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The Old Cemetery for Foreigners in Rome

with a new Inventory of its burials

Abstract

From at least 1716 until formal closure of the Cemetery in 1822, non-Catholic foreigners dying in Rome were usually buried adjacent to the Pyramid of Gaius Cestius in Testaccio. Some 80 stone monuments in the Old Cemetery were systematically recorded in the 1980s. To these can now be added a similar number of burials known from travel accounts and archival sources. This new, combined Inventory of 157 entries provides notes on the life and death in Rome for each individual. Its information modifies current perceptions that the Old Cemetery burials reflect mainly an élite, male population of Grand Tourists and aristocrats. Women are better represented, as are a wide range of professions, crafts, and domestic roles. A reassessment of the Cemetery's layout leads to conclusions about its original extent, the first appearance of stone memorials in the 1760s, and the deliberate planning of graves in a burial-ground usually considered as lacking any organizing principle.*

Keywords: Italy, Rome, cemetery, Protestant cemetery, Grand Tour, Stuart court, demography

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Introduction

Since at least 1716, those foreigners who were not of the Catholic faith and who died in Rome have had the option of being buried in a plot of ground reserved for their use. The

* I am grateful to Amanda Thursfield, Director of the Non-Catholic Cemetery for Foreigners in Rome, for access to cemetery records, to John and Mary McGuigan for providing photographs from their collection, and to Pier Matteo Barone for drawing the plan. I am also indebted for information to the following: Patricia Andrew, Edward Corp, Stuart Handley, Sarah Hart, H.J. Hijmersma, Claudia Nordhoff, Roger Price, Claudia Sedlarz-Riedinger, Veronika Seifert, Nicholas Steward, Peter Ulrich, Anna Chiara Wohl, and Jonathan Yarker.

Protestant or “English” Cemetery lies inside the city walls of Rome at the foot of the pyramidal tomb of Gaius Cestius (c. 18–12 BC).¹ It owes its origins to the deaths in Rome of members of the Stuart court in exile from Britain who were themselves not Catholic but Protestant. From its earliest years there were also buried there young men, many of them probably on the Grand Tour, who met a premature death through illness or accident.²

In 1822 this burial-ground was formally closed to further burials on instructions from Cardinal Consalvi, Secretary of State to Pope Pius VII. In exchange for closing the Old Cemetery, Consalvi allocated adjacent land for the construction of a new one. This “New Cemetery”, extended in the 1850s and again in the 1890s, remains in use today.

No updated inventory of burials in the Old Cemetery (also known as the “*Parte Antica*”) has been published since the project conducted in the 1980s by the British School at Rome and the Swedish Institute of Classical Studies in Rome, co-ordinated by the latter's Director, Carl Nylander. The stimulus for that project was concern at the gradual loss of the Cemetery's historical integrity. If past threats to it, such as bombardment (as in 1849 and in World War II) and road construction had receded, others were increasingly evident: the need for space for new burials causing gaps between graves to be filled; the removal of older tombstones; and the growing impact of air pollution on the monuments' surfaces, damage to graves from treefalls, and occasional acts of vandalism.³ A prime objective was therefore the systematic documentation of all existing graves (in both Old and New Cemeteries), a

¹ Menniti Ippolito & Vian 1989; Nylander 1992; Krogel 1995; Menniti Ippolito 2014.

² Corp 2012; Stanley-Price 2016a.

³ Nylander 1989, 8–9.

goal achieved through intensive fieldwork in 1984–1986 directed by Sebastian P.Q. Rahtz.⁴ Since Rahtz was allowed only very limited access to the Cemetery's own archive, the results form an invaluable, independent record.

The “summary list of burials or commemorations” in the Old Cemetery⁵ was used by Nylander to analyse the Cemetery population in terms of nationality, gender, age, and monument type.⁶ Rahtz's list of burials resulted from systematic study on the ground, but it included around 15 others that were documented but not detectible in the field. Menniti Ippolito searched Vatican and Roman archives for evidence of the origins and functioning of the Old Cemetery, a work he later updated with new sources.⁷ Krogel drew on many of the same archives as Menniti Ippolito and others such as those of the English and German churches in Rome for his studies of both Old and New Cemeteries.⁸ The work of Menniti Ippolito, Krogel, Rahtz, and Nylander is the starting-point for any student of the Cemetery.

With one addition (Åkerström) to Rahtz's list of 1989, Nylander listed 83 people known to have been buried in the Old Cemetery prior to its formal closure in 1822.⁹ The new Inventory published at the end of the text almost doubles that number. Its total of 157 entries includes a further five burials and a cenotaph added in the years 1822–1837 but not the Cemetery's limited 20th-century usage for burials.

Criteria for inclusion in the new Inventory

The two principal criteria for inclusion in the new Inventory are as follows:

1. A non-Italian recorded as dying in Rome in the period 1716–1822 and not known to have been Catholic or Jewish.
2. A non-Italian meeting criterion 1 whose body is not known to have been transferred elsewhere or repatriated.

Those who meet these two criteria are assumed (even if the source does not expressly state it, though it often does) to have been buried in the Old Cemetery at the Pyramid of Gaius Cestius. This assumption must now be justified.

The earliest evidence for burying foreigners there dates from 1716 (see Inventory, 1716 Arthur). Prior to the inception of this burial-ground (which may have been earlier than 1716), a non-Catholic foreigner dying in Rome had at least four options for burial:

1. burial as a heretic in the “cemetery of the impenitents” at the Muro Torto;¹⁰
2. discreet burial elsewhere, for instance in a convent garden, in the Roman *campagna*, or in the River Tiber;
3. transfer for burial in the English cemetery (in use from 1644) at Leghorn (Livorno);¹¹
4. repatriation to the home country.

In addition, the burial of non-Catholics in Catholic consecrated ground, either in error or on purpose with due payment, must have happened occasionally since a decision of the Synod of 1703 aimed to put a stop to it.¹²

Evidence is rare of “heretic” foreigners being buried either at the Muro Torto or discreetly elsewhere in the city. Often cited is Giovanni Battista Nolli's map of 1748 for its two captions indicating a “*luogo ove seppeliscono i Protestanti*”, one adjacent to the Pyramid of Gaius Cestius and the other marking a spot near the Baths of Diocletian, and the lack of evidence from the Baths to justify this label.¹³ In fact, of the two cases of foreigners being buried “elsewhere” that are cited by Krogel,¹⁴ one is, precisely, in the Baths of Diocletian, where a Danish merchant was buried in 1692. The ruined precincts of the Baths may have served occasionally as a place of burial for foreigners, sufficient for Nolli to have heard of the practice and to have marked it as such on his map.

The other two options of transfer to Leghorn or, more demanding, to the home country involved much greater expense, for embalming, for transport, and for interment at the destination. This solution was adopted only by people of means. For example, the aged Russian Ambassador to the Papacy, Andrei Yakovlevich Italinsky (1743–1827) died in Rome but was interred at Leghorn where there was a Greek Orthodox cemetery. In March 1710, Lord Charles Somerset, from a Protestant family with Jacobite sympathies, died in Rome of smallpox, and his body was repatriated for burial in Christ Church, Oxford.¹⁵ Two years later Sir John Read died in Rome of the same affliction and was buried at the family home of Brocket in Hertford-

⁴ Rahtz *et al.* 1989. The cemetery's database incorporates the Rahtz survey documentation into its own records, adding photographs of the monuments. See <http://www.cemeteryrome.it/infopoint/EnCerca.asp>.

⁵ Rahtz *et al.* 1989, 207–208, tables 8, 9.

⁶ Nylander 1992.

⁷ Menniti Ippolito 1989; 2014.

⁸ Krogel 1989; 1995.

⁹ Nylander 1992, 227 and appendix, 246–249.

¹⁰ Menniti Ippolito 1989, 31–34; 2014, 51–58. There was a separate Jewish cemetery on the Aventine Hill.

¹¹ Giunti & Lorenzini 2013.

¹² Krogel 1995, 21–22, 77.

¹³ e.g., Krogel 1995, 85–86; Nylander 1992, 227; Menniti Ippolito 2014, 62 n. 3.

¹⁴ Krogel 1995, 76–77.

¹⁵ Ingamells 1997, 878.

shire.¹⁶ The practice of repatriation continued even after the burial-ground at the Pyramid was available: in 1729 David Colyear, Viscount Milsington, son of the 1st Earl of Portmore, died at Piperno on his way to Naples. His body was repatriated to the family vault in the parish church at Weybridge in Surrey—as was the body of the Hon. Brownlow-Charles Colyear, the 4th Earl's son, who died in Rome at the hands of bandits in 1819.¹⁷ The custom of repatriation was not confined to the British: when Prince Josef Bernhard von Saxe-Meiningen (1706–1724) died young in the city, his body was embalmed and repatriated to Germany, prompting an Austrian diplomat to comment that there was no dignified place of burial in Rome for a non-Catholic.¹⁸ Repatriation was the preferred solution to ensure burial in a family burial-vault or in another prestigious setting, as in the cases of Lord Charles Somerset and of the 2nd Duke of Buckingham who, dying in Rome in 1735 of tuberculosis, was repatriated for burial in Westminster Abbey.¹⁹ National and religious tradition could also favour repatriation, as it did for followers of the Russian Orthodox Church (e.g., Inventory, 1794 Chernysheva) and for many non-Catholic Americans who died in Rome during the 19th century.

The new Inventory excludes any foreigner known to have been Catholic, either at birth or through conversion. Two Englishmen who died in Rome shortly before the Old Cemetery was closed fall into this category: the botanist Sir Thomas Gage (d. 1820) of Hengrave Hall, Suffolk and Stephen Tempest (d. 1822) of Broughton Hall, Yorkshire, both of them from eminent Catholic families and both buried in the Church of the Gesù in Rome.²⁰ Another visitor, Allan O'Reilly, who died at or near Rome²¹ proves to have been Catholic and buried at Castel Gandolfo.²² Other foreigners who died in Rome had converted to Catholicism, for example, the Danish numismatist and scholar Georg Zoëga (1755–1809), and the history painter, archaeologist, and dealer Robert Fagan (1761–1816) who in fact reconverted to his native Irish Catholicism.²³ Establishing the non-Catholic status of foreigners is usually more problematic than in the cases of Gage and Tempest. If, among the new additions to the Inventory, any prove to have been Catholics or Jews, they should be excluded from future revisions.

For many of those additions, the sources document specifically their burial at the Pyramid, whether they were Protestant members of the Stuart court (e.g., Inventory, 1723 Livingston

and 1732 Ellis) or other resident foreigners (e.g., 1726 Guidet, 1735 Farley, 1759 Skelton, and 1781 Grandjean). Sacheverell Stevens's account of his visit in the early 1740s records that, since the arrival of the Stuart court, English Protestants were no longer buried at the Muro Torto but near the Pyramid.²⁴ Corp presumed burial at the Pyramid even where it was not explicitly stated.²⁵ Many eyewitness accounts support this assumption²⁶ as does the recent discovery of notarial documents for the previously undocumented burial of the antiquary Colin Morison (Inventory, 1809 Morison).²⁷ The two criteria for inclusion in the Inventory therefore seem to be valid for a working hypothesis.

The evidence for burials made in the Old Cemetery

Few of the Cemetery's original records survive. "The Administration's own archives for the time before the second World War disappeared completely during the hostilities. It has not been possible to trace them."²⁸ Any official correspondence, licences, concession agreements, etc. that were issued prior to 1916 are indeed no longer to be found in the Cemetery's archives. As Swedish Ambassador to Italy in the 1950s and chairman of the General Committee of Ambassadors responsible for the Cemetery, Beck-Friis must have enquired among his diplomatic and Italian colleagues about the missing archives. In fact, the situation, although representing a tragic loss, was not quite as bad as he implied, in two respects. Extensive correspondence with the holders of later burial concessions does survive in the Cemetery archives. The earliest letters date from 1916 when Marcello Piermattei took over direction of the Cemetery following the death of its custodian, A. John Trucchi.

The other survival is a group of old burial registers. Internal evidence (e.g., omissions inserted later that are not in chronological order) reveals them as old copies of earlier registers. One of them, listing permanent grave concessions, appears to have been started on 1 May 1864. The others are copies made after Piermattei became Director,²⁹ the earliest probably dating from the 1920s. Despite the occasional copying errors, they retain the overall information content of the original register entries made a hundred years previously and are therefore invaluable. That information is cited in the text here and in Inventory entries as "Cemetery register".

¹⁶ Ingamells 1997, 804.

¹⁷ Ingamells 1997, 663; *GM* 96,1 (1826), 368.

¹⁸ Krogel 1995, 83, n. 27.

¹⁹ Ingamells 1997, 151.

²⁰ *GM* 91,1 (1821), 186; *GM* 92,1 (1822), 189.

²¹ Ingamells 1997, 724.

²² Cancellieri 1817, 258.

²³ Ingamells 1997, 346–347.

²⁴ Stevens 1756, 187; Nylander 1992, 226, n. 15; Menniti Ippolito 2014, 91.

