners	181
Employees	398
Students & Retired	69
Bourgeoisie	1326
Others & [-]	86

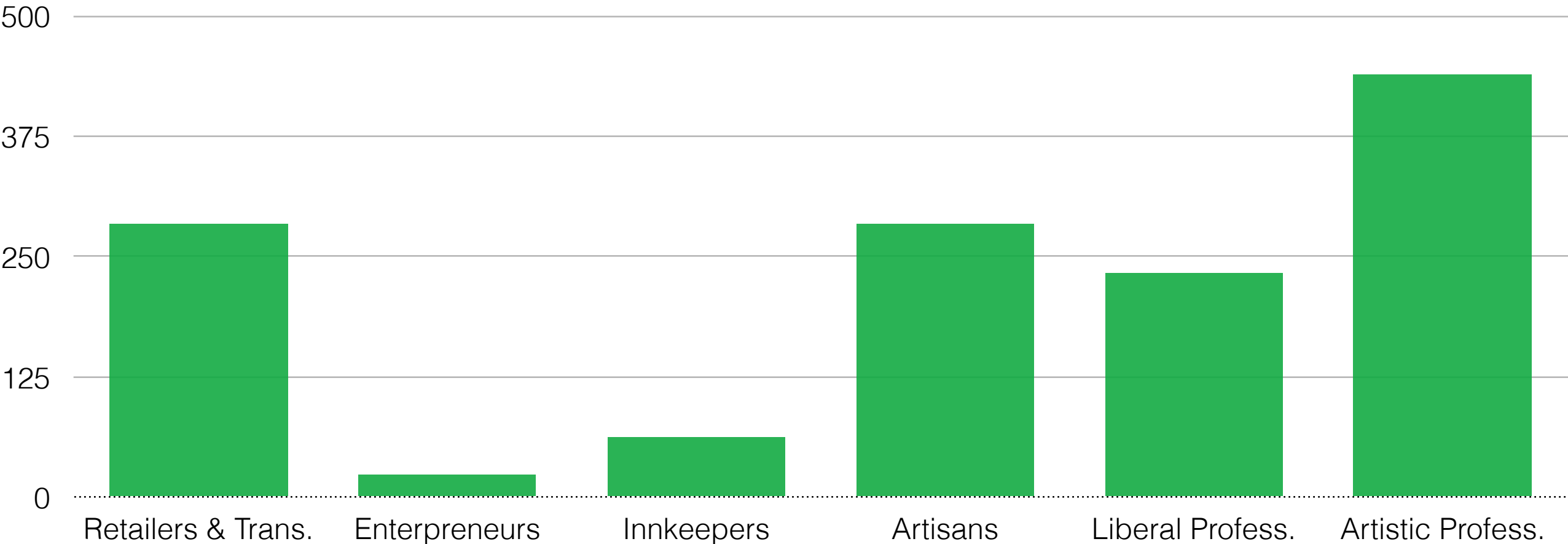


Campo Marzo - Bourgeoisie

● Retailers & Trans. ● Entrepreneurs ● Innkeepers ● Artisans ● Liberal Profess. ● Artistic Profess.

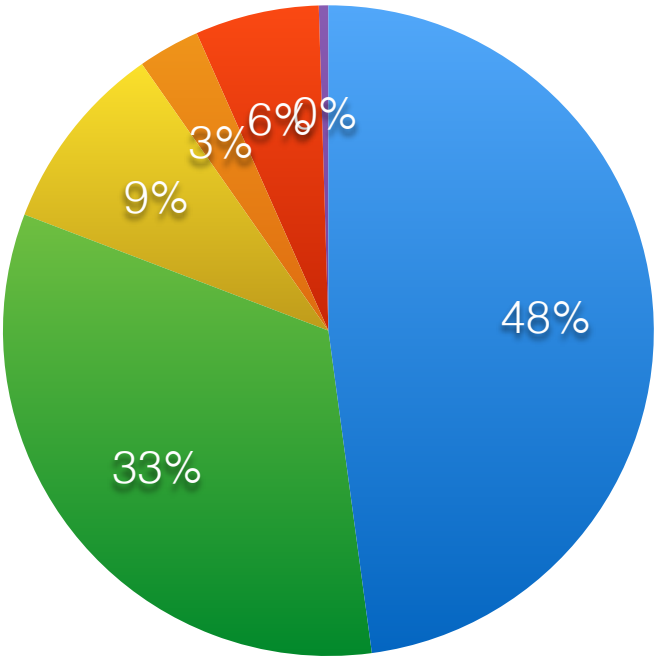


Bourgeoisie	
Retailers & Transports	284
Entrepreneurs	23
Innkeepers	63
Artisans	284
Liberal Professions	233
Artistic Professions	439

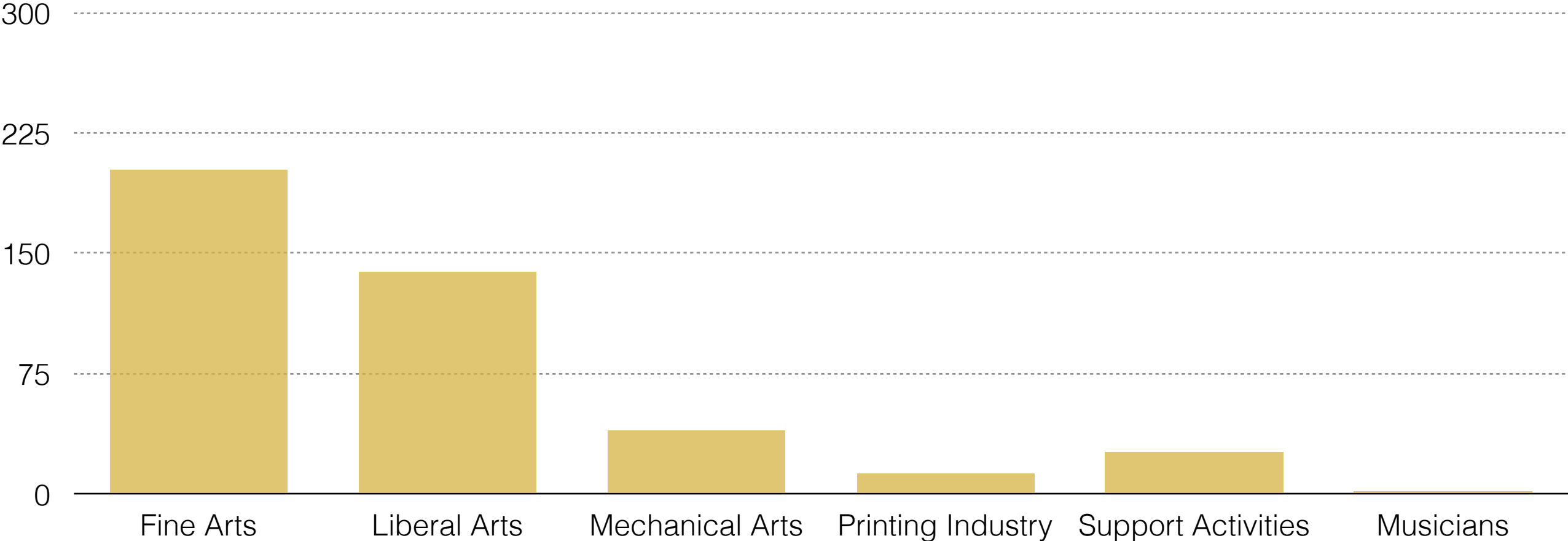


Campo Marzo - Artistic Professions

Fine Arts Liberal Arts Mechanical Arts Printing Ind. Support Musicians



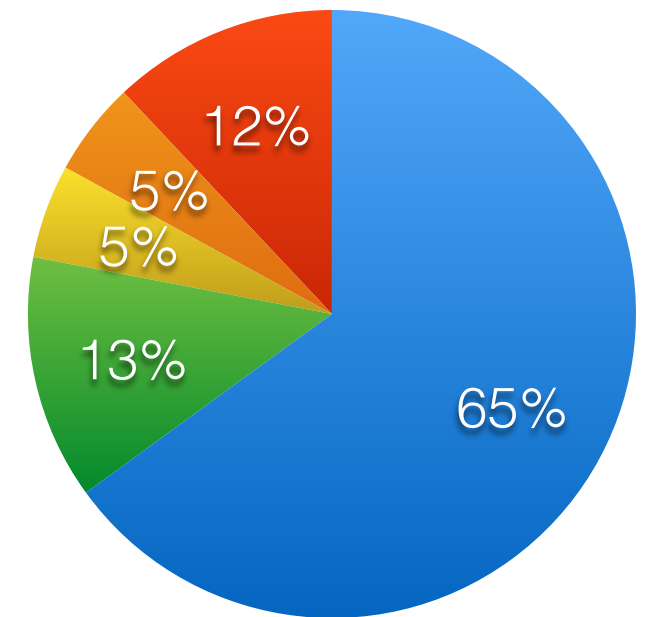
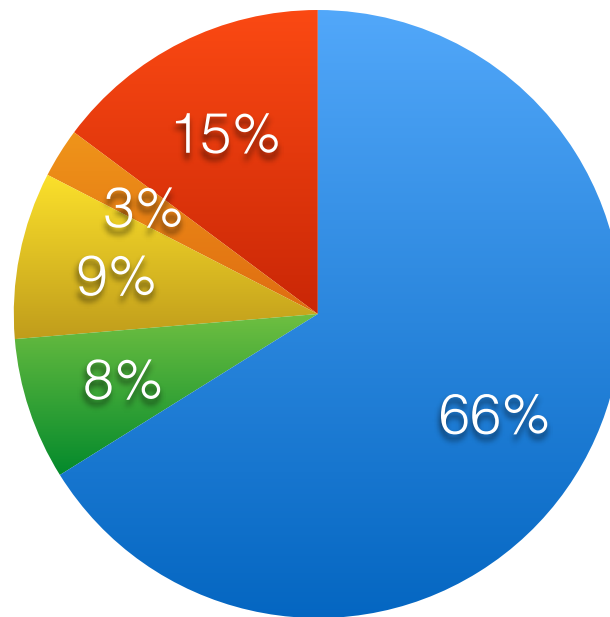
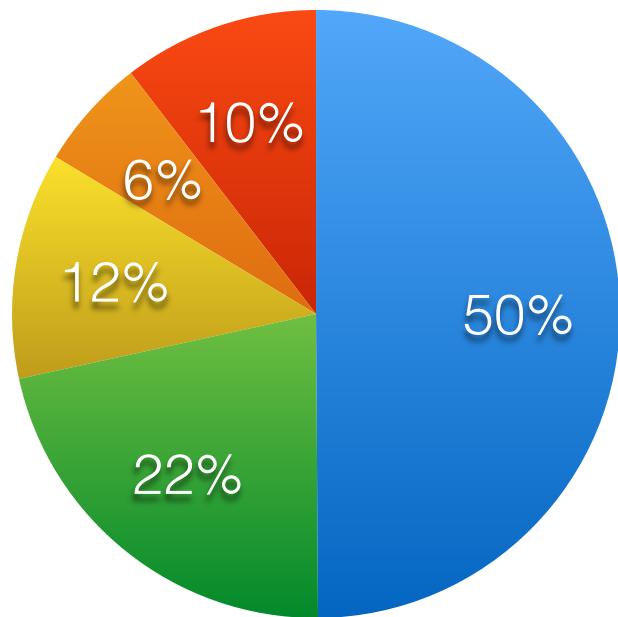
Artistic Professions	
Fine Arts	202
Liberal Arts	139
Mechanical Arts	40
Printing Industry	13
Support Activities	26
Musicians	2



Artists in the Civic Guard

Fine Arts	Tot.	Painters	Sculptors	Architects	Liberal Arts	Tot.	Intagliatore	Incisore + Litografo + Calcografo	Mosaicista	Scalpellino	Orefice + Argentiere	Aggregate	Fine Arts	Liberal Arts	Aggregate
Monti	84	51	25	8	Monti	60	2	18	16	19	5	Monti	84	60	144
Trevi	102	47	49	6	Trevi	50	4	19	9	7	11	Trevi	102	50	152
Colonna	143	60	64	19	Colonna	71	4	41	14	3	9	Colonna	143	71	214
Campo Marzo	204	118	76	10	Campo Marzo	139	7	48	48	18	18	Campo Marzo	204	139	343
Ponte	83	51	20	12	Ponte	79	6	29	14	5	25	Ponte	83	79	162
Parione	36	25	4	7	Parione	60	5	10	2	5	38	Parione	36	60	96
Regola	30	17	8	5	Regola	34	3	9	3	6	13	Regola	30	34	64
S. Eustachio	42	27	4	11	S. Eustachio	21	2	8	5	0	6	S. Eustachio	42	21	63
Pigna	42	25	8	9	Pigna	20	3	8	2	3	4	Pigna	42	20	62
Campitelli	46	23	14	9	Campitelli	23	2	5	2	13	1	Campitelli	46	23	69
Trastevere	25	15	6	4	Trastevere	17	1	4	1	9	2	Trastevere	25	17	44
Borgo	18	8	7	3	Borgo	17	-	6	4	6	1	Borgo	18	17	35
Total	855	467	285	103	Total	591	39	205	120	94	133	Total	855	591	1446

Artists in the Civic Guard - Provenance (Fine arts)



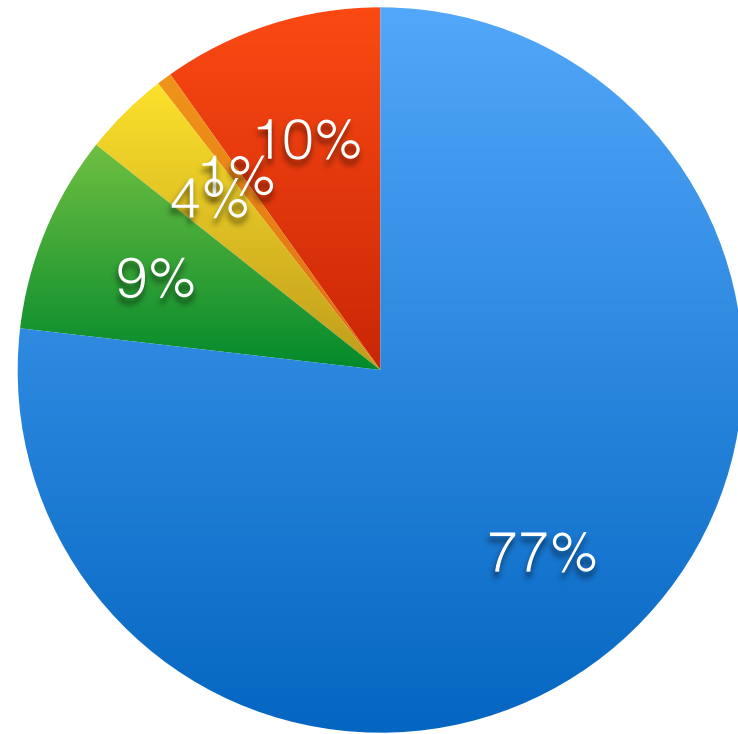
● Rome
 ● Church State
 ● Italian States
 ● Foreign States
 ● [-]

<i>Painters</i>	Rome	Church State	Italian States	Foreign States	-
I	38	7	2	4	1
II	12	6	3	3	24
III	29	16	10	10	3
IV	55	25	16	10	13
V	28	9	10	1	3
VI	16	5	3	1	1
VII	12	5	0	0	0
VIII	15	6	5	0	0
IX	14	7	2	0	2
X	13	5	3	0	3
XIII	8	4	2	0	1
XIV	4	5	0	0	0
Total	244	106	59	29	51

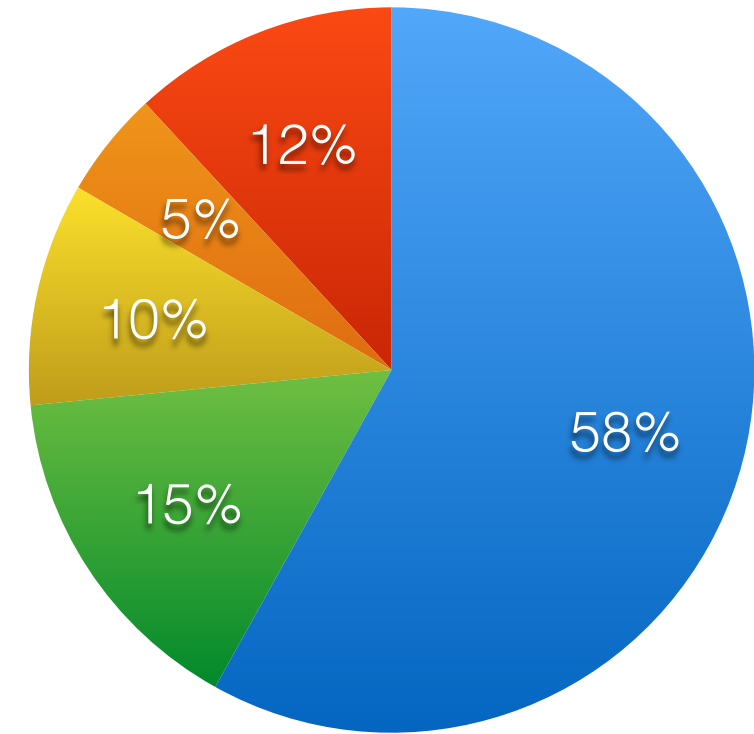
<i>Sculptors</i>	Rome	Church State	Italian States	Foreign States	-
I	19	3	1	1	1
II	38	2	0	0	30
III	38	7	12	3	2
IV	56	4	7	4	5
V	16	3	1	0	0
VI	4	0	0	0	0
VII	6	1	0	0	1
VIII	3	0	1	0	0
IX	2	0	5	0	1
X	10	1	0	0	3
XIII	2	2	0	0	2
XIV	7	0	0	0	0
Total	201	23	27	8	45

