

## G.A. Sala's Diary-Allegato I-1798

Enclosures to the Diary

Notice: Since it was necessary in the publishing of this Diary to make a good many changes in a number of places in reference to the Allegati, it is titled on the top of each of these letters, signaling between parentheses, to refer to the new page number.

[p. 212] **Allegato I.** (vol.I pag. 24)

List on the Statues, Vases, Busts and Pictures selected by the French Commissioners

In the Pio-Clementine Museum

1. Apollo
2. Laocoon
3. Mercury, called Antinous
4. The Torso
5. Hercules with Child, called Commodus
6. The Meleager
7. The Nile
8. Tiber
9. Arianna called Cleopatra
10. Demosthenes sitting
11. Trajan sitting
12. Menander sitting
13. Posidippus sitting
14. The Salvation
15. The Amazon
16. The Warrior called Focione
17. The Cupid, one half figure
18. Paris
19. Adonis
20. Venus crouching
21. Apollo, Leader of the Muses
22. to 30. The Nine Muses
31. The colossal Melpomene
32. The colossal Ceres
33. Urania sitting
34. The small Ceres
35. The Discus thrower of Naucide
36. The Discus thrower of Myron
37. Augustus in a toga
38. Tiberius in a toga at Capri
39. Clothed Roman Personnage
40. bearded Bacchus, called Sardanapalus [Assyrian king]

41. Colossal bust of Hadrian
42. Another of Antinous
43. Another of Jove Serapis
44. Another of Jove found at Otricoli
45. Colossal herm of Triton called the Ocean
46. Another similar to Comedy

- The marbles marked with an asterisk are those which need plaster casts, to replace those being worked on, having obtained with difficulty the permission of the French Commissioners.

- [ p. 214] 47. Another similar to Tragedy
48. Bust of Menelaus called the Pasquin
  49. Bust of Minerva
  50. sepulchral Half Figure called Cato and Portia
  51. Vase of Basalt with two handles
  52. and 53. Two Chairs of marble, one with two Sphinxes, and the other with two Chimeras
  54. and 55. Two Sphinxes of red granite of ordinary grandeur
  56. The largest Candelabra of all
  57. Another with a quadrilateral base
  58. Another supported by small Atlases
  59. Sepulchral altar placed in the Portico in front of the so-called Antinous
  60. Carved altar in the Gallery of the Candelabra
  61. A Tripod with symbols of Apollo
  62. Statue of Chersonesus the Sixth

#### Capitoline Museum

63. Large Tripod of marble at the entrance
64. Female Egyptian statue in the larger niche of the room
65. The Sarcophagus called of the Muse
66. Another of the Nereids
67. The Antinous
68. The Group of Love (Amor/Cupid) and Psyche
69. Apollo with Griffin
70. Antinous in form/shape of Egyptian Idol
71. The so-called dying Gladiator
72. The Faun with Pipe by Praxiteles
73. The large Juno
74. The Woman Isalca with urn
75. The philosopher called Zeno
76. Herm of Homer or the fourth
77. The Venus
78. The Flora
79. Bust of Arianna

80. Head of the Sun, called Alexander the Great

81. Head of M. Brutus

Palace of the Conservators

82. Bronze bust called Lucius Brutus

83. Bronze statue of a boy who removes the thorn from his foot

\* See the note on the preceding page

[p. 215] Paintings

Subjects --	Painters --	Church
Transfiguration	Rapfael	S. Peter in Montorio
Communion of San Girolamo	Domenichino	S. Girolamo of Charity
S. Romualdo	Andrew Sacchi	S. Romualdo
The Dead Christ	A. Caracci	S. Francis on the Shore
The Dead Christ	Michelangelo di Caravaggio	New Church

Vatican Palace

S. Gregorio	A. Sacchi
Crucifixion of S. Peter	Guido Reni
Martyrdom of two Saints	of Monsieur Valentin
S. Cecilia	of Peter Vanni
S. Erasmus	of Possino
S. Thomas	of Guercino

Quirinal Palace

S. Petronilla	of Guercino.
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Gallery of the Capitol

Fortuna	of Guido Reni
The Holy Family	of B. Garoffalo

Paintings Outside of Rome

The B. Virgin	of Raphael	in the Church of S. Francis
The Ascension	of Peter of Perugia	of Perugia
The Coronation of the Virgin	of the same	in the Church of the Monks of Monte Luce of Perugia

[p. 216] **Allegato II.** (vol I pag. 31)

Speech delivered in the Capitol by General Berthier.

The men Pompey, Cato, Brutus, Cicero, Hortensius . . . , who, in the middle of the Capitol, are renowned by you, where you have defended so many times the rights of the People, you receive the respect of the free French.

These sons of the French come with the olive of peace in this very place to restore to the Altars of liberty what the first Brutus raised.

And you, Roman People, weakened of blood which is shed not in vain, your eyes fixed on the monuments of glory which surround you, finally claim your rights, and at the same time recover the ancient grandeur and the ancestral virtue.

**Allegato III.** (vol I, pag. 31)

Speech delivered by Citizen Advocate Brunetti to the Roman People on the occasion of a raising of a tree of liberty.

Romans, rejoice at the event, and by this event we exult with very lively joy for acquiring this liberty, which, having destroyed every remainder of the ancient regime, has all the characters to lead each good citizen to come to very pure and noble compliance. We are free after ten and more centuries of brutalization, thanks to our powerful force which, having protected the unconquered French nation, has finally broken our chains and, reestablishing our imprescriptible rights, has freed us from the most tyrannical yoke and the most degrading human reason. Broken is the talisman of superstition, the cabal of egoism; the imposture and the fanaticism is thwarted; the love of country--the more ardent the desire of our happiness, the more desolate was the aspect of our misery-- has finally conquered the cause and has secured our future happiness. [p. 217] If, Romans, we are able to speak with joy and frankness that we are free and equal, let us take therefore the more energetic measure, whence one religion, poorly understood, does not come to obscure the finest action and to destroy the principle on which happiness of renewing our Republic rests, and we think that this prevents the subterfuge of either fanatic or devious men, that they did not cease to do everything to abort the fruit of this patriotic ardor which has unanimously determined itself to proclaim our freedom under the auspices of the most powerful and the most generous nation of the Universe.

We are persuaded, oh Citizens, that the man created by Divinity to be the dominator of the land has, for his special prerogative, freedom. The nature is counseled by this good gift also in the present, in which a fatal experience of more centuries shows the man a slave, disheartened under the whip of tyranny. Their rights are written by indelible characters in our heart, although his humiliation appears in the history of all times. He respects and admires Cato even when, dragging his chains, [he] is bent under the yoke of Caesar, Tiberius, and Nero. Until now a large part of the century and the land has stood divided between crime and the tyranny. The freedom and the virtue are thwarted over all portions of the globe. This, however, is a violent state which cannot long endure, and already human reason everywhere begins to brighten their own rights on true interest. The epoch is arrived in which genius threatens despotism, this [latter] one no longer being more protected by aptitude and error and, above all, by the support, than [by] the swift

alliance of avarice and all the subordinate oppressors now frightened by the imposing character of the fortunate French revolution.

This magnanimous, generous nation, born for glory and virtue perhaps as much as the human, supporting the strength with which we are hurled in the course of liberty, has protected our happy change, followed without the least alteration of public tranquility, and has solemnly promised, through the mouth of the unconquered General in charge of his armed forces in Italy, to assist with all his force our Republic, which once was the dominatrix of the universe and the terror of all its enemies. We concentrate, therefore, all our efforts to the attractive object of rendering worthy of such a fine gift, and conserving that liberty which, wrongly by the intention of someone either crafty or senseless, he wishes to confuse with a scandalous license and to cancel out from the number of the more sublime virtue.

[p. 218] The liberty, oh Romans, respects first all the religion of Christ, that religion which reins the passion, which consoles in adversity, which is obliged to do good to one who harms us, to love and benefit reciprocally, and that in a word unites the human species to the supreme being, that religion which seems intended the true republics and for removal of tyranny. The free republic makes a distinction between the true, learned and humble Pastors of the Church and the arrogant hypocrites and ignoramuses. Respect the first, and despise the second.

Virtuous freedom acts so that each is able to freely speak his own opinion for the public and private wellbeing, makes the language of tyranny and of vile and false couriers disappear; therefore, the honest and wise citizen is heard before the arrogant aristocrat and the superstitious Brahmin. In her good graces the only blame for the leader is to public impiety, and there are proclaimed flatterers of the rich, of the cajolers and of the ignorant, those who boldly and for such centuries have kept the reins of government and of administration, calling back over us the most dreadful misery, and have such tyrannizing contempt for honest citizens, industrious artists, the peaceful farmers. This liberty, which consists in doing or saying that which is pleasing; which doesn't harm its fellow men and does not oppose the law; allows free elections of its own state; takes care of the education of the sons of the country and occupies itself with public instruction, causes commerce, agriculture, the arts and industry of citizens to thrive; and respects the person and property. In the end this liberty, under direction of laws, forms the happiness of our Republic, and some day will grant it to the whole human race.