²⁵ Corp 2012.

²⁶ Stanley-Price 2018a.

²⁷ Giffi 2016, 10 and appendix 1.

²⁸ Beck-Friis 1956, 15.

²⁹ cf. Beck-Friis 1956, 15.

Burial registers dating to earlier than 1916 certainly did exist. In June 1840 the custodian of the Cemetery, Giovanni Trucchi, submitted to the *Conservatori* at the Campidoglio a catalogue of burials made up to April of that year.³⁰ This would have been based on a register started by his father Francesco who in 1821 had been appointed the first custodian of the Cemetery.³¹ The register is no longer to be found but Wilson had consulted it.³² It was “a parchment bound book, 14” long by 5” wide, inscribed in his handwriting: S.P.Q.R. / 1765 / REGISTRO DEI MORTI / ACATTOLICI / SEPOLTI IN TESTACCIO / — / FRANCESCO TRUCCHI / CUSTODE 1821”. About the same time as Wilson, shortly before Piermattei’s arrival at the Cemetery, Gay also would have seen this register.³³ After writing that at William Shelley’s burial in June 1819 the Cemetery “was an unconfined piece of ground containing less than thirty graves”, Gay explained in a footnote: “That this was the number of graves is known from the register of burials, which has been preserved at the cemetery.”

His assertion of “less than thirty graves” in June 1819 was an under-counting of what existed on the ground, as was the figure of 47 graves that Francesco Trucchi reported to the *Conservatori* at the Campidoglio on 23 October 1821.³⁴ In rotation with two others, Francesco Trucchi had been a custodian since 1814 for the Recinto di Testaccio, a large area which included Monte Testaccio, the Pyramid, and the burial-ground. He was therefore familiar with the Cemetery. But in order to answer the request from the Campidoglio for the number of Protestant tombs, he evidently counted those that were visible on the ground. He must have overlooked a few, perhaps some of the flat ledgers (horizontal stone slabs covering the grave area) buried in the grass. In any event, by the time that Trucchi’s son Giovanni submitted his expanded catalogue of burials up to 1840, Shelley’s stone appeared as number 37 in the chronological sequence, and the total number of burials that had been recorded by October 1821 was 55 (cf. *Table 1*). The previous under-counts had been corrected to totals more closely reflecting the number of visible monuments.

Giovanni Trucchi’s 1840 catalogue starts with the earliest dated stone monument in the Cemetery (see *Table 1*). He must have compiled it by copying his own register. The document preserved in the Archivio Storico Capitolino (ASC) is therefore not an independent source, but it is a valuable confirmation of the early entries in the Cemetery register. Errors in names transcribed from monuments’ inscriptions for entry

into the Cemetery register are repeated, or compounded, when included in the 1840 catalogue preserved in the ASC. For instance, the entry for “Luisa Only” derives from the inscription “Here lies the body of Louisa only daughter of ...” and “Anna Elisabetta Daughter” from the inscription ANNE ELIZABETH DAUGHTER OF SIR WALTER & LADY SYNNOT. Honorifics can appear as names, as in “Guglielmo Whittred Armiger” and “Freyher” from the inscription “Hier liegt Wolf Carl Friedrich Freyherr von Reitzenstein.” Once the misreadings are corrected (*Table 1*), it is evident that there are no burials listed by Trucchi in his 1840 catalogue for the period 1765–1823 that could not have been identified solely by visual inspection of the Cemetery (as concluded also by Menniti Ippolito and Krogel, but see the discussion below of the earth-graves, i.e., those that lacked any form of stone marker).³⁵

No systematic record has been found in Vatican or city archives of burial licences issued before 1821.³⁶ There was no single file devoted to the foreigners’ burying-ground, causing much frustration for the researcher.³⁷ An index of miscellaneous requests for the erection of memorials, arranged alphabetically by applicants’ names, is similarly neither systematic nor comprehensive but is valuable for the dating, applicant’s name, and type of those memorials that it includes.³⁸ All these requests too are for monuments, where identifiable, that were recorded by Trucchi in his 1840 catalogue (the earliest is 1791 Grote). In other miscellaneous archival sources there are rare mentions of burials that do not feature in Trucchi’s catalogue. For example, the Tribunale del Vicariato issued licences for the burial of a Gioconda Forrester in 1796 and of an English painter, not even named, who died in 1805, neither of them known from other sources.³⁹ The recent chance discovery of the notary’s record of Colin Morison’s death suggests that, despite intensive research by earlier historians, the archives in Rome are not yet exhausted.

Adding to those in the “official” records, other burials, or presumed burials, are known from sources such as travellers’ accounts and letters. A few (e.g. 1793 Reiffenstein and 1793 Trippe) were included in the list published by Rahtz.⁴⁰ Nylander could already add the name of Jonas Åkerström (d. 1795), predicting that others remained to be discovered.⁴¹ In the Inventory published here, the Stuart court archives have yielded the largest number of new additions.⁴² These together with the

³⁰ *Catalogo dei depositi e tumulazioni esistenti nelle due Sepolcbreti degl’ Acatolici, posti dentro il recinto di Testaccio*; ASC, Cred. XX, t.104, cat. 1830.

³¹ Menniti Ippolito 2014, 160–162; Krogel 1995, 140–141.

³² Wilson 1916, 129.

³³ Gay 1913, 33. Brigiuti (1892, 690) had also seen Shelley’s entry in the same register.

³⁴ Krogel 1995, 136; Menniti Ippolito 2014, 150.

³⁵ Menniti Ippolito 2014, 103, n. 34; Krogel 1995, 136.

³⁶ Krogel 1995, 135, n. 11.

³⁷ Menniti Ippolito 2014, 55, n. 101; 129, n. 112; 151.

³⁸ ASC, *Camera Capitolina*, Cred. XVIII t.54.

³⁹ Menniti Ippolito 2014, 136–137 and 140–141, respectively.

⁴⁰ Rahtz *et al.* 1989, tables 8, 9; cf. Krogel 1995, 118 n. 12.

⁴¹ Nylander 1992, 228, n. 19.

⁴² Corp 2011; 2012.

Table 1. Correlation of inventories of burials in the Old Cemetery. *Italicized names in column 4 denote burials without known monuments. For monument locations, see Fig. 1.*

Year, month of death	New Inventory, 2019	Trucchi's catalogue, 1840	Rahzt <i>et al.</i> 1989 (S = stone number)
1716	Arthur, William		
1720, May	Pakington, Thomas		
1723, Jan.	Unidentified		
1723, Mar.	Graham, James		
1723, Apr.	Livingston, James		
1726, Jul.	Guidet, Balthazar		
1728, Jan.	Hay, James		
1730, Nov.	Cameron, Alan		
1732, Aug.	Ellis, William		<i>Ellis</i>
1732, Nov.	Maghie, Charles		
1733, Jan.	Livingston, William		
1733, Aug.	Williams, Daniel		
1735, Sept.	Farley, Robert		
1736, Feb.	Carse, Mark		
1738, Aug.	Langton, George		Langton S27
1742, Oct.	Slezor, Charles		
1743, Feb.	Goring, William		
1746, May?	Barclay, Robert		
1746, July?	Barclay, Jane		
1746/7	Abernethy, George		
1747, Nov.	Fotheringham, David		
1749, Dec.	Seton, George		<i>Seton</i>
1753	Oncenson (?), Dionijco		
1753, Aug.	Striebel, Friedrich S.		
1757	Striebel, Friedrich G.		
c. 1758	Maxwell, James		
1759, Jan.	Skelton, Jonathan		
1759, Feb.	Irwin, James		
1760	Unidentified		
1760, Nov.?	Plimmer, John		
1762, Oct.	Edgar, James		
1763, June	O'Hara, Henry		
1765, May	Werpup, Georg	Giorgio Werpup	Werpup S21
1765, May	A Hannoverian?		
1766, Feb.	Skrine, Jane		
1766, Apr.	Macdonald, James	Giacomo Macdonald	Macdonald S61
1767/8	Crawley, John		
1770, Nov.	Taylor, John		
1770, Dec.	Wagstaffe, Thomas		
1770, Mar.	Dehn, Christian		
1773, Feb.?	Dusign, Frederick		
1774, Oct.	Butler, James		
1775, June	Stevens, Edward	Eduardo Stevens	Stevens S57
1775, Nov.	Reitzenstein, Wolf von	Carlo Federico Freyher	von Reitzenstein S22
c. 1775	Clemenson, Martin		

Table 1 continued.

Year, month of death	New Inventory, 2019	Trucchi's catalogue, 1840	Rahtz <i>et al.</i> 1989 (S = stone number)
1777, July	O'Mooney, Richard		
1777, July?	Yalden, Thomas		
1778, Mar.	Wiseman, Charles		
1778, June 6	"Mrs Pars"		
1778, June 24	Nulty, Mathew		
1778, Sept.	Bach, Johan Sebastian		<i>Bach</i>
1780, Aug.	Mitchell, Andrew		
1781, Nov.	Grandjean, Jean		
1782, Oct.	Pars, William		
1783, Aug.	Long, Charles		
1786, Dec.	Six, James	Giacomo Six	Six S70
1787, Sept.	Kirsch, August		<i>Kirsch</i>
1790, Aug.	Lenz, Karl Gottlieb		
1791, Mar.	Morris, Charles		
1791, Apr.	Grote, Wilhelm von	Guglielmo Grote	Grote S67
1791	Farquarson, Alexander		
1793, Sept. 24	Trippel, Alexander		<i>Trippel</i>
1793, Sept. 27	Burkle?		
1793, Oct. 1	More, Jacob	Giacomo More	More S17
1793, Oct. 6	Reiffenstein, Johan		<i>Reiffenstein</i>
1793	Head, Margarita (?)		
1794, Aug.	Chernysheva, Anna	Anna Alessandrova Cerniseva	Černyševa S51
1790s	Gross		
1795, Apr.	Hecker, Christian		<i>Hecker</i>
1795, Sept.	Durno, James		
1795, Nov.	Åkerström, Jonas		
1796, Aug.	Forrester, Gioconda		<i>Forrester</i>
1798, Jan.?	Hamilton, Gavin		
1798, May	Carstens, Asmus Jakob	Giacobbe Asmus Karstens	Carstens S63
1798, Aug.	Deare, John		<i>Bear</i>
1798, Nov.	Hewetson, Christopher		
1802, June	G.C.R.	G.C.R.	G.C.R. S44
1802, Nov.?	Sloane, Robert		
1803, Mar.	McEvers, Ruth	Mrs Ruth McEvers	McEvers S50
1803, Aug. 7	Friedrich		<i>Humboldt?</i>
1803, Aug. 15	Humboldt, Wilhelm von	Termini di Guglielmo Humboldt	Humboldt S76
1803, Aug.	Poore, Edward	Eduardo Cav. Poore	Poore S75
1805, Apr. 18	Moore, Helena	Elena Moore	Moore S59
1805, Apr. 22?	Unidentified		?
1805, July	Moore, Isabella	Isabella Moore	Moore S60
1805, Aug.	Duttenhofer, Carl	Carlo Duttenhoefer	Duttenhofer S74
1805	Duttenhofer, Carl Aurel		
1805, Nov.	Stanley, Charles		
1806, Nov.	Bowles, Sidney	Guglielmo Sidney Bowles	Bowles S16
1807, Nov.	Humboldt, Gustav von	Federico Costantino Gustavo Bachroeden 1803	Humboldt S10
1809, May	Morison, Colin		
1809, Nov.	Temple, Elizabeth	Elena Giorgi Watsoni	Temple S9

Table 1 continued.