<i>Architects</i>	Rome	Church State	Italian States	Foreign States	-
I	6	1	1	0	0
II	0	0	0	0	6
III	12	2	1	2	2
IV	6	1	3	0	0
V	10	0	0	1	1
VI	4	1	0	0	2
VII	3	3	0	0	0
VIII	10	1	0	0	0
IX	7	1	0	0	0
X	5	3	0	0	1
XIII	4	0	0	0	0
XIV	2	0	0	2	0
Total	65	13	5	5	12

Artists in the Civic Guard - Provenance (Liberal arts)



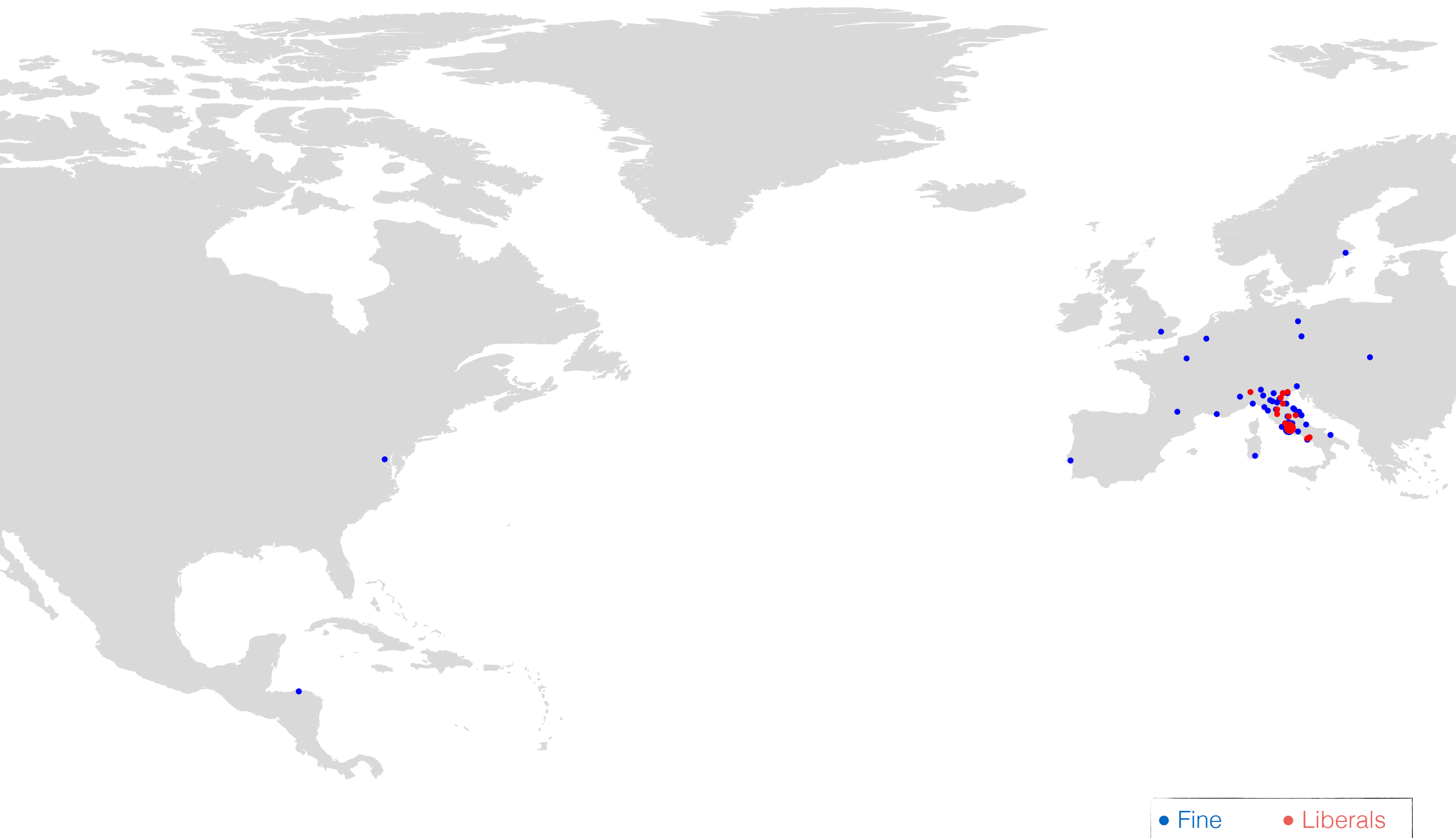
● Rome ● Church State ● Italian States ● Foreign States ● [-]



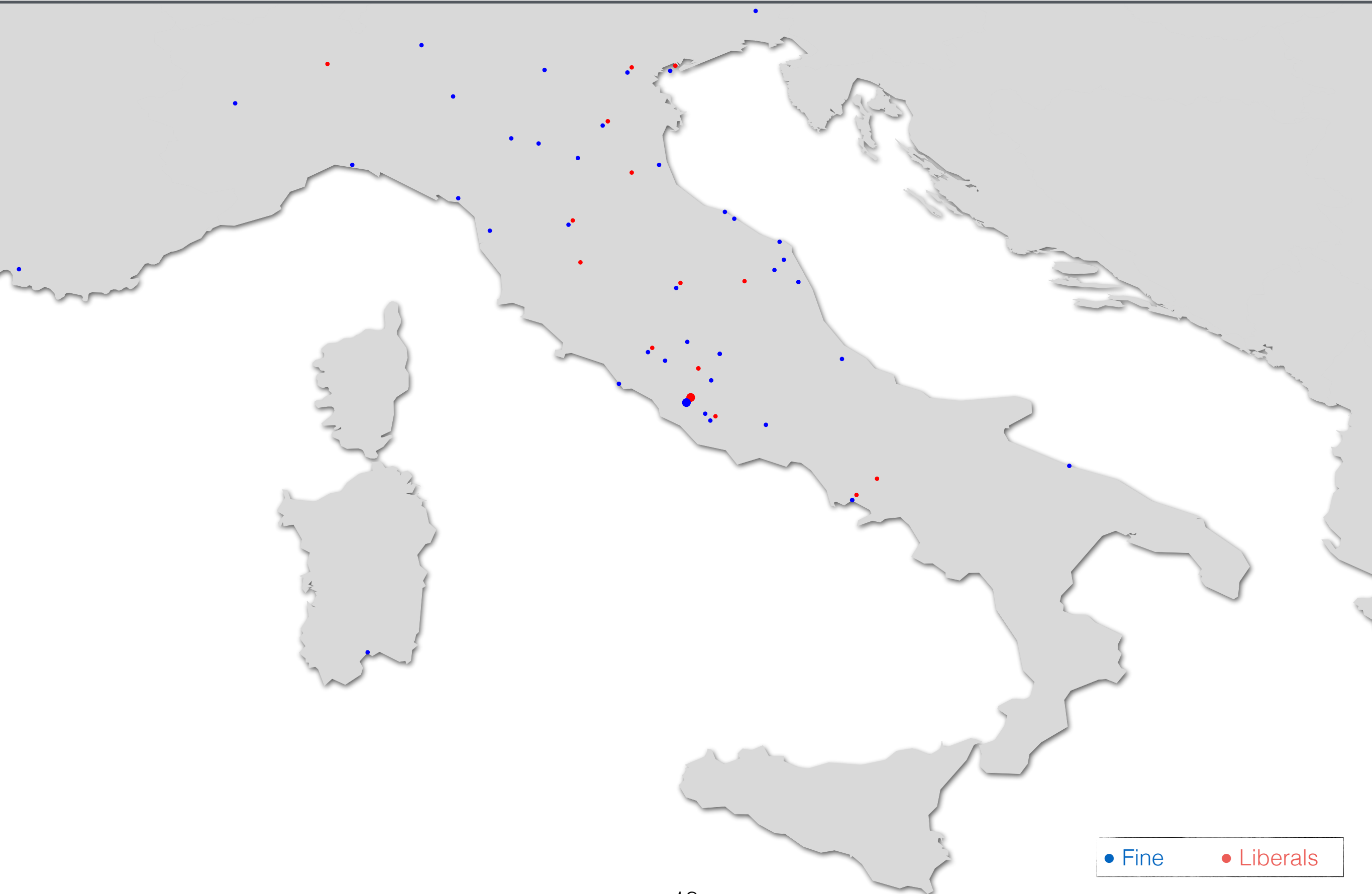
<i>Liberal Arts</i>	Rome	Church State	Italian States	Foreign States	-
Monti	57	1	2	1	1
Trevi	15	2	1	0	36
Colonna	51	6	2	2	5
Campo Marzo	117	13	5	0	6
Ponte	65	13	6	0	1
Parione	44	5	0	1	4
Regola	28	3	1	0	2
S. Eustachio	16	1	2	0	1
Pigna	16	2	2	0	1
Campitelli	20	2	1	0	0
Trastevere	17	2	1	0	2
Borgo	15	3	0	0	0
Total	461	53	23	4	59

<i>Fine Arts</i>	Rome	Church State	Italian States	Foreign States	-
Monti	63	11	4	5	2
Trevi	50	8	3	3	60
Colonna	79	25	23	15	7
Campo Marzo	117	30	26	14	18
Ponte	54	12	11	2	4
Parione	24	6	3	1	3
Regola	21	9	0	0	1
S. Eustachio	28	7	6	0	0
Pigna	23	8	7	0	0
Campitelli	28	9	3	0	7
Trastevere	14	6	2	0	3
Borgo	13	5	0	2	0
Total	514	136	88	42	105

Artists in the Civic Guard - provenance (worldwide)



Artists in the Civic Guard - provenance (Italy)



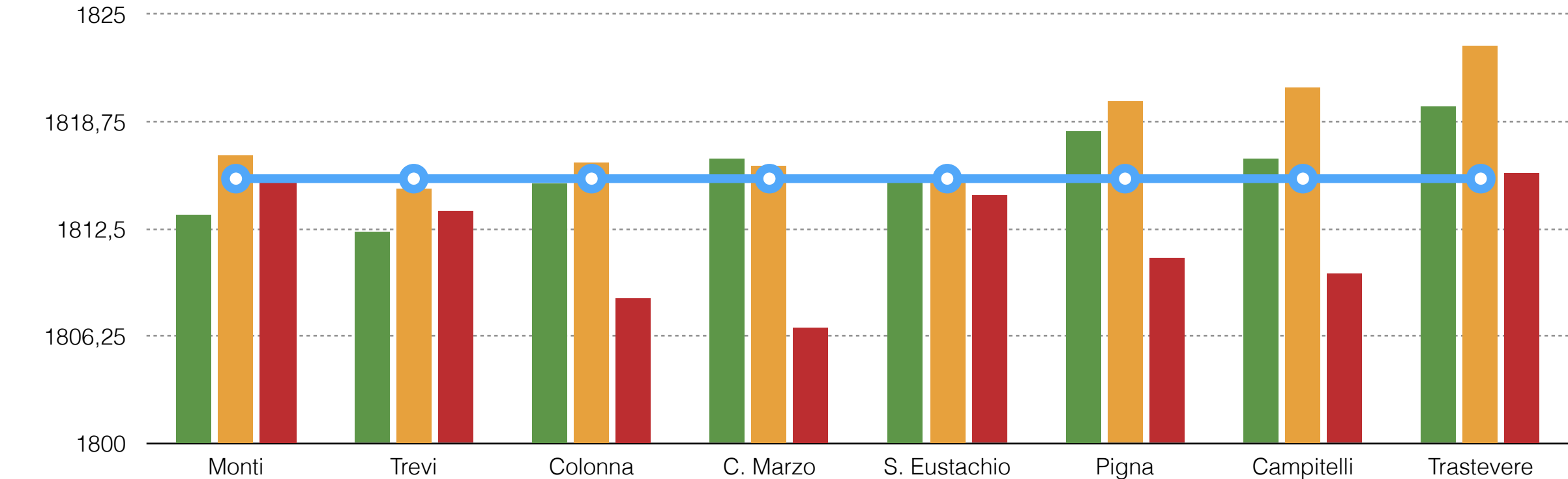
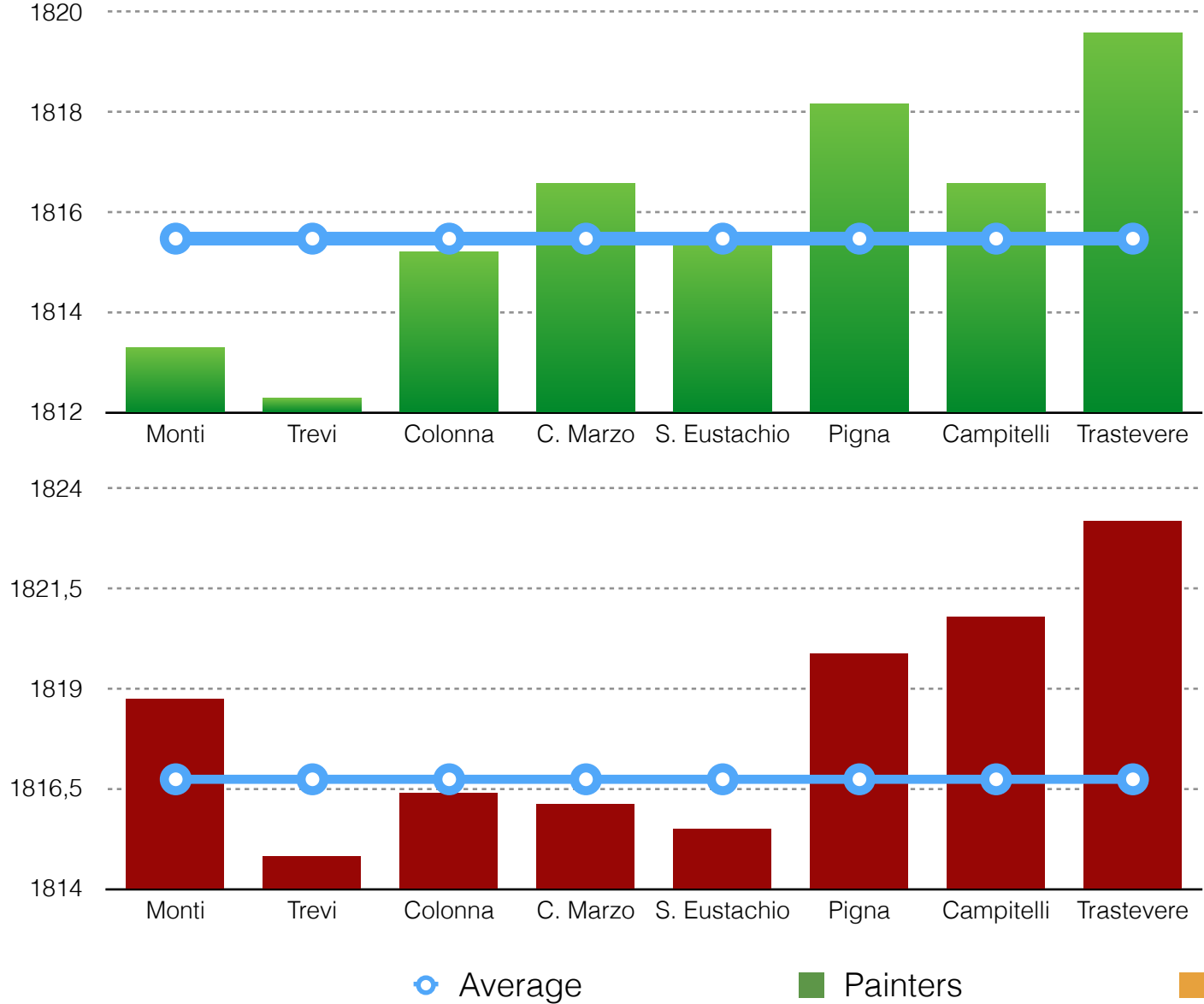
Artists in the Civic Guard - Demographics (Italy)

