



## CHAPTER 2

# The Italian Years

PELEGRINO NAZZARO

Constantino Brumidi was one of over 45,000 Italians who had emigrated to the United States by 1870.<sup>1</sup> He was one of those forced, by the revolutionary events of 1848–1849 throughout the peninsula and the repressive measures that followed, to seek political asylum abroad. On September 18, 1852, he arrived in New York City, probably traveling from Civitavecchia via Marseille.

For Brumidi, expatriation ended a promising artistic career in Rome, the Eternal City of aspiring artists and intellectuals (fig. 2–1). Political events played an important role in his decision to leave Rome for the United States and would deeply influence his personal life and artistic career.

Constantino Brumidi was born in Rome on July 26, 1805, of a Greek father and an Italian mother. His father,

**Fig. 2–1. The culmination of Brumidi’s career in Rome.** *The ceiling murals in the Church of the Madonna dell’Archetto, so well integrated with the neoclassical architecture, show Brumidi well prepared for his later work at the Capitol.*

Photo: Vasari Studio Fotografico. Courtesy of Henry Hope Reed.



**Fig. 2–2. Corner where Brumidi lived.** *The Brumidi family coffee shop in Rome was on the site of the present Hotel Forum, next door to the church where Brumidi was baptized and married, and overlooking the Forum of Augustus.*

Photo: Wolanin.

Stauro (or Croce in Italian), was born in Greece in 1752 and settled in Rome in 1781. His mother, Anna Maria Bianchini, was born in Rome. On March 14, 1798, Stauro and Anna Maria had been married in the Church of SS. Quirico and Giulitta. Their son was baptized “Costantino Domenico” in the same church, which was adjacent to the large coffee shop on the Via Tor de’ Conti that the family owned and operated (fig. 2–2).<sup>2</sup>

At the age of thirteen, having already begun his study of art, Brumidi was accepted at the most prestigious art school in

Rome, the Accademia di San Luca, founded in the fifteenth century as a college and association of painters.<sup>3</sup> At the academy Brumidi studied painting under Vincenzo Camuccini, an artist esteemed by popes and by other artists and intellectuals. He also worked under Filippo Agricola, who was acclaimed for his interest and expertise in historical and religious subjects. Brumidi’s teachers in sculpture were Antonio Canova, the nineteenth century’s most refined neoclassical sculptor, and the Danish Bertel Thorwaldsen, Canova’s most faithful disciple and master of the classical revival in Italy. Brumidi was registered as a professional painter.<sup>4</sup>

On June 30, 1832, at the age of twenty-seven, Brumidi married Maria Covaluzzi, a widow eight years his senior. They had a daughter, Maria Elena Assunta Fortunata. Tragedy struck early in their marriage. In a span of ten months, between August 1837 and June 1838, Brumidi's wife and mother both died. He remarried on October 17, 1838. His new bride, Anna Rovelli, was sixteen; he was thirty-three. Their son, Giuseppe Antonio Raffaello, was born on January 19, 1842.<sup>5</sup> When he left Rome in 1852, Constantino Brumidi left behind his wife Anna and two children, then twenty and ten years old.

## Brumidi and the Vatican

Brumidi's first known opportunity to work in the Vatican came in 1840, when he was thirty-five. Under the supervision of Vincenzo Camuccini and Filippo Agricola, a group of talented young artists, including Brumidi, was commissioned to restore the frescoes in the Third Loggia of the Vatican Palace, decorated in the second half of the sixteenth century during the pontificates of Pius IV and Gregory XIII by Girolamo Nanni, Giorgio Bellunese, and Girolamo Amalteo. Although the Third Loggia (called

**Fig. 2–3.** *Senectus Mala.* Brumidi left his mark in the Vatican Palace in this fresco, created as part of a restoration project. Third Loggia, Vatican Palace.

Photo: Courtesy of Dr. Pellegrino Nazzaro.



**Fig. 2–4** *Senectus Bona.* Brumidi's panels contrast wicked and virtuous old age, with the beasts representing vices. Third Loggia, Vatican Palace.

Photo: Courtesy of Dr. Pellegrino Nazzaro.



the Loggia della Cosmografia) did not have the artistic merit of Raphael's Loggia, it was richly decorated. The walls were covered with frescoes reproducing maps; the vaults, with depictions of religious and allegorical subjects. Over the years the vaults and walls had deteriorated from neglect, and by the 1830s they required immediate restoration to preserve the paintings from total disintegration. The restoration of the loggia was carried out during the pontificate of Gregory XVI (1831–1846), who was interested in the preservation and development of the arts.