Year, month of death	New Inventory, 2019	Trucchi's catalogue, 1840	Rahtz <i>et al.</i> 1989 (S = stone number)
1811, Apr.	Sinner, Johann	Giovanni Rodolfo Sinner	de Worb S19
1811	Nevay, James		
1812	Schultz, Philippina	Filippina Schultz	Schultz S46
1815, Jan.	Deacle, Francis	Francesco Deacle	Deacle S77
1815, Nov.	Sutton, Lucy		
1816, Oct. 22	Sapte, Henry	Enrico Sapte	Sapte S78
1817, Jan.	Shute, John	Giovanni Shute	Shute S72
1817, Apr.	Bonar, Henry		
1817, Aug.	Barnard, Sarah	Sarah Barnard	Barnard S66
1818, May 10	Easter, Rouard	Roberto Easter	Easter S69
1818, May 21	Montagu, George		
1818, June 7	Pritchard, Martha	Marta Pritchard	Pritchard S48
1818, June 29	Fohr, Karl Philipp	Carlo Filippo Fohr	Fohr S73
1818, July	Söhnhold, Karl		
1818	Roos, Henry de		
1819, Jan.	Auquier, Jacques	Giacomo Auquier	Avovier S56
1819, Feb.	Åkerblad, Johan David	Giovanni David Bar Ackerblad	Ackerblad S34
1819, Mar. 2	Treadwall		<i>Treadwell</i>
1819, Mar. 3	Whittred, William	Guglielmo Whittred Armiger	Whittred S62
1819, Mar. 16	Ompteda, Friedrich	Federico Hompteda	von Ompteda S20
1819, Apr. 2	Duncombe, Charles	Carlo Duncombe	Duncombe S23
1819, Apr. 4	Edwardes, Dorothy	Dorotea Edwardes	Edwardes S47
1819, Apr.?	Hay, Annabella		
1819, May 5	Graham, Henry	Enrico Graham	Graham S53
1819, May 17	Slaney, Louisa	Luisa Only	Slane S58
1819, May 27	Dinwiddie, Robert	Roberto Dinwiddie	[..?]anwiddie S43
1819, June	Shelley, William	William Shelley	Shelley S24
1819, Sept.	D'Orville Georgiana	Giorgiana D'Orville	D'Orville S55
1819, Nov.	Eyre, John	Giovanni Eyre	Eyre S42
1819, Dec.	Edwardes, Lucy	Edwardes, Lucy	Edwardes S48
1820, Feb.	Winkler, Johan	Gio. Enrico Winckler	<i>Winkler</i>
1820, Apr. 15	Bell, John	Giovanni Bell	Bell S29
1820, Apr. 24	Silberschlag, Johann	Giovanni Enrico Chr. Silberschlag	Silberschlag S25
1820, Aug.	Wimmer, Julius	Giulio Wimmer	Wimmer S33
1820, Sept.	Snell, Jean Louis	Luigi Snell	Snell S35
1820, Dec.	Busch, Johann	Giovanni Busch Bildhauer	Busch S36
1821, Jan. 5	Synnot, Anne	Anna Elisabetta Daughter	Synnot S65
1821, Jan. 9	D'Orville, Friedrich	Federico Frang D'Orville	D'Orville S37
1821, Feb. 2	Hingstedt, Ernst	Ernesto Christian	Hingstedt S38
1821, Feb. 23	Keats, John	Giovanni Keats	<i>Keats</i> S31
1821, Mar.	Waddington, William	William Pendrell	Waddington S39
1821, Apr.	Read, Henry		Read
1821, July	Bunsen, Maria	Francesca Maria Bunsen	Bunsen S40
1821, Aug. 9	Synnot, Walter	Gualterio Synnot	Synnot S64
1821, Aug. 13	Winkler, Jakob	Giacomo Winckler	<i>Winkler</i>
1821, Aug. 25	Gundlach, Friedrich	Federico Gundlach	Gundlach S52
1821, Sept.	Reinhold, Susette	Maria Susette Reinhold	Reinhold S79

Table 1 continued.

Year, month of death	New Inventory, 2019	Trucchi's catalogue, 1840	Rahitz <i>et al.</i> 1989 (S = stone number)
1821, Oct. 15	Carey, Regina	"sua moglie" [Carey]	<i>Carey</i>
1821, Oct. 15	Carey, James Charles	Carlo Giacomo Carey	<i>Carey</i>
1821, Oct. 22	Harding, William	William Harding	Harding S80
1821, Dec.	Ferrie, Susette	Susette Farriè	<i>Farrie</i>
1822, Jan.	Knébel, Jean-François	Francesco Knebet	Knebet S18
1822, Feb.	Remsen, Daniel	Daniele Remesen	Remsen S83
1822, Mar. 4	Mayer, Carl Johann	Carlo Majer	<i>Mayer</i>
1822, Mar. 25	Ram, Stephen George	Stefano Giorgio Ram	Ram S82
1822, May	Chrisman	Chisman	<i>Chrisman</i>
1822, Aug.	Trautnoin, Friedrich	Federico Trautocin	<i>Trautnoin</i>
1823, June	Bunsen, Friedrich	Federico Bunsen	Bunsen S40
1823, July	Harris, William		<i>Harris</i> 1888
1834, Feb.	Hare, Augustus William	Augusto William Hare	Hare S41
1834, Nov.	Garden, Mary Robertson	Maria Robertson Garden	Garden S71
1836, Aug.	Abeken, Mary	Maria Abeken	[Abeken] S54
1837, July	Severn, Arthur	Arturmo Severn	Severn S30
1879, Aug.	Severn, Joseph		Severn S32

deaths of travellers documented by Ingamells add further to the preponderance of British burials in the "English cemetery". But the nationalities represented in the Old Cemetery are diverse: American, Danish, Dutch, French, German, Polish, Russian, Swedish, and Swiss in addition to the British (English, Irish, Scottish, and Welsh). Further additions, and more precise details about those already recorded, are likely once relevant literature, especially from Scandinavian and Russian sources, is examined systematically with this topic in mind.

The extent of the Old Cemetery and the first stone monuments

The new Inventory, with a total of 157 entries, substantially increases the number of people known or assumed to have been buried in the Old Cemetery. Was the burial-ground once more extensive than the Old Cemetery as it is known today or was the same area used more intensively? Had memorials to earlier deceased been destroyed or removed before Francesco Trucchi was able to count them in 1821? There are two reports (1781 Grandjean and 1787 Kirsch) of planned monuments that have not been found (they might not have been erected). Contemporary reports of damage to the Protestants' tombs attributed it to the impact of the sheep and goats that pastured there and occasionally to wanton vandalism.⁴³ Many of the visitors to the

Old Cemetery, both before and after its formal closure in 1822, cite names that they observed on gravestones but all are from tombs that can be identified today.⁴⁴

The same is true of the depictions by Carl Urban Keller (1772–1844) and Pietro Ruga⁴⁵ (Table 2). The latest monument shown in Keller's etching of 1811 is Elizabeth Watson Temple's, erected in the previous year. Ruga's engraving of 1818, after a drawing by L. Magozzi, shows three monuments erected after Keller's visit, one of them for a death (Martha Pritchard) as recent as June 1818. Neither artist showed all of the then-existing monuments but selected them according to his own stance, their visibility from a distance, and his particular interests. For example, Keller may have known personally his fellow-Swabian, the architect Carl Duttonhofer—the column raised to his memory occupies the centre of Keller's composition. Whatever the artists' motivations, these two works are important for not showing any monument that is not recognizable today. Nor does a more precise drawing made six years later by the French artist Antoine-Edmond Joinville.⁴⁶

The monuments depicted in contemporary *vedute* as lying even closer to the Pyramid⁴⁷ could be attributed to artistic licence. But it is certain that burials once extended this far. In 1818 the Prussian Legate Niebuhr objected to a scheme that involved building a staircase down to the Pyramid entrance

⁴⁴ cf. Stanley-Price 2016a.

⁴⁵ Stanley-Price *et al.* 2016, cat. nos. 6, 7.

⁴⁶ Pieragostini & Stanley-Price 2019.

⁴⁷ Stanley-Price 2016c, 30–31, cat. nos. 4, 5.

⁴³ Martin 1831, 124; Menniti Ippolito 2014, 97–99.

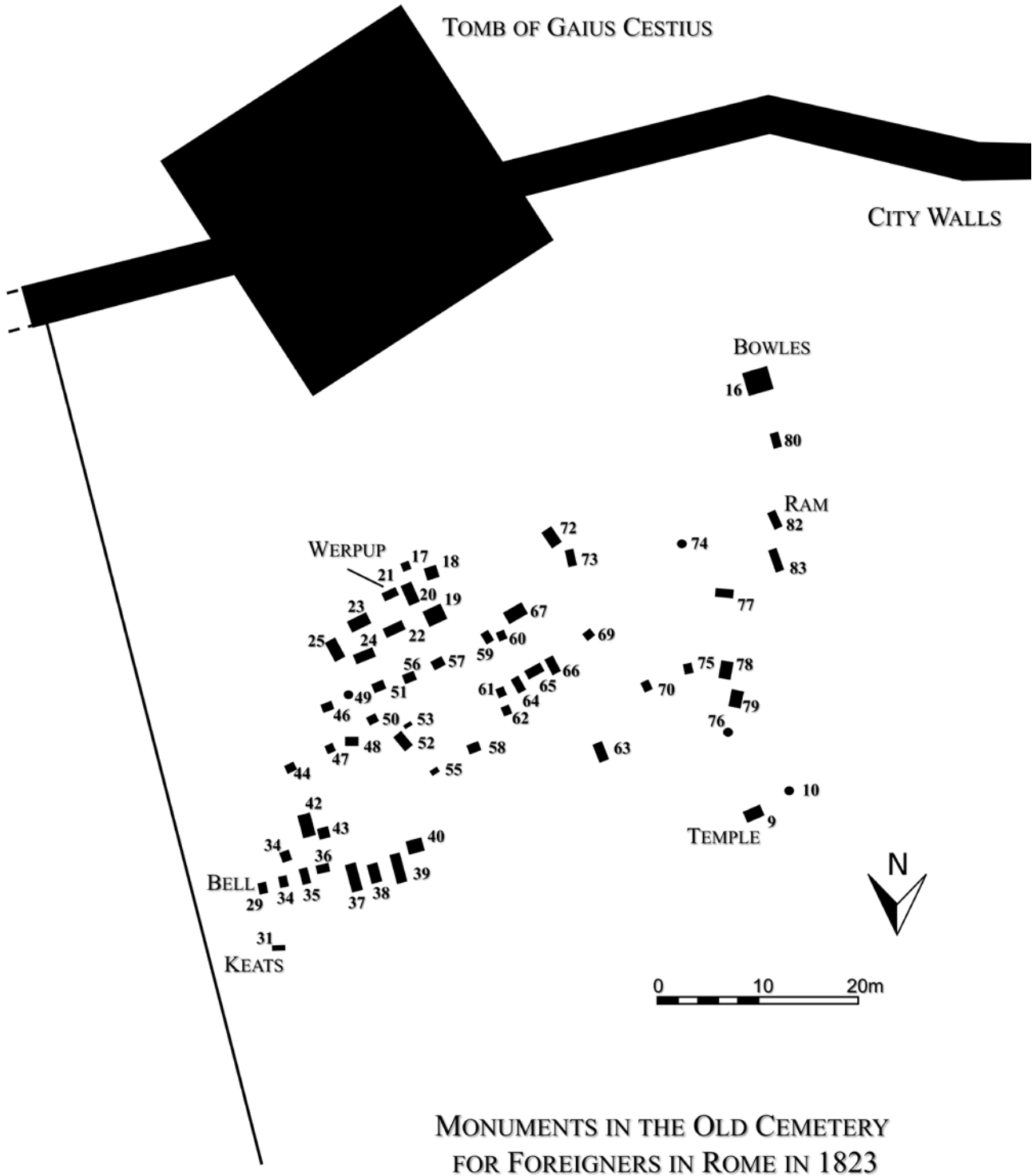


Fig. 1. Monuments in the Old Cemetery for Foreigners in Rome in 1823, adapted from Rahtz et al. 1989, fig. 2c. For stone numbers, see Table 1, col. 4. The Harris cenotaph (1823) and the earth-graves are not marked, precise locations uncertain.

Table 2. Monuments named in the captions to Keller and Ruga's depictions of the Old Cemetery

Keller 1811	Ruga 1818	New Inventory 2019
Frid:Werpup Hanov:1795		1765 Werpup
Reizenstein	5. Wolf. Carl. Frifderich	1775 Reitzenstein
<i>Wilhelm Grote. / Riga 1791</i>	<i>Cvilelmo Grote</i>	1791 Grote
Jacob Moore. / 1793		1793 More
	1. <i>Sepolcro di G. C. R.</i>	1802 G.C.R.
<i>Rath Evers / Engl</i>	4. <i>M. Ruth M. Cvers</i>	1803 McEvers
	11. <i>Cav. Edward Poore</i>	1803 Poore
Colonna. Duttenhofer. / Wirtemberg 1805		1805 Duttenhofer
Helene Moore	8. <i>Helena Moore</i>	1805 Helena Moore
<i>Isabelle Moore 1805</i>	9. <i>Isabella Moore</i>	1805 Isabella Moore
<i>Colonna. // Sidney Bowles. / Engl 1806</i>	10. <i>Gvilielmo Sidney</i>	1806 Bowles
Elise Temple. / Engl:1809		1809 Temple
	6. <i>Joanni Rodulpho Sinner</i>	1811 Sinner
	2. <i>Philippinae Schultz</i>	1812 Schultz
	3. <i>Martha Pritchard</i>	1818 Pritchard

because it would destroy monuments, presumably Protestant tombs.⁴⁸ The staircase was duly built a few years later. Visiting in spring 1780, Delannoy asserted mistakenly that the two Roman columns re-erected before the Pyramid were found while excavating graves to bury Protestants. In fact, they were found in the 1660s but his allusion to the excavation of graves so close to the Pyramid is significant⁴⁹ (see Fig. 2 here for locations of the staircase and columns). The painter Jonathan Skelton (d. 1759) and others were said to have been buried “at the foot of the pyramid”. That burials were indeed made right up against its foundations was proven by the excavation in 1929 of three skeletons, one of them identified as George Langton (d. 1738).⁵⁰

The occasional operations to clear the Pyramid entrance of accumulated earth could well have either destroyed or buried deeper any existing graves. Similarly, the deep excavations required to construct a walled moat round the Old Cemetery in 1824 led to the discovery of bones (Table 3, IX and X). The ground appears then to have been levelled in places, as the Prussian Legate Bunsen had requested.⁵¹ Craters caused by exploding bombs during World War II were filled in, involving further earth displacement. In conclusion, early burials, if not destroyed, could now lie deeper than when they were made, rendering them undetectable by sub-surface remote sensing methods.⁵²

When were stone monuments first erected? Those raised to Werpup (d. 1765) and Macdonald (d. 1766) are the earliest known. Both Werpup and Macdonald as visitors to Rome had apparently come to the attention of Pope Clement XIII.