	Painters	Sculptor	Architects	Engravers	Mosaicists	Stoneworkers	Goldsmiths
Monti	1813,27	1818,76	1815,25	1818,44	1821,06	1818,63	
Trevi	1812,28	1814,8	1813,5	1813,74	1812,56	1819,57	
Colonna	1815,18	1816,38	1808,42	1819,46	1818,93	1818,67	
C. Marzo	1816,56	1816,11	1806,7	1816,56	1819,08	1817,61	
Ponte	1818,08	1819,5	1818,42	1820,48	1819,29	1816,4	1819,2
Parione	1812,76	1820,25	1815,29	1816,1	1818,5	1819	1813,32
Regola	1817,76	1819,88	1820,8	1819,33	1809	1818,67	1814,15
S. Eustac.	1815,48	1815,5	1814,42	1820	1820	-	1814,22
Pigna	1818,16	1819,88	1810,78	1817,38	1820,5	1826,33	
Campitelli	1816,57	1820,77	1809,89	1817,5	1827	1813,54	
Trastevere	1819,6	1823,17	1815,75	1816	1795	1820,67	
Borgo	1818,25	1818,43	1815,67	1808,83	1822	1821,67	-

Artists in the Civic Guard

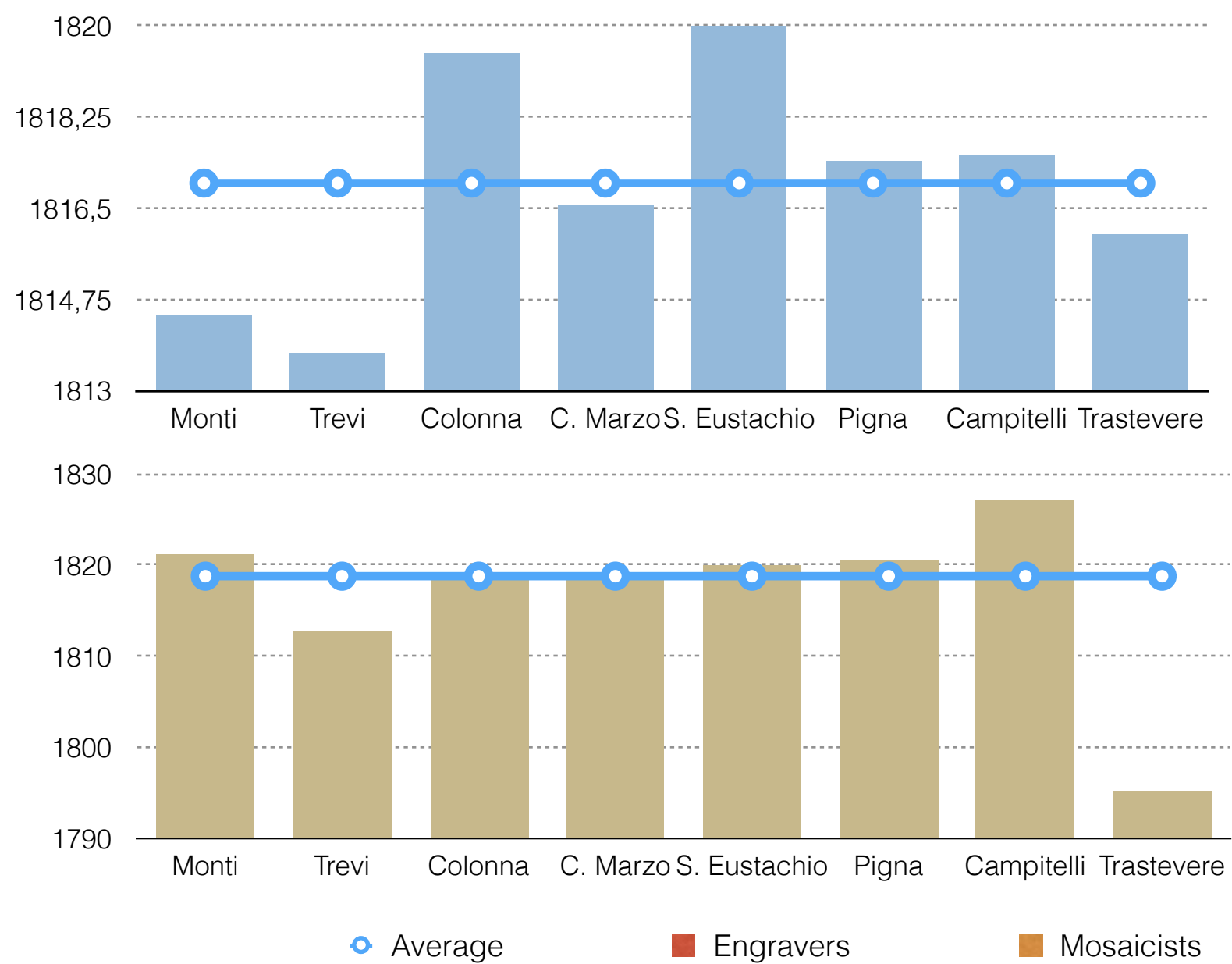
Demographics comparison (Fine arts)

Fine Arts	Painters	Sculptors	Architects
I	51	25	8
II	47	49	6
III	60	64	19
IV	118	76	10
VIII	27	4	11
IX	25	8	9
X	23	14	9
XIII	15	6	4

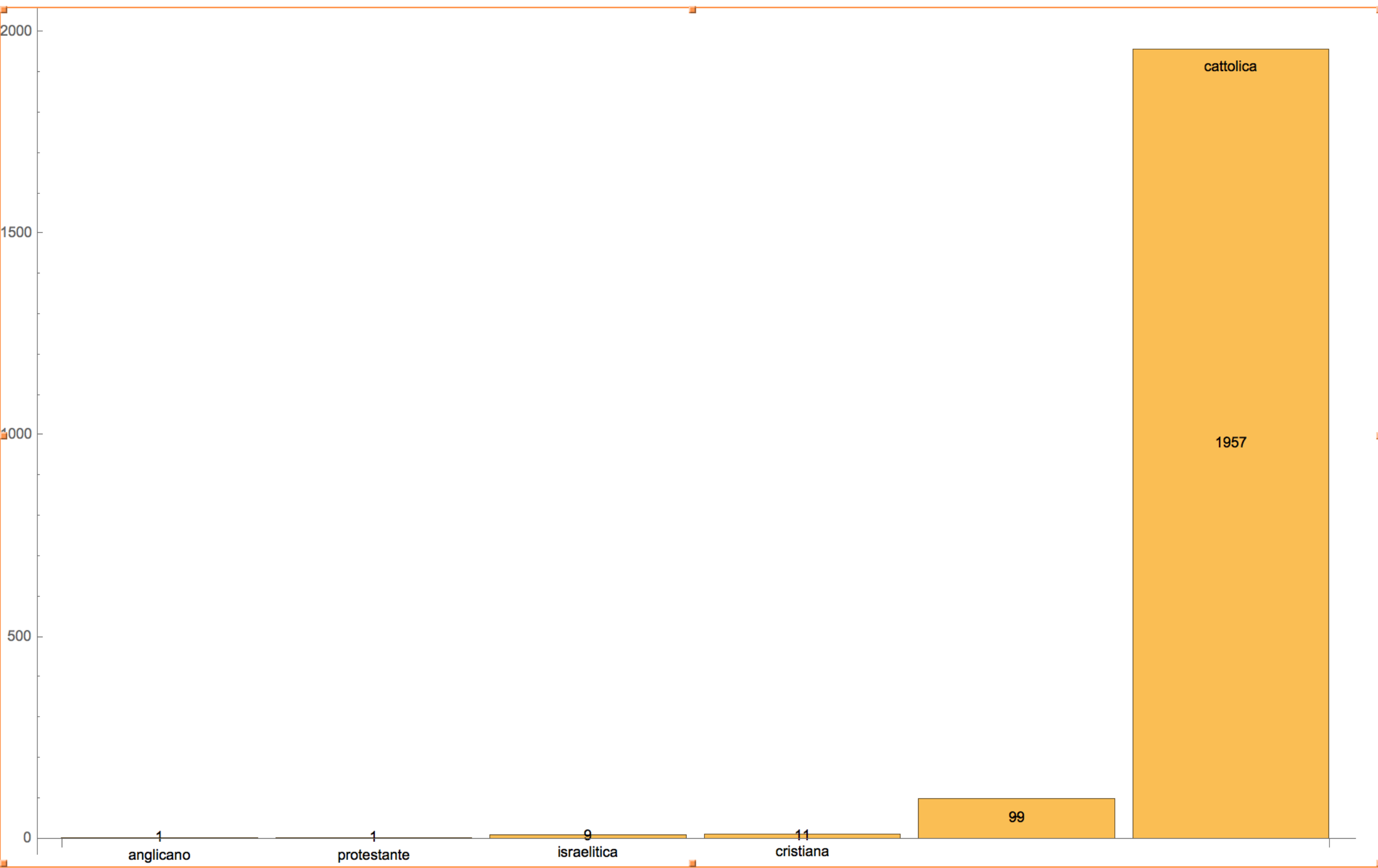


Artists in the Civic Guard Demographics comparison (Liberal arts)

	Engravers	Mosaicista	Scalpellino	Orafo
I	18	16	19	5
II	19	9	7	11
III	41	14	3	9
IV	48	48	18	18
VIII	8	5	0	6
IX	8	2	3	4
X	5	2	13	1
XIII	4	1	9	2



Campo Marzo - Religion



Artists in the Civic Guard - Ranks

	High Ranks	Liutenants	Corporals	High Ranks	Liutenants	Corporals	High Ranks	Lieutenants	Corporals
Monti	1	1	16	-	2	9	-	-	2
Trevi	1	2	8	1	2	7	-	-	-
Colonna	5	2	15	-	-	7	-	-	5
Campo Marzo	4	4	16	-	1	16	-	1	1
Ponte	2	2	11	-	-	3	-	-	4
Parione	-	1	5	-	1	10	-	-	2
Regola	-	-	6	-	-	4	-	-	1
S. Eustachio	1	3	7	-	2	7	-	-	-
Pigna	-	-	2	-	-	2	-	1	-
Campitelli	1	2	10	-	-	4	-	-	-
Trastevere	-	2	5	-	-	4	-	-	5
Borgo	3	-	1	1	-	2	-	1	2
Total	18	19	102	2	8	75		3	22

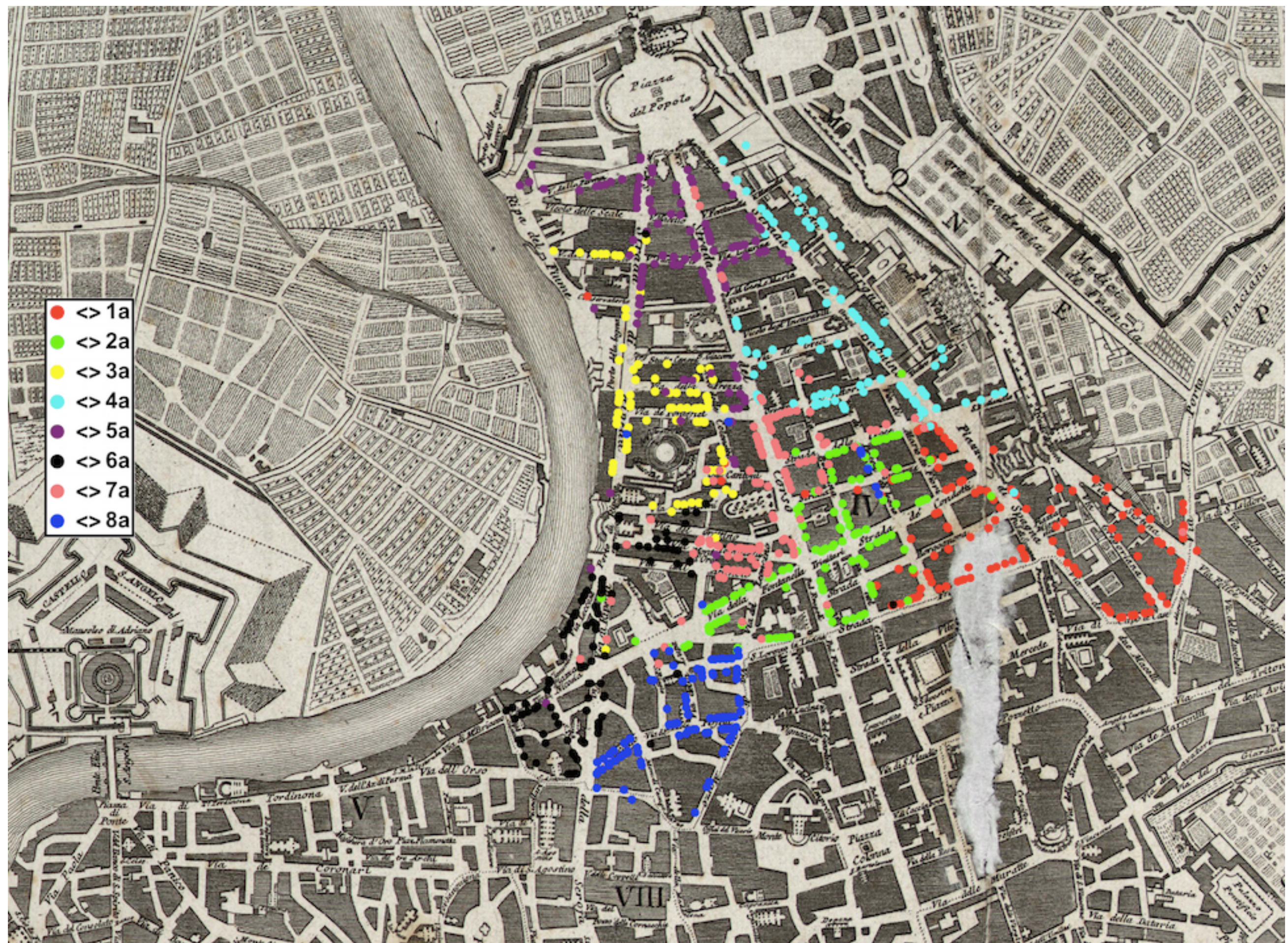
- Mechanical Arts
- Fine Arts
- Liberal Arts
- 4 Companies District (32/32/64)
- 6 Companies District (48 / 48 / 96)
- 8 Companies District (64 / 64 / 128)

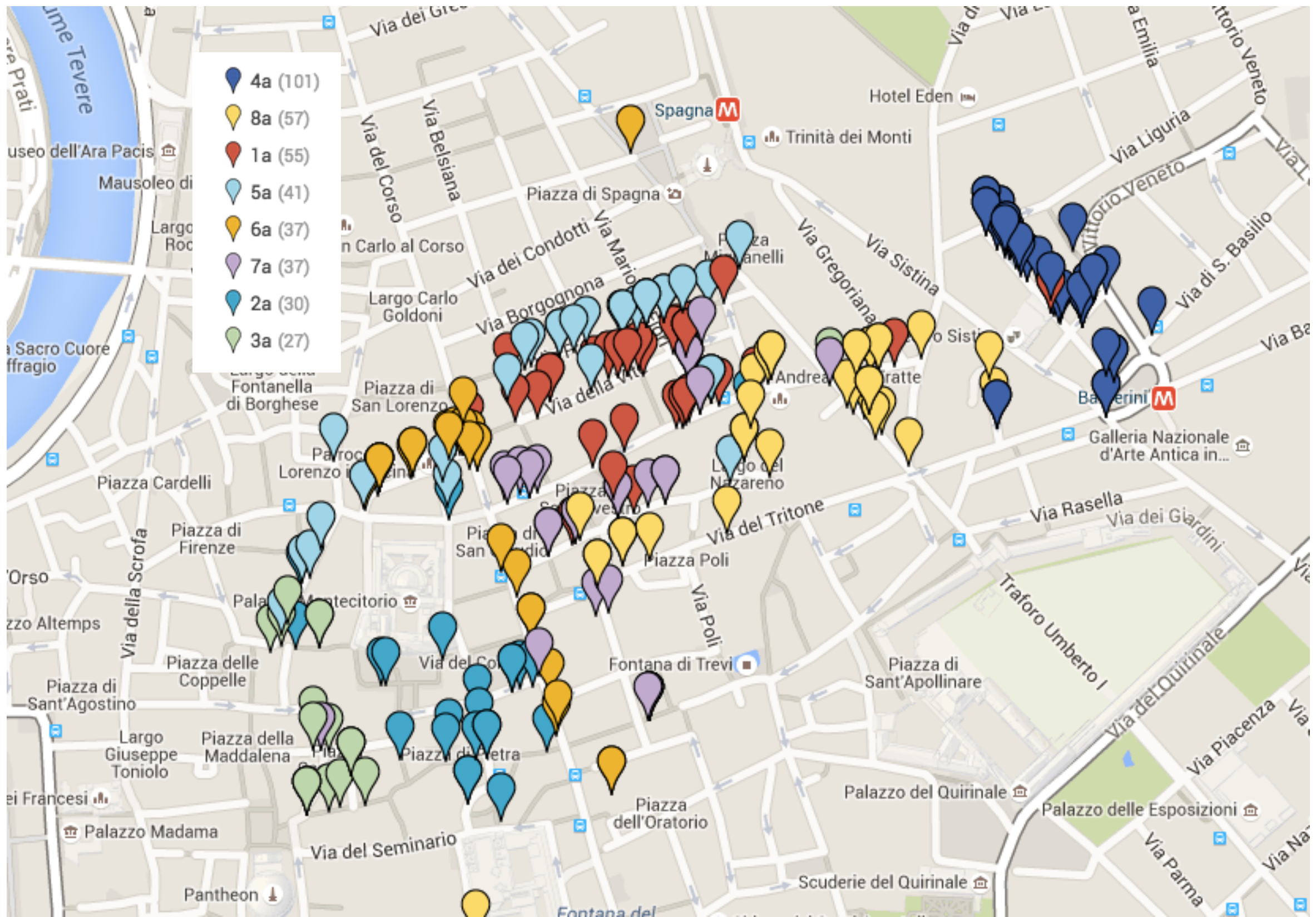
Artists in the Civic Guard - Active service, departures, sanctions