Camuccini and Agricola assigned to Brumidi and to Domenico Tojetti the restoration of the eleventh bay of the vault. The work consisted of redoing the three major frescoes in the vault. The painting in the first panel, entitled *Senectus Mala*, represented wicked old age, symbolized by an old man surrounded by wild felines, allegories of the human vices of incontinence, malice, and bestiality (fig. 2–3). The second lunette, entitled *Senectus Bona*, represented good old age as an old man surrounded by dead beasts, signifying the triumph of honesty and integrity over the vices (fig. 2–4). In the

central panel the artists added a fresco that depicted the coat of arms of Pope Gregory XVI, consisting of a ring adorned with diamonds with three intertwined feathers that encircled the Latin word *semper* (always).

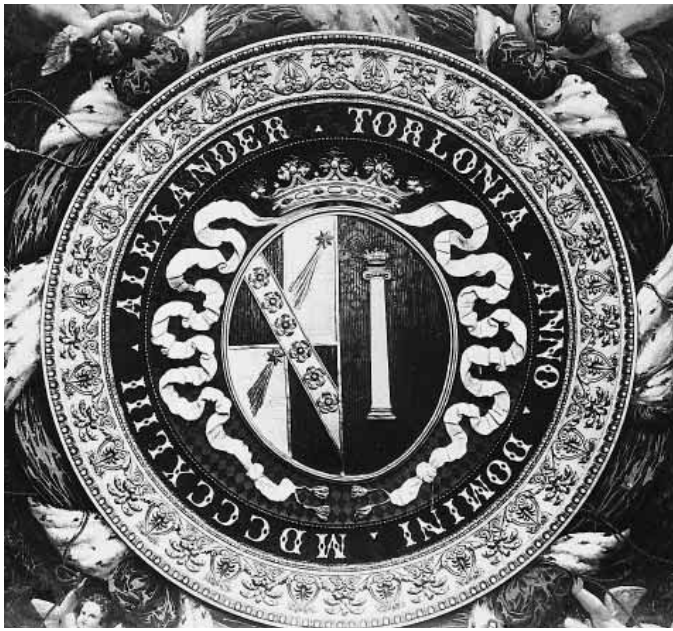
Brumidi and Tojetti were also assigned the task of decorating the end wall of the loggia, which was dedicated to Gregory XVI to memorialize his interest in the restoration. The two artists painted a richly ornate trompe-l'oeil drapery with golden brocade (fig. 2–5).

The restoration, completed in March 1842, received high praise from artists, critics, and experts. The total cost of the project was over 10,000 gold scudi, of which Brumidi was paid 200 scudi.<sup>6</sup>



**Fig. 2–5.** Wall of the Third Loggia. Brumidi and Tojetti frescoed the end wall with a dedication and illusionistic curtains to set off the bronze bust of Gregory XVI. Vatican Palace.

Photo: Courtesy of Dr. Pellegrino Nazzaro.



**Fig. 2–6. Torlonia coat of arms in the Palazzo Torlonia, Rome.** *Brumidi painted Alessandro Torlonia’s family coat of arms combined with that of his wife, a member of the prominent Colonna family, to symbolize their 1840 marriage. The surrounding cherubs are cousins to those Brumidi painted in the Capitol. Destroyed.*