When Macdonald, a Presbyterian, died at Frascati, the Pope ordered his funeral, allowed his body to be placed in a church, and permitted a Protestant (Thomas Wagstaff, chaplain at the Stuart court) to officiate at the funeral.⁵³ The stone monument in his memory was designed by Giambattista Piranesi who at the time had recently obtained architectural commissions from his patron Cardinal Rezzonico, nephew of Pope Clement XIII. The more elaborate stone monument to Werpup, with its 40 lines of fulsome epitaph in Latin inscribed over two faces, was commissioned by Lord Mountstuart, son of the Earl of Bute and a friend of the deceased. Horace Mann was probably referring to this memorial when writing that, for the first time since the Reformation,

the Pope had allowed the King of England's titles to be publicly displayed (Werpup's epitaph includes the line “MAGN BRIT REGIS ET ELECT BRUNSV LUNEBUR”, referring to the King of Great Britain and Elector of Brunswick-Lüneberg [Hannover]).⁵⁴ Equally significant, a contemporary newspaper reported that Werpup's was the first monument allowed to be erected to a Protestant within the city.⁵⁵

Prior to the erection of these two monuments there were few physical traces that this area was used for burials—several foreigners who visited the Pyramid made no mention of nearby graves. None of the references to Stuart courtiers' funerals at the Pyramid mention funerary monuments. Sacheverell Stevens, visiting the site in the early 1740s, specifically stated that for English Protestants dying in Rome “even if they are of rank and distinction, they are allowed no monuments.”⁵⁶ Volkmann visiting in 1757–1758 knew that it was a burial-ground for heretics but mentioned no monuments.⁵⁷ But by the 1770s the first stone memorials had appeared: in 1775 the Marquis de Sade noted with surprise that in the area used for English and, generally, Protestant burials, as of only a few years on the marble tombs there were now built small monuments with inscriptions.⁵⁸ The three that he counted on 1 November 1775

⁵³ Steuart 1925, 281; Menniti Ippolito 2014, 130.

⁵⁴ Horace Mann to Lord Shelburne, 16 January 1768, cited by Lewis 1961, 234.

⁵⁵ Supplément à la Gazette de Cologne XCIX, vendredi 11 décembre 1767: “Ce monument est d'autant plus remarquable, qu'il parait être le premier, qu'on ait permis d'élever dans l'enceinte de cette Ville à la mémoire d'un Protestant.”

⁵⁶ Stevens 1756, 187; Nylander 1992, 226, n. 15.

⁵⁷ Krogel 1989, 118.

⁵⁸ “C'est dans le voisinage où on a coutume d'enterrer les Anglais et en général tous les Protestants. Mais une chose assez remarquable et qui ne

⁴⁸ Krogel 1995, 135; Gay 1913, 42.

⁴⁹ Jacques & Valler 2018, 132.

⁵⁰ Piermattei 1930.

⁵¹ Menniti Ippolito 2014, 144.

⁵² Barone et al. 2016.



Fig. 2. Robert Macpherson, *View of the Pyramid of Gaius Cestius and the Old Cemetery*, c. 1864 (McGuigan Collection). Note the walled moat with the Bowles monument centre foreground, and the staircase down to the Pyramid entrance.

would have been the three monuments that are known to have been standing at that date, namely those of Werpup, Macdonald, and Stevens (see *Table 1*). The lack of earlier evidence for stone memorials and de Sade's surprise in 1775 at seeing three of them render it unlikely that others had been erected in the period 1716–1765 and have subsequently been destroyed.

In summary, the burial-ground was originally more extensive (reaching as far as the Pyramid itself), at least in the 18th century. There is no evidence of stone monuments being erected earlier than 1765 but some burials, possibly with grave-stones, from the period 1765–1822 may have been destroyed during operations to clear access to the Pyramid entrance or to level the area containing burials. By 1822 the extent of the Cemetery was delineated by the walled moat excavated in 1822–1824. The proximity of Keats's grave to the moat wall⁵⁹ suggests that the trace of the moat was drawn precisely to include all the then-visible memorials.

The distribution of monuments in the Old Cemetery is usually regarded as being quite haphazard. Nylander noted that most of the earliest burials and memorials “cluster close to the north side of the Pyramid” but “later on they spread irregularly over the entire area, without any visible organizing principle or planning.”⁶⁰ A clustering of early burials finds

some confirmation in the depictions of night funerals at the Pyramid in the late 18th century, in which depictions of the same stone monuments (e.g., those of 1765 Werpup and 1777 Reitzenstein, S21 and S22 on *Fig. 1* here), suggest successive graves being dug close to one another.⁶¹ Less sure is Nylander's observation about the lack of “any visible organizing principle or planning.” Caution is needed since the physical relationship between a burial and its monument is not always certain. The remains of William Shelley (d. 1819) were not found during excavations made only three years later below his grave-stone.⁶² Moreover some monuments (e.g., 1793 More, 1791 Grote, and 1811 Sinner) damaged by bombing in World War II were reconstructed slightly off their original locations. A few monuments were erected years after the burial (see below) and, like Shelley's, may not stand directly above the grave. As for planning, one documented instance is Wilhelm von Humboldt's acquisition of a circular plot 60 palms (a little over 12 m) in diameter, at a distance from the other tombs, in which to bury his little boy Wilhelm (d. 1803) and any other member of his family or household who might die during his stay in Rome.⁶³ Soon after Humboldt had left Rome in autumn 1808, the exclusive family plot that he had acquired and marked with a small ditch and boundary stones was apparently encroached upon when the substantial monument to

se fait que depuis peu d'années, c'est qu'on construit aujourd'hui de petits monuments sur leur tombeaux en marbre, avec ces inscriptions. Au 1er novembre 1775 j'en comptais déjà trois de ce genre” (de Sade 1995, 85).

⁵⁹ Stanley-Price 2019, 180.

⁶⁰ Nylander 1992, 228.

⁶¹ See Stanley-Price *et al.* 2016, figs. 12–14, cat. nos. 8–10.

⁶² Gay 1913, 54.

⁶³ Gay 1913, 36–38; Krogel 1995, 128–129.

the memory of Elizabeth Temple (d. 1809) was erected nearby (Fig. 1, S9, S10 and S76).

With these cautions in mind, there are nevertheless several approximate alignments in “rows” visible on the site plan (Fig. 1). The two most evident ones are the result of deliberate planning. The first lies at the north-east edge of the burial-ground where eight graves made in 1820–1821 form a row in front of the grave of John Keats (Fig. 1; the graves, from left to right, are those of Bell, Wimmer, Snell, Busch, F. D’Orville, Hingstedt, Waddington, and Bunsen).⁶⁴ All the stone memorials in this row took the form of flat ledgers (horizontal stone slabs covering the grave area). Only after the formal closure of the Cemetery in August 1822 were the small *cippus* to Busch added (1824), the squat “altar” commemorating Maria and Friedrich Bunsen installed (1823 or later), and Keats’s headstone raised (June 1823).⁶⁵ With the significant exception of the sarcophagus dedicated to Annie Synnot (d. January 1821; Fig. 1, S65), from the end of 1819 until the formal closure of the Cemetery in August 1822, ledgers were the only type of memorial in use. This cannot be attributed simply to a change in fashion. The foreign diplomats in charge of the burial-ground had for some years been negotiating with the Papacy to have it enclosed. The Papacy objected to the potential visual impact of a wall on the Pyramid’s setting, and the Protestants’ larger monuments (presumably the Bowles tomb *par excellence*) were also problematic in this respect. The predominance in this period of low-profile ledgers (and the careful alignment of most graves) must reflect a cautious policy adopted by the diplomats to avoid further causes of complaint.

It was, however, the single exception to their ledger policy—Annie Synnot’s large sarcophagus—that contributed to new regulations being introduced in autumn 1821. The six cypress trees that Lady Synnot planted around her daughter’s and her husband’s memorials (S64 and S65; see Fig. 2, centre, behind the Bowles monument) prompted the Accademia di San Luca to complain to the Secretary of State, Cardinal Consalvi. After Consalvi had made his own visit to inspect the situation on the ground, he imposed new conditions for future burials.⁶⁶ Monuments had to have no visual impact on the Pyramid and the planting of trees was expressly prohibited. A further stipulation resulted in the other evident alignment of monuments in the Old Cemetery. From October 1821, it was required that graves must be located “no longer in that part of the field that faces the prospect of the Pyramid, but rather in that part on the left side [as seen from the Pyramid]

in line with the grave monument of W.S. Bowles.”⁶⁷ The stone memorials erected between October 1821 and the Cemetery’s formal closure in August 1822 take the form of flat ledgers of similar design that follow the line stipulated by Consalvi (those of S80 Harding, S83 Remsen, and S82 Ram on Fig. 1; also, Fig. 2). The sole exception is the ledger (Fig. 1, S18) for 1822 Knébel which was installed among much earlier tombs. Either the painter François Keiserman, who provided Knébel’s memorial, had a special dispensation from the new regulations or he ignored them. This one exception apart, the alignment of the three ledgers reflects the implementation of Consalvi’s instructions. So too does the evidence, no longer visible on the ground, of the so-called earth-graves that never received a stone monument.

The earth-graves

If no gravestone was installed, it was difficult later to identify specific burials. On his visit in 1793, Sir William Forbes was lucky to have a friend who could point out to him “the turf which covered the remains of poor Sandie Farquharson of Haughton, my Ward” who had died two years earlier (see Inventory, 1791 Farquharson). In general, though, once the burial-mound had subsided, a grave would have been hard to trace. Some gravestones were erected long after the burial had taken place. Bunsen in particular believed in adding memorials to graves that lacked them: in December 1819 he had permission to add a stone ledger (its simple form is known from later depictions) in memory of the painter J.A. Carstens who had died as long ago as 1798, and another for Karl Fohr (d. 1818).⁶⁸ In 1824 he installed small marble *cippi* on the graves of the sculptor Busch and of the epigrapher Åkerblad (pointedly adding an epitaph criticizing the Swedes for ignoring their internationally known compatriot). In the following year two foreigners asked, and obtained permission, to have unmarked graves identified by posts with a half-sheet of tin (*un mezzo foglio di latta*) giving (in Italian) the forename, surname, and country of the deceased. Twelve graves are said to have received such identifications.⁶⁹

The figure of twelve is suggestive when compared with the earth-graves (*tumuli di terra*) listed in the Cemetery register and copied in Trucchi’s 1840 catalogue. These have not previously received attention (Table 3). Rather than tin sheets with names on them, it appears that wooden posts bearing Ro-

⁶⁴ Stanley-Price 2019, fig. 1.

⁶⁵ Stanley-Price 2019, 179.

⁶⁶ Martin 1831, 347; Menniti Ippolito 2014, 159–160 and n. 212; Krogel 1995, 139–144.

⁶⁷ “che da ora in poi i sepolcristi surreferiti non debbano più collocarsi nella parte del campo che riguarda il prospetto della Piramide, ma sì bene in quella del lato sinistro lungo la linea del monumento sepolcristale eretto alla memoria di G.S. Bowles”, Menniti Ippolito 2014, 159.

⁶⁸ Krogel 1995, 251 and n. 21.

⁶⁹ Menniti Ippolito 2014, 145–146; Krogel 1995, 169–170.