	Mobilized	Transferred	Departured	Sanctioned	Mobilized	Transferred	Departured	Sanctioned	Mobilized	Transferred	Departured	Sanctioned
Monti	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Trevi	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Colonna	16	5	5	0	12	0	1	1	8	1	0	0
C. Marzo	5	4	0	0	2	3	2	0	0	0	0	0
Ponte	11	2	3	0	13	3	2	0	3	0	1	2
Parione	6	2	4	0	4	2	2	0	3	1	1	2
Regola	4	3	1	0	2	0	1	0	2	0	1	3
S. Eustachio	8	5	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	1
Pigna	5	0	1	0	2	0	0	1	6	0	0	0
Campitelli	0	1	3	2	0	0	0	5	0	0	1	1
Trastevere	3	0	1	1	3	0	0	1	4	0	0	3
Borgo	3	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	2
Total	61	22	16	3	40	8	7	8	24	2	3	14

Campo Marzio battalion - Ranks, active service, departures, sanctions

Campo Marzo	Mobilized	Transferred	Departured	High Ranks	Low Ranks
Landowners	5	5	5	17	23
Employees	5	10	1	14	36
Students	1	13	1	0	1
Militars	1	1	0	2	1
Shops / Vendors	3	4	3	9	30
Entrepreneur	0	0	0	1	2
Innkeepers	0	0	0	0	1
Artisans	2	0	1	0	11
Liberal Professions	2	14	7	9	37
Fine Arts	5	3	0	10	16
Liberal Arts	3	2	2	2	16
Mechanical Arts	0	0	0	0	3





Mobilized in 1849 - Artists in I, III, V, IX, XIV

	Mobilized Total	Fine Artists	Liberal Artists	Mechanical Artists
Monti	169	6	6	4
Colonna	112	9	7	8
Ponte	?	2	8	5
Pigna	53	3	2	3
Borgo	79	1	1	6

Mobilized in 1849 - All, Campo Marzo (IV)

Campo Marzo	Mobilized 1848	Transferred	Mobilized 1849
Landowners	5	5	2
Employees	5	10	7
Students	1	13	1
Militars	1	1	
Shops / Vendors	3	4	7
Entrepreneur	0	0	1
Innkeepers	0	0	3
Artisans	2	0	22
Liberal Professions	2	14	1
Fine Arts	5	3	12
Liberal Arts	3	2	5
Mechanical Arts	0	0	9
Others	0	0	7

IMAGES - CHAPTER 3



F. Giani, *Ephemeral Arch erected for the inauguration of the Roman Republic*, watercolor and pencil, 1799. Museo di Roma, Rome.



A. Pinelli, *Arco Trionfale...eretto in Roma nella Piazza di Venezia...col disegno dell'architetto accademico Sig.re Clemente Folchi e con l'opera dello scultore Sig.re Giovanni Ceccarini*, 1800, engraving.
Civica Raccolta delle Stampe "A. Bertarelli", Milan.



F. Cicconetti, E. Calandri, *Arco trionfale temporaneo innalzato dal Popolo Romano in onore del Sommo Pontefice Pio IX il giorno 8 Settembre 1846*, lithography, 1846.
Civica Raccolta delle Stampe "A. Bertarelli", Milan.

ARCO TRIONFALE TEMPORANEO INNALZATO AL SOMMO PONTEFICE PIO IX. SULLA PIAZZA DEL POPOLO

Il popolo romano edificatore di amore verso la patria e pieno di gratitudine per chi ne adopera al bene, divisi manifestare quell'affetto deliziosa alla S. di N. S. Papa PIO IX. innalzandogli un arco trionfale temporaneo sulla piazza del Popolo, allorché quel Sommo Gerarca si recasse nel dì 8 settembre a solemnizzare la festa di Maria nella chiesa che da Essa e dal Popolo stesso ha nome.

Più che ai deputati all'impresa sig. Giuseppe Antonini, Angelo Brucchi, Luigi Padellai affidare il disegno e la direzione al sottoscritto cui imposemo quando condurre quell'opera in modo che, dovendo essere testimone di gratitudine somma riuscisse a dignità non tanto di Roma quanto dell'ultimo benefattore de' sudditi. Ad adempire al ruolo commissionato il sottoscritto, per quanto gliel comportasse il giovane e scuro ingegno, primieramente si mise tutto nello stabilire ove collocare il monumento. Il quale come arco trionfale dovendo attraversare la modestia del trionfatore alla necessità di un solo passaggio doveva perciò impedire possibilmente ogni altro alla stessa della via del corso. Ad ottenere ciò sorsero la difficoltà che per chiudere nelle estremità dell'arco quella via, certamente il monumento sarebbe apparso meschino, guardandosi dalla piazza la cui area esigeva una mole corrispondente non solo alla sua superficie, ma essendo si fabbricati che la circondano. Il sottoscritto dunque pensò servire a questa difficoltà e provvedere alla ragione dell'area situandolo fra le due chiese di S. Maria de Miracoli e della Madonna di Monte Santo, poco lungi dallo sbocco del corso, per escludere ogni altra naturale passaggio al trionfatore, e perciò non permettendo la grandezza del monumento imposta dalla località di vedersi intero per ogni dove del corso, presentasse in distanza una porta trionfale, e all'ultima circoscrive tutto al sorpasso, serrando però interamente la strada.

La scelta dello stile architettonico non importava questione a che vagare in traccia di novità facili a produrre strapazzata dove invece è un tipo derivato dal secolo. Gli antichi stessi maestri di ogni bello artistico tralasciando archi di trionfo, non hanno quasi che mai deviato da una sola massima, limitandosi a cercare la novità d'invenzione ne' rapporti e nelle decorazioni, il che ha tentato anche il sottoscritto. Essendo il monumento innalzato al Sommo Pontefice PIO NONO per celebrare la pace da Lui donata ai sudditi con benefico volere della società, egli studiò che la scelta essendo dell'ornamento fosse tale da non disarmonizzare dal concetto principale, cioè quell'arco che non ha pregio d'invocazione quanto alla massima, almeno ne ottenesse quanto ai rapporti e alle decorazioni.

L'arco dunque è d'ordine corintio a due fasce simili, anteriore, e posteriore, largo alla fronte palmi 96 — nel fianco palmi 30 e più lo sporto di palmi 20 $\frac{6}{12}$ dei piedistalli a sostegno delle colonne che formano palmi 30 $\frac{6}{12}$, alto palmi 90, e a tre farnesi. Il farnese medio è largo palmi 24 — per palmi 49 di altezza, e i due farnesi minori presentano una larghezza di palmi 12 — così la metà del farnese maggiore, per un'altezza di p. 28, in ciascun piedistallo è egualmente conservata la larghezza di palmi 12 — ossia quella della base dei farnesi minori — Quattro colonne in ciascuna delle fasce, dietro le quali sta il centro pilastro, decorato di base attica e capitello corintio alto palmi 44 ed aventi un diametro di palmi 4 $\frac{5}{12}$ sorgono sopra un basamento alto palmi 11 a sostenere la trabeazione alta palmi 9 $\frac{9}{12}$ la quale corona tutto il corpo dell'arco. Il farnese medio che elevasi quasi sino all'architrave è decorato di archivolto nel cui pannello alcuni angeli volanti alti palmi 16 recano nelle mani gli emblemi della pace.

Nell'interno poi e precisamente ne' fanchi sono incassati due bassorilievi larghi palmi 20 per palmi 12 $\frac{6}{12}$ di altezza, in uno è intesa l'Assunta nell'altro l'Offerta pubblica, opere onde il sommo Pontefice PIO IX benedisse i sudditi, e che diedero ragione all'innalzamento dell'arco. Le quali si vollero in parte perchè il trionfante nel passaggio veggia il popolo allietarsi di quei benedici, onde Egli vinca ogni cuore.

I farnesi minori sono pure nei decorati di archivolto, i cui pannelli si adornano di emblemi sacri scolpiti in un triangolo equilatero di palmi 5 e s'innalzano quasi fino sotto l'imposta del farnese medio, la quale decorata di patera di festoni alti palmi 3 per palmi 3 $\frac{6}{12}$ di larghezza, di fuori e dentro, ideati perchè della pace sorride l'abbondanza del popolo, come l'intero corpo dell'arco. Fra essa e la trabeazione, e precisamente su i farnesi minori stanno due bassorilievi per ogni fascia larghi palmi 12 $\frac{6}{12}$ per 11 $\frac{6}{12}$ di altezza rappresentanti 1. la discesa dello spirito Santo nel ceruscolo 2. Gesù Cristo che dà le chiavi a San Pietro 3. Gesù Cristo che dona il circo tinto, 4. il buon Pastore.

È facile spiegare a che volle alludere con siffatti argomenti: volle indicare la clemenza del divino Spirito nella visione del Pontefice, il potere infinito assegnatogli, ed esso valersene ad illuminare i sudditi, con dell'arco richiamandoli al suo seno.

Sopra la trabeazione sorgerà un attico ove a ricorrenza delle sottoposte colonne sta una decorazione di leggeri pilastri, innanzi a questi situati nel centro delle colonne fanno mostra di se altrettanti Gorgi sostenenti lo stemma delle Province, quasi a testimonianza dell'intervento di esse nel celebrare le glorie del Regnante Pontefice, il cui stemma è in mezzo loro collocato sull'attico, e precisamente sui farnesi minori. Lo spazio che rimane sul farnese medio è occupato da una epigrafe in ciascun prospetto.

Finalmente sull'attico sta una nicchia sopra cui gronda un gruppo di 3 figure alte palmi 21 che mentre giova a rendere piramidale la composizione Architettonica dell'arco, vale a festeggiare il soggetto al quale l'arco stesso è dedicato: perciòché in primizia il Sommo Pontefice accende a destra la Giustizia cui posa da presso un lauro simbolo della Pace, e mentre di quella ei si fa sostegno, posa la sinistra sulla testa della Pace, che sorride a quel lauro quasi a pianto invitato, sembra pronta a sorgere anche essa per porre a fianco di Gesù, il Regno del quale durerà sempre giusto e pacifico. Quindi vicino ai vasi apparire molti emblemi dell'industria, delle belle arti, del commercio, indicando per tal modo cosa debbano aspettarsi i popoli della sua infinita (1).

FELICE CICONETTI ROMANO ARCHITETTO DIRETTORE

(1) Il modello fu fatto di talora che al pari del monumento conveniva spartirsi a prima opera gratuita per l'innalzamento dell'arco, quando desidero del sottoscritto essere costrutto tutto con rilievi. Era allora di giovani artisti volentieri nell'arte, di nella parte figurativa, che nelle parti costruttive, abbandonarono ogni lavoro, lasciando in quell'opera al corso di Pio Nono di che stabilire il progetto reale. Le varie sagome e decorazioni di cui quel lavoro doveva rendersi degno, dunque con l'istesso amore acquistati alle disposizioni della sorte, sono state variamente alterate, detratte da tal parte di maggior lavoro che quella desideravagli.

<i>Architettura del Gruppo</i>	1. Sig. Carlo De Angelis, Winzler presidente della S. e S. Accademia di Roma. Alfredo Mancini, Winzler presidente della S. S. e S. di Bologna. Antonio Garavito, Winzler presidente della S. S. e S. di Napoli.
<i>Al farnese attico nel fanchi del farnese medio</i>	
<i>L'Assunta</i>	2. Sig. Francesco Della Porta, Winzler.
<i>L'Offerta pubblica</i>	3. Sig. Angelo Neri di Roma.
<i>Al farnese attico nel fanchi del farnese medio</i>	
<i>La discesa dello spirito Santo</i>	4. Sig. Ferdinando Belli, Winzler presidente della S. S. e S. di Roma.
<i>Il buon Pastore</i>	5. Sig. Giuseppe Poli, Winzler presidente della S. e S. Accademia di Napoli.
<i>Al farnese attico nel fanchi del farnese medio</i>	
<i>Il farnese attico nel fanchi del farnese medio</i>	6. Sig. Felice Franchini, Winzler.
<i>Il farnese attico nel fanchi del farnese medio</i>	7. Sig. Antonio Neri, Winzler.
<i>Al farnese attico nel fanchi del farnese medio</i>	
<i>Al farnese attico nel fanchi del farnese medio</i>	8. Sig. Giuseppe Neri, Winzler.
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F. Cicconetti, E. Calandri, *Arco trionfale temporaneo innalzato al Sommo Pontefice Pio IX sulla piazza del popolo*, 1846.
Civica Raccolta delle Stampe "A. Bertarelli", Milan.



L. Piroli, *Untitled* in "L'album" (after Felice Cicconetti's ephemeral architecture celebrating the amnesty), 13-29 (1846), p. 225.



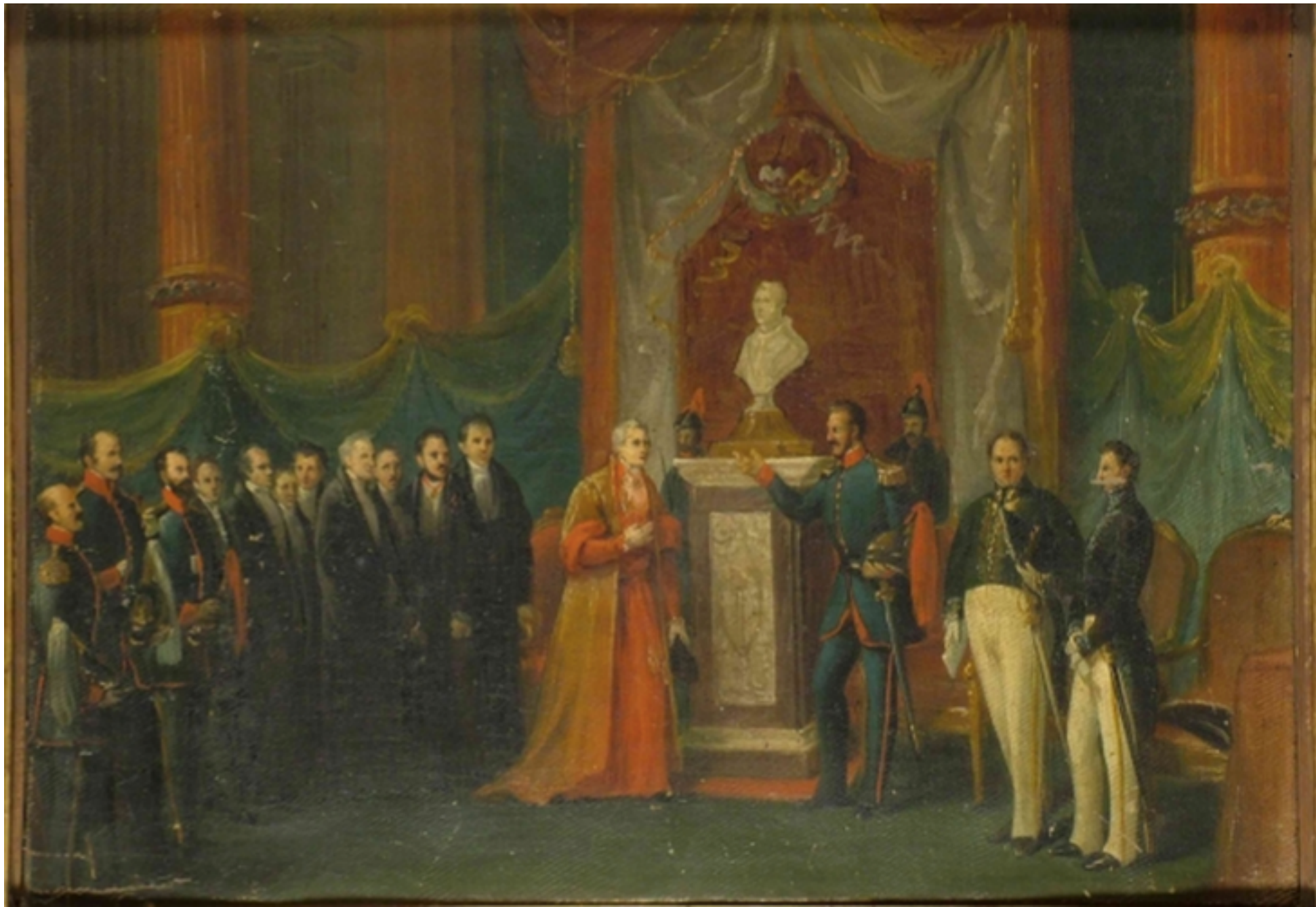
A. Viviani, *Pius IX reaching the Papal Chapel of S. Maria del Popolo*, watercolor, 1846 c.
Museo di Roma, Rome.