The Greeks, our ancestors, and our present liberators have not performed immense prodigies of valor—have not, because they were free. The only liberty was that which pressed this unconquered nation to arrive at calm heroism, science and fine arts, and we know if we avail ourselves of this favorable moment to destroy every residue of slavery, we will be destined for an immortal glory and, like our ancestors, we will live eternally in the memory of the posterity. Not taking up, therefore, superstition, we do not allow ourselves to be deceived by fanaticism. In our present act of changing government, there is nothing that is contrary to pure and evangelic religion, which comes free in the service of need. [p. 219] It (liberty) is very just to not contradict our rights, and our rights are very certain, not to be combated or altered.

It would fall here to find a suitable paragon of the doctrine and conduct of Christ and his Apostles with the doctrine and conduct of the apostles of our times, when it is better

to take away sophism from that fanatic one which lives in fear of prejudiced protection and becomes rich from the hopeful credulity of others, who attempt to use the Gospel to foster opposition to our revolution, but the very vastness of the material and the restriction of time do not permit me to do this except at another opportunity, whence to convince each person not entirely deprived of common sense that in the act of our removal of theatrical despotism, in proclamation of our liberty, you have nothing which offends the pure and holy evangelic religion. It is useful only to express a desire which presses all the known nations, and in each time religion has stood an object united in such a way with the interests of men, speak better with interests of those who have commanded and do command men, that legislators of each age have served as a divine cloak, whence to render their legislations more sacred and respectable and to be more peaceably obeyed. Only Christ, that Divine legislator, has diversely handled his sacred religion, which is completely separated from all mundane things and teaches a doctrine which regards all things through morality, which, considered in its rapport with the author of the world, is the same religion from which morality receives a more august and more sacred character

Considering current deeds for their lessons, as leader and as model of their Apostles, he began to state to them that their kingdom was not of this world: "My kingdom is not of this world." He lived withdrawn, humble and without recognition, [so] that his precursor doubted that he was truly the Messiah. "Are you the one who will come, or do we expect another?" He lived extremely humbly and he disdained riches and commanded his Apostles to imitate him: "You will have brought nothing in the way...nor should you have either money or two tunics." Escape the dignity of this world, and he reproached those things among his disciples which made them understand how to aspire to him: "You do not know what you should seek." On the contrary he commanded his Apostles not to accept titles nor honors: "You should not however want to be called 'Rabbi.'" He thought of nothing but the salvation of the soul, and he removed himself from every interference of worldly things, and he told his Apostles to do as much: "Kings of nations dominate...you however are not thus," and he added: "He who wishes to come after me should bring his cross and follow me." [p. 220] He abhorred the superstition and hypocrisy and he wanted that his followers would be religious "in heart and in spirit," and he commanded that his Apostles think only about preaching the Gospel and instructing the people. Now we compare the doctrine of this Divine Master with the pomp, with the avarice and with the despotism of his modern disciples, and we declare that if it is possible, by escaping from their yoke and reestablishing that liberty which they usurped for so many centuries, that we are in opposition with the greatest evangelicals-- or, rather, we do not claim that restraining the same with only the aide of the altar and the service of worship, that we have not done a most pleasing thing to the common Divine Master.

We live therefore tranquilly, oh Citizens, under change of government of such a longed-for time, and now thus it follows happily: there is nothing for which one ought to take exception to our sacred, pure, and catholic religion. It is, on the contrary, one of the first and most precise of our duties to render thanks to the supreme Spirit for this happy revolution of things. Under the auspices of a sublime people which has been regenerated, a very full field is opened, whence now that the stupidity and abuse, a necessary consequence of despotism of such an age, have been removed from us, the proper genius of free people should be in control, and we make marvelous progresses, and in that one who is concerned for the arts and sciences and in that one who regards the public morale,

[there is] true happiness of men and universal tranquility, and revives in our country the glorious title of Roman Republic, received also by the Divinity and assisted by the courageous and magnanimous French Nation. The forces of Tyranny against our liberty will be not useful and despicable. The sacrifices which we ought to make for staying free and equal would be of a light moment in comparison of the gains which we experienced.

Speech recited before the people in the Roman Forum by Citizen Niccola Corona.

Behold, oh Romans, that moment which forms the finest epoch of our history. These heroes, who understood that all the nations of the world put off [prefer] death to servitude, have become slaves crowned by these priests, which strip the State to raise their family and to increase the princes of blood. Finally, there prevailed that happy aurora which raises the shadow of ignorance and reveals the nothingness of those old Sovereigns who governed with threats and with mysteries. [p. 221] Thus he woke up that spirit of liberty and independence which made the glory of our ancestors and the happiness and the riches of a free nation. The fiercest despotism, which has humiliated them without destroying the grand name of the Romans, falls extinct and ruined at the raising of this tree, which rises sustained by our free will, adorned with the emblems of justice and equality, and planted on the sacred and social bases of human rights. Think then of that august trunk as the beginning of your happiness and as the scheme of your political regeneration. Those famous battles of Pharsalia, of Philippi and Actium are from this moment obscure; they are not to be celebrated today as battles in which the vote and the unanimous consent of true liberty was manifest, and there awakens the patriotic and ancient hate of the King of Rome. This Capitol, before which the wretched have rested with the souls of the people far away, and that Senate, which has become the derision of children, begin to recover their ancient decorum and their honor and ancient glory; and the fathers of the country who arose oppressed under the weight of ignorance and fanaticism, rise up to emulate the ancestors, which triumphed and gave the laws. Abolish, therefore, in the mind and heart each remembrance of oppression which degraded you, and as more sublime rises this tree, that much more strongly bring down the coats of armor which delineated for you the idea of a cruel tyranny. But because the bringing down of those signs of despotism and pomp is also accompanied by a heroic action and worthy of a free and roman heart, overthrow with companions that abominable and infamous gallows, from which are suspended the broken bodies and the arms of our sons, and by which were removed the true kings and the monopolists of the State. Be triumphant, therefore, oh Romans, by these thrown-down signs of slavery, and applaud this emblematic tree and this standard of liberty, which brought your glory and the happiness of your future children and excited the envy and emulation of all subjected people.

[p. 222] **Allegato IV.** (Vol. I. pag. 330)

Yesterday morning (Friday, Feb. 16, 1798), with the Civic Troops assembled without arms in Plaza Colonna and commanded by the proper Official Body, General Cervoni, Commandant in Rome, arrived there on horseback accompanied by a Detachment of French Dragoons, and there, where those Troops were drawn up in three parts, delivered to them the following discourse.

“The People of Rome, which you are a part of, is made free and independent. The French Republic has recognized their sovereignty. Soldiers! no longer slaves of bullying, of error, of humiliation, but Citizen Soldiers, Soldiers of the Country! I come to congratulate you on your dignity and your conduct in the ever memorable battles of yesterday. I come to announce to you that the independence of the Roman People is recognized by the French Republic, that this independence will be protected by our Armed forces in case of need.

“I come to make known to you the Chiefs that the Sovereign People have given to you, and to arrange in their name to obey their orders. Inasmuch that the Provisory Government thinks of for organization of a public force, you will remain under guard where you find yourselves, you will give the same kind of service under the name of National Guard.

“Trouble to the one who in this memorable circumstance is not obedient to the supreme wish.

Citizen Soldiers!

“By the name of the Sovereign People you will recognize for your Chief the Citizen Giuseppe Spada, and you will obey him in all that he commands for the public good and the triumph of Liberty.”

Then he went on to give the same discourse to the other Civic Troops drawn up in the contiguous Plaza of Mount Citorio, always among the hurrahs of the People gathered in a large crowd. Then he entered in the Palace and was conducted to that Grand Loggia, where with the Provisory Government assembled he spoke in a loud voice as follows:

[p. 223] Roman Citizens!

“The government which oppressed you, which has returned you to nothing, and ridiculous on the face of the Earth, exists no longer. To the most insulting usurpation to Humanity, to humiliation, to blindness, to prestige, is succeeded with one magnanimous development of moral faculty of Romans Justice, Reason and Liberty. Romans! Preserve these sacred precious rights...Romans! An Army of free men is among You. This will protect your operations. You do not need to exert yourselves except for the general good and for the relief of poverty.

“The supreme General of the French Armed forces has solemnly recognized in the name of the great Nation the independence of the Roman People, and their Representatives have appointed him, as Head of the armed force in this Immense Capital, to offer friendship and protection. I promise you both one and the other: I offer you with sincere effusion of heart my care, my services, my whole vigilance to complete the grand object of your regeneration.”

Following this, the General created in the name of the Sovereign People the new Provisory Municipality, conferring on it every political, economic, and civil faculty which before emanated from the name of the Pope, in the following departments and their Members, the ones appointed to follow all the matters before them, united in body, with the plurality of votes deliberated on the aforesaid materials, and they are:

Department of Consuls

who ought to carry out the functions which in the past Government were executed by the so-called Congregation of the State.

The Citizens Riganti Francesco  
Bonelli Pio  
Constantini Carlo Luigi  
Bassi Antonio  
Pessuti Gioachino  
Stampa Angelo  
Maggi Domenico  
Morelli Carlo -- Secretaries  
Laurenzi Luigi –

[p. 224] Department of Prefects for the Police.

The Citizens Corona Niccola  
Cipriano Marsilo  
Bouchard Matteo  
Martelli Giuseppe -- Secretary

Department of Prefects of Civil and Criminal Justice

The Citizens Pierelli Francesco  
Petrarca Severino  
Brunetti Filippo  
Renazzi Filippo  
Valeri Giuseppe.