Table 3. The earth-graves (tumuli di terra) recorded in G. Trucchi's 1840 catalogue

Number	Year	Entry in G. Trucchi's 1840 catalogue	Entry in New Inventory 2019
	1799	Giovanni Bear. Irlandese. 1799 (non si conosce il posto) [location unknown]	Deare 1798
I	1818	Carlo Tohé. Tedesco	Fohr 1818
II	1819	Treadwall. Americano	Treadwall 1819
III	1820	Gio. Enrico Winckler. Svizzero	Winkler 1820
	1821	Giacomo Winkler. Svizzero	Winkler 1821
IV	1821	Carlo Giacomo Carey, e sua moglie [and his wife]	Carey, R.K. 1821; Carey, J.C. 1821
V	1821	Susette Farriè. Inglese	Ferrie 1821
VI	1821	Carlo Majer. Polacco	Mayer 1821
VII	1822	Chisman. Inglese	Chrisman 1822
VIII	1822	Federico Trautocin. Tedesco	Trautnoin 1822
IX, X		Ossa incogniti, ritrovate nella lavorazione del Cimitero [unknown bones, found during works in the Cemetery]	
XI	1839	Arturmo Severn. Inglese	Severn 1837

man numerals or letters were installed to identify recent earth-graves. Such posts are visible in engravings datable to the 1830s and 1840s (e.g., an engraving by Acquaroni).⁷⁰ The most prominent group is adjacent to the Bowles monument (visible in e.g., engravings by Cottafavi and Moschetti).⁷¹ More dependable than engravings, early photographs document them. Robert Macpherson's photograph of 1864⁷² shows five of the posts in alignment with the Bowles monument, interspersed with the stone ledgers of Harding, Remsen, and Ram (Figs. 2 and 3). A photograph attributed to James Anderson (1813–1877), and dated to c. 1860, allows four of the posts to be identified as numbers IV to VII (Figs. 4 and 5), thereby confirming that the earth-graves of the Careys, Ferrie, Mayer, and Chrisman were aligned in accordance with Consalvi's new regulation (the Careys died only six days after the regulation was introduced). The fifth post just visible in Fig. 2 would have been no. VIII, marking the grave of Trautnoin who was recorded as being buried near the Bowles tomb (see Inventory 1822 Trautnoin). Remarkably, these wooden posts and their numbers were still visible in photographs taken 40 years later, as was the more recent one marking Arthur Severn's grave.⁷³

A third photograph (also attributed to James Anderson, c. 1860, unpublished, McGuigan Collection) shows another



Fig. 3. Detail of Fig. 2 showing alignment of three ledgers and five wooden posts.

two posts numbered “X” and “II” and located either side of the Stevens monument (S57). These would have marked, respectively, a collection of assorted unknown bones found when excavating the moat in 1824, and the burial of Treadwall (Table 3). The Winklers (post no. III) were buried further away, near the Humboldt children's graves (see Inventory 1820 Winkler). “Carlo Tohé” in Table 3 is a confusion for Karl Fohr (in the Cemetery register “Fohr” and “Tohé” are successive entries but a later hand has bracketed them as referring to the same person). Why did Francesco Trucchi record it as an earth-grave? Bunsen's permission to erect a stone

⁷⁰ Krogel 1989, fig. 36a.

⁷¹ Krogel 1989, figs. 38a, 40a; Stanley-Price 2016c, fig. 5.

⁷² McGuigan & Stanley-Price 2018.

⁷³ Stanley-Price 2019, fig. 6.



Fig. 4. James Anderson (attributed), *View of the Protestant Cemetery and the Pyramid of Gaius Cestius, carte de visite, c. 1860* (McGuigan Collection).



Fig. 5. Detail of Fig. 4 showing wooden posts IV, V, VI, and VII.

on Fohr's grave is dated 24 December 1819 and it is possible that he had not yet installed it when Trucchi made a record of earth-graves that included Fohr's in its original state with a post. The remains of John Deare (see *Table 3*), buried long before Trucchi's employment, must have been identified either from evidence found with the bones or by a witness to his place of burial.

When compiling the first list of burials in late 1821, Francesco Trucchi included the stone monuments and earth-graves that were visible to him. But he must have drawn on other sources too, for some details recorded in the Cemetery register are not to be found on the monuments. For example, he gives the death date of Lucy Edwardes (Inventory, Edwardes 1819) and Carey's role as Consul at Ripagrande (1821 J.C. Carey). Moreover, starting with Deacle in 1815, the precise

hours at which burials took place are entered in the Cemetery register (and many more of them took place in daylight than previously suspected). Since 1814 Trucchi had been one of three custodians at the Pyramid and had attended Protestant funerals.⁷⁴ In addition to his own recollections, he may have consulted an official record of recent burials so as to include this information.

⁷⁴ Menniti Ippolito 2014, 163, n. 222.

The burials made after 1822

By 1 August 1822, bringing to an end the negotiations over the Cemetery's future, Consalvi had instructed the custodian not to make further burials in the Old Cemetery.⁷⁵ (For Friedrich Trautnoin, buried on 5 August, Trucchi seems to have ignored these instructions.) There was then no burial activity for three months while the New Cemetery was under construction.⁷⁶ In November Robert French became the first to be buried in the new ground. Despite its formal closure, five further burials were made in the Old Cemetery between 1823 and 1837. Equally surprising, rather than the ledger-type in use prior to its closure, upstanding stone memorials re-appeared. Almost all the deceased were connected in some way with the Prussian Legate, C.C.J. Bunsen, whose long term of office in Rome ended in 1838. In late 1823 or 1824 he raised the monument to his two young children (Friedrich had died in June 1823, after closure of the Old Cemetery). The same year saw the erection of an inscribed stone block as a cenotaph to a young architect, William Harris (Inventory, 1823 Harris). Eleven years later, A.W. Hare, a friend of the Bunsen family, was buried in the Old Cemetery, as was the 18-year-old Mary Garden. The latter's connection with the Bunsens is not clear, although they are likely all to have been in the same social circle. For example, in that same year, there is a reference to "a Scotch friend Garden" socializing with Hare and a note from 1835 of "Garden" visiting the English College.⁷⁷ The application to bury Mary Garden in the Old Cemetery was in fact refused by the *Conservatori* at the Campidoglio but a request from the British Consul was granted by the Vicariate.⁷⁸ Two years later Bunsen secured permission to bury Mary Hutchings Thompson, the English wife of the Lutheran community's pastor, Heinrich Abeken (see Inventory, 1836 Abeken).

Both Garden and Abeken received substantial stone monuments (respectively, a pedestal crowned by an urn, 1.36 m high, and an even higher [1.67 m] decorative headstone), in strong contrast to the simple ledgers that had prevailed prior to the formal closure in 1822. The licence authorizing Garden's burial in the Old Cemetery repeated the wording introduced in 1821 about memorials not having a visual impact and tree-planting being expressly prohibited. The licences to erect stone memorials to Garden and Abeken both refer to "cippi", a term which could scarcely be applied to upstanding stone monuments on this scale.⁷⁹

These exceptional burials in the "closed" Old Cemetery ceased with Bunsen's departure from Rome in 1838. The buri-

al of Joseph Severn's infant son Arthur was the last of them, made adjacent to the grave of John Keats. While awaiting a headstone—Joseph Severn had left Rome with his family because of the cholera outbreak before he could organize one—Francesco Trucchi installed wooden post no. X (*Table 3*), later replaced with one that recorded the serial number (44) of its entry in the Cemetery register. Finally in 1882 the remains of Joseph Severn (d. 1879) were transferred from the New Cemetery to be buried at Keats's side.⁸⁰

Changing demography of the Cemetery population

The larger sample represented by the new Inventory makes it possible to add to and modify Nylander's analyses of the Cemetery population. As he acknowledged, it does not reflect the normal distribution to be found in a cemetery with regard to age and gender. Rather, it is the product of specific historical contexts in which a variety of non-Catholic foreigners happened to die in or near the city. In the period before 1800, the surprising lack of adult women appeared to reflect the dominance of "noble courtiers, of wealthy young travellers on the "Grand Tour", and of resident artists and scholars."⁸¹ This picture of male dominance is still valid but requires some modification.

The Stuart court on its arrival in Rome in 1719 was not exclusively male. Most of the Jacobite courtiers were indeed unmarried or widowers (or had left their wives in Saint-Germain). There were 19 pensioners on arrival, of whom 15 were Protestant. By 1720 there were 83 salaried servants, including four married couples and others who went on to marry and give birth in the following years.⁸² Eight of the salaried servants were Protestant, including two chaplains; but of the 21 new servants recruited in Rome in the years 1720–1726, only one was Protestant. The proportion of non-Italian members of court steadily declined as local Catholics gradually replaced them.⁸³ Faith rather than gender determined the court's demand for burial at the Pyramid.

Many of those who were in Rome on the Grand Tour such as George Langton (d. 1738) were indeed unaccompanied males, but there were females buried at the Cemetery much earlier than the first case (1794 Chernysheva) known to Nylander. Jane Barclay, dying shortly after her medical doctor husband in 1746, is the earliest of six female burials prior to 1800, namely 1766 Skrine, 1794 Chernysheva, and 1796 Forrester,

⁷⁵ Krogel 1995, 147.

⁷⁶ Krogel 1995, 152.

⁷⁷ Reid 1890, vol. 1, 153; Trench 1888, vol. 1, 182.

⁷⁸ Krogel 1995, 170–172.

⁷⁹ ASC *Camera Capitolina, Cred.* XVIII t.54; Krogel 1995, 170–172.

⁸⁰ Stanley-Price 2019, 187–189 and fig. 6.

⁸¹ Nylander 1992, 234.

⁸² Corp 2011, 121–123.

⁸³ Corp 2011, 308–309.

together with “Mrs Pars” (d. 1778) and the young daughter (d. 1793) of Guy Head from among the foreign artist population in Rome. Nevertheless the heavy male predominance among burials in the period 1716–1800 persisted, reinforced by the artists’ tendency to take Italian Catholic wives or partners (e.g., 1757 Striebel, 1798 Deare) who would have been buried elsewhere. For the period 1800–1834, by comparison, there are 18 female burials, almost all of them aged under 20 (1803 McEvers, 1805 H. and I. Moore, 1812 Schultz, 1817 Barnard, 1819 D. Edwardes, 1819 Slaney, 1819 D’Orville, 1819 L. Edwardes, 1821 A. Synnot, 1821 Bunsen, 1821 Reinhold, 1821 Ferrie, and 1834 Garden).

In such a heterogeneous population of transient and resident foreigners identified negatively, i.e., for not being Catholic, given the prevalence of tuberculosis generally and of malaria particularly in Rome, mortality rates were erratic, partly related of course to fluctuations in the size of the foreign population. The sample is too small to detect any visitor decline caused by European wars, for example the Seven Years’ War (1756–1763)⁸⁴ but the relatively peaceful period from 1763 to the French Revolutionary Wars found many foreigners living, and dying, in Rome (*Table 1*). Those numbers declined in anticipation of and following the French invasion of Rome in February 1798—the four deaths that year were all of elderly artists (Hamilton, Carstens, Deare, and Hewetson) who had not joined their British and German compatriots in fleeing the city. A few British such as Colin Morison stayed on but, from 1803, travel was restricted for these “prisoners of war” and subject to the French administration’s exacting formalities of paroles and *laisser-passeurs*.⁸⁵ Not surprisingly, burial activity remained low, especially after Napoleon’s occupation of Rome in 1808. With the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1814, the sudden influx of Protestant visitors, particularly from Britain, is reflected in the burial statistics.

Among the mainly male burial population, the courtiers and Grand Tourists predominated at first but a grave at the Pyramid was not an exclusive privilege for an aristocratic, intellectual, and artistic élite as Krogel concluded.⁸⁶ Craftsmen such as the Striebels (1753, 1757) and Dehn (1770), painters (e.g., c. 1758 Maxwell, 1759 Skelton, 1760 Plimmer), musicians (1774 Butler, 1778 Wiseman) and other professionals such as architects (1775 Stevens) and doctors (1746 Barclay and 1775 Mitchell) were buried there, as were domestic staff (c. 1775 Clemenson, 1818 Easter, and 1821 Ferrie) and a printer’s young son (1735 Farley). Many of those (such as Farley) who were given hospitality by the English College in Rome at this period, Protestants as well as Catholics, were poor and from humble backgrounds (sailors who had landed at Leghorn or Civita Vecchia

were frequent arrivals).⁸⁷ A number of the resident artists died in poverty (e.g. 1759 Skelton, 1790 Lenz; also the oculist Taylor in 1770)—their burial expenses must have been covered by others. In the period after the Napoleonic Wars, as the foreign community grew rapidly, its institutions began to look after their own: in 1820 the German Evangelical community helped with the burial expenses for Julius Wimmer and Johann Busch, both of whom died penniless, and the following year the Prussian Legation contributed to the costs of burying the Carey couple. It was that Legation’s Secretary, C.C.J. Bunsen, who provided a gravestone for some who had died in poverty, such as Busch, Fohr, and Åkerblad.

By the 1800s, burials reflected a foreign population mainly of diplomats, other professionals, gentry, scholars, artists and their families, of various nationalities, either visiting or resident in Rome. During the 19th century, as graves in the New Cemetery show, it grew to reflect a more even gender balance and greater diversity of status including personal servants (previously, most had been locally employed Catholics) as well as saddlers, grooms, chefs, chaplains, merchants, and shopkeepers who provided services specifically for the large foreign community in Rome.

For much of the 19th century the “English cemetery”, a site of burial in reality for those of many different nationalities, was administered by the Prussian, and then the German, diplomats in Rome. In its early years, however, it was indeed recognizably “English”. For its first 50 years it appears to have been used almost exclusively for foreigners from Britain. Not until the 1750s do possible cases of non-British burials appear (the Striebel father and son in 1753 and 1757, their burials at the Pyramid assumed but not confirmed). Only in 1765 is the first burial there of a non-native Briton (the Hannoverian Georg Werpup) securely documented. Werpup and James Macdonald (d. 1766) were not only accorded exceptional burial rites by Pope Clement XIII but were allowed to have stone memorials erected in their memory. By 1765 the Stuart court had virtually ceased to function, King James had been in declining health for several years, and the Pope had acknowledged that George III was the reigning king of England. Fears that King James’s son Charles would not be recognized by the Pope as his *de jure* heir were borne out after James’s death on 1 January 1766.⁸⁸ It cannot be coincidence that the innovations in Protestant funerary practice in the mid-1760s came at a time that marked the end of an era in Papacy-Stuart relations.