F. Cicconetti, *Veduta dell'Arco Trionfale temporaneo eretto dai Romani al Sommo Pontefice Pio IX sulla piazza del popolo li otto settembre 1846*, lithograph, 1846.
Civica Raccolta delle Stampe "A. Bertarelli", Milan.



G. Conca, *Portrait of Pius IX*, oil on canvas, 1848. Private Collection.



Anonymous, *Bologna receives in gift a bust of Pius IX from Rome*, oil on canvas, 1850 (?).
Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Bologna, Bologna.



A. Frulli, *Effigie del sommo pontefice papa Pio IX per autorità e consenso della eccelsa Magistratura di Bologna tratta dal busto dato dai Romani ai Bolognesi. Alla Guardia civica di Bologna*, lithograph, 1847.
Biblioteca dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna.



A. Capalti, *Portrait of Pius IX*, oil on canvas, 1846. Private Collection.



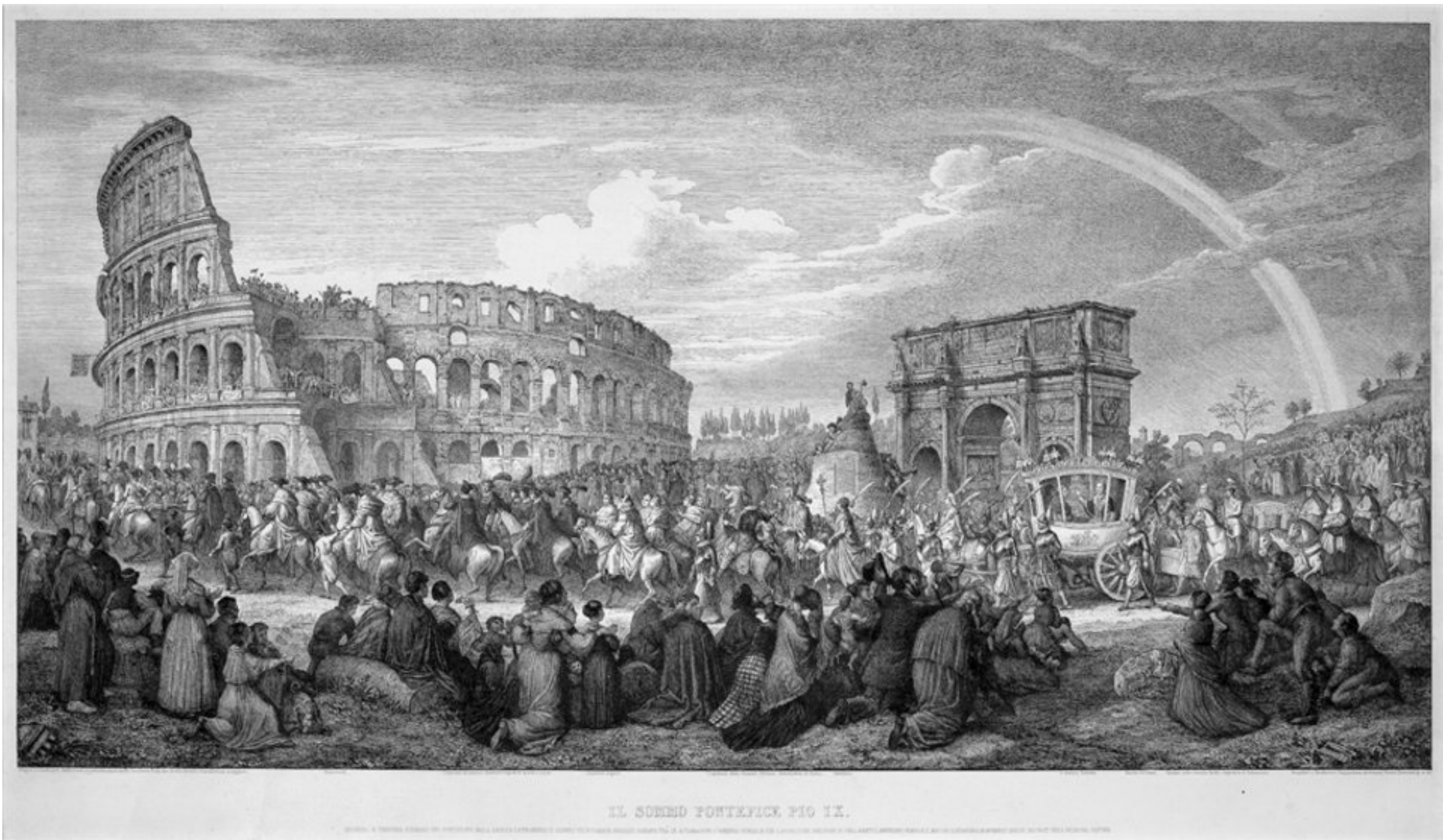
Anonymous, *Pallade fighting with papers*, cover vignette of “La Pallade”, 2-1, (June 16, 1847), p.1.



J. Friedlænder, *Stairs of Trinità dei Monti*, oil on canvas, 1847. Staten Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen.



F. Hayez, *La Ciociara*, oil on canvas, 1842. Private Collection.



M. Wittmer, *"Il solenne possesso del Sommo pontefice Pio IX"*, etching, 1846. Museo di Roma, Rome.



M. Adriano, I. Gigli, *Predica fatta dal papa Pio IX nella chiesa di S. Andrea della Valle*, etching, 1847.
Museo di Roma, Rome.



Anonymous, *Banchetto per il Natale di Roma, il 21 aprile 1847*, in "Il Mondo illustrato", 20 (May 15, 1847).

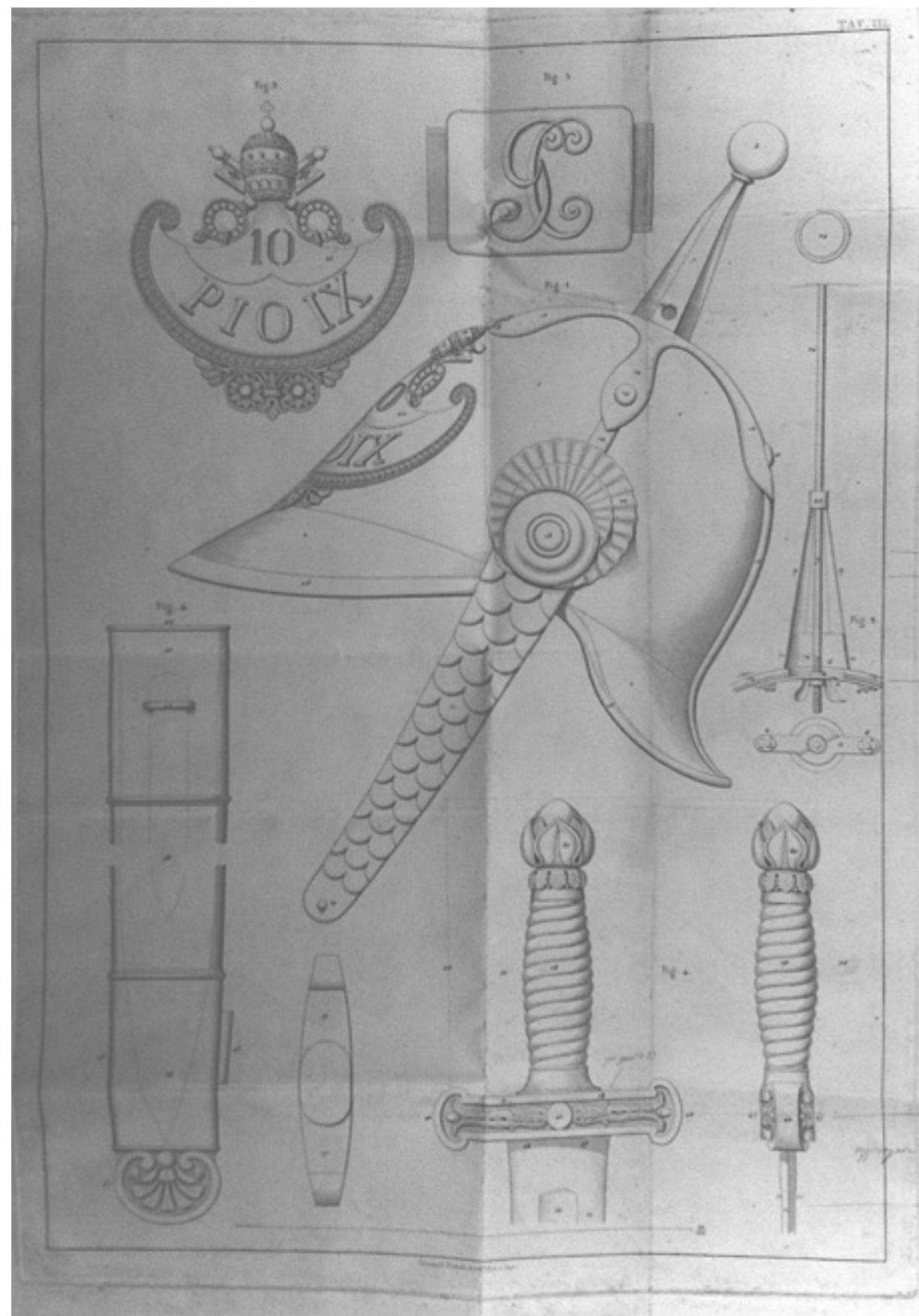


.....MOSTRIAMO ALL'EUROPA CHE NOI BASTIAMO A NOI STESSI

N. Sanesi, F. Lasinio, *"Mostriamo all'Europa che noi bastiamo a noi stessi"*, etching, 1847.
Museo di Roma, Rome.



Anonymous, "La Pallade in Giacò", Cover vignette of "La Pallade", 2-25, (July 30, 1847), p.1.



“Regolamento per la Vestimenta della Guardia Civica Pontificia”, lithograph, 1847.
ASR, Rome.



Anonymous (Luigi Piroli?), *Guardia Civica Pontificia*, lithograph and watercolor, 1847.
Rome, Museo di Roma.



P. Gagliardi, P. Mancion, *Civic Guard's institution*, engraving, 1847. MCRR, Rome.



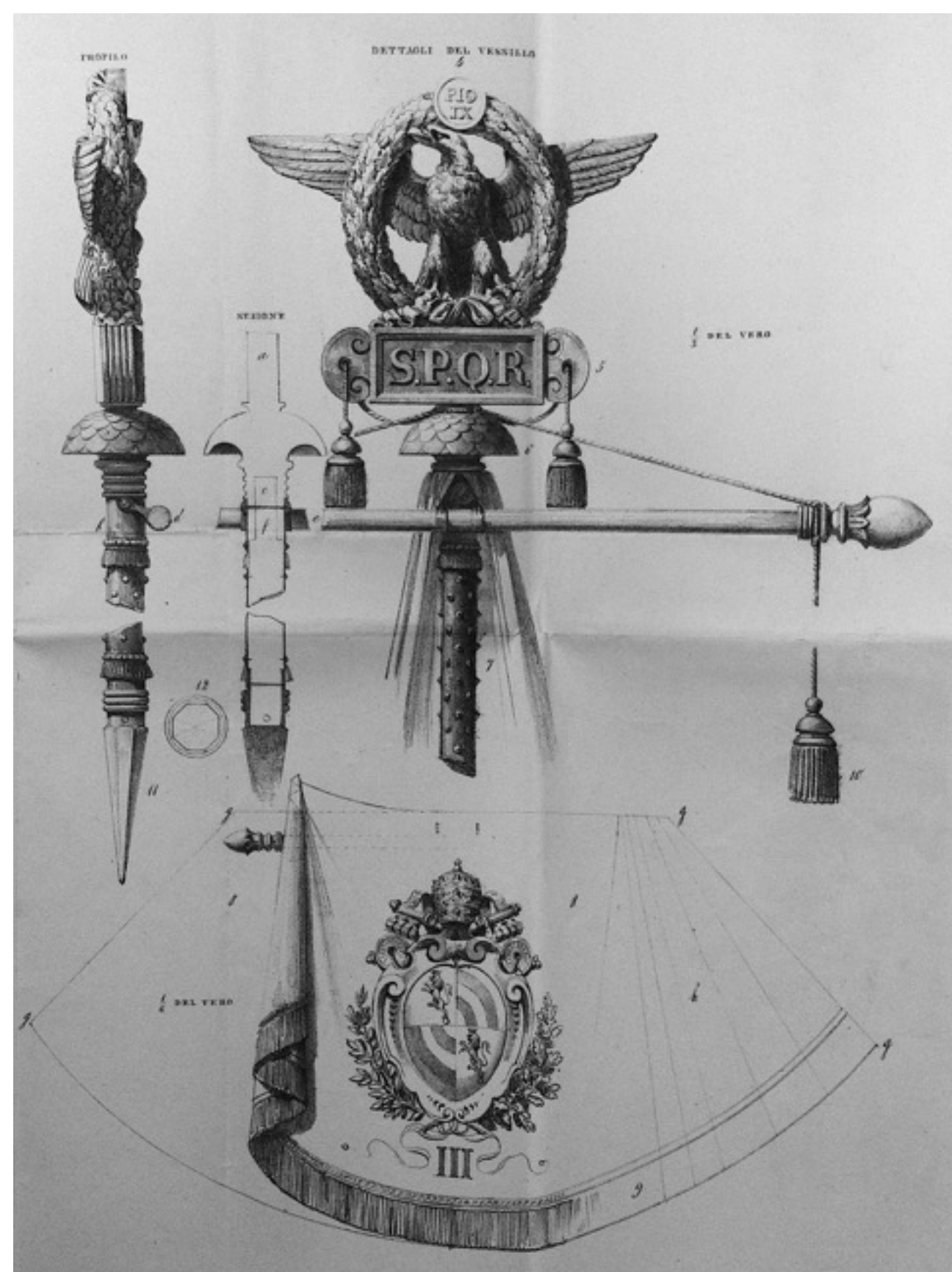
Anonymous, *Female recruits of the Civic Guard*, etching and watercolor, 1847.
Museo di Roma, Rome.



Anonymous, "*La piccola Guardia Civica*", lithograph, 1848.
MCRR, Rome.

IL SOMMO PONTEFICE PIO IX.

FA RISORGERE L'AQUILA ROMANA SUL VESSILLO DELLA GUARDIA CIVICA



“Regolamento per la Vestimenta della Guardia Civica Pontificia”, lithograph, 1847.
ASR, Rome.



F. Giani, *Drawing for symbol the Roman Republic*, pencil, end of 18th century.
Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Rome.



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Eagle, marble, II c. AD. Church of the twelve SS. Apostles, Rome.



Tricolour cockade once belonged to Filippo Valli
shaped like a cross, with the embroidered legend
“Long live Italy, Long live Pius IX”, 1848 c.
MCRR, Rome.



Elm of the Pontifical Civic Guard, 1847.
MCRR, Rome.