Department of Prefects of the Militia.

The Citizens Sforza Cesarini Francesco  
Accoramboni Filippo  
Vivaldi Francesco Saverio  
Gori Ilario, Secretary.

Department of Prefects of the Ration.

The Citizens Cruciani Giuseppe  
Angelucci Liborio  
Terziani Guglielmo  
Giorgi Luigi Antonio, Secretary.

Department of Prefects of Sea, Commerce and Agriculture

The Citizens Guerra Girolamo  
Lenzi Giacomo

Franchi Francescantonio  
Millanori Domenico, Secretary.

Department of the Aediles.

The Citizens Barberi Giuseppe  
Vici Andrea  
Camporesi Giuseppe  
Campelli Giuseppe, Secretary

[p. 225] Department of Prefects for the Ecclesiastical.

The Citizens Della Valle Claudio  
Ceci Canonico  
Della Ratta Gaetano Canonico  
Bruni Luigi, Secretary

Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Citizen Corona Camillo.

Minister of Internal Affairs.

Citizen Visconti Ennio Quirino.

Judges.

Changeable civil and criminal praetor.

Citizen Ferretti Luca.

Permanent Civil Assessors.

Citizens Maggiotti Gaetano  
Benossi Pietro  
Calisti Domenico

Criminal Judges

Citizens Cinotti Gaetano  
Conconi Giuseppe  
Lorenzi Giovanni.

Judges of Civil Cases over 1000 Scudi, who judge collegially.

Citizens Riccardini Antonio

Fusconi Filippo  
Armilli Giuseppe  
Rizzardi Carlo  
Cavi Scipione.

[p. 226] Fiscal Judge.

Citizen Lamberti Tommaso.

Judges of Commerce and Agriculture.

Citizens Melloni Erminio  
Gallerani Fedel  
Rey Giusepp.

Bookkeepers.

For Finance.  
Citizen Trasmondi Vincenzo.

For the Militia.  
Citizen Mazio Luigi.

For the Ration.  
Citizen Aluffi Vincenzo.

For the Aedileship.  
Citizen Bruni Filippo.

For the Sea and Commerce.  
Citizen Bacci Vincenzo.

Civic Militia.  
Commandant in Chief.  
Citizen Spada Giuseppe.

Adjutant Generals.  
Citizens Piranesi Pietro.  
Giannelli Niccola.

[p. 227] Colonels.

Citizens Borghese Francesco  
Santacroce Francesco  
Bernini Prospero  
Fonseca Luigi.

The other Officials will be appointed later, also a Roman Legion will be listed,.

The citizens finally appointed

Bonelli Pio  
Sforza Cesarini Francesco  
Maggiotti Gaetano  
Corona Niccola  
Bassi Antonio  
Piranesi Pietro  
Morelli Carlo  
Petrarca Severino

to present themselves in their name to Citizen Alexander Berthier, Supreme General of the French Armed forces in Italy, in order to implore the potent protection and friendship of that generous Nation, whose luminous examples which have been put into action by the above Act will thus always provide support in its happy regeneration.

**Allegato V.** (Vol. I. pag. 46)

The Holy Father was told by the French Government that he was to leave Rome, by which he had been dethroned some days before, the 20 of Febr. in the year 1798, last day of Carneval at 11:00 of Italy. The Sanctity of Our Lord Pope 6 left from that domicile with a limited Family of service, escorted by a good number of French Cavalry and as much Infantry with torches and, crossing the foundations of the plaza of Saint Peter, directed his steps to the Gate called Angelica, started for the Bend, first Post from Rome. There the French left him and, accompanied only by two Officials of Staff, he crossed the second Post, called Baccano, where he changed Horses, started toward Monterosi, where he arrived at 20.5 o'clock and stayed for the night in the abode of the Most Eminent Cardinal Giuseppe Doria, who had been Secretary of State, Abbot Commendatario of such place.

[p. 228] He left the following morning, the 21st and the first day of Lent, at 13 o'clock, passing through Roncillione, changed horses at the usual post, started towards Viterbo, where he stayed at the Convent of PP. Agostiniani about 20:00 of that day. After he passed the night there, in the morning on the following day, the 22nd of this month, before leaving, he went to visit the uncorrupted Sacred Body of Saint Rose, Citizen of Viterbo, where, after he entered into the cloister of that Venerable Monastery with all the full pontificals, he visited with profound obsequy the above-mentioned Most Sacred Virgin and he kissed the hand, then sent to the shade of the Feet all the afflicted Religious, Girls, and other distinguished persons gathered there, and at 14:00 left for new San Lorenzo, where he arrived and passed the night in a particular house, and the following morning, 23rd of same month, before leaving went to the primary Church of this Place and heard Holy Mass, then visited the Church of Cappuccini Priests not much distant, and directed his trip through Radicofani, passing through the center of the City of Acquapendente, and passing the river Centino.

Having arrived there at 23:00 of this day, he took lodging at that Hotel, already arranged to use, and the following morning, 24. still of the month, before moving out of the Mountains, at the Loggia Bendizion blessed the numerous people gathered there, which

they requested, and continued his journey toward San Quirico, where he arrived at 22:00, stopping at the habitation of Marquis Zondadri of Siena and spending the night there. The following morning at 15:00 his trip continued to the destined City of Siena, and it was the 26 of above-mentioned month of Feb. when he arrived at 18:00 and where two Cavaliers of that City attended him in the name of Sua A. R., the Granduke of Tuscany, being arranged for the Holy Father to stay at the Convent of PP. Augustinians, and where he stayed for the space of 3 months ending on May 26, day of the Great Earthquake of Siena. From that City the Holy Father was obliged to be absent suddenly, together with all his family, and especially from above-mentioned Monastery of Saint Augustine, for damage suffered in his quarters, and moved, provisionally, for one day in the Palace of Cavalier Venturi, then for three days in Villa Sergardi outside of Siena a mile and a half, and the day 30. at 14:00. he resolved to go to Certosa of Firenze, as a place very suitable and convenient, and having arrived there at 20:00 of above-mentioned day, stayed there about 10 months.

[p. 229] Following the French invasion in Florence, Mar. 26, 1799, the last Feast of Easter, a day after the Most Sacred Annunciation, the solicitation of the General suddenly commanded to take possession of Certosa, and sent there a detachment of 60 men; while Cavaliers and infantry had been posted in each place, the guards in view of all, and in particular the quarters of the Holy Father. And the day after 27. of that month a General of Division with other Officers of Staff went to the Pontiff and told him on the part of Executive Directorate that he ought to leave abruptly the next night for Parma, notwithstanding the urgent petitions quickly made in Florence by Monsignor Prelate Spina, and the morning of Thursday, 28th, at 4:00, he left with a limited following and made the sensible distance from Certosa, the Pontiff accompanied by French Cavalry in the number of about 30 with a commanding Captain, and, passing through the middle of the City of Florence, continued to the gate called San Gallo, and at 5:00 of the evening stayed at the Hotel called of the Maschere.

The following morning at 8:00 he took his departure, Friday, and 29th of the month; he left Maschere and headed toward Scaricalasino, where he arrived at 3:00 in the afternoon and stayed at the Habitation of the Municipality, Monastery suppressed of Rocchettini, where after 8:00 of the morning he directed his trip to Bologna, and it was Saturday, March 30, when he arrived at 8:00 in the evening after a long trip, and somewhat disastrous for other regards, for which he had to stop in a Country house of Campagna. He dismounted from the Carriage at College of the Spanish, where he spent the night with all the Family; and the morning of the 31st, Sunday, in Albi, after hearing the Sacred Mass, took his leave for Modena at 9:00 in the morning, and at 5:00 in the evening arrived there to stop at the arranged Inn.

He was privately visited there in the evening by the Most Eminent Livizzani, and the following morning, Monday, and the first of April, took his leave for Parma at 6:00 in the morning, and traveling for Reggio, given a brief rest outside the City, he continued on to Parma. Having arrived there at 6:00 in the evening, he took lodging at the famous Convent of San Giovanni of the Benedictine Monks, where he stayed for 18 days and where by everyone the stay by the Holy Father was trusted to be safe. When that Saturday on the morning of April 13, the same Captain of the escort of Florence appeared, he told the Pontiff of an express order from Paris to leave immediately for Turin.

[p. 230] He was not moved by safety or any other consideration which could delay the Departure, and because the 14th was Sunday morning, at 5:00, after hearing, according to custom, Sacred Mass, with heavy grief of the Monks and of all the City, Pontiff Pius 6, with all his Party, left, and about the middle of the day arrived at the City called Borgo San Donnino, stopping at the palace of The Lord Bishop, and visited Cardinal Valenti.