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⁸⁴ Black 2003, 104–107.

⁸⁵ Dodwell 1819, vol. 2, 467–468.

⁸⁶ Krogel 1995, 119.

⁸⁷ Champ 2015, 124–134.

⁸⁸ Corp 2011, 239, 342–344.

Inventory of burials in the Old Cemetery for Foreigners in Rome, 1716–1837

1716. Arthur, William (1680–1716), fourth son of Patrick Arthur of Ballone, Fife. Scottish physician. A Presbyterian Jacobite, briefly (1715–1716) King’s Botanist at Edinburgh. After failure of a Jacobite plot in Edinburgh, fled to Rome and died of dysentery. “We had permission to bury him by the sepulchre of Cestius, a piece of antiquity well known here and within the walls, which is esteemed a favour to us sort of people, and was procured by means of Cardinal Gualterio.” Balfour 1914–1915; Ingamells 1997, 29; Corp 2012; Menniti Ippolito 2014, 111–112, 117–126.

1720. Pakington, Thomas (1695–1720). English gentleman. Eldest son and heir of Sir John and Frances Pakington, “so Ill of a fever in that City [Rome], that his life is despair’d of” (*Dublin Intelligence*, 13 April 1720) and, after his death, “was interred in consecrated ground there, and the office of burial was read by a Regular Clergyman of the Church of England, being attended by 15 coaches” (*The Original Weekly Journal* Saturday 20 May 1720, 1745). For 1720 as Pakington’s year of death, *Historical Register Chronicle* 1720, 17 and *Boyer’s Political State*, xix, 458; Stanley-Price 2013.

1723. Unidentified. English gentleman. Died in Rome in January, and given Protestant funeral on orders of James III. Corp 2011, 126; Corp 2012; Menniti Ippolito 2014, 113.

1723. Graham, James (1704?–1723). Scottish gentleman. Son of Admiral James Graham, 1st [Earl] of Airth. Died 23 March aged 19 (Airth Bible). Cousin of Lord Linlithgow (see following entry), who died few days later: “... a Scotsman named Graham died here last week, a relation of Mylord Linlithgow, and was buried beside the sepulchral Pyramid of Cajus Cestius, a place designated to be the graveyard for the English (not the Roman Catholics) with the connivance of the government of the past few years.” Graeme 1903; Ingamells 1997, 416; Corp 2011, 126; Corp 2012. I identify the James Graham, “a cousin of Lord Linlithgow” (Ingamells 1997, 416) with “Mr Grahme, a Scotch Gentleman” who died 23 March 1723 and “was buried the same night near the tomb of Cestius near the porta San Paolo” (Ingamells 1997, 417 under “Graham”).

1723. Livingston, James, 5th Earl of Linlithgow (1687?–1723). Scottish peer. “A strong Jacobite”, after Battle of Sheriffmuir (1715) he fled to France; pensioner at the Stuart court from 1716. The last Earl of Linlithgow, his only son having predeceased him, died 6 April “of a dropsy”, reportedly aged 35, buried in Cemetery at Pyramid. Livingston 1910, xxix; Ingamells 1997, 603; Corp 2011, 126, 365; Corp 2012.

1726. Guidet, Balthazar (Major). English military officer. Of Huguenot origin, commander in Royal Dragoons, then Major Slingsby’s Regiment of the Horse (1688); later, Captain, Scots Dragoons, 1696, recorded as Major 1703, 1713. In July, few days after arriving from Naples, “*Le Major B. Guidet Anglais*” died of malaria, buried near Pyramid of Gaius Cestius. Ingamells 1997, 436; Dobson 2005, 52.

1728. Hay, James. Scottish physician. Member of the Stuart court, at Urbino in 1718 appointed surgeon in King James III’s household, and in 1726 named personal surgeon to Queen Clementina. Died in Rome in January. Ingamells 1997, 476; Corp 2011, 194, 197, 200, 363; Corp 2012.

1730. Cameron, Alan (Colonel). Scottish courtier. Appointed in Scotland by James III as Groom of his Bedchamber in 1716, then court pensioner in Rome, and reappointed Groom of the Bedchamber in 1727. Died in November. Ingamells 1997, 175 (as “Cameron”); Corp 2011, 195, 313; Corp 2012.

1732. Ellis, William (Sir) (1635?–1732). English courtier. At Stuart court in Saint-Germain a Commissioner of Household, and in Rome Controller and Treasurer. Died on 3 August, reportedly aged 97. “The same night [i.e. Sunday 3 August], his corpse was carried to Monte-Testaccio [*sic*], and interred there.” (*The Daily Courant* no. 5108 of 23 August 1732). On the evening of 4 August [on the Roman calendar], “the corpse was accompanied by similarly heretic Englishmen in three carriages of the king for burial, according to their custom, at Testaccio at the foot of the burial-place of Gaius Cestius”. (Valesio, *Diario di Roma* V, 504). Ingamells 1997, 337; Corp 2011, 317 and *passim*.

1732. Maghie, Charles (Dr). Scottish physician. At Stuart court from 1709, personal doctor to James III and (1726–1732) to Queen Clementina. Died in November. Corp 2011, 126, 189, 357, 363; Corp 2012.

1733. Livingston, William, 3rd Viscount Kilsyth (1650–1733). Scottish peer. From 1716 a Stuart court pensioner, died on 12 January. Ingamells 1997, 576; Corp 2011, 365; Corp 2012.

1733. Williams, Daniel (Revd). Welsh chaplain. In 1728 appointed as one of two Anglican chaplains to Stuart court. Died in August of an apoplexy. Corp 2011, 313, 325; Corp 2012.

1735. Farley, Robert. English boy. Son of Edward Farley, printer in Exeter, who flourished 1727–1743. Farleys were well-known printers in Exeter, Bristol, and Salisbury. The father aged around 37 and son of around 11 were admitted for eight days as poor pilgrims at the English College in Rome, fell sick and left. Refusing to go to Santo Spirito hospital, they confessed they were Protestant. “Robert died three days after, and was buried at Monte Testaceo [*sic*]”. AVCAU Liber 292, 3 September 1735; Champ 2015, 127; Maxted 2014.

1736. Carse, Mark. Scottish courtier. Joined Stuart court in 1731, staying as pensioner and Freemason until dying in February 1736. Ingamells 1997, 187; Corp 2011, 317, 330; Corp 2012.

1738. Langton, George Lewis (1713?–1738). Welsh Grand Tourist. His diary describes his tour of Europe in 1737–1738. Excavations in December 1929 at western base of Pyramid found his remains (with those of two others) covered by an inscribed lead shield giving his name, death date (1 August 1738), age (25), and names of four companions who saw to this memorial. Piermattei 1930; Colyer 1980; Ingamells 1997, 588; Stanley-Price 2012a.

1742. Slezor, Charles. Scottish courtier. In 1731 joined Stuart court with Mark Carse (see 1736 above). A pensioner and Freemason, died in October. Ingamells 1997, 864 as “Slezer”; Corp 2011, 317, 328–332; Corp 2012.

1743. Goring, William. English courtier. Son of Sir Henry Goring, a leader of the Atterbury Plot (1721–1722) to restore the House of Stuart to the throne. In 1728, invited by James III to join as pensioner (1728–1736), then as Gentleman in the Prince of Wales’s household, 1736–1743. Died in February 1743. Corp 2011, 310, 319, 363; Corp 2012 (year of death mistakenly given as 1736).

1746. Barclay, Robert (Dr, *né* Dalrymple; 1716–1746). Scottish physician. Son of Sir Robert Dalrymple, also medical doctor, he studied medicine in Leiden and Rotterdam. In July 1745 married Jane Barclay, heiress of Towie (see following entry) and took her surname. Both died in Rome from an infection caught while travelling, he before 7 May. Paterson 1847, 384; Ingamells 1997, 49–50; Lundy 2019a.

1746. Barclay, Jane (1727–1746). Scottish lady. Heiress to Towie-Barclay estate in Aberdeenshire, Scotland, married at age 18 to Robert Dalrymple (see previous entry). By 23 July had died from an infection. Paterson 1847, 384; Ingamells 1997, 49–50; Lundy 2019a.

1746–1747. Abernethy, George. Scottish courtier. Stuart court pensioner and friend of Lord Kilsyth (see 1733 above), in 1728 invited by James III to join his court together with Goring (see 1743 above). Ingamells 1997, 1; Corp 2011, 201; Corp 2012.

1747. Fotheringham, David. Scottish courtier. In exile since 1716, invited as pensioner in 1747 but died within few weeks of arrival, in November. His son received pension until 1750. Corp 2011, 318, 366; Corp 2012.

1749. Seton, George (5th Earl of Winton). Scottish peer. Took part in 1715 Jacobite Rebellion, was captured, tried, and found guilty of high treason. Escaping from Tower of London, joined Stuart court in Avignon and then Rome. Pensioner from 1716, also Freemason in Jacobite Lodge in Rome, 1733–1737. Died 19 December. “He was buried at the foot of Cestus’s [*sic*] tomb, the place allotted for those whom they here esteem Heretics;” (James Russel, letter of 7 April 1750 cited by Kelly). Ingamells 1997, 1013; Corp 2011, 328–332; Corp 2012; Kelly 2012, 122–123.

1753. Oncenson (?), Dionijco. Unidentified Englishman. A deceased English non-Catholic (“*Inglese eret. Morto*”) listed in S. Andrea delle Fratte parish records as living by the Salita di S. Giuseppe in 1753 with an Irishman Daniel Murphy and an Eleonora MacDonald. Ingamells 1997, 687 under “Murphy”. (“Oncenson” pronounced with an Italian soft “c” might yield an English surname such as “Hutchinson”.)

1753. Striebel, Friedrich Siegmund (1700–1753). German painter. Worked in Oschatz, Saxony, in 1721, then Dresden, moving to Rome probably *c.* 1730. His own works unknown but he helped acquire others for Dresden collections. In Rome succeeded in discovering the secret of making enamels for mosaics, working with the chemist/glassmaker Alessio Matteoli. Married Salome Elisabeth, *née* Bohrmann, and had a son (see next entry). Died 4 August. Father and son were Protestant. Noack 1927, vol. 2, 583; Seifert 2015.

1757. Striebel, Friedrich Gottreich (1721–1757). German painter. Son of Friedrich Siegmund Striebel (see previous entry), born 6 September 1721 in Oschatz, Saxony. Worked with his father, probably producing the manuscripts about mosaic enamel manufacture inherited on his father’s death. Married Giovanna Lorenzoni but died only four years after his father. Seifert 2015.

c. 1758. Maxwell, James. Scottish painter. One of several pupils at Foulis Academy in Glasgow sent to Italy at its expense. In Rome looked after by Gavin Hamilton and the Abbé Grant. Studied at the *Accademia del Nudo*, winning first prize

for a drawing that survives, but died soon after arrival. Duncan 1831, 84; Ingamells 1997, 650; Amblard 2010, 13.

1759. Skelton, Jonathan. English painter. Arrived December 1757 but could not maintain himself by selling his work. After three productive months in Tivoli (July–September 1758), back in Rome he continued to struggle, developing duodenal ulcer and dying from haemorrhage on 19 January 1759. House clearance by friends (including John Crawley, see *c.* 1767 below) confirmed that “the poor creature absolutely denied himself the necessities of life.” Inscription on reverse of an architectural *capriccio* by Skelton records his burial at foot of Pyramid. Ford 1956–1958; Figgis 1984, 30; Ingamells 1997, 860–861.

1759. Irwin, James. Scottish physician. Joined Stuart court by 1729, arriving in Rome with wife and residing, unusually, in town, not in the Palazzo del Re. Remained in service as one of king’s physicians till death on 28 February 1759, probably in his late seventies. Member of Jacobite Lodge of Freemasons. Well-known doctor who treated also visiting non-Jacobites, including architect Robert Adam in 1757. Buried at Pyramid (see 1770 Wagstaffe below). Ingamells 1997, 545–546; Corp 2011, 308, 313, 319, 328–332, 342 and fig. 24).

1760. Unidentified. English painter. Soon after arriving in early 1760, Joseph Wilcocks met British artist with violent fever and arranged for Protestant clergyman at Stuart court to give him Sacrament before he died. “His remains are deposited under the sepulchral pyramid of Caius Sestus, in the wall of Rome, near unto the gate of St. Paul.” Wilcocks 1797, viii–ix. For Wilcocks in Rome, Ingamells 1997, 1000.

1760. Plimmer, John (1722–1760). English painter and sculptor. Arrived 1755, studying under Richard Wilson, striving to emulate Claude Lorrain. In 1759 considered “without comparison the best Landskip painter we have at this time in Italy” by Thomas Jenkins reflecting the views of “all the Dilettanti here”. Death reported by Jenkins on 19 November. Ingamells 1997, 776.