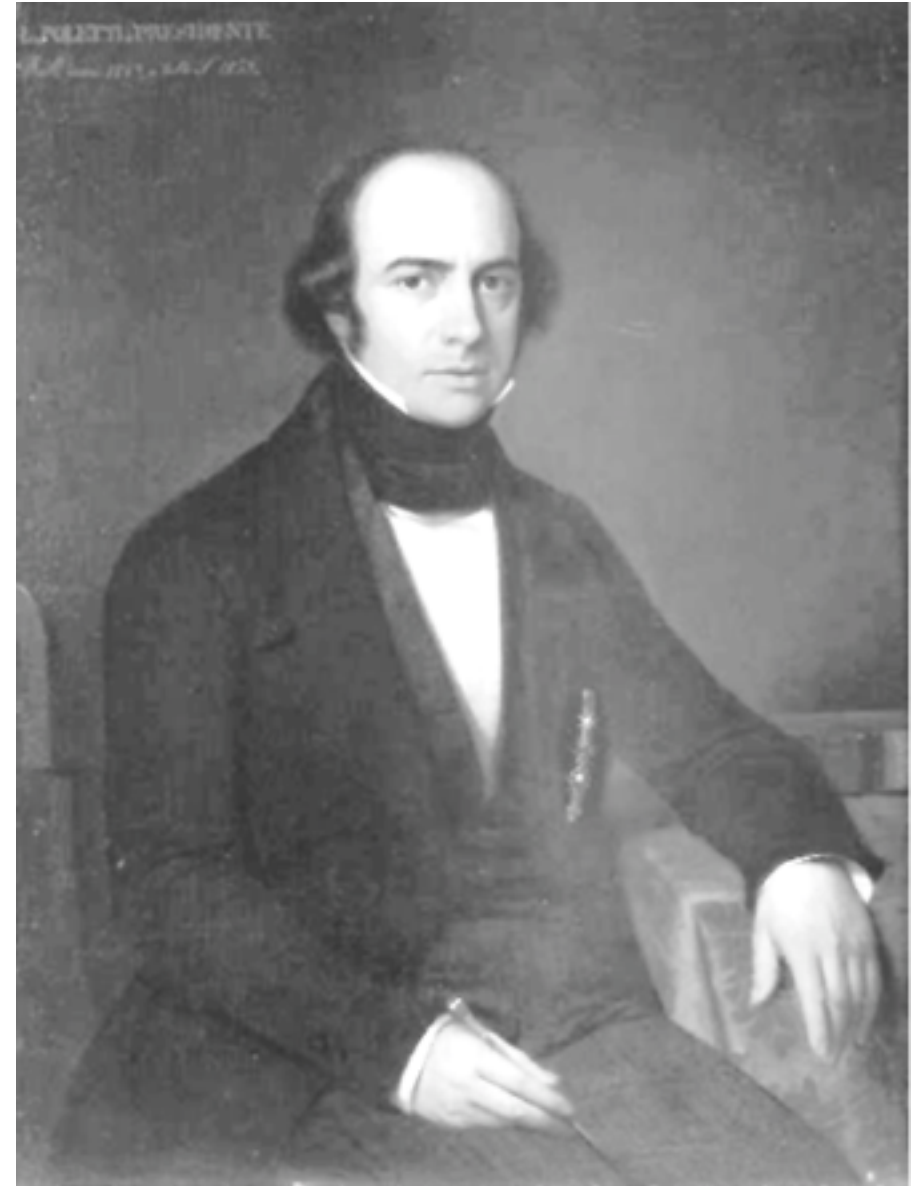
Anonymous, *High officer of the Parione battalion of the Pontifical Civic Guard with tricolored cockade*, 1848 (?). MCRR, Rome.



Anonymous, *Grand uniform of the Civic Guard with banner. Winter and Summer*, pen and watercolor, 1847 c. MCCR, Rome.



Malatesta, *Portrait of Luigi Spallanzani*, oil on canvas, 1843 (?). Fondazione San Carlo, Modena.



A. Malatesta, *Portrait of Luigi Poletti*, oil on canvas, 1839. Accademia di S. Luca, Rome.



I. Tirinelli, *Soldier of the Civic Guard leaving for war*, oil on canvas, 1848 c. Museo Nacional de Bellas Artes, Santiago del Chile.



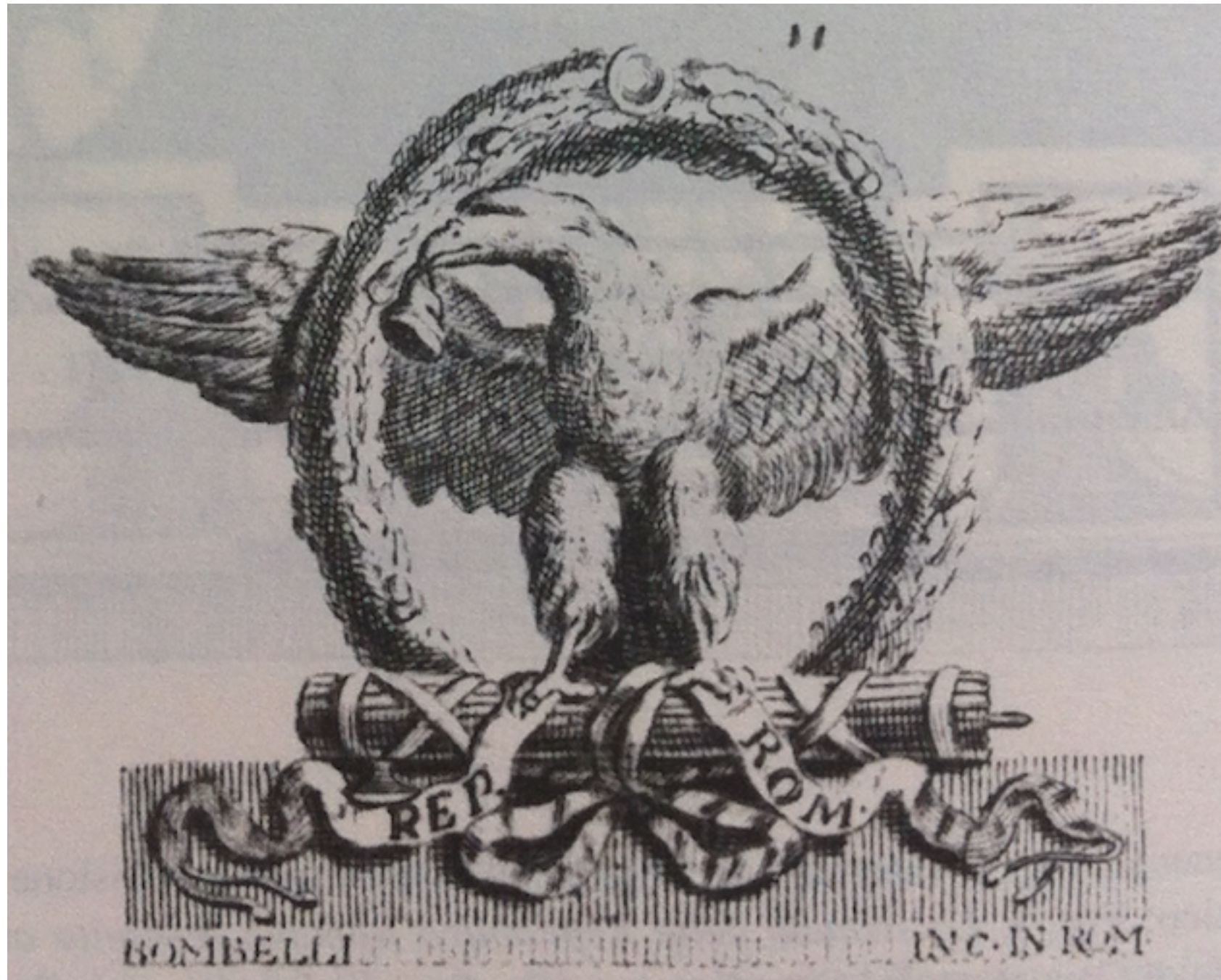
Anonymous, *Regular uniform of the Civic Guard. Winter and Summer*, pen and watercolor, 1847 c. MCCR, Rome.



F. Hayez, *Romeo and Juliet's last kiss*, oil on canvas, 1823. Villa Carlotta, Tremezzo.



Induno G., *Triste presentimento*, oil on canvas, 1862. Pinacoteca di Brera, Milan.



G. B. Bondacca, *Front page for “Lo Stemma della repubblica romana restituito al primiera lustro”* (detail), lithograph, 1798. Biblioteca di Storia Moderna e Contemporanea, Rome.



Anonymous, *Illustration of the monument erected in Piazza del Popolo for Pius IX's election first anniversary*, in "La Pallade", 2-22 (July 22, 1847).



Anonymous, *Ephemeral Monument for Pius IX in Piazza del Popolo*, drawing, 1847.
Museo di Roma, Rome.











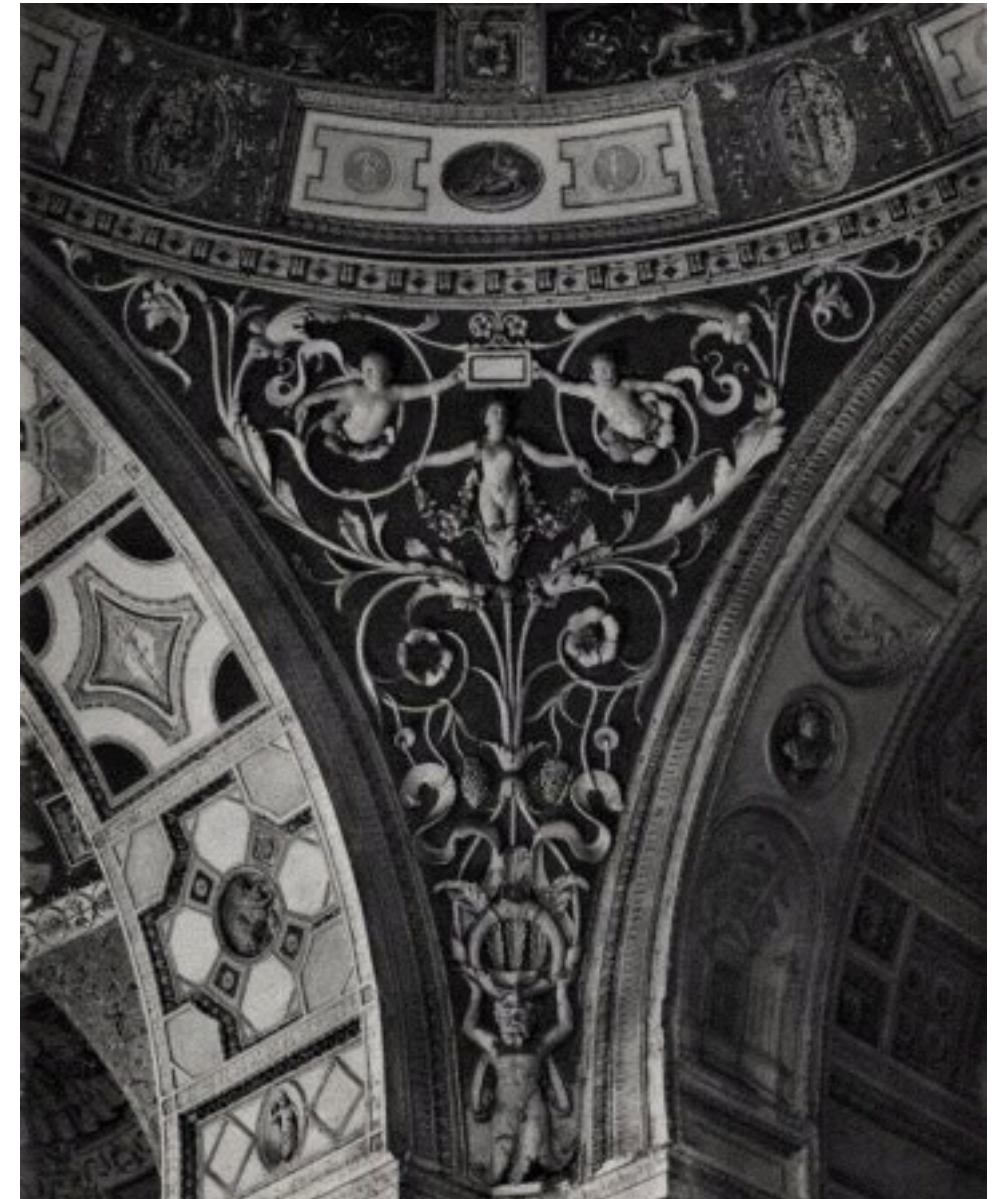




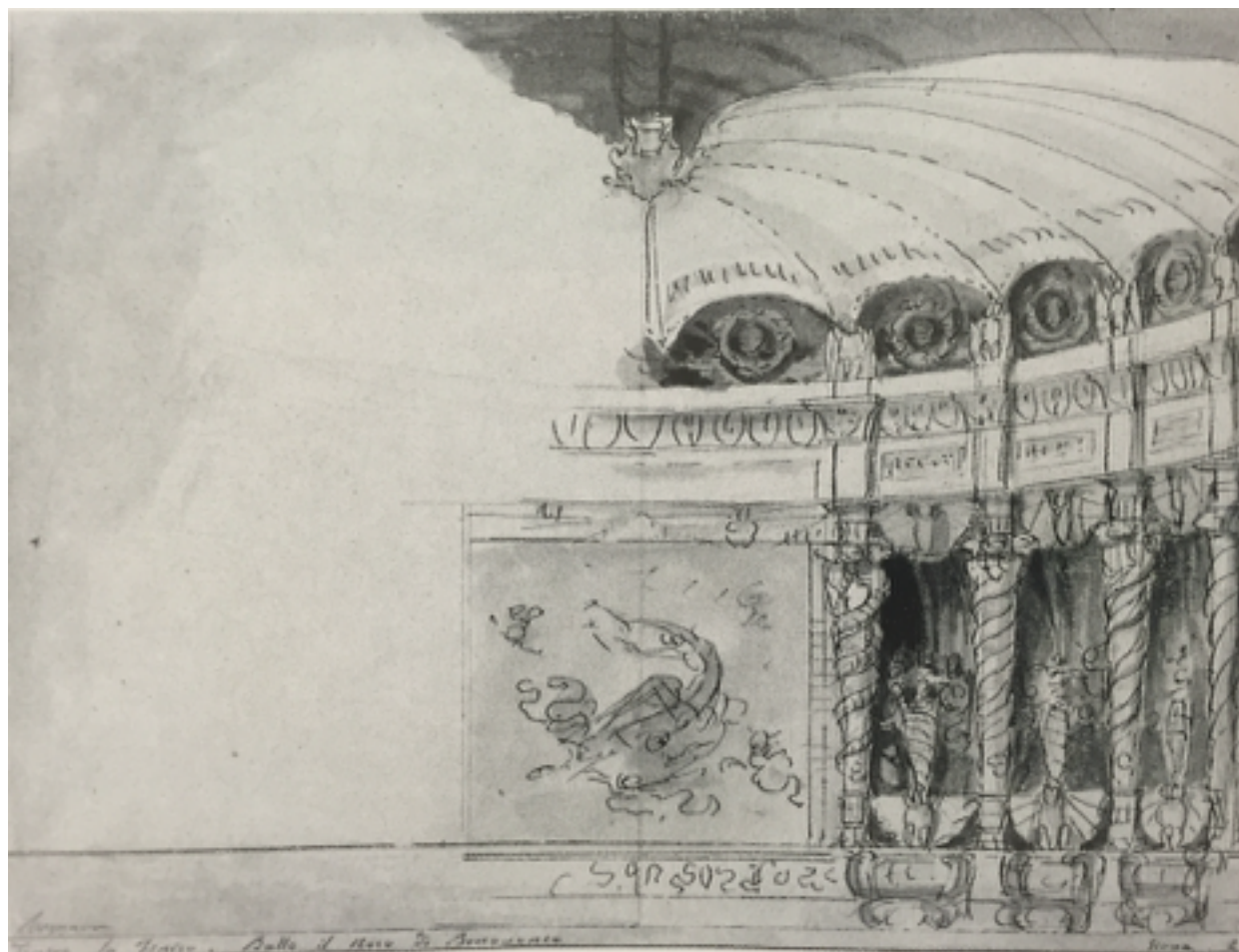
F. Gonin, *Studio interior of the painter Giuseppe Molteni*, watercolor, 1835 c. Private collection.