After he passed the night there, and on the Monday 15th of the month, he lodged at Borgo San Donnino to a good morning, and left for Piacenza, and the Group arrived a mile distant from the City at the Mission called San Lazzaro, where lodging for the Holy Father had been arranged. The following morning at 7:00, the trip having been destined for Lodi, and the day was the 16th, he left from San Lazzaro and, going through the walls outside of the City, passed over the Bridge of Bares, the Po, where a little mile distant from Piacenza he saw more than a hundred of the Cavalry approaching, and the Holy Father was forced to go back again and then to pass through the middle of the City, to the Hurrahs of numerous People, and to return to the Monastery of the Mission of San Lazzaro, where it was necessary to stop finally at 3:00 after the middle of the night, day April 17, and with torchlight passed the suburbs of Piacenz, the Group left for the Castle San Giovanni and stayed in a particular house at 10:00 before the mid day.

April 18, Wednesday, at 7:00 in the morning, the departure followed from this place, and before midday arrived at Voghera, dominion of Piedmont, where the Holy Father lodged in a particular House with all the Family.

The 19<sup>th</sup>, Thursday, he continued his journey to Tortona by the sojourn of the Lord Bishop, where at a suitable hour all the following stayed a whole other day, and Saturday was the departure for Alexandria of Paglia, where all of Sunday it was very rainy and impossible to continue the travel. In Palace Episcopal was the stay, and the 22<sup>nd</sup>, Monday, the morning at 6:00, the travel continued to Monferrato, where that Monsignor Bishop attended his Episcopacy. The morning of Tuesday, the 23<sup>rd</sup>, the travel followed to the turn of Crescentino, and lodging was arranged for the Holy Father in the House of the Oratory of San Filippo Neri, and there being the Diocese of Vercelli, the Pontiff was visited by the Most Eminent Cardinal of Martiniana. The late morning at a suitable hour the travel continued to Turin, and after a short rest of two hours the travel continued slowly, in order to enter in the Citadel late at night so as to (not) excite the riot of people. [p. 231] All day on the following day, Thursday, April 23, the travel was suspended for the Holy Father to rest, and Thursday morning at 3:00 after midnight, 26<sup>th</sup> of the month, the travel continued to Village Saint Ambrogio, where with a brief stay and refreshed for two hours, it continued to Susa, Dominion also of Piedmont, where at 5:00 the Most Dignified Bishop was present, and where it rested all Saturday, April 27. The 28<sup>th</sup> later Sunday, having left the woods in Susa after having heard the Holy Mass, the Holy Father stayed in Portantina, and the Family [left] on horseback to go to Ouix in the Piedmont at foot of the very sad Mountain Mont Geneve.

When the Holy Father arrived at Oulx in the middle of the day Sunday in the Arcipretura of that place, one time Monastery of Rocchettini, and stopped there for rest all of Monday, the twentieth-ninth day; the morning of the 30<sup>th</sup>, at 5:00, the journey continued for the above-mentioned Mountain. Covered with snow at a height of two men, it would have been impossible to climb it, if the day before there had not been a little clearing of the snow. He descended after, and the Holy Father advanced to Briancon, arrived there at midday, last of April. Pontifex Pius 6 sojourned in the restricted Quarters of the Hospital

of this City until the 16<sup>th</sup> of June, with all the Family, when at dawn orders came to leave for Grenoble. Therefore, the whole Pontifical group of 30 Gendarmes on horse with a Commanding Captain accompanied him and left from Briancon and stopped at S. Erepn in a particular House in a small village. The following morning, the 27<sup>th</sup> of June, at 5:00 he made departure for Saven, also a small village, and in it the Holy Father also lodged in a particular House. Similarly the following day, 28<sup>th</sup>, at the middle hour he continued to the Gap, regarded as a City, where he rested for three days. On the following [day] the journey set out for Corps, close to the Wall. The following day he stopped again as usual in a private House suitable for another, and was received with all propriety and distinction. The Pontiff, together with all the pontifical Family, had been received with greater decorum at Vizille in a palace where there was a large muslin factory of Musolini, and even though belonging to the Protestants, he was distinguished in particular style, along with the entire pontifical family.

The following morning, Saturday, at 4:00, the journey set out for Grenoble, July 6, and, after lodging there in the palace of Madame Devo, had to hear the fate of the Hostage of the Holy Father and obliged to be at Valenza, and after 3 days of rest there set out for Tullius, a small place, another day for Marcellin, and the next day for Romans, the Pontiff lodging with distinction in a private House.

[p. 232] The next day, July 14<sup>th</sup>, and Sunday, in a trip of a few hours he arrived happily at Valenza, where a sojourn had been arranged in a palace of the Citadel, very convenient for the Holy Father and for all the Pontifical family with ample Garden, with an old very fine by the will of Rodan. But with regret he intended after about 20 days that the voyage had to continue to Dijon. Sent through another, the requests advanced from the Municipality and the Department of Valenza to Directorate of Paris, interrupted the departure, as well as his expected age, and the health of the Pontiff.

With the health of the Sacred Person having declined still, on August 19 to everyone's surprise, he was attacked by severe intestinal dysentery with vomiting, which seemed incurable even from the first by the ineffective remedies immediately tried. In almost quick succession to the professors, he was therefore provided with the Most Holy Sacraments on the 27<sup>th</sup> and 28<sup>th</sup> of this month, administered by Monsignor Spina, Archbishop of Corinth, a former Profession of Faith, the lethal led by Monsignor Caracciolo, Master of Room. The same night falling, on the 29<sup>th</sup>, about an hour and a half after midnight, with the diligent assistance of his confessor Don Cirolamo Fantini, with the Apostolic Absolution given and the customary prayers of the recommendation of the Soul, he expired placidly, although choked by a cough, always in perfect cognition until not many minutes before, at the age of 83 years, less 4 months and days, and with a Pontificate of 24 years, 6 months, and 14 days, and from his Dethroning of a year and 6 months. The same day in the evening there follows the incision of the Cadaver which, after being dressed in Pontifical attire, was placed in two boxes, one of Lead and the other of Walnut, and placed with the accustomed seals in the Chapel of this Palace, in which for 8 days the Family held the accustomed Suffrages and Masses and Absolutions, etc.

[p. 233] **Allegato VI.** (vol. I. pag. 52)

The morning of Thursday of the past week, Ventosa 5., was devoted to a ceremony which, although a funeral, was so grand and astonishing that it was capable of bringing to

mind generous grief at the death of a Republican Warrior, General Duphot, true gratitude for the unconquered and generous French Nation and the true Republican spirit which languished for so many centuries, buried under the ashes of extinct and degraded Roman Power.

To perform the obsequies at this ceremony, the citizen General Alexander Berthier, Commandant in charge of the French Armed Forces in Italy, arranged with Architect Bargigli to put up a grand Mausoleum in the large Plaza of the Vatican Basilica; and the clever Architect, eager to find favor with the genius of the valiant General and of the Public, keeping with an old style, put up a squared set-up with the height of 15 roman palms and 60 long on every side, to which it was ascended by four great steps painted in granite and decorated with festoons of laurel and oak. Over the large terrace rose another small foundation all decorated with Emblems and military Trophies, from which was born a well-executed Pyramid painted in granite 80 palms high, and in it an entrance led to the sepulchral room inside.

On the four faces of this Pyramid two Victories with Crown of laurel in hand are seen carved on the front in bass relief from metal, and on the other three sides and in each of the parts are written up high the following Inscriptions:

Your Tomb--French Hero of Roman Liberty, second-hand birthplace of the Roman Liberty,

Famous in contest of Mars (war),  
Learned, and he sharpened his brave spirit with a noble song against the tyrants.

[p. 234]

Hello and farewell forever, Brave soul; now the light, free earth presses on your bones.

In honor and memory of Duphaut, French citizen, tribune, of the legion scarcely 17 years, in the military for 6 years.

He died at the hands of traitorous men of Rome, by betrayal--died on the month of Nivalis 8, in the year 6.

On the four corners of the large foundation were placed four rocks of ancient fluted columns, over which were placed as many censers which burned in time of the festival, as also many other censers burned, placed with symmetry on the same terrace.

This funerary pomp was announced with the volley of cannons from the Fortress of the Castle S. Angelo, which from midday of the preceding day hurled a volley every five minutes, continuing up until 8:00 of the French morning of this Thursday, that the general had defeated all on the Field, as in the City, and at which point they were sent by the detachments of Carabineers, Grenadiers and Infantry, all with a branch of cypress on the hat; the drums covered with black cloth, and the military music was appropriate for a ceremony.

About the hour 17:00, all the numerous Column was placed on the march, and passing through Ripetta, the street of Orso and Bridge S. Angelo, was led to the Plaza of the Vatican, where it formed a rectangle, having the Cavalry at the back.

Then the General at the head and all the Staff of the French Armed Forces, dressed in ceremonial uniform, occupied the center, along with the Consuls of the new Roman Republic after they [the Consuls] were brought to the Capitol with the National Banners, accompanied by patriots and escorted by Civic Troops.

[p. 235] After repeated and harmonious symphonies followed from a large number of different instruments of strings and wind, Citizen Faustino Gagliuffi pronounced the following appropriate discourse, which by his own force and the eloquence brought general applause.

Speech of Citizen Faustino Gagliuffi, spoken Feb. 23 (5 Ventoso) in the Year 6, Republican Year 1. of the Roman Republic

#### Heroes of the French Republic

Among the memorable adventure of the times which were and which will come, the luminous and distinguished celebrity of this singular day always comes. This is the most august plaza which had further ideas genius of liberal arts: this is the very great and very celebrated time which arrests the guards of the astonished strangers: this is Rome, which after so many centuries of death, of tombs, raised its triumphal head: these are the free men who have huge crowns and have the frank sentiments of admiration, of gratitude, of brotherhood: and you...you, along with the warrior of an armed force which, passing from prodigy in prodigy, assures the splendor of France and balances the destiny of the people.