1762. Edgar, James (1688–1762). Scottish courtier. Fled to France after 1715, joined James III’s court at Avignon. In 1725 appointed king’s Under-Secretary, in 1728 promoted to new role of king’s Private Secretary, retained until dying in October 1762 after 46 years’ service. *Scots Magazine* 24 (1762), 568; Ingamells 1997, 329; Corp 2011, 125, 199, 358, etc.; Corp 2012.

1763. O’Hara, Henry Hutchinson (1735–1763). Irish gentleman. Son of Colonel Henry O’Hara of Crebilly, Co. Antrim, Ireland, was accompanied to Rome by Scottish doctor Robert

Mackinlay. On his portrait (by Pompeo Batoni) an inscription records “Henry Hutchinson O’Hara: died in Rome June 1763 aged 28”. Ingamells 1997, 722. For his Protestant status, Library Ireland 2019, 126.

1765. Werpup, Georg Anton Friedrich von (1740–1765). German courtier. Studied law at Göttingen, joined the court of Electorate of Hannover. Leaving for Venice after spending 1764–1765 winter in Rome, was killed with his valet on 24 May when their carriage overturned, an incident widely reported (e.g. by James Boswell, J.J. Winckelmann, and Cardinal Alessandro Albani). Buried at night 27 May. His stone monument provided by his friend John, Viscount Mountstuart. Zimmermann 1955; PCR, 313–314; Krogel 1995, 116–118, 247.

1765. Unidentified Hannoverian (?). Servant. Valet-de-chambre to Georg Werpup, killed when their carriage overturned (see previous entry).

1766. Skrine, Jane (*née* Sumner). English lady. Known for her beauty and wit, friend of courtesan Kitty Fisher and mistress of 4th Earl of Sandwich. In 1764 married the financially troubled William Skrine (*c.* 1721–1783) and they moved to Italy. Already in poor health, made her will in Turin November 1765 and died in Rome February 1766. Ingamells 1997, 863; Rizzo 2008, 271.

1766. Macdonald, James (Sir), 8th Baronet of Sleat, Isle of Skye (1742/3–1766). Scottish peer. Son of Sir Alexander Macdonald, already at 22 recognized as brilliant and very knowledgeable. In 1765 left for Italy with tutor and, despite suffering from severe rheumatism, travelled as far as Naples, visiting Pompeii and Herculaneum. Returned by April 1766 to Rome and Frascati where, crippled by rheumatism, he died 26 July. Pope Clement XIII allowed him a public funeral and Giambattista Piranesi designed the grave-monument noted by early visitors such as William Forbes (*Journal*, 12 August 1793). *Scots Magazine* 28 (August 1766), 446; Steuart 1925, 281; Battaglia 1994; Ingamells 1997, 622–623; PCR, 296; Menniti Ippolito 2014, 130–131.

c. 1767–1768. Crawley, John. Irish sculptor. Sent to Rome in 1757 paid for by the Dublin Society. In 1758 registered as “*scultore eretico*” in the Strada Felice. James Barry, who arrived in October 1766, wrote after John Runciman’s premature death in Naples in winter 1768 that he recollected earlier seeing “here” (i.e. in Rome) another artist “helped out of this world, ... one Crawley, a sculptor.” Crawley died, therefore, between October 1766 and late 1768. Barry 1809, vol. 1, 107; Ingamells 1997, 253.

1770. Taylor, John “Chevalier” (1703–1770). English oculist. Well trained in London and on the Continent, one-time oculist to King George II, became notorious for many unsuccessful, if not severely damaging, eye operations. Edward Gibbon, Johann Sebastian Bach, and Cardinal Albani were among his numerous patients. His own loss of sight in later years while still practising reinforced reputation as a charlatan. Died 16 November in extreme poverty and stripped of all honours, buried at foot of Pyramid of Cestius. Ingamells 1997, 930–931.

1770. Wagstaffe, Thomas (Revd; 1692–1770). Anglican chaplain. Son of non-juring bishop, was multilingual scholar, working on manuscripts in Vatican and Barberini Libraries when, in 1734, James III appointed him Anglican chaplain after death of Daniel Williams (see 1733 above), retaining the post in 1766 under Prince Charles. Officiated at burials of Skelton (see 1759 above) and Macdonald (see 1766 above) and probably many others listed here. Died 3 December, “buried with great solemnity at the foot of the Pyramid of Caius Cestius, near Irwin, Edgar, etc.” (Father John Thorpe to 8th Baron Arundell, 12 December 1770; RBF, *Thorpe Letters mss*). *Scots Magazine* 33 (Jan. 1771), 53; Steuart 1925, 280; Ingamells 1997, 970; Corp 2011, 313, 324–326.

1770. Dehn, Christian (1696–1770). German gem dealer. In Rome, manservant to Baron Philipp von Stosch, antiquary and connoisseur who spied on Stuart court, sending regular reports to British government. With von Stosch expelled from Rome in 1731, Dehn accompanied him to Florence and helped von Stosch’s brother document and expand the baron’s large collection of gems. Returning to Rome in 1739, set up own successful business selling gem casts and impressions. Business continued after his death (on 3 March) under Federico Dolce married to his daughter Faustina. Noack 1927, vol. 2, 138; Hansson 2014.

1773. Dusign, Frederick (c. 1748–1773). English painter. Pupil of Joshua Reynolds, practised a few years at Bath, in Rome by 1772 where painted the Duke of Gloucester for conversation piece. Died of consumption by late February the next year. Ingamells 1997, 325, 742.

1774. Butler, James. English organist. Close friend of Ozias Humphry who taught Butler’s wife, Penelope Carwardine, miniature painting. Organist at Ranelagh, St. Margaret’s, and St. Anne’s, Westminster, in London. Travelled with son to Italy in September 1774 seeking Italian singers and *libretti* for the Opera in London. Journey to Rome from Naples proved too much for Butler who died in October. Humphry reported his death to William Hamilton, and contacted Charles Wiseman (see 1778 below) to find substitute singer in Bologna. Ingamells 1997, 166; Humphreys 2004.

1775. Stevens, Edward (c. 1744–1775). English architect. Pupil of William Chambers in 1760–1766, exhibited at Royal Academy, elected Associate Royal Academician in 1770. Intending to visit Italy for two to three years, he, his wife and daughter in Rome by Easter 1774. Sculptor Thomas Banks and his wife were close friends, and Ozias Humphry, George Romney, and Joseph Wright of Derby in their social circle. In poor health, died on 27 June 1775. His wife, refusing all proposals, remained widow for 64 years after returning to England. PCR, 310; Ingamells 1997, 895–896.

1775. Reitzenstein, Wolf Carl Friedrich von (1750–1775). German courtier. Born in Anspach to well-known military family, recently married, a travel equerry and chamberlain at court of Margrave of Brandenburg-Anspach and Brandenburg-Bayreuth (gravestone inscription). Died 20 November while accompanying the Margrave, who commissioned the gravestone. PCR, 305–306; Krogel 1995, 248.

c. 1775. Clemenson, Martin. English servant. He and wife Rosa were assistant and housekeeper to Scottish artist Jacob More (see 1793 below). In *Stati delle Anime* 1774 and 1775 they and son Francis, aged six, are registered together. But in 1776, at different address, in Piazza di Spagna, only Rosa (Lutheran) and Francis (Catholic) are registered, and in 1779 she is “widow”. Clemenson probably died in 1775, certainly by 1779. Jacob More lived in Piazza di Spagna until 1786 and in his will left money to Rosa Clemenson and her son, who seem to have remained in his household. Ingamells 1997, 214; RBF/1/62; Campo 2017.

1777. O’Mooney, Richard. Irish. Thomas Jones reported on 11 July: “One, Richard O’Mooney, an Irishman, was found this morning dead, at the bottom of the wall that supports the wall of the Terras that supports the Trinita de Monti, his legs and arms broken and skull fractured ... NB he was at the Coffee-house the Even’g before.” Not identified. Oppé 1946–1948, 62; Figgis 1984, 28.

1777. Yalden, Thomas (c. 1750–1777). English Grand Tourist. Son of Thomas (also named as William) Yalden, Recorder of Winchester (d. 1771), he studied at Pembroke College, Oxford (matric. 1768). By July 1777 had died “at Rome on his travels ... a young gentleman great genius, particularly in the science of botany”. *Alumni Oxonienses 1717–1886*, vol. 4, 1624; *GM* 47 (1777), 404; *GM* 81,1 (1811), 523; *Salisbury and Winchester Journal* 28 July 1777.

1778. Wiseman, Charles. English composer. Long-term resident of Rome, fluent in Italian, well-known as composer and agent identifying musicians and singers for the London Opera for which he worked for 40 years (letter to Ozias Humphry).

Died by 1 April, leaving sick widow for whom the English community made a collection. Ingamells 1997, 1014.

1778. “Mrs Pars”, common-law wife of William Pars (see 1782 below). Wife of Samuel Smart, miniature painter, left England with Pars by late 1775 when she is registered with Pars in Via del Babuino as “*Madama Marianne Vulcoch*” (Marianne Wilcock?). By April 1778 seriously ill with consumption, died 6 June, buried two days later. Thomas Jones described Smart, his wife (“a high-spirited handsome girl”), and her funeral near Pyramid for which “all the English Artists who were then at Rome walked in procession with torches to the number of 18 or 20”. Oppé 1946–1948, 73; Ingamells 1997, 742–743.

1778. Nulty, Matthew (c. 1716–1778). Irish artist, *cicerone*, antiquary and agent. After time in Venice as fan painter, in Rome by 1752. Unsuccessful as draughtsman or sculptor, he became an antiquary and agent/dealer but, in Thomas Jones’s words, “not being of that oily supple disposition necessary to the Profession & disdaining the little Arts & pretensions to antient Erudition that most of these gentlemen [English cavaliers] assume—he did not find much employment in that Line.” After an afternoon spent at the English Coffee-house cheerfully drinking and saying farewell to his friends, died 24 June and buried the following night “at the pyramid of Caius Cestius the common cemetery of Heathens, unbelievers” in ceremony witnessed by Jones. A “Drawing of an elaborate garden” by his friend Giambattista Piranesi included an imaginary tomb inscribed “Mathew Nulty”; no tomb has been found in reality. Oppé 1946–1948, 74–75; Scott 1975, 294 and fig. 343; Ingamells 1997, 717–718; Bignamini & Hornsby 2010, 309–310.

1778. Bach, Johan Sebastian (1748–1778). German painter. Born in Berlin, son of composer Carl Philipp Emanuel Bach and Johanna Maria Danneman. Studied under Adam Friedrich Oeser in Leipzig, then in Dresden and Hamburg. To Rome in 1776. Fell seriously ill and after five months of suffering died 11 September. German friends, with the usual escort, accompanied him to grave which remained marked by simple uninscribed stone. His work in collections in Germany and Vienna. Noack 1927, vol. 2, 72; PCR, 282–283; Fröhlich 2007.

1780. Mitchell, Andrew (1742–1780). Scottish doctor. Son of Sir Charles Mitchell of Westshore, Shetland, was admitted as Advocate in 1765, also practised as surgeon. In August 1780 Thomas Jones heard from William Pars (see 1782 below) in Rome that “our poor friend Mitchel dyed there the week before, of a putrid fever which he caught by too imprudently visiting the hospitals where that disorder prevailed.” Mitchell had destroyed all family papers save one indicating

his father was a Scottish baronet. His August death later misreported as in December. *Scots Magazine* 42 (December 1780), 673; Grant 1893; Oppé 1946–1948, 71, 91, 92, 98; Ingamells 1997, 663.

1781. Grandjean, Jean (1752–1781). Dutch Huguenot artist. From 1772 studied in workshop of Jurriaan Andriessen in Amsterdam. Discovering Italian painting while in Dusseldorf brought him to Rome in July 1779. Joined the Academy founded by Alexander Trippel (see 1793 Trippel below) and specialized in fine topographical drawings. Died of fever November 1781, buried at Pyramid accompanied by twelve friends, most of them German, English, and Dutch fellow-artists. A gravestone they are said to have commissioned has not been located. Van der Eijnden & van der Willigen 2007, vol. 2, 376–388; Hijmersma 2019.

1782. Pars, William (1742–1782). English painter. His drawings of Asia Minor and Attica (for Dilettanti’s expedition in 1764–1766) and of Switzerland (for Lord Palmerston in 1769) are among the first such examples. With grant from Dilettanti, in 1775 he left for Rome with Mrs Smart (see 1778 “Mrs Pars” above). Thomas Jones, a close friend, recounts their joint sketching trips. Died in October of pleurisy after sketching in Grotto of Neptune at Tivoli with his feet in water. Oppé 1946–1948, 116; Ingamells 1997, 742–743; Wilton 2009.