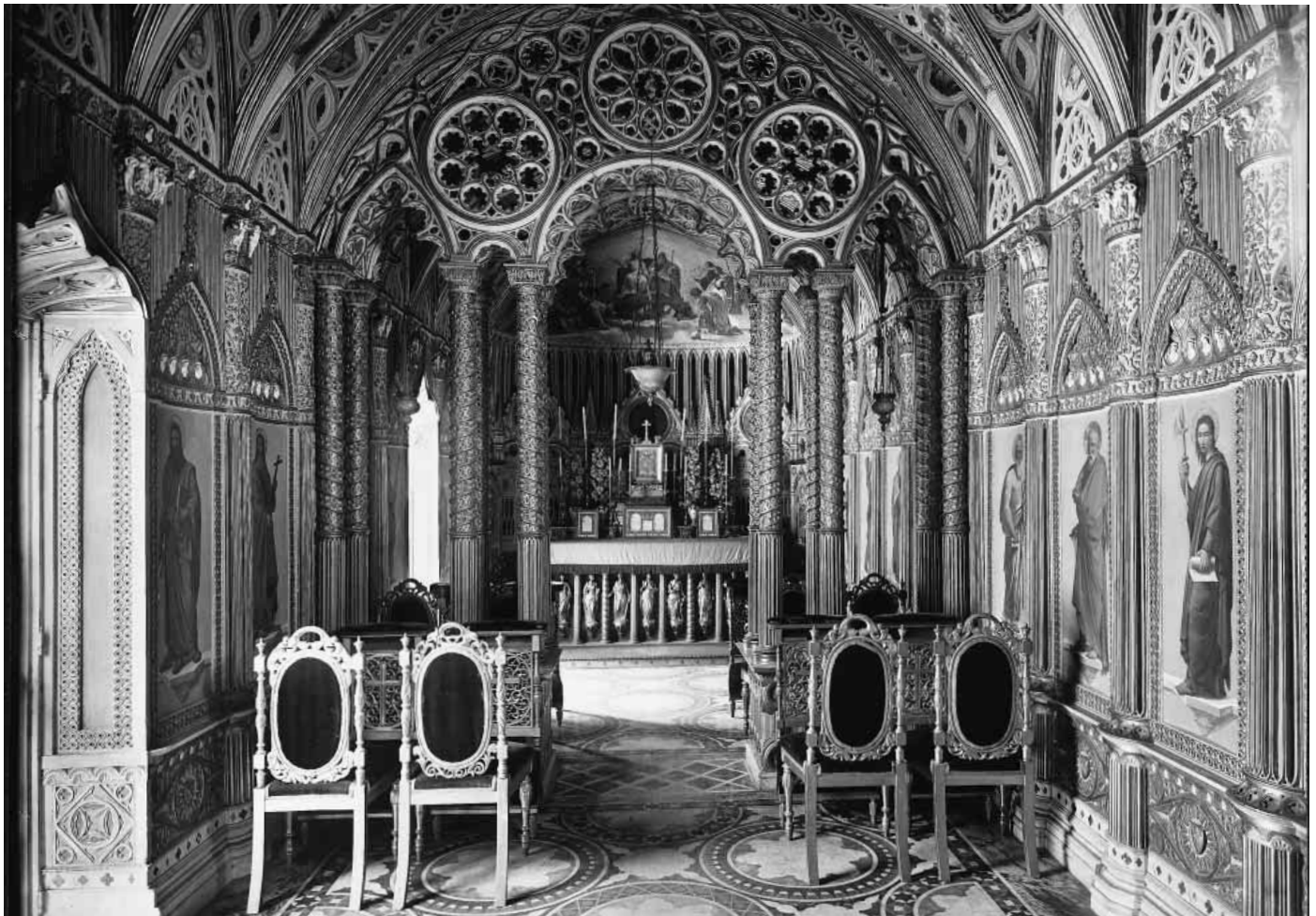
Photo: Courtesy of Marco Fabio Apolloni.

## Brumidi and the Palazzo Torlonia

The Palazzo Torlonia, located on the Piazza Venezia in one of the most prestigious sections of Rome, near the present monument to Victor Emmanuel II, was built by the architect Carlo Fontana in 1650 and purchased at the end of 1700 by Giovanni Raimondo Torlonia, Duke of Bracciano, a banker who had newly acquired his title. The palace was described by historians and art critics as one of the most beautiful buildings of eighteenth-century Rome. Its Baroque architecture symbolized Roman wealth and aristocracy. In 1856, August J. C. Hare, an American art critic, described it as follows: “Giovanni Torlonia, the Roman banker who purchased the title and estate of the Duke of Bracciano, fitted up the Palazzo Nuovo di Torlonia with all the magnificence that wealth commands: a marble gallery with polished floor, modern statues,

**Fig. 2–7. Chapel in the Palazzo Torlonia, Rome.** *Brumidi’s frescoes glorifying the Torlonia family in the elaborate Gothic-style chapel in the Palazzo Torlonia are known only from this photograph. Destroyed.*

Photo: Alinari/Art Resource, NY.