Surrounded by the so-greatly massive objects, I should hardly know how to abandon myself to grief and to shed tears on the funereal monument which justly raises itself to the memory of General Duphot. They lament in their hiding place that his life and he himself broke off too soon from a blow. We who are still living have seen the shade of the extinct warrior calling piously to the grieving friends of the Capitol, to write with his own blood the great sentence of our liberty.

They render to whom it is owed, extreme homage to the ashes of your valiant companion, who, born to be grand, generous, wise, gave you of his astonishing valor, and he was often seen with sword in hand and with such other poetics to excite the innumerable triumphs of your immortal undertakings. He, I dare to say in front of the armed forces, whom irresistible patriotism recognized, he would renounce the pleasure of reviving to a new glory if his revival was able to destroy the happy consequence of the blow which seized him.

They return, I repeat, these homages of tenderness and of honor, but then throw a veil of eternal forgetfulness on the disgraceful attention which I have the honored assignment of detesting in the name of the Roman people, happily restored in their primitive rights. The oppressing and greedy hypocrisy has now fallen; the grotesque union of sacred and profane is dissolved at last, which they were destroying in turn. The sweet sentiments of evangelic morale were finally authorized to search for and to propagate justice and truth. The ministers of the sanctuary will bring, according to the demands of their sublime insti-

tution, peace and harmony in the family and in the heart; the representatives of the Roman Republic will come untiring to the preservation of the gift which you have agreed to with such peace and exultation.

Thanks be rendered first to you, God Almighty, on whom the whole lot of creation depends. Filled with pity for the scourges which once barbarously ran through the monopoly, the caprice, the privileges, and, of course, Alas! the same religion celebrated only with the mouth and unfortunately contradicted by the heart: sanctify our liberty, bless our equality, preserve our Republic.

Thanks next to you, supreme Generals Berthier and Massena, memorable instruments of divine will. You, Berthier, who quick like a thunderbolt and prudent like a sage, have achieved the great work, desired and necessary; and you, Massena, whose courage and steadiness were required to complete and perpetuate the undertaking, have taken the noted purity of our sentiment to the Executive Directorate of the grand Republic: you are able to announce to all of France, to the Batavian nation, to the Cisalpina, to the Ligurians, to all the people of the earth, that the religion of the sovereign people of Rome is happily going to recover its native simplicity, is no longer the nemesis of philosophy, no longer the seedbed of civil discord, and, now limited to the placid practice of sacred things, corrects emotions, comforts the afflicted, purifies the customs, and amicably recommends obedience to the laws, temperance and charity.

Generals, Officials, Soldiers, how precious to your grateful country is the life of one alone of you! how productive of events is the death of a French warrior! Take, Soldiers, take up the noble dignity, which is fitting to virtue. Your military discipline, the energy of your character, the amiability of your manner, the moderation and the miraculous alliance with the Romans, will repay abundantly that hated Cesar who brought chains to your ancestors, and the very much less respectable destroyers of Numanzia, of Carthage and of Corinth.

[p. 237] Thanks to you, leading Magistrates of the Roman people. Cheered up by the view of so dignified a spectacle, they will display in short time all the power of their talents; and we will see the wounds of past imbecile terrorism healed up, and the democratic government organized, which claimed a good nation from the humiliating yoke of foreigners.

Thanks to you, the Roman Citizens take on the march fitting to national dignity. Persuaded by your example and emulative of your virtuous suffering, they do not reject any sacrifice to reassemble the public machine so cruelly destroyed. They found the just hopes of private good on the only basis worthy of honest men, on the base of common gain. They are eager to prove to Europe that Italian valor, far from being spent, burns still vigorous under the now-scattered ashes of true tyranny; they will not fall ever again, not with you or by you.

Long live the memory of Duphot: long live the French Armed Forces: long live the Liberty of equality.

And then a Funeral Hymn was sung by a large chorus of Musicians and Performers to the memory of the deceased General, composed by Citizen Masi, Master of the Roman Chapel, which is the following:

Rise from your lethal sleep,  
Son sprung of glory:

Come, and lend an ear  
to our lament.

How short the flower falls  
by a villainous hand;  
you have fallen, and your valor  
was not able to save you.

You have fallen, alas, you have fallen!  
And yet worthy of you, thinking  
More of a trembling force  
as a deer takes flight.

You resemble in war  
A stormy torrent;  
The displays of your victories  
almost mark you as a god.

The loving Young girl  
has heard your death and wept;  
The friend laments your reddish fate.

[p. 238] Envious of your rights  
France shakes her august head,  
Her squadrons moved;  
She has come; she has avenged you.

But on the wings of gentle breezes  
Come now, honored shade;  
Worthy hero, draw near and gaze;  
Your name goes eternally.

Avenged is your great shade;  
Rome has broken the chains,  
And by your death  
Roman liberty is reborn.

Concerning the men Cato and Brutus,  
They salute you, respectful  
of your envious fate,  
As a hero of the ancient time.

Avenged, etc.  
Now for you on the Capitol  
The tree rises triumphant:  
To tyrants your honor  
Will always be fatal.

Avenged, etc.

The French Troops then followed by presenting a general discharge of their guns. A Carabinier, a Grenadier, a Hunter and a Dragoon took the urn which contained the ashes of General Duphot, and in the middle part, supported by the National Banners by Patriots, they set out, followed by Consuls and Magistrates of the Roman Republic and by all the Official Body Staff of the French Armed Forces, which preceded the Troops who carried

it through the Lungara, and when they arrived at the [Holy?] Week Gate, where Duphot was assassinated, each Platoon, without stopping, made a discharge of muskets. Continuing on then from the part of the Sistine Bridge through Trasteveri, The Four Heads Bridge, Plaza Montanara and Field of Cows, it climbed to the Capitol, where the urn, removed from the monument of the Plaza of Saint Peter, was placed with great ceremony over a Column of granite expressly set up there on top of an attractive pedestal with a pattern of marble statuary and base of several other marbles of much color.

When this ceremony ended, the Troops left the Capitol, and in the same order with which they left, returned through the street of the Course to the Plaza of the People, from where each detachment settled in its own Quarters.

[p. 239] The evening afterwards, in memory of the deceased, the Cuppola and Colonnade of the Vatican Basilica was illuminated by lanterns on all Sides for close to two hours. When the Official Body of French Staff arrived on a great stage set up on the Quarters of this Plaza, attractively illuminated and decorated with the three National colors, in the small space of four minutes all the illumination was transformed by more than a hundred torches after they were placed in good symmetry as far as the divisions of the columns, when the Mausoleum is seen likewise illuminated, and in this circumstance there was already set up on the stage in the morning a large band of wind instruments for the Musicians. At such a spectacle, no less than in the morning, the concourse of Citizens was very numerous and astonishing, who applauded all the good order and the vast design with which this astonishing spectacle was executed.

### **Allegato VII** (Vol. 1. pag. 37)

The Roman Consuls to the Common people of all the Republic.

To the People of the Roman State

We recall to you the fortunate announcement that the Provisory Government of the Roman Republic is already organized. The French Nation, the great avenger of the rights of Man, mistress and regenerator of the People, has performed, through the means of its unconquered Armed Forces, of its valiant General, of its wise and profound counsels, this wonder.

The evil ones which were oppressing us from the inside, and were assisted from the outside, in part had already ceased, in part were forced to cease. The new Provisory Government fashions the first and the greatest of its occupations. From henceforth the laws, equal for all and free of any each inherited privilege, the rejuvenated industry, commerce freed from its chains, patriotism acknowledged, public morale recalled on its way, talents supported, virtue rewarded, make noticeable to you the difference of the new order from the Government which was ruling you till now. Although what should we mean by Government? [p. 240] Every government, to be considered such, must have means, force and sageness to protect the Peoples from external invasion; to preserve the internal organization of the civil Society; to take care of the riches and fortune of the State; to assure the persons, the property; the industry and the rights of the individual; to keep alive the public spirit; to excite and preserve the love of order and of common good. Organized anarchy, under the despotic yoke under which we used to moan for so many years, was no longer able nor cared to fulfill these sacred and indispensable duties which bind the

ones who rule them to the People .The public strength was nothing; the administration loose and turned everything to oblique and egoistic ends; the fortune of the State decayed by those same hands which ought to guard it jealously; the excessive public debt mounted by this time to hundred thousands of scudi, the whole of which became half recently in the course of little more than twenty years; private property, industry, commerce quite ruined by the Bill and false money; persons made liable by a slanderous, vague, despotic charge; the security placed at risk of almost universal impunity of crimes; the common rights crushed by capricious privilege; public spirit extinct or persecuted; all order upset; and the common good unknown or sacrificed [at] each moment to particular interests and ends; love of Country having been handled to the last like imaginary and adventurous affection, and having been replaced by false zeal and every kind of prejudices.