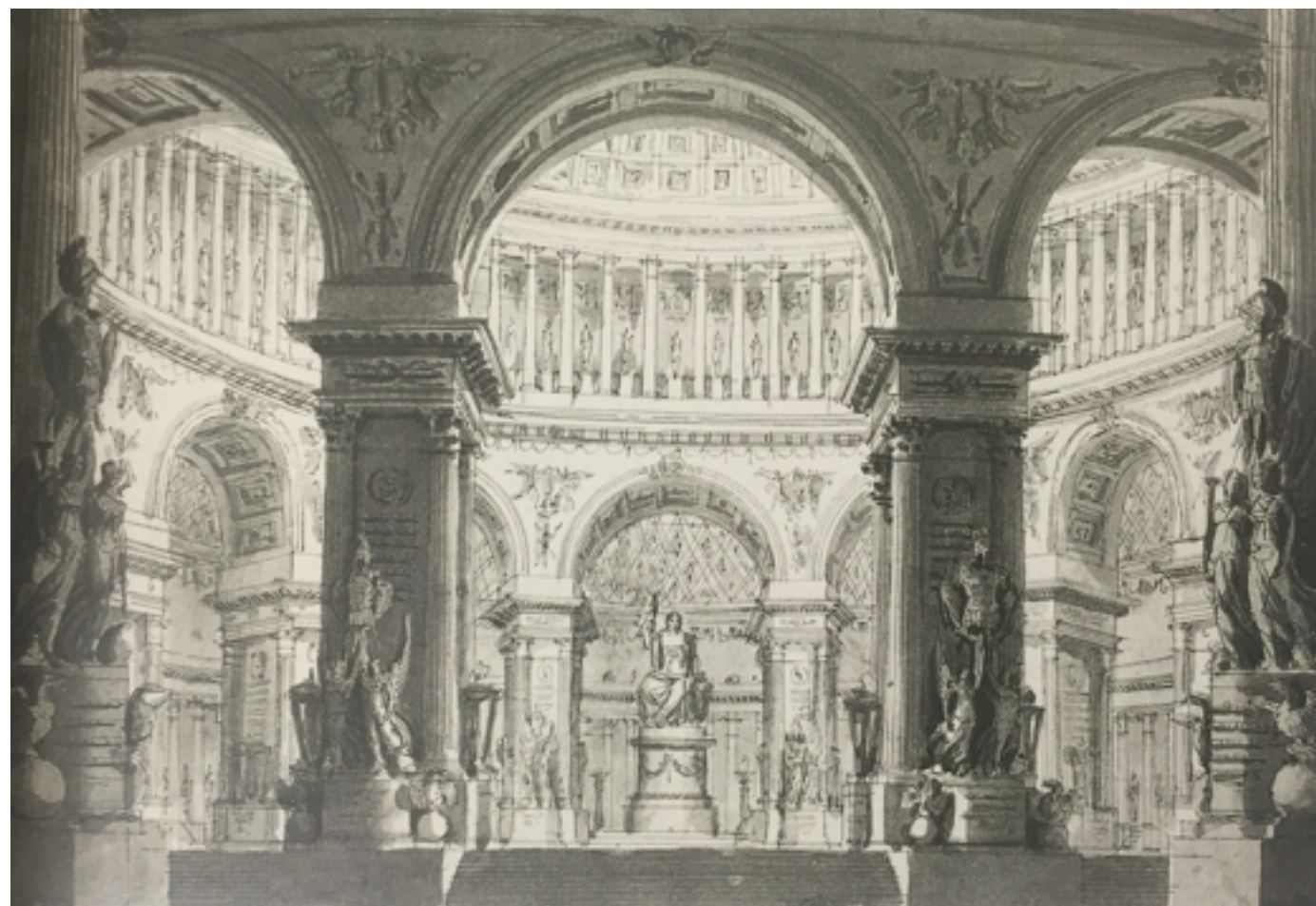
Engraving by Ottaviano G., drawing by Savorelli G., Camporesi P., after Giovanni Da Udine, *Pilastro II*, in "Loggie di Rafaele nel Vaticano", 1777. Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome.



Giovanni da Udine, Stucco and fresco decorations in Villa Madama, 1820 c.
Villa Madama, Rome.



Bagnara G., *Setting for "Il Noce di Benevento"* (2), ink drawing and watercolor, 1828-1829.
Biblioteca del Museo Correr, Venice.



Borsato G., *Setting for "Idomeneo"* (13), pen and watercolor, 1811-1812.
Bibliothèque-Musée de l'Opéra, Paris.



L. Scarabellotto, *Fantasy Architecture with statues and gardens*, oil on canvas, first half of 19th century.
Private Collection.





COLUI CHE DIO
CI HA MANDATO
PARLA
PAROLE DI DIO

E LUI BENEDIRANNO GLI UOMINI
PERCHÉ UDIVA
I GEMITI
DEI LANGUENTI

AGLI ANCONITANI SUOI CONCITTADINI QUESTA COMPOSIZIONE IN CUI S'IMMAGINA RIVELATA NEL SONNO AD UN PRIGIONIERO
L'Amnistia concessa dalla S.^a di PIO IX.
Dedica ERCOLE MORELLI

« Dimostrare che la carità del loco nativo ne per tempo ne per lontananza s'è in lui raffreddata »

E. Morelli & P. Guglielmi, *Amnesty conceded by Pius IX*, lithography, 1846.
Civica Raccolta delle Stampe "A. Bertarelli", Milan.



E. Morelli, P. Guglielmi, M. Danesi, *Benedite Gran Dio l'Italia*, lithography, 1848. MCCR, Rome.



Raphael, *Vision of Ezekiel*, oil on canvas, 1518. Gallerie Palatine di Palazzo Pitti, Florence.



Delacroix E., *Liberty Leading the People*, oil on canvas, 1830. Musée du Louvre, Paris



Sleeping Ariadne, Roman copy after original Pergamon school model of II c. BC.
Vatican Museums, Vatican City.



G. Montiroli, G. Preti, *Enrollment certificate of the Pontifical Civic Guard*, engraving, 1848. ASC, Rome.



3 Baiocchi coin, Repubblica Romana 1849, designed and produced by Niccola Cerbara, 1849. MCRR, Rome.



Elm plaque belonged to colonel Pietro Pietramellara. MCCR, Rome. Picture taken from "Garibaldi. Arte e Storia", exhibition catalogue (Museo del Palazzo di Venezia, Museo Centrale del Risorgimento, June 23- December 31, 1982, Rome), edited by Arpino M. A., Florence 1982, p. 39.



D. Sforzolini, *Design for the Civic Guard uniform sketched in a letter to Tommaso Minardi dated September 16, 1847. ASR, Fondo Ovidi, Rome.*



Raphael, *The triumph of Galatea* (general and detail), fresco, 1514 c. Villa Farnesina, Rome.



F. Vettori, *The Lombard bersaglieri carrying Luciano Manara's body injured by Villa Spada* , oil on canvas, 1850.
Museo del Risorgimento, Milan.



W. von Kaulbach, *Young German artists in Rome*, oil on canvas, 1848 c.
Neue Pinakothek, Monaco.



F. Overbeck, *The triumph of religion in the arts*, oil on canvas, 1829-1840. Städel Museum, Frankfurt am Main.



P. Perraud, *Group of Scandinavian artists in Rome*, daguerrotype, 1845.
Kungliga Akademien för de fria konsterna, Stockholm



Anonymous, *Dimostrazioni di giubilo del popolo Romano*, engraving, 1847.
MCRR, Rome.



F. Cicconetti, *Veduta dell'Arco Trionfale temporaneo eretto dai Romani al Sommo Pontefice Pio IX sulla piazza del popolo li otto settembre 1846*, lithograph, 1846. Civica Raccolta delle Stampe "A. Bertarelli", Milan.



E. Lundgren, *Corpus Domini celebration*, oil on canvas, 1847.
Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.



E. Lundgren, *Study for "Corpus Domini celebration"*, oil on paper, 1845(?).
Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.



F. A. Villain, A. J. B., *The Papal Procession on the Feast of Corpus Christi*, lithograph, 1823 (from "Un an à Rome et dans sons environs"). Bibliothèque National du France, Paris.



Leo XII
(detail from "Almanaque de Gotha pour l'annee 1825", Gotha, Justus Perthes", engraving by A. Hesse, 1824).



Gregory XVI
(detail from P. Delaroche, oil on canvas, Châteaux de Versailles, 1844).



Pius IX
(detail from G. Orsi, oil on canvas, Museo Diocesano, Ravenna, 1847).



K. F. H. Werner, *Carnival by the Corso*, watercolor, 1848.
Private Collection.



K. F. H. Werner, *Carnival by the Corso* (details), watercolor, 1848.
Private Collection.



Unknown (L. Frølich?), *Man watching a novena play*, oil on canvas, 1848-1849. Private Collection.



CASSANDRINO

GIORNALE, che si pubblica il Martedì, Giovedì e Sabato a che ora gli pare.

Non c'è associazione; chi lo vuol comprare lo compra per un bajocco; chi no, lo lascia stare.

Si trova da per tutto, e con un cortezza sulle Piazze Colonna, di Pasquino, della Rotonda, del Teatro Fiano, dal Tabaccari Progressisti, ed in mano dei Sansculottes e Descamisados.



Anno primo Sabato 19 Agosto 1848 Num. 21.

Roma 19 Agosto 1848

SOLILOQUIO

ERA

CASSANDRINO E CASSANDRINO

Non serve lambiccarsi il cervello per conservare l'incognito, chè a fronte di questo ognuno vuol dire la sua, e a ca-

loro pazzia, perchè non serve lusingarsi gli uomini son tutti pazzi, come provò già all'evidenza quel Filosofissimo di Erasmo da Rotterdam. E forsechè io non son pazzo tenendo tutto il giorno in mano cento gazzette, per trarci un mazzico di verità che poi non trovo mai, e presentarla a quegli altri pazzi, che spendono tre



B. Thorvaldsen, *Priam Pleads with Achilles for Hector's Body*, marble, 1815.
Thorvaldsen Museum, Copenhagen.



D. C. Blunck, *Danish artists at the Osteria La Gensola in Rome*, oil on canvas, 1837.
Thorvaldsen Museum, Copenhagen

Tegning til Fattig-kassens Album - Rem. Frølich.



Fattig Bispens Genius..

-Clienterne Solicitanter

L. Frølich, "Goddess of miserales' charity", pen and pencil, 1850. Published in "Ude og Hjemme", 1887-1878, n.51, already owned by Edma Frølich Stage.





L. Frølich, *Domestic scene*, oil on canvas, 1848.
Staten Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen.



L. Frølich, "*Give me a kiss*", pencil, pen, grey wash, 1861.
Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen.



IMAGES - CHAPTER 4

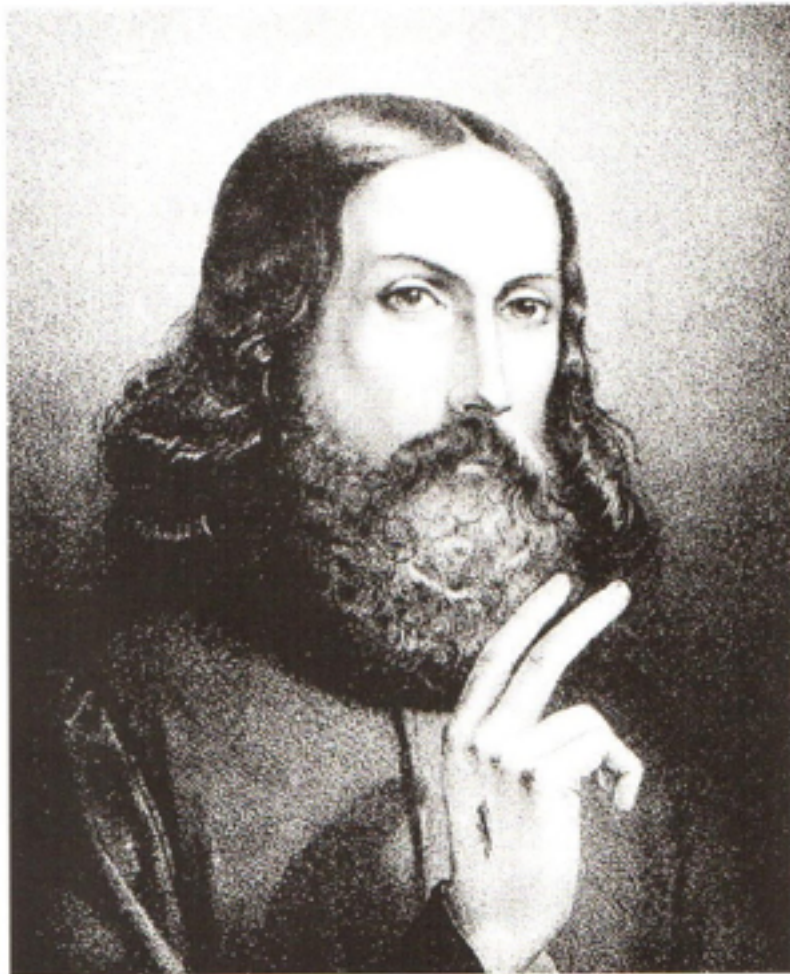
IMAGES - CHAPTER 5



C. G. Plagemann, *Self-portrait in Civic uniform*, watercolor, 1849.
Kungliga akademien för de fria konsterna, Stockholm.



Anonymous, *Garibaldi and his comrades*, lithography from the "*Illustrated London News*", June 16, 1849.



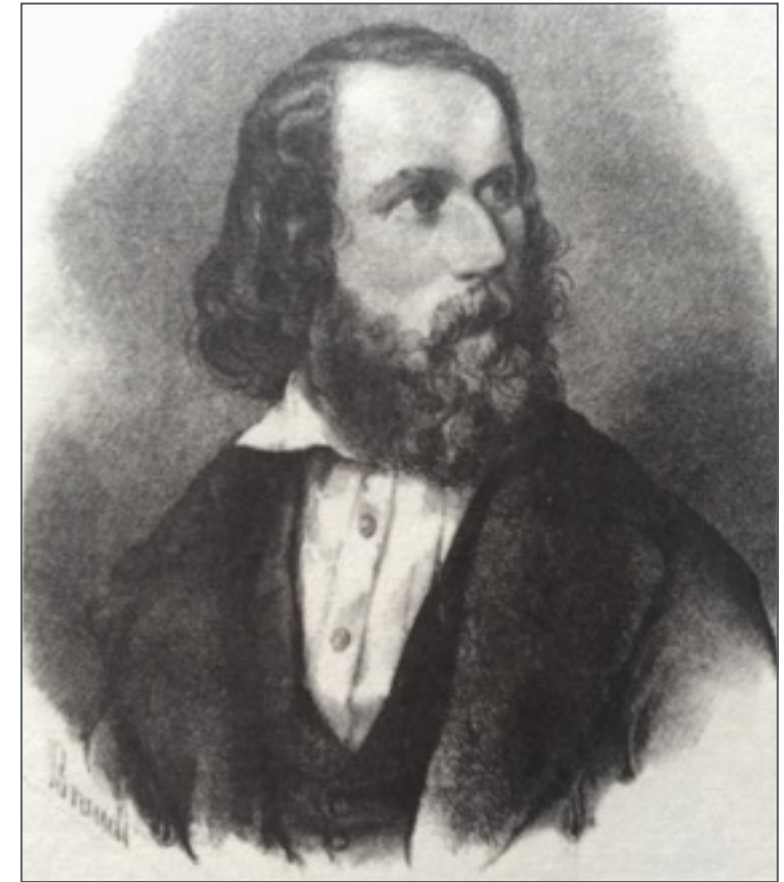
Anonymous, *Portrait of Giuseppe Garibaldi*, xylography, 1850. MCCR, Rome.



Borzino U., Gallino G., *Giuseppe Garibaldi*, lithograph, 1848.
MCCR, Rome



Schertle W., *Portrait of August Schärftner*, lithograph. Published in "Illustrierte Geschichte der deutschen Revolution. 1848-1849", edited by Schmidt W., Berlin 1973, p. 68.



Brandt W., *Portrait of Friedrich Hecker*, lithograph; . Published in "Illustrierte Geschichte der deutschen Revolution. 1848-1849", edited by Schmidt W., Berlin 1973, p. 122.



N. Sanesi, F. Lasinio, "...*Mostriamo all'Europa che noi bastiamo a noi stessi*", lithograph, 1847.
Biblioteca dell'archiginnasio, Bologna.



F. Podesti, *Portrait of Cardinal Gabriele Ferretti*, oil on canvas, 1840-1860. Pinacoteca Civica "F. Podesti", Ancona.



L. Rossini, *Piazza di Venezia in Roma*, engraving, 1850. Istituto Nazionale per la grafica, Rome.



Anonymous, *Portrait of Prince Andrea Doria Pamphilj V*, daguerrotype, 1860-1870 (?). Private Collection.



J. Friedlænder, *The Upper Flights of the Spanish Steps in Rome*, oil on canvas, 1847.
Staten Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen.