**Fig. 2–8. Murals in the theater of the Villa Torlonia.** *The scene showing the Judgment of Paris by Brumidi was surrounded by illusionistic architecture.*

Photo: Courtesy Alberta Campitelli, Comune di Roma.

painted ceilings and gilded furniture. All outshines the faded splendor of the halls of the Old Roman Nobility.”<sup>7</sup> Torlonia’s son, Alessandro, who became a prince and the richest man in Rome, continued the decoration of the palace (fig. 2–6). Unfortunately, it was demolished in 1900–1901.<sup>8</sup>

In the Palazzo Torlonia, Brumidi executed the first major frescoes and murals of his artistic career. Recently uncovered evidence shows that he first worked there in 1836, decorating the vaults of the second-floor throne room with allegorical figures that symbolized the triumph of the Emperor Constantine.<sup>9</sup> From 1840 to 1842, under the supervision of the architect and painter Giovan Battista Caretti, Brumidi painted decorations in several rooms, including the neo-Gothic family chapel on the third floor.

Although it is no longer possible to view Brumidi’s work in the chapel, published sources and an archival photograph give an idea of its nature and extent<sup>10</sup> (fig. 2–7). The chapel’s Gothic architectural style presented difficulties that Brumidi overcame by adorning the main altar with a painting depicting the spiritual triumph of the Torlonia family. The altarpiece showed the Holy Trinity with Prince Alessandro Torlonia being presented by his guardian angel to the throne of God, flanked by the family name saints, John and Anne on the right and Martin and Charles on the left. The walls were decorated with frescoes of full-length figures of Apostles and other holy personages. One contemporary critic went beyond a trib-

ute to the skill and competence of the artist to underscore the recognition that Brumidi was far ahead of his peers in the art of painting and the technique of fresco: “The colors and the harmony of the entire decoration are such that Brumidi’s name will be accepted from now on among the greatest artists of all times.”<sup>11</sup> The decorative work carried out in the palace by Caretti, Brumidi, and other artists covered 4,793.35 *palmi* (some 2,790 square feet) overall, and the total cost of the project amounted to 11,373 scudi and 45 baiocchi. An 1844 appraisal in miscellaneous records of the Biblioteca Sarti in Rome containing a detailed description of the entire surface frescoed by Brumidi estimated that his work covered some 900 square feet. The document makes no mention of the payment Brumidi received for his work.<sup>12</sup>

There is reason to believe that Brumidi’s success in executing this grand project reinforced his confidence in his ability to handle frescoes of large proportions. It may have been because of this experience that the artist later undertook the extraordinary *Apotheosis of Washington* in the United States Capitol, certain of his final success.

Recent research by Alberta Campitelli and Barbara Steindl has led them to attribute to Brumidi most of the decorations in the theater of the Villa Torlonia, on the Via Nomentana in Rome, constructed beginning in 1841, where there are lunettes signed and dated by the artist in 1844 and 1845 (fig. 2–8). Campitelli and Steindl also provide substantive evidence that in 1837 Brumidi was commissioned to create the marble bas-reliefs, including a *Pietà*, *The Expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise*, *The Holy Family at Nazareth*, *The Adoration of the Shepherds*, and the *Crucifixion* on the altar, in the Weld-Clifford Chapel in the crypt of San Marcello al Corso.<sup>13</sup>



**Fig. 2–9. Pope Pius IX.** *Brumidi’s portrait of the pope, painted the year after he was elected, shows the artist’s mastery of Baroque light, color, and texture.* Vatican Museums.

Photo: Courtesy of Dr. Pellegrino Nazzaro.



**Fig. 2–10. Pope Sixtus I.** *One of fifteen round portraits of early popes that Brumidi painted in oil as models for mosaics.* Vatican Museums.

Photo: Vasari Studio Fotografico. Courtesy of Henry Hope Reed.

## Brumidi’s Portraits of Popes

In 1847 Brumidi painted a full-length seated portrait of Pope Pius IX, commissioned by Cardinal Gabriele Ferretti as a personal gift to the pope (fig. 2–9). The painting is an oil on canvas of large dimensions and beautifully executed. The work is a composition in rich reds in which the ornate papal garments do not obscure the sense of a human figure beneath. The artist received other commissions for portraits of Pius IX from Italian and foreign prelates. It is probable that Monsignor John Hughes, Archbishop of New York, commissioned one for the Archdiocese of New York. Hughes spent several months in Rome in 1850–1851 and invited the artist to New York to execute frescoes for Catholic churches there.<sup>14</sup>

During this period, Brumidi painted a series of historical portraits of popes, including Felix IV, Stephan I, Sixtus I (fig. 2–10), Vitalian, Paul I, Leo VI, Sabinian, Sixtus V, John IX, and John XVI. The paintings, oil on canvas in a round format, were used as studies for the mosaic frieze of the Basilica of St. Paul Outside the Walls, decorated by Vincenzo Camuccini, Brumidi’s teacher at the Accademia di San Luca. Camuccini considered Brumidi the best artist of religious subjects in Rome at that time.<sup>15</sup> Interestingly, this commission was completed after the republican revolution of 1849, but before Brumidi was arrested for his role in it in 1851.