Consequently, the Peoples of the Roman State were truly without Government when they wished to have one, and with the protection of the French Armed forces they had one in a moment. The illustrious hero Alexander Berthier, General in charge of this Armed force which numbers the days of its existence with victories and with good deeds, not only has protected us with its force, not only has strengthened us with the generous and powerful guarantee of the French Republic, but he deemed it worthy also to offer us an organization of the Provisory Government, and to shape us according to this nothing less than a wise Democratic Constitution founded on Equality, Liberty, Justice assures forever our happiness on a solid base. Behold, we transmit to you all these Acts, which are the monuments of these memorable gestures which mark this epoch in the history of all the centuries.

All the members of the new Government are at their posts, ready not only to employ all their concerns and all their forces, but also to be examples in their life, rather than to be lacking of the common object of public happiness. All of you, Peoples of the Roman Republic, instruct yourselves in democracy; elect, according to the norm proposed by the wise and charitable General, your Provisory Municipality, with which to regulate and organize a one and indivisible Republic, together with us and under a common Central Government. Heirs of Brutus, Publius, Fabius, Fabricius, the Scipos, Cato, raise the Tree of Liberty, that Tree which the French blood and sweat has made to sprout in our districts. Delete every vestige of the past slavery and of the old anarchy. Be worthy of your very ancient Fathers and of the names which resound forever honored in the History of the Italian people.

Riganti, Consul; Bonelli, Consul; Bassi, Consul; Pessuti, Consul; Costantini, Consul; Bassal, General Secretary of the Consulate

**Allegato 8.** (Vol I. pag. 57)

The Commandant General of the Brigade Vial on the Plaza, To the peaceful Inhabitants of Rome and to the Civic Guard.

Yesterday the rumor was spread that there was a mutiny in the French Armed Forces. Fascists, fanatics, Assassins, and Bandits have suddenly formed the plan of profiting from the moment. They have begun to organize assassination, and in all the Quarters of

the City isolated French Soldiers have fallen under daggers. Once assembled in the Quarters of Trasteveri, the Fanatics, carrying at their head the effigy of the Virgin, have appeared shouting "Viva Maria" in front of the church of S. Peter, where for the first act of Religion they butchered an interior guard, took position of the Sistine Bridge and of all the streets, which -- [led to it?]. The pillage was supposed to begin at the Quarters of the Hebrews and then to continue in all of the City, if their endeavor was successful. But the vile ones didn't know what kind of spirit animates the French Military. [p. 242] They didn't know that at the first blow of stick, all are at their post, especially when dealing with protecting a people, and because of our interest, our principles, and for the reason we are being attacked.

Measures of prevention have been taken in time. Commands of the body of Troops in the different Quarters of the City assured me of their tranquility, but at Trasteveri the Criminals were in great number. Since it was necessary to overcome them losing a moment of time, I myself moved to the head of my troops. We stood attacked by gunfire, but the Republican bayonets were superior to all the obstacles. The gate near which the disgraced Duphot was assassinated was broken open by a bold step; the Sistine Bridge was being taken; the tranquility and the security of the City was reestablished.

Inhabitants of Rome, have faith. The French want your happiness and have given you great proof of that in the last night. If we had not held firm to respect tranquil Inhabitants and their property, and would have limited ourselves to occupying Military positions, We would have stayed in safety and would not have been tested with the blood of many of our brothers, by which we have upheld the pledge which we have taken to give you aid and protection.

And you, Civic Guard, you have shown in this circumstance a zeal and an attachment which assures you forever of the gratitude of your fellow Citizens. I am pleased to give you in this public act the tribute of eulogy and of esteem, which you have earned with your conduct.

A great number of Assassins, seized with arms in their hands and carrying daggers, were sentenced in the space of 24 hours.

Vial.

**Allegato 9.** (Vol. I. pag. 57)

The General of the Division Dallemagne, temporary Commandant of the Armed Forces of Rome, to the Inhabitants of Rome and to the Armed Forces.

Of the rumors defaming the French Armed Forces, astutely spread by their Enemies, and by those of the Roman People whom it had come to protect, they seemed to take vigor; the suspicion spreads over every Superior Official and Heads of Administration. [p. 243] If there are [those] who were able to be degraded, these are unworthy to be counted in an Armed Forces of the Capable; they are (well-)known, and they will be expelled with the indignation which they merit.

Roman citizens, if you have complaint of some Frenchmen, whatever is the post which he occupies, how elevated might be the step on which he could be vested to take up a new position, [you] do not fear to make yourselves known to me. I promise you a justice just as prompt, as severe.

Tremble, nevertheless, perfidious slanderers. They will be sought after, exposed, and punished as examples.

And you, Officials and French Soldiers, who through a discretion well worthy of you, remain so ardently permeated with regret for these rumors, cheer up! Your glory will not be compromised. If they are culprits, they will be exposed, and the shame of the crime, as also the punishment, will fall entirely over them, and your honor will remain without stain, but do not trust in the shrewdness of your enemies. They tried to place division between us, and they gained from all the means to foresee it; while they well know that as long as we will be united, all their efforts will be in vain.

On the evening the 7<sup>th</sup> to the 8<sup>th</sup> your massacre was not only organized in Rome. This had to be executed in all the States by the Ecclesiastics present [a conspiracy]. The revolution has appeared with the same wickedness in many departments, and many of our Companions have been victims. At Velletri four Dragoons in the 20<sup>th</sup> Regiment, the Secretary and the Servant of Commandant of the Plaza have been assassinated, and he himself was saved by the favor of the night.

The Plot was not obliged to spare anyone, and such would have been the result. If it had not been thwarted by your bravery, none of us would exist at present.

Dallemagne

**Allegato 10.** (Vol I. pag.60)

Four speeches given under the Tree of Liberty by Citizen Antonio Pacific.

**Speech I.** given on the Capitol Feb. 15, 1798.

God of vengeance, great God, God of justice, the iniquity, the imposture of the Sanctuary have arrived even in the Heavens to be exterminated! Thus, generous Citizens, the triplicate thunderbolt has vindicated us; the unconquered, the immortal French Republic, the glorious, valiant Republican Berthier has completed the work left hanging by other Heroes; he has made us free. He and his army have known how to deny the base precaution of those who wanted to keep us submerged by keeping them [the army] far away; those who wanted to continue to live, to become rich, from our substance and even of the Sanctuary; those who wanted to maintain themselves by the possession of the tyranny and of the usurpation with our own arms to our own damage.

However, long live God and the tricolor French Banners. The tyrants will fall, and we see them, aware of their misdeeds, now timid and palpitating. The Patriotic Troops knew how to be triumphant over all; the internal and external manipulations did not contribute other than to render it more glorious and immortal. She has broken our chains, reclaimed them for the natural rights *Liberty, of Equality*.

Long live, then, and long live eternally our Champion so well deserving: a Nation which knew so well how to turn their sweat and their blood to our common gain. Far away the Fantasies of licentiousness, of irreligion, of unbelief. A free heart knows how to live as it wants, as it ought.

The *Liberty* which we have acquired, oh Citizens, rests in no longer recognizing the Despots, the Oppressors, the Tyrants; in appointing our own Magistrates; in promoting

the good and keeping the wicked behind. The Religion is intact; and the darkest scheme, the most detestable imposture it was barely possible to be believed, that it was Irreligious not to lend obedience blindly to those who knew how to take advantage of the Religion to oppress us and rob us. But the Fanatics, the Impostors have been done for. We are free, will all be brothers, all subjects without distinction to the laws, whether kings or good people, all equally prize-winners.

Which, if you please, of your sons in the past times have you seen raised up, promoted to appointments, although most deserving? And have you not seen rather preferred subjects, who had nothing of merit outside of imagined nobility, of deception, of hypocrisy, of subordination; subjects, who through their ignorance or wickedness have brought the government who knows where? And this is then the Religion [for] which they showed so much zeal. Examine their conduct, and how much, oh God, you will see of iniquity, of wickedness! They are the ones accused of a thousand deaths. Their memory will pass infamous to Posterity, and the Mother Republic, who has prodigiously made these free, made these equal, will always be glorious in the records of Eternity.

**Speech II.** given in Campus Martius, Feb. 18, 1798.

Citizen patriots, we are free. Thanks to the incomparable Warrior Berthier, I am able today to speak to you as a free man. Neither Rome nor this place has ever been equally brilliant: the triumph of Berthier is greater than the triumphs of all the most illustrious Heroes. The Revolution followed without sprinkling of blood; the French Armed Forces rejected the sinister precaution of those usurpers of the throne who have submerged us with our own arms in order to keep it [the army] far away from us to their profit-- they, who expected Miracles from the Heaven, have seen it. Weary of iniquity, God has exalted the oppressed, overthrown the Powerful. We have not without Superior dispositions regained the natural Ancient *Liberty and Equality*.

And what other greater impiety, oh Citizens, than that a man born with the same instincts, with the same inclinations, subjects himself to another man, or gets the upper hand with the Titles usurped by that greatest vice, by arrogance? What kind of Religion was it that saw the Nobles going forward to appointments of which they scarcely understood the name, and kept behind the good, the virtuous, because they did not know how to be bought? This Religion was a Mask, a Fantasy, which oppressed the blind, the ignorant. The true Religion demands that virtue alone distinguishes it, that it punish vice equally in all.