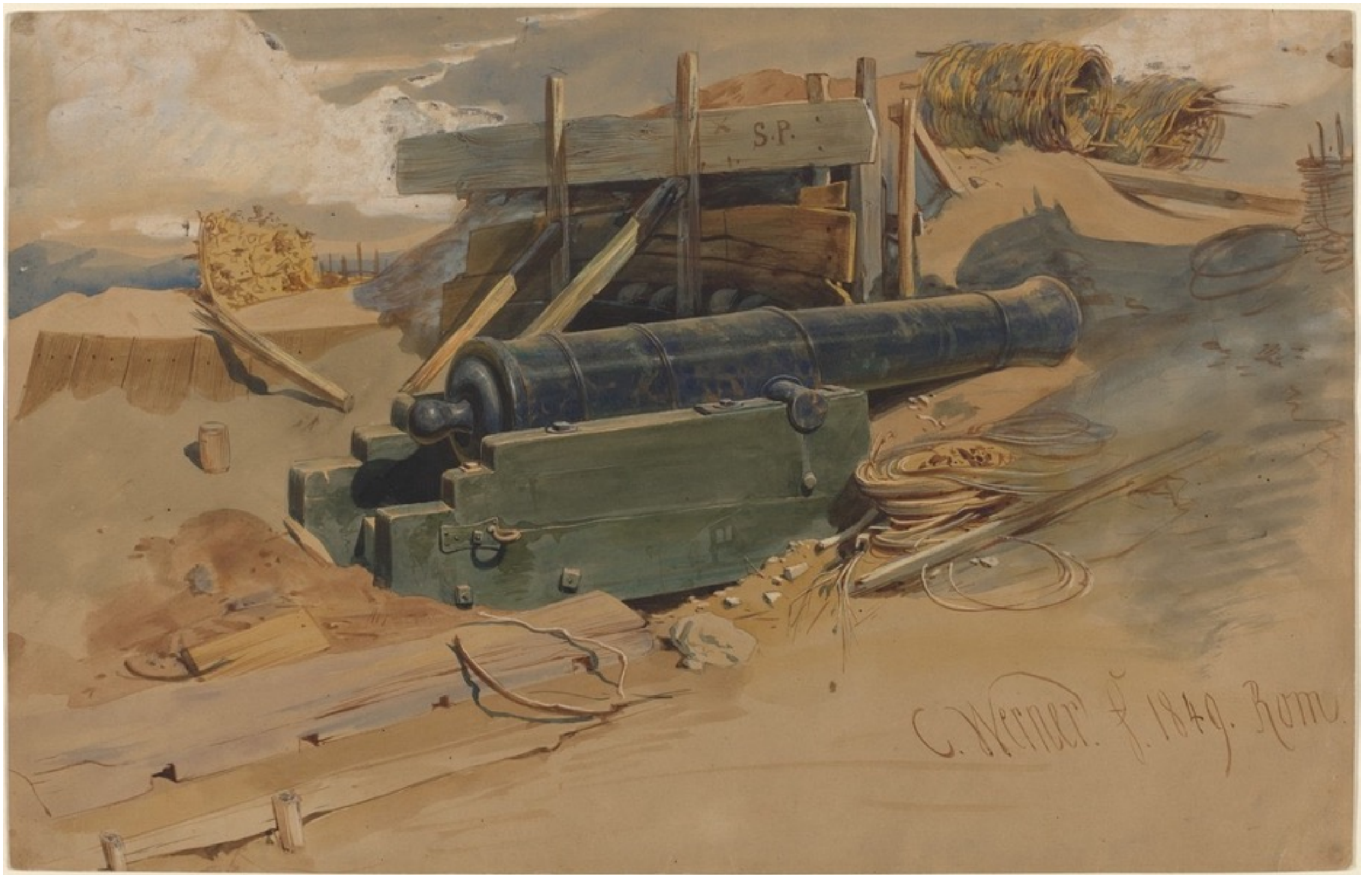
A. Carracci, *Self-Portrait with “quattr’acque” hat*, oil on canvas, 1593.
Galleria Nazionale, Parma.



W. von Kaulbach, *Young German artists in Rome*, oil on canvas, 1848 c.
Neue Pinakothek, Monaco.



L. Frølich, *Portrait of Gustaf Wilhelm Palm*, watercolor, 1847 c. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.



C. Werner, *Cannon by a bulwark*, watercolor, 1849. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.



G. Bassi, *The Milvio bridge after the siege of 1849*, oil on canvas, 1849.
Rome, Museo di Roma.



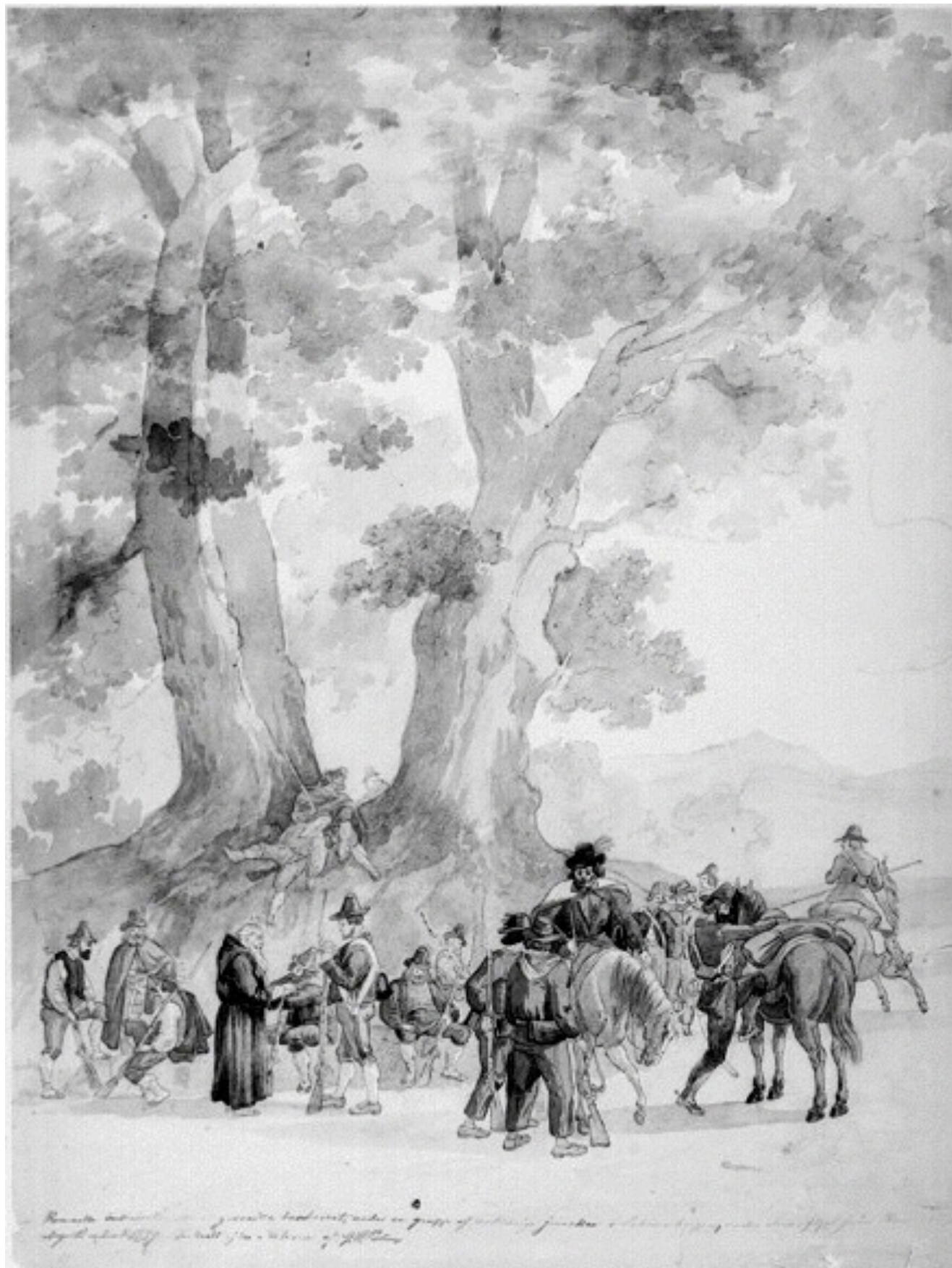
G. Bassi, *Destroyed factory on the Gianicolo hill*, oil on canvas, 1849.
Rome, Museo di Roma.



G. Bassi, *Destroyed factory on the Gianicolo hill* (study), oil on canvas, 1849.
Rome, Museo di Roma.



G. W. Palm, *Various scenes from the Siege of Rome (May 1849-July 1849)*, pencil, pen and watercolor, 1849. Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.



G. W. Palm, *"Insurienti Romani, oppure pezzo di banda di guerriglieri sotto un gruppo di anzianissime querce nei monti Sabini durante la loro fuga da Roma, inizio Agosto 1849"*, watercolor, 1849.
Nationalmuseum, Stockholm.



G. W. Palm, "*Anfiteatro il Tuscolo*", pen, 1846. Stockholm, Nationalmuseum.



G. W. Palm, "*Tusculum. 15 Ago 1848*", oil on paper, 1848. Private collection.



G. W. Palm, *View of Tuscolo*, oil on canvas, 1850. Private collection.



G. W. Palm, *View of Roman Campagna with the residue of a house after the 1849 war events*, 1870.
Private collection.



A. Kuchler, Untitled (from Palm's "*Vänneralbum*"), pencil, 1842-1851 (?).
Stockholm, Nationalmuseum



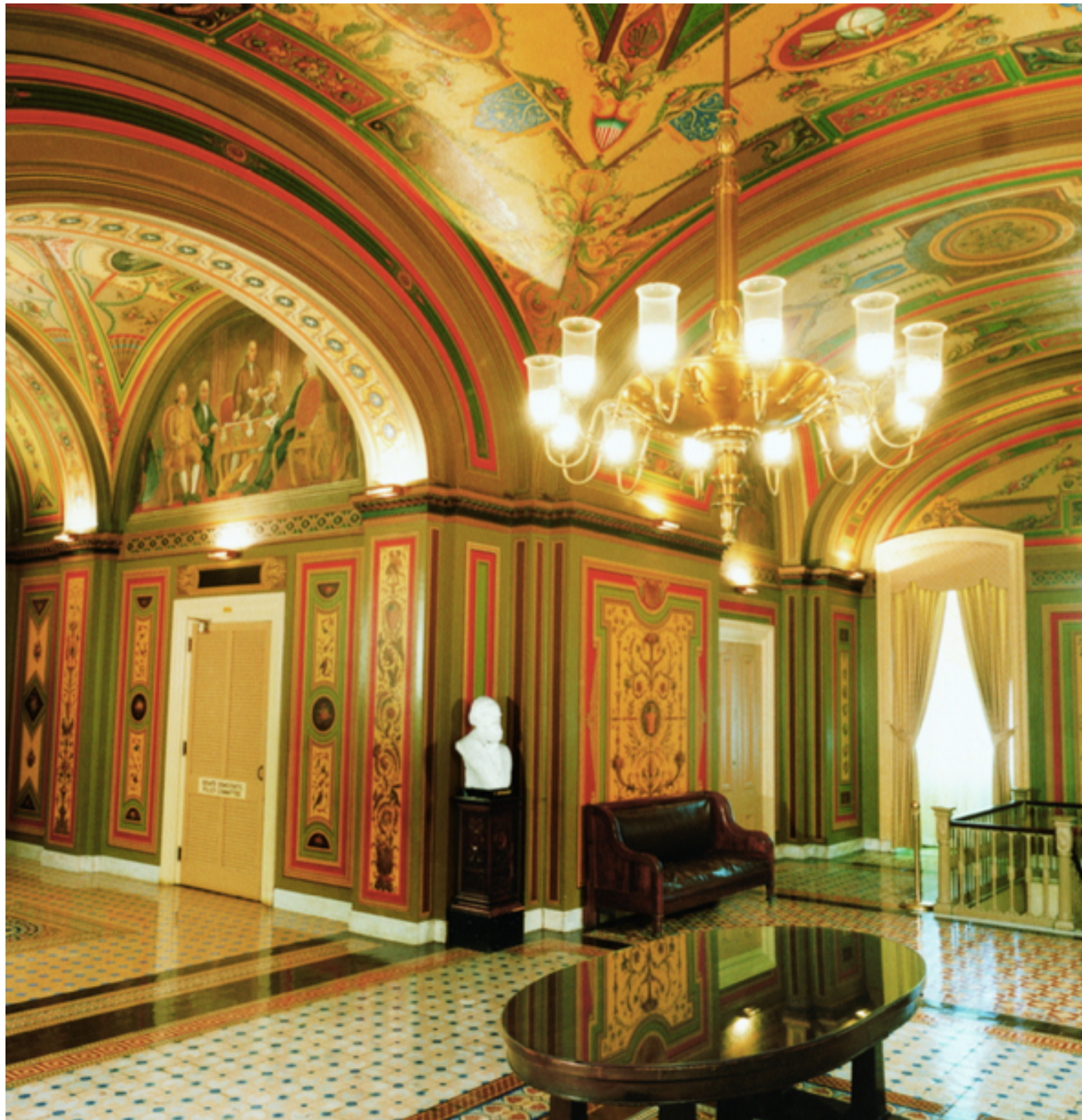
A. Kuchler, *An older girl teaches a younger to pray rosary*, oil on canvas, 1836.
Private collection.



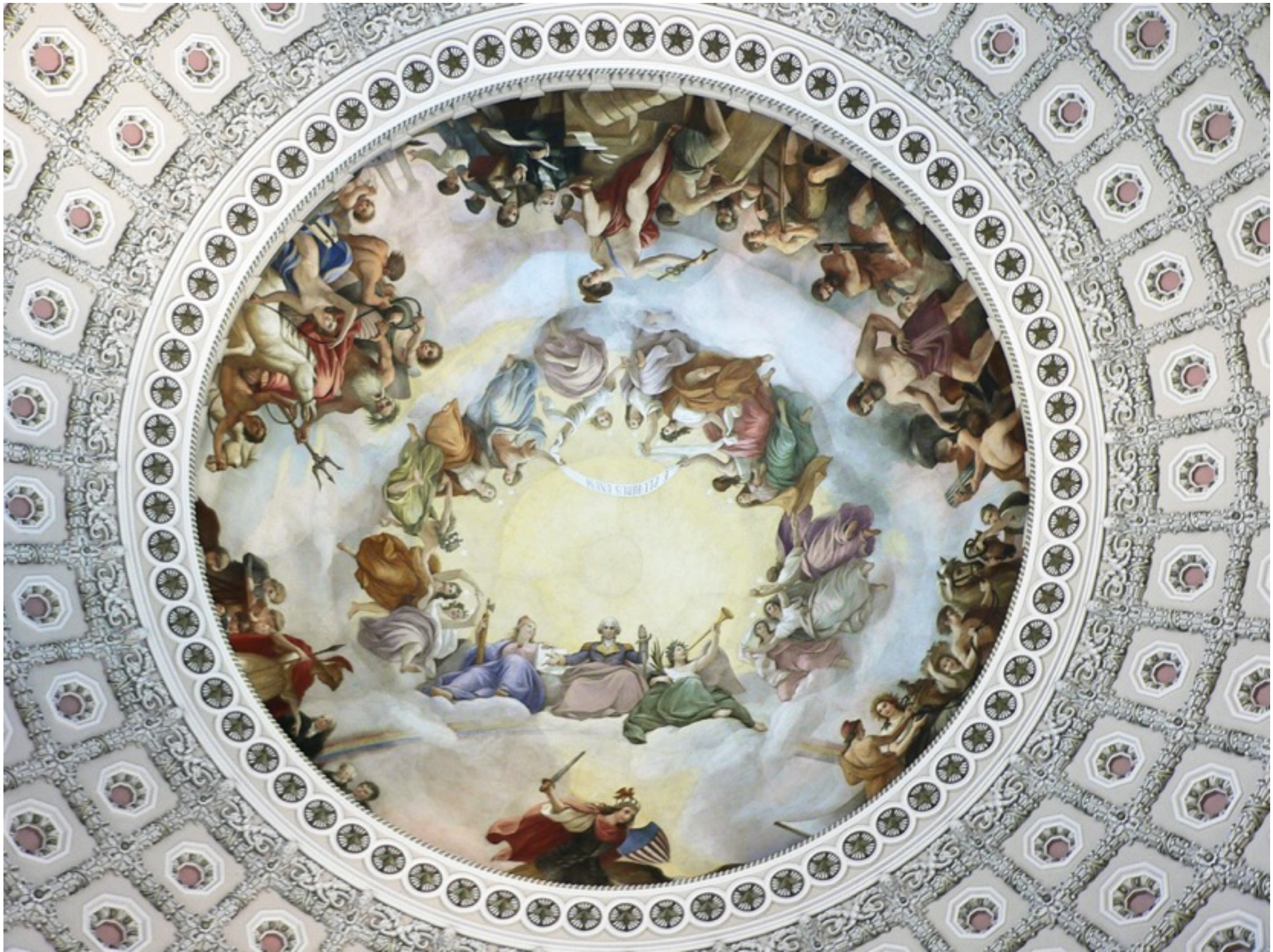
E. Meyer, *A public scribe by the Portico d'Ottavia*, oil on canvas, 1829.
Copenhagen, Thorvaldsen Museum.



Agneni E., *Le ombre dei grandi uomini fiorentini*, oil on canvas, 1857 c.
Galleria Civica d'Arte Moderna, Turin.



View of the “Brumidi Corridors” in the U.S. Capitol, First Floor, Senate Wing, fresco, 1856 c.
United States Capitol, Washington D. C.



C. Brumidi and helps, *The Apotheosis of George Washington*, fresco, 1863-1866.
United States Capitol, Rotunda, Washington D. C.



C. Brumidi and helps, *The Apotheosis of George Washington* (detail), fresco, 1863-1866.
United States Capitol, Rotunda, Washington D. C.



F. Podesti, *Il Giuramento degli Anconitani*, oil on canvas, 1844-1847. F. Podesti.
Pinacoteca Civica "F. Podesti", Ancona.