## Brumidi and the Church of the Archetto

Brumidi was selected for another important church commission after the revolution was quelled in 1850. The Church of the Madonna dell’ Archetto, located at 41 Via S. Marcello, was built in 1850–1851 by the architect Virginio Vespignani, one of Rome’s most celebrated artists (fig. 2–11). The church was commissioned by the Count Alessandro and Countess Caterina Papazzurri Savorelli to house a painting depicting the Virgin Mary as the Madonna dell’ Archetto, commissioned in 1690 by their ancestress and executed by Domenico Muratori of Bologna.<sup>16</sup> By 1850 the painting, also known as the *Mater Misericordiae*, was believed to possess miraculous powers and had become the most popular and adored effigy of the Virgin Mary in Rome. Brumidi was chosen to decorate the dome and ceiling of the new church. He completed the work, his last in Rome, by January 1851.

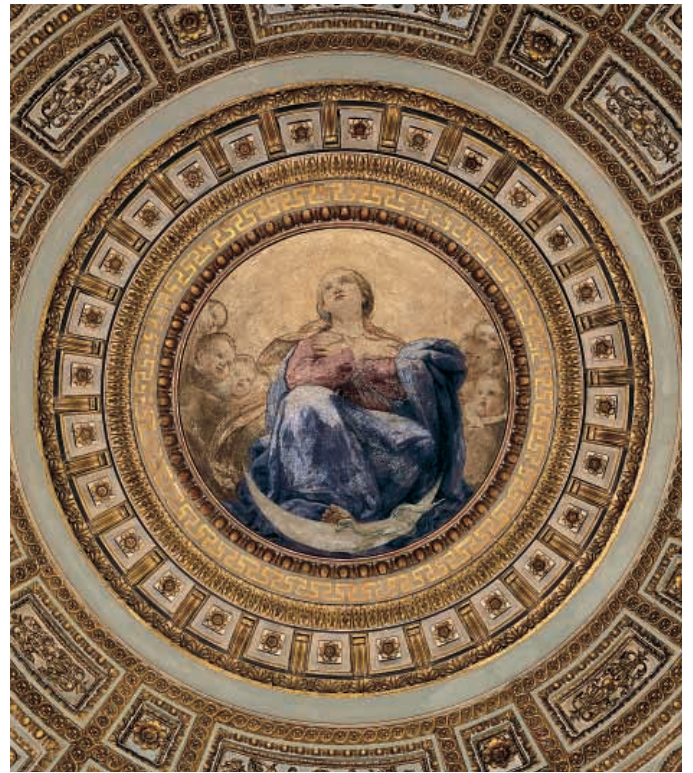
Brumidi’s frescoes for the Church of the Archetto combined symmetry and pictorial effects in one of his finest works in Rome. He adorned the center of the dome with a depiction of the Immaculate Conception with the Madonna surrounded by angels (fig. 2–12). Cherubs in



**Fig. 2–11. The Church of the Madonna dell’Archetto.**  
*Brumidi decorated the church reputed to be the smallest in Rome.*  
 Photo: Wolanin

the coffers complete the composition. In this fresco he achieved an ensemble of motif and rich color in harmony with the spiritual quality of the sacred images. The cupola’s pendentives were frescoed with four female allegorical figures symbolizing the four theological virtues: Wisdom, Prudence, Innocence, and Strength (fig. 2–13).

Following the dedication on May 31, 1851, the newspaper *Il Giornale di Roma* published a detailed description of the interior decoration of the Church of the Archetto. Brumidi’s work was described as endowed with extraordinary talent and a “sure hand which blends light and symmetry in a unity and variety that charm the spectator and attract his attention and imagination.” “Costantino Brumidi,” the account continued, “has reached pictorial effects second only to the great masters of the High Renaissance.”<sup>17</sup> Ironically, while the Roman press was praising Brumidi for his artistic talent, he was in prison.