It is not, then, the French who destroy religion; but the priests have corrupted, contaminated it; the Priests who were supposed to follow the footsteps of their Master, to shun the Kingdom of the World, to preach sincerely the Gospel, and not take advantage of continuing in Tyranny, in oppression. [p. 246] Long live, then, the valorous Berthier, long live also the glorious Army of France, which has smashed Hypocrisy, Imposture; which has rendered us free, has made us equal. Because who has oppressed us, who has tyrannized us, also the memory of him has passed to infamous posterity.

**Speech III.** given on the plaza of the School of the Ghetto [Jewish residence], Feb. 18, 1798.

Oppressed sons of Abraham, yourselves a good part also of the generous people of Rome, the common enemies, the usurpers of the Throne, in order to better humiliate and rob you, kept you separate from us, made you hated by those Christians who were supposed to embrace all, to hate no one. You yourselves also, however, are liberated: long live the God of Abraham and of Jacob, who with the hand of the unconquered, of the immortal Berthier, redeemed you from the long slavery of another tyrant, Pharaoh.

From here on, you are good Citizens, you are also our Brothers, our equals: one same Law will judge us and you. In the civil life, not a different Religion, but only virtue distinguishes each one. Expelled till now and roaming from the Throne, you reclaimed in vain your *Liberty*, in vain you lamented the tyranny, the oppression, which always made you feel the most insatiable, the most abhorred Politics.

The Tyrants, however, have fallen, and from your heart to their heart the slavery, the fright has passed. You see them humiliated; and that is enough in compensation for your past disgrace. They are kings of a thousand deaths, but the God of Israel, the Just God, a God of vengeance, preserves them for penalties, opprobrium, and that is for them the heaviest charge from Heaven, which they can not move.

And you most noble, pardon all of their unworthiness, destroy the memory of ancient slavery of seventeen and more centuries worse than those of Egypt, of Babylonia: put your trust in the God of the Armies, God Omnipotent, God, who knows how to throw down the powerful and raise up the oppressed: put your trust in that this slavery will be the last; and call to mind only that your Liberator Moses, unconquered French Leader, unites you to us, reestablishes you with *Liberty and Equality*.

[p. 247] **Speech IV.** given at the Capitol Feb. 19, 1798.

[The second person singular *you* for informal and common address was used throughout, instead of the formal plural used for polite address.]

Noble Sovereign People of Rome, after eighteen and more centuries in which you reclaimed in vain your Sovereignty, finally the most happy names of *Liberty*, of *Equality*, are heard. Yes, you are free. The revolution has followed; the Tyrants have been thrown down; the memory of them trampled upon. Today the fourth day appears in which you see the Republican Banners billow from the top of the honored Capitol. If you know how to reclaim your true ancient virtue from inertia and from wickedness in which the most nefarious Politics has nourished you, to overthrow the tyrants with impunity, you will know also how to force yourself to slaughter rather than to lose again the sweet, the glorious name of free Roman Citizen. Hear from their honored Tombs the voices, the cries of Brutus, of Cassius, of the Scipios, of the Curtii, of the Catos, and of such other illustrious elders of yours, who excite you to imitate them and to preserve even with blood the reclaimed liberty.

This which was the finest gift which the Creator made for man, and this is precisely what the Tyrants have sacriligiously removed from you. You did not know in the past how to think and to act, except what was pleasing to them, which is what you did. Your provisions provided banquets for their tables at the same time when you complained of starvation. Your sons, although virtuous, were either humiliated or neglected because they did not gain titles usurped by arrogance, or they were not able to acquire with money, with intrigue, and God knows with what other shameful manner and pledge which

[was] reward owed to virtue alone. They also very often marched them into the prisons capriciously; and the rich, the noble, your Sovereign kings of a thousand deaths not only lived, but lived insulting, impudently, [from] those whom they tyrannized, the oppressed.

From here forward, however, you will not hear any more the hated title of noble, of grandee. Each will be called with the honorable name of Citizen; only virtue will be equally rewarded in all, vice equally punished. This is *Equality*, this is *Liberty*, which you have acquired: far from impostures and the deceits: the Religion remains pure and intact, on the contrary more perfect, because free from the hypocrisy of the Priests. The Propagators of this have inculcated nothing other than Fraternity and Equality; and the Founder of this religion, although invited many times to the Kingship, always rejected it firmly. As long as the Successors to the first Head have followed the examples of the Founder, unconquered Roman People, you have seen them worship at the Altars: but concerning those who wanted only to involve themselves in the Government, in the Kingdom, you have seen that in the Sanctuary the fraud, the vice, the imposture, the superstition have control, and, what is worse, you have seen them take advantage of this Religion to oppress you and humiliate you.

Those who knew how to profit from deception have enticed you into professing a Religion in appearance, to believing miraculous dreams, the finest, most superstitious discoveries of gluttons, of villainous Politicians. We call them to the glory of the truth: Your Religion was the mask for desire of despotism of the Throne. Let this go in abomination now so that the shadows of impiety, of robbery, are scattered: and you, noble Roman People, take pride then in your Religion, but free from, purified of, fantasies, of dreams. Let this [religion] be the design of your actions; but still accustomed to recognize the true rights of Nature, which recalls you to *Liberty*, to *Equality*.

#### **Allegato XI.** (Vol. I. pag. 60)

Allocution to the Roman Youth.

Roman youth, in whose veins still runs the noble blood of the Curtii, the Decii, the Fabii and the other so great immortal heroes of your ancient Rome, who were prodigies of the life in defense of their country, behold, finally, the loosening of the horrid snares of a miserable slavery, behold [yourselves] given again to the honor of a sweet, loveable liberty. I, who by long practice in services given to the public for your gain, have been able to recognize your temperament and your character. I know how great you are of noble and grand mind, how willing for embracing virtue you are, how transported by the desire of glory and of true honor. Even among the shadows of slavery, under the weight of which you groaned, you have not neglected to convey the flashes of your grandeur and of the love for that liberty which rendered your glorious ancestors so grand, powerful and celebrated in all times and in all history. If I know you, and I have the pleasure of affirming that you are that tender plant that cultivated well, you will increase in such vigor and robustness for the gain of the rising republic, that you will become the terror of all the tyrants, and make those who will come from you spread the glory of the Roman name where even your ancestors did not arrive. [p. 249] But, Youth, listen to who speaks to you with the tone of a true citizen, loving the public well, with the tone of truth no longer restrained by the considerations of a fraudulent politics. You will not ever constitute that

People who are the terror of their enemies, will never convey your grand name to posterity, will not ever be, in a word, free, if you will not be virtuous, honest, disinterested, loving of the tireless, rigid observers of the laws, and prompt to shed all your blood on behalf of the country and your fellow citizens.

You ought not to listen to any other voice but that which speaks to you from advantage of public good, which is required to be the single object of a good citizen. Far from you the adulators, the hypocrites, the bigots, the vile pedants, who by their very selves full of false maxims and brimful of more crass ignorance, allow themselves to lead from a vile interest to enchant [your] mind and to corrupt [your] heart with fantastic ideas and principles diametrically opposed not only to true liberty, but to honesty and even to religion itself, distorted by impostures and rendered totally deformed.

You ought to be religious, and that is the first obligation to which you are called; but your religion has to be the true one, and to be such ought to be that of Christ, not that of interested pedants who, to their own profit, have directed the very pliant credulity of the incautious. Now you have the law of Christ expressed in his Gospel, which is clear, intelligible by all, and as simple as is His own nature. The precepts of the Decalogue are all understood, equally with all that the Prophets have given, in the two precepts given by Christ in his Gospel, which is to love God above all and your neighbor the same as yourself. Do not let yourselves be deceived; the base of the religion and of the Gospel, which announces it to you, is nothing but the fraternal charity which rules precisely in that democratic government which renders the men all equal in their original rights without distinction of titles and pre-eminence. When some vile pedant wants to seduce you to his occult ends with feigned zeal of your wellbeing and with the neck twisted [idiomatic for?], he wants to enjoin you with the name of religion, and tries to insinuate in your minds and in your hearts the principles which seem to appear good to you who are not too well informed and come surrounded by the greater part of domestic prejudices. Reflect and think well, first about accepting some system, if it is able to be harmful to yourselves, to the country and to that liberty which is all consistent to the just teachings of a sane, true and well-grounded religion. Compel your pedagogues which instruct you to prove the principles by means of the Gospel. [p. 250] Make them read the context; yourselves compare that with that which great men feel and hear from the mouths of thus made masters, as by one who follows more some things which do not have their foundation, some things which have been determined by hypocrisy, imposture and vile interest. Reject them as wicked, and drive away from you as infamous that very vile pedant who, insufficiently to be a good citizen, tries all the arts to overthrow the public good as much as he can, fishing in troubled waters in which alone he is able to find a place to satisfy his greed and ambition.