**Fig. 2–12. Madonna of the Immaculate Conception.** *The figure in the center of the dome anticipates symbolic figures Brumidi would later paint in the Capitol.* Church of the Madonna dell’Archetto.

Photo: Vasari Studio Fotografico. Courtesy of Henry Hope Reed.



**Fig. 2–13. Strength in one of the pendentives of the dome.**  
*Brumidi would continue the tradition of painting allegorical virtues in the Capitol.* Church of the Madonna dell’Archetto.

Photo: Vasari Studio Fotografico. Courtesy of Henry Hope Reed.



## The Republican Revolution

Soon after Giovanni Mastai-Ferretti was elevated as Pope Pius IX in 1846, he began to grant constitutional rights to the people of Rome and the Papal States. Tariffs were reduced, monopolies were restricted, the judicial system was reorganized, censorship of the press was abolished, and commercial treaties were made with other nations. The City of Rome was granted a municipal government and local councils were set up. An amnesty was granted for all political crimes, and hundreds of political prisoners were released. The pope set up a council to advise him and expand the participation of laymen in administering the city.<sup>18</sup> He authorized the formation of a civic guard, of which Brumidi became a captain. The pope was praised worldwide, including in the United States. He set an example for other states which granted constitutions and a greater recognition of individual rights and stirred up the desire for power in the hands of the people.

In the second half of 1848, the situation in Rome deteriorated. The pope refused to support war against Austria or to appoint the prime minister the Roman republicans supported. On November 15, 1848, the day of his inauguration, the papal appointee, Pellegrino Rossi, was assassinated, and mobs gathered outside of the Vatican. The pope and several cardinals fled to Gaeta.

The liberals and radicals appointed a Supreme Committee of the State and called for a Roman Constituent Assembly, elected by the people, to draft a constitution. On February 9, 1849, the Constituent Assembly abolished the temporal power of the pope in Rome and proclaimed the Roman Republic. The triumvirate elected to govern was open to meeting with and listening to the people. The entire population of Rome developed a sense of deep affection for and confidence in the republic. The republican experiment was short lived. The city faced the intervention of the Catholic countries: Austria, France, and the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The pope condemned the republic, and Louis Napoleon sent French troops to Rome in April 1849. Despite the resistance of the people, the troops took over the city, and Pius IX returned to power on April 12, 1850.

## Brumidi's Imprisonment and Trial

The return of the pope was followed by repressive measures, of which the champion was Cardinal Giacomo Antonelli. On February 4, 1851, Brumidi was one of a group of revolutionary leaders arrested and imprisoned on charges of committing grand larceny, aggravated assault, and kidnapping against churches, convents, and

monasteries of the city of Rome during the period of republican rule.<sup>19</sup>

Brumidi's indictment resulted from his actions as captain of the civic guard, when he had seized the convent of Santa Francesca Romana to house Piedmontese troops who had joined the Romans in the defense of the republic. Brumidi was charged with ordering the occupation of the monasteries and convents of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Santa Francesca Romana, and La Scala Santa. Monks and nuns were forced to leave, and the buildings were ransacked and confiscated. Brumidi was accused of taking several pieces of furniture, paintings, silverware, and a box containing 1,000 scudi collected by the monks. Finally, the indictment stated that the "ultimate goal of the revolutionaries was the destruction of the Catholic Church and institutions in the City of Rome." Brumidi had, in fact, taken furniture for safe-keeping and placed it in his studio and, as ordered by his superior, had paintings moved to the Lateran Palace, to protect them in case of bombardment by the French.<sup>20</sup>

The trial was postponed several times because of the illness of Brumidi's defense lawyer. While in jail, he petitioned the pope, Secretary of State Giacomo Antonelli, and the president of the Tribune of the Sagra Consulta, the body of advisors to the pope. He reiterated that he was innocent of any wrongdoing and that his arrest and imprisonment were politically motivated. He requested his immediate release to emigrate to the United States, where he planned to continue his artistic career.<sup>21</sup> His petitions were unanswered. When the trial finally took place in December 1851, Brumidi's lawyer provided evidence that the order to occupy the convents was not aimed at the confiscation of church property or intended to abet or perpetrate crime but was given solely to protect works of art of incalculable value, which otherwise might have been stolen or destroyed by French soldiers. A number of affidavits supported the argument of the defense, including several from monks who vouched for his good intentions as well as the official order to Brumidi to move paintings to the Lateran Museum. Despite all of this evidence, Brumidi was found guilty on all counts on January 2, 1852, and sentenced to 18 years in prison.<sup>22</sup>

On January 31, 1852, following a second round of petitions signed by the monks of the three convents, Pope Pius IX reduced Brumidi's sentence by two-thirds. Finally, in a public audience of March 20, the pope granted Brumidi full and unconditional pardon, ordering his immediate release.<sup>23</sup> Less than six months later, Brumidi left Rome for the United States.

## Notes to Chapter 2

1. Egisto Rossi, *Gli Stati Uniti e la Concorrenza Americana* (Florence, 1884), pp. 73–75.
2. Records of baptism, July 26, 1805, and of marriage, March 14, 1798, Parish of SS. Quirico and Giulitta, Tabularium Vicariatus Urbis, Archivio Storico del Vicariato di Roma.
3. Giovanni Bellini et al., *Dizionario enciclopedico moderno*, 4 (Milan: Edizioni Labor, 1956), p. 419.
4. Giuseppe Argentieri, *La pittura Italiana dell'Ottocento* (Milan: Mondadori, 1965), pp. 12–15; Aaron-Albertucci, "Filippo Agricola," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, 1 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1960), pp. 501–502; Calvart-Canefri, "Antonio Camuccini," *ibid.*, 17 (1970), pp. 627–630; Canella-Capello, "Antonio Canova," *ibid.*, 18 (1975), pp. 197–222.
5. The Brumidi-Covaluzzi marriage in records of marriage, June 30, 1832, vol. 4, Parish of SS. Quirico and Giulitta (1825–1838); the birth of Brumidi's daughter, Maria Elena Assunta Fortunata, in records of baptism, August 16, 1832, vol. 13, Parish of SS. Quirico and Giulitta (1828–1847); the Brumidi-Rovelli marriage in records of marriage, October 17, 1838, vol. 2, Parish of Santa Maria ai Monti (1835–1841); the birth of Brumidi's son, Giuseppe Antonio Raffaele, in records of baptism, January 23, 1842, vol. 13, Parish of SS. Quirico and Giulitta (1828–1847), Tabularium Vicariatus Urbis, Archivio Storico del Vicariato di Roma.
6. Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro sino ai nostri giorni*, 50 (Venice: Tipografia Emiliana, 1851), pp. 276–278; *Nuova descrizione del Vaticano ossia del Palazzo Apostolico di San Pietro data in luce da Giorgio Pietro Chattard*, 2 (Rome: Stampe Del Mainardi, 1856), pp. 335–344; William Mitchell Gillespie, *Rome: As Seen By A New-Yorker in 1843–4* (New York and London: Wiley and Putnam, 1845); Filippo Agricola, *Relazione dei restauri eseguiti nelle terze loggie del pontificio palazzo Vaticano, sopra quelle dipinte dalla scuola di Raffaello* (Rome: Tipografia di Crispino Puccinelli, 1842), pp. 7–32.
7. August J. C. Hare, *Walks In Rome*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: David McKay Publisher, 1865), pp. 75–78.
8. The Italian government ordered the demolition of the Palazzo Torlonia to provide a setting with an appropriate stagelike effect ("una ribalta di adeguato effetto scenografico") for the Vittoriano, the monument to King Victor Emmanuel II. *Le "Generali" a Roma tra cronaca e storia* (published by the Assicurazioni Generali, n.d.). After the demolition all works of art, including Brumidi's frescoes, were stored in a building in Via Margutta under the supervision of Pietro Ciccotti Principe, a well-known Neapolitan artist, and his collaborator Francesco Tancredi, a Neapolitan art dealer. It is possible that part of the collection is still preserved in Via Margutta; however, much of it may have been sold to Italian and foreign art dealers. Soon after the transfer to Via Margutta, an illustrated catalog was compiled by Tancredi. The catalog, in Italian and French, was mailed throughout Europe. On May 19–20 and 21–23, 1901, auctions took place in Rome. "Paintings, statues, floors and frescoes were mostly acquired by Russian nobles and art dealers, who transferred them to their villas and palaces in Russia," according to Jorgen Birkedal Hartmann, *La vicenda di una dimora principesca romana* (Rome: Edizioni Palombi, 1967).
9. Alberta Campitelli and Barbara Steindl, "Costantino Brumidi da Roma a Washington. Vicende e opere di un artista romano," *Ricerche di Storia dell'arte* 46 (1992), p. 53.