Have the knowledge, oh Youth, that the democratic system to which the divine Providence has led you back doesn't want fanatics, hypocrites, bigots, greedy people, ambitious persons, traitors, who cover themselves with the mantle of religion solely to direct with false zeal others' little cautious credulity [of others not cautious enough] to their gain; but it does want upright, sincere, disinterested men who know how to recognize and teach the truth. From the first [the traitors, etc.] you would not be able to have anything but an education that teaches you the opposite of what your just duties are, and that, instead of producing men full of virtue, it gives society appearances full of every vice because, for the false aims of their false politics, it helps more to have a mass of ignorant

and wicked, rather than illuminated and virtuous, citizens. It is well, therefore, my very beloved Youth, that you guard against swearing to the words of those false masters, not to allow yourselves to be seduced by the song of those enchantress sirens. Listen attentively to the voice of the second [upright, etc.]. Those will teach you that you ought to love God, that you ought to love your neighbor, that you ought to be honest, to respect your elders, to obey the laws, to dress yourself in your heart with mercy for the unhappy, not to do to others that which you do not want to have done to you, to be sincere, to regard all men in an equal manner; and if God makes one sun to rise over the turk, over the Hebrew, over the christians equally, without exception or distinctions of persons, bringing yourself into line with the conduct of the supreme being [=God], you ought to consider equally your brothers the christian, the turk, the Hebrew with the same spirit of charity. All that which does not conform to these maxims and to these principles, does not conform to any reason. They are manifest, they are intelligible, and you have already by the same nature carved them in your hearts, because you do not have to fear that I am deceiving you.

After that, o Youth, learn another truth and impress it in your hearts; [that is] that those who are of noble mind and generous, as you are, are not born into the world for themselves only, but for the wellbeing of the country and of their brothers. [p. 251] Animated by that truth, seek to rival one another with noble effort to render yourselves as useful citizens for the country with your enlightenments, with your talents, with your works. Have a true love of study, embrace with inclination an untiring toil. Be enflamed by the desire of glory, of distinguishing yourselves, as your ancestors have already done formerly over all other nations, in the sciences, in literature, in the arts, in the craft of war, in morale, in virtue, in valor.

Form in your mind as grand as you can the idea of country. Love it in preference of any private advantage. All of it comes to you, and you are entirely ready to give to it when the public need requests it. Study the grand models which roman history presents to you in your ancestors, and seek to imitate them.

Let the honor, not the recompense, serve you as stimulus to good works. But with all this, know each of you is able to aspire to the first level of honor in the Republic. Under tyranny, minds get rusty because caprice dispenses (first) prizes and employment, as a rule, to the one who has less of virtue and of merit. But in a free Republic, where nothing is regarded as proper but only merit and the only virtue, where there is no place for caprice, arrogance, the arbitrary, each citizen is able to make a way for himself with his talents for the premier posts and employments. Take courage, therefore, to attend to that country which knows how to reward the one who expends his own work by himself and scatters by himself his own honored sweat. You are able to attempt everything because you are able to think freely and to perform all that is not contrary to the laws, without which the noble efforts of your abilities come repressed by the fraudulent politics of a proud despot; and here is an effect of liberty. You are able to obtain everything, because your merit will not come excluded by the vain titles of the insolent aristocrats, and here is an advantage of equality. Ah, Youths, you will understand well the value of these two lovable names of liberty and equality. Do not allow yourselves, however, to be seduced also in that by shrewd and ignorant fanatics. You will be educated at an opportune time. Know only for the present that liberty is a different thing than licentiousness or insolent license, and that equality conceives of itself from the primitive rights of man, not from

property and substance. Besides, both these two names encompass the greatest good which God has given to men, and there is nothing in nature more sacred than liberty and equality. Begin to taste, therefore, of those two highest prerogatives which make you to retain your holy religion, make you honest men, well-bred and beneficent, promise you and grant you the true happiness and honors merited not usurped, and in middle of the rejoicing of your hearts, in declaring yourselves escaped from a detestable slavery and citizens made free, do not omit to raise up as much as you can the voice to thank that powerful, generous Nation which, at cost of darker forces of imposture, of hypocrisy and of tyranny, surmounting all difficulties, with your valor and your scattered blood has finally broken the strong chains which held us tight among the shadows of ignorance, of error and of slavery, in order to give us again to the lights of truth, of justice and of liberty, which are sure guides, walking in the tracks of which we will arrive happy forever in each part.

[p. 252] **Allegato XII.** (Vol I. pag. 68)

Liberty            Equality

Citizen Agretti to the Sovereign People of Rome.  
[the informal second person singular is used again here]

Sovereign People, but unhappy, betrayed by your real enemies, by friends of their own interest. Take a look at the crimes of the day Ventoso 7, February 25, and shudder. You see where infamous hypocrisy has taken you; where those ambitious and [self-]interested Ecclesiastics--who shudder in seeing themselves, who are preserved by the laws of the tyranny, when their command, usurped by them, has been removed --have pushed you. Their avarice could not profit from your credulity. They will strike the final blow of their desperation; they will seize the instance of a supposed removal in your Liberators, and sacrilegiously abusing more sacred Names, more sacred Emblems of the Catholic Religion, they will guide you to the slaughter of your brothers, to the carnage of your fellow-Citizens. Then a veil fell on your eyes. You believed Religion that was impious and you believed that the Religion of Christ commanded wickedness; you believed that this Religion of love, of gentleness, of brotherliness, had placed in your hand a dagger to put in the heart of your fellows. Their blood boils up again more through the Districts of Rome, and a terrible voice rises; it asks revenge for your crimes.

[p. 253] Unhappy and seduced people, have you come to making the August Name of Mary a horrible signal of slaughter, and [have you] not feared the wrath of Eternity?

Oh! People who through my first years shaped the delight of my thoughts, People for whom I sighed and speeded up the Liberty: that Liberty, which you knew how to recover with such valor in the days of Publilius and of Brutus; which you knew how to protect so nobly in the golden temples of Fabius, of the Scipos, of the Camilli: People dear to me by vestige of making me formerly forget the Fathers Focolari, the Parent, the Friends. When I came back to embrace you free as I was, I was constrained to cover my eyes from your disorders, to scatter tears of bitterness on your intemperances.

My mouth is not bribed; my heart is simple-minded; it loves still. I say to you, listen to the voices of Friendship and of truth.

Our holy Religion commands us to be loved as Brothers, to forgive ourselves in turn, to be docile, gentle and faithful. We ought to abhor and punish hatred, revenge, insubordination. The one who feeds the devastating fire of discord is hostile to our God, to this God of peace and of compassion. The impious, who under the pretexts of Religion call you to blood and to slaughters, are unworthy to exist. You ought to pity them, but to flee and to pray always for their repentance. Behold the invariable precepts of the Gospel; the precepts which your Priests should remind you of. If any of them speaks to you otherwise, he is a hypocrite, is a villain, is your enemy.

I know that some have come to persuade you that the Religion calls upon an extrinsic deceptive badge of Catholics. But when have Christ and the venerable Fathers of the Church ever prescribed this? They also lived among the Hebrews, nor did they carry any other badge than their virtue. The obligation for the Jews to be distinct with a sign is a law of the Pope, made in the last times --in those times in which the purity of the Faith was defiled, humble poverty was covered by infamy, the haughty superstition replaced the divine morality of the Gospel. And do you still not recognize the malice of this law? and do you not see that it is an invention of the greedy Ministers of the Pope? They profited from the exemption which they procured for the wealthy Hebrews. Remember those days in which only the poor Hebrews carried the decreed mark. You have seen those vile and illicit symbols and you abhorred them.

[p. 254] Leave and Return to your duties; allow a Nation formerly dear to God [the Hebrews] to live tranquilly in the middle of you. When you will have returned your confidence in it, when your slavery will exist no longer, it will no longer wish to betray you. [Ditching Christianity and taking up with the French helps the Jews.] Till now you have oppressed it, and it claimed itself from your oppression. No more does it concern you as your enemy. If you restore that People to good feeling, it will become your brother who without shame is able to approach you, who is able to recognize your virtue and be illuminated; it will brighten, and you will bring forward over their heart that victory which seventeen centuries of rigor has not known how to obtain. This is what God imposes, and he leaves to the supporters of treacherous Mohammed the cruelty of propagating the Religion with sword and with blood. The virtuous Fathers of your Fathers have extended an example. A false Religion has need of human props and of strength; but yours does not have need of such means. He who tries to make use of it offends it, degrades it.

Ah! Christian people, be docile and peaceful, as your Preceptor has been. Procure the conversion of the sinner, and not his death. Then your pure and holy Religion will be recognized as more useful to the States; it will be loved, it will be received, and baleful effects of political intolerance will not be feared. The Priests of the Sanctuary will no longer be regarded as enemies of sovereignty, nor the faithful as disturbers of the order.

That one who is not enough to restrain you trembles. The wrath of the formidable French Armed Forces will crash over you. It is generous; it helps its friends; but is terrible against the enemies of the public tranquility.

You have seen at your gates the conqueress: you have received her peacefully. She then wept on your misery, extended her hand to you, and shattered your chains. Always she overworks herself to remedy the evils of the past imbecile and despotic government, and to establish your happiness. But if you irritate her, she will discharge over you her just vengeance. If you abuse her moderation, she will make use of inexorable severity; she will destroy the rebels; she will ruin their cases; she will abandon the habitations of

the wrongly disposed to plunder. This will be the fruit of your ravings. But we flee from these gloomy thoughts. You are the Roman people: you remember your grand principles and do not wish to betray them.

You, you tremble, infamous seducers of a People careless for docility and blind to good faith. You will be the victims consecrated to public security.