10. Brumidi's work was described at the time in Giuseppe Checchetelli, *Una giornata di osservazione nel Palazzo e nella Villa di S. E. il Principe D. Alessandro Torlonia* (Rome: Tipografia di Crispino Puccinelli, 1842), and Romano, *Dizionario*, 51, pp. 8–9.
11. Checchetelli, *Giornata*, pp. 57–58.
12. "Perizia del Cav. Filippo Agricola e di Giuseppe Marini per rilievi al merito e valore decorativi eseguiti dal Sig. Caretti per ordine di S. E. il Principe Don Alessandro Torlonia nel Palazzo di Piazza Venezia," in *Miscellanea Varia* 3–30 L.5 (Rome, May 25, 1844), p. 70, Biblioteca Sarti, Piazza dell'Accademia di San Luca, Rome.
13. Campitelli and Steindl, "Costantino Brumidi," pp. 49–50. They have also found documentation of another sculptural commission in England for a Count Maxwell and of another neo-Gothic chapel built for Marino Torlonia in the park of his Villa of the Porta Pia, later demolished. See also the volume of essays, "Villa Torlonia: L'ultima impresa del mecenatismo romano," *Ricerche di Storia dell'Arte* 28–29, 1986.
14. CB to Benvenuti Fiscale, February 22, 1851, n. 1876; CB to Monsignor Matteucci, president of the Tribunale Supremo della Sagra Consulta, March 8, 1851, n. 7166; CB to Cardinal Giacomo Antonelli, secretary of state, October 19, 1851, n. 13021; all in ASR/SC. CB to Pope Pius IX, June 4, 1851, n. 9155, Tribunale Supremo della Sagra Consulta in Segreteria dei Memoriali, Segreteria di Stato, Anno 1851, ASR/SC. Copies of documents relating to Brumidi's Italian years and trial are on file in the AOC Curator's Office, courtesy of Henry Hope Reed.
15. Brumidi made the studies c. 1848–1850. The papal portraits, now in the Vatican Museum, were executed as mosaics: Sixtus I by Chibell Guglielmo in 1850–1851, Felix IV (Saint) by Gioacchino De Angelis in 1852, Sabinian by Cesare Castellini in 1852–1853, Stephan I (Saint) by De Muzio Felice in 1852–1853, Vitalian (Saint) by Gherardo Volponi in 1857, Paul I (Saint) by Ettore Vannutelli in 1858, John IX by Alessandro Agricola in 1862, Nicholas III by Spiridione Malusardi in 1862, Leo VI by Spiridione Malusardi in 1862, and John XVI by Gioacchino De Angelis in 1864. Records also show that he painted Urban V (mosaic by Ettore Vannutelli in 1867), Luke III (Gaetano Pennacchini in 1869), Gregory XIII (Costanzo Maldura in 1869), John XXI (Costanzo Maldura in 1871), and Callistus III (Felice Muzio in 1872). Archivio della Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro, III, P.S., 20, vol. 6, pp. 28, 29, 30, 115, 150, 188, 274, and 29, vol. 2, pp. 661–664.
16. Domenico Muratori received the commission from Countess Alessandra Mellini Muti Papazzurri Savorelli. The Church of the Archetto was declared a national monument by the Italian government in 1970.
17. Lamberto De Camillis, *La Madonna dell'Archetto, Storia del piu' piccolo santuario Mariano di Roma* (Rome: Edizione Soc. Promotrice di Buone Opere, 1951), pp. 28–34.
18. A. C. Gambol, *Case e stato in Italia negli ultimi cento anni* (Turin, 1963) pp. 42–60.
19. Record of Brumidi's admission into the Carceri Nuove di Roma, February 4, 1851, ASR/SC.
20. "Furti violenti a danno del Ven. Monastero di S. Croce in Gerusalemme," Title I, pp. 4–19 and "Furto violento a danno del Monastero di Santa Francesca Romana," Title IV, pp. 45–67, ASR/SC.
21. CB to Pope Pius IX, February 22, 1851; CB to Mons. Matteucci, March 8, 1851 and December 22, 1851; CB to Card. Antonelli, October 19, 1851, ASR/SC.
22. CB to Tribunale Supremo della Sagra Consulta, Memoria con Sommario, June 15, 1851; Originale della Sentenze, January 2, 1852, ASR/SC.
23. Ministero di Grazia e Giustizia, Rome, January 31, 1852, Prot. n. 4815, and March 20, 1852, Prot. n. 5030, ASR/SC.