1783. Long, Charles. English gentleman. He and brother James often visited their wealthy uncle, the 2nd Earl Tylney, who divided his time between Florence and Naples. Visiting in 1776, Charles and wife Hannah buried their infant daughter at Leghorn (another daughter survived them). In May 1783, they left Naples for Rome where he died 6 August within three days of catching malaria. The Earl died following year in Naples and buried at Leghorn with Charles’s brother James inheriting the Earl’s fortune. *GM* 53 (1783), 804; Ingamells 1997, 610.

1786. Six, James (c. 1758–1786). English scholar. Son of noted astronomer whose Walloon ancestors settled in Canterbury and started silk trade there. Brilliant multilingual scholar and Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, touring Italy in 1786 he was overcome by fumes when visiting Vesuvius. Back in Rome, prescribed an excessive dose of laudanum, he never recovered and died 14 December. In 1787 two friends erected his monument signed “ITS”, i.e. John Thomas Stanley who bought “a small antique marble altar” to carry epitaph in Latin composed by Oswald Leycester. Unaware of this memorial, his parents commissioned one for Westgate Church, Canterbury which gives his age at death (29 years). *GM* 57,1 (1787) 72, 90; *GM* 63,2 (1793), 864; Pennington 1825, vol. 2, 44; Ingamells 1997, 860; RBF/1/698.

1787. Kirsch, August Christoph (1763–1787). German history painter. Studied in Dresden, in 1786 left for Rome with three-year bursary. Working on a commission for Dresden while lodging in unhealthy area of Santo Spirito, he ignored warnings, caught fever and, after brief recovery and relapse, died 23 September. Account of death and burial at Pyramid by Swiss friend Conrad Gessner copies much from the eyewitness account of Karl Philip Moritz, who gave the eulogy. Sculptor Karl Bärend (1770–1826) in Germany said to have designed a gravestone (not located). Moritz 1792, vol. 2, 168–177; Gessner 1801; Noack 1927, vol. 2, 314; Geller 1961, 56; PCR, 295–296; Krogel 1995, 118, n. 12; 249, n. 12.

1790. Lenz, Karl Gottlieb (1753–1790). German artist. Born in Dresden, to Rome in 1788 but suffered from having no financial support. Died 24 August, buried at Pyramid of Gaius Cestius. Nagler 1839, vol. 7, 435; Noack 1927, vol. 2, 353.

1791. Morris, Charles (1736–1791). English scholar. Educated at Eton College and St. John's College, Cambridge, intended for the Church. "A virtuoso who had long resided on the Continent, particularly at Rome and Naples", knowledgeable about ancient Rome and proficient in languages and music. Piranesi dedicated plates to him. Thomas Jones mentions him in Naples in 1778 and Sir William Hamilton in 1779. Dying 15 March after lingering illness, he "was buried on the evening of the 16th, in the ground adjacent to the pyramidal sepulchre of Caius Cestius, within the city-wall, the place assigned for the interment of Protestants". *GM* 61,2 (1791), 775–776; Oppé 1946–1948, 78; Ingamells 1997, 683.

1791. Grote, Wilhelm von (1767–1791). Russian noble. From Riga in Livonia, member of Catherine the Great's Imperial Guard and responsible for Imperial stables (gravestone inscription). Died 8 April. His brother, baron and official of the Bodyguards, received permission five months later, on 25 September, to erect monument to him, the earliest known "official" licence of this kind. PCR, 292; Krogel 1995, 117, n. 9; Menniti Ippolito 2014, 143.

1791. Farquharson, Alexander. Scottish gentleman. Son of Alexander Farquharson who had inherited the Haughton estate in Aberdeenshire, in poor health he went by sea to Civitavecchia, then to Rome to join brother Francis. According to the latter's German valet and interpreter, Henry Noltie, Francis was ill with fever "and then Mr. Alexander took the fever, and died near Rome in my father's arms, but Mr. Francis recovered, and returned home." Noltie *c.* 1839; Ingamells 1997, 349; RBF/1/564.

1793. Trippel, Alexander (1744–1793). Swiss sculptor. Born in Schaffhausen, studied in Copenhagen under Johannes

Wiederwelt and the elder Carl Frederick Stanley. In 1776 first visited Rome, returning two years later and, unable to secure a permanent position elsewhere, settled there. Found success notably with portraits and funerary monuments. Goethe spoke highly of him; his portrait bust of Goethe is his most renowned work (1788; Residenz at Bad Arolsen, and 1790; Anna Amalia Library, Weimar). Died from fever 24 September, buried at Pyramid. Vogler 1893; Lier 1894; Weinbrenner 1958, 86; Rotili 2005; Deseyve 2006.

1793. Burkle (?). English painter. A private letter, author not identified, written from Rome on 7 October 1793 and published by Meusel (1796; cited by Rotili) reports young Englishman named Burkle, painter of great talent, dying three days after Trippel (see 1793 above), followed soon after by the deaths of More and Reiffenstein (see next two entries). The letter's phrasing resembles closely Vincenzo Pacetti's diary entry for 2 October 1793 which mentions only deaths of Trippel, More, and Reiffenstein and which it may have copied. Status of "Burkle" therefore uncertain. Rotili 2005, 42.

1793. More, Jacob (1740–1793). Scottish painter. Already a recognized landscape painter in Britain, arrived in Rome by 1773 for short stay. Died 20 years later while planning return to Britain. Considered best landscape painter of his time, admired by Joshua Reynolds and Goethe amongst others. Accademia di San Luca unanimously admitted him in 1781 and the Uffizi requested his self-portrait in 1784. Died suddenly 1 October. In Rome by February 1794, his nephew of same name engaged Vincenzo Pacetti for the gravestone. (See also Martin Clemenson, *c.* 1775 above.) *GM* 63,2 (1793), 1055; Andrew 1989–1990; Ingamells 1997, 675–676; Rotili 2005; Andrew 2012; Curzi 2017.

1793. Reiffenstein, Johan Friedrich (1719–1793). German antiquary, painter, *cicerone*, and dealer. Arrived in 1762, establishing himself as antiquary, agent, and *cicerone*. Especially after death of Winckelmann (1768), in powerful position as agent for, amongst others, the Academy at St Petersburg, Graf Ernst II of Saxe-Gotha-Altenburg, and eventually Catherine the Great. Close friend of Swiss painter Angelika Kauffmann, he used contacts to further the career of Jakob Philipp Hackert and other favourites, incurring resentment from those outside his chosen circle. One of them, the architect Friedrich Weinbrenner, wrote long, irreverent description of Reiffenstein's funeral at Pyramid (he died 6 October). Hackert offered to commission a gravestone for him (none is known). Noack 1927, vol. 2, 476; Weinbrenner 1958, 86–87; PCR, 304; Rotili 2005; Nordhoff 2012, 147, 541–542.

1793. Head, Margarita Vincenza (?). English girl. Young daughter of Guy Head, English painter living with family in

Strada Felice one floor above his friend Vincenzo Pacetti (see also More 1793 above). In *Stati delle Anime* 1789, his English wife is listed as Giovanna Lucet (Joan Lycett?). A son Thomas was born in 1790, a daughter 7 February 1792. A daughter died on 13 November 1793, possibly the Margarita Vincenza registered in 1792. RBF/1/603; Ingamells 1997, 479–480.

1794. Chernysheva, Anna Aleksandrovna (1749–1794). Russian lady. Born in Moscow, married into the Chernyshevs, renowned military family. Died 7 August but repatriated in 1795 by her children (inscription), save for her *praecordia* (Cemetery register, giving age as 64). PCR, 288.

1792–1797. Gross. German architect. “Gross architect from Stuttgart” died during Weinbrenner’s stay in Rome (1792–1797) and buried at Pyramid. Possibly Johann Adam Gross III, father of architect Friedrich Bernard Adam Gross (born in Stuttgart in 1783). Noack 1927, vol. 2, 221; Weinbrenner 1958, 86.

1795. Hecker, Christian Friedrich (c. 1749–1795). German gem engraver. Born in Dresden, moved to Rome, became a leading gem-engraver, mainly copying Classical sculpture. His portrait carving of Goethe (Goethe-Museum, Weimar) is based on bust by Trippel, a close friend (see 1793 above). Died 15 April, buried at Pyramid. Weinbrenner 1958, 86; PCR, 293; Campbell 2006, vol. 1, 472–473.

1795. Durno, James (c. 1745–1795). English history painter. In Rome by 1774, stayed until death, mixing with artists such as Thomas Jones, Michael Foy, Thomas Banks, and William Pars (see 1782 above). Successful with history paintings, and sold his copy of Raphael’s *Transfiguration* to the 4th Earl of Bristol. Died of putrid fever 13 September and “was buried according to the usual custom of interring Protestants in that country.” Prince Augustus (son of King George III) carried torch at his funeral. Executors were Christopher Hewetson (see 1798 below) and Guy Head (see 1793 above). *GM* 66,1 (1796), 81; Figgis 1984, 30, 32, 36; Ingamells 1997, 323–324; Figgis 1998.

1795. Åkerström, Jonas (1759–1795). Swedish artist. Studied at Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Stockholm, then with Louis Desprez. Arriving in 1788, made contact with other Swedes and with Francesco Piranesi, son of Giambattista and agent for Swedish court. Caught fever in July 1795 and died 25 November. His funeral at Pyramid described in detail by Pietro Piranesi, Francesco’s brother, and depicted in two drawings (both in Stockholm). At least four artists in attendance were also later buried there: A.J. Carstens (see 1798 below), J. Busch (see 1820 below), H. Voogd (d. 1839), and J.C. Reinhart (d. 1847). Huemer 2010; Stanley-Price *et al.* 2016, fig. 12, cat. 8.

1796. Forrester, Gioconda. English lady (poet?). On 26 August 1796 Thomas Jenkins requested licence to bury at the Pyramid a lady of this name, probably the “Signora Giocosa Forester—inglese—eretica 55” registered 20 years earlier under S. Andrea delle Fratte; and possibly the “Madama Forrester Poetessa Inglese” elected to Arcadian Academy on 13 February 1777. PCR, 291; Ingamells 1997, 370–371; Meniti Ippolito 2014, 136, 137.

1798. Hamilton, Gavin (1723–1798). Scottish painter, antiquary, and art dealer. Trained as painter in Glasgow, first visited Italy in 1748, staying for three years. After an unsuccessful period in London, in 1756 returned to Rome until his death. As painter, excelled in history paintings and portraits; as archaeologist and dealer in works of art and antiquities, had competition especially from Thomas Jenkins. Source for often-cited death date of 4 January (e.g., *Encyclopaedia Britannica*), is unknown. Ingamells 1997; Bignamini & Hornsby 2010, vol. 1, 195–207; Cassidy 2012.

1798. Carstens, Asmus Jacob (1754–1798). Danish/German painter. Spent his last six years in Rome, inspired by previous visit to northern Italy in 1783. Associated with figures such as Karl Ludwig Fernow (eulogist at his funeral) and Bertel Thorvaldsen (executor of his estate). Died 25 May of tuberculosis. In 1819 Prussian Legate Bunsen erected a small headstone; in 1874 the present monument erected. Fernow 1806, 237; Noack 1927, vol. 2, 121; PCR, 287–288; Krogel 1995, 251; Springer 1978.

1798. Deare, John (1759–1798). English sculptor. Arrived in 1785 with three-year stipend from Royal Academy. Soon became successful, earning commissions for bas-reliefs and for copies of antique sculpture. After French occupation, his health declined, died 17 August leaving his pregnant Italian wife and young daughter. His friend Charles Grignon reported that “his remains were attended by a few select friends to the Protestant burying-ground in this city, where his body was deposited with the greatest decency, though without unnecessary expense ...” One friend, Christopher Hewetson (see next entry) who with fellow-sculptor, Vincenzo Pacetti, were appointed executors, inventoried Deare’s studio contents. In Cemetery register as “Giovanni Dear” or wrongly copied as “Bear, Irish sculptor”, his bones reportedly identified in the 1820s. PCR, 283 (as “Bear”); Ingamells 1997, 287–288; Fogelman *et al.* 2000; Hardy 2019.

1798. Hewetson, Christopher (1737–1799). Irish sculptor. In Rome from 1765, the leading portrait sculptor there, with succession of eminent patrons. Thomas Jenkins and James Byres secured him business, a situation resented by John Deare (see previous entry). From 1779 Antonio Canova was keen but

friendly rival. In June 1797, as French invasion threatened, he left for Naples but died back in Rome 15 November, buried at Pyramid. His will and funeral expenses are on record, also an inventory of possessions compiled by sculptors Vincenzi Pacetti and Carlo Albacini. Ingamells 1997, 494–495; Di Tanna 2014; Roscoe 2019.

1802. G.C.R. Unidentified. Died on 18 June 1802. The stone pedestal tomb is inscribed simply “G / C.R. / XVIII GIVN^o / A.MDCCCII.” PCR, 316.

1802. Sloane, Robert. Scottish banker. James Irvine reported (2 December) that “Mr Sloane the banker here” was “lately dead”. Irvine, for William Buchanan, negotiated unsuccessfully with Sloane’s widow and her son Alexander to purchase notable paintings, including two by Claude Lorrain, from Sloane’s collection in Rome. They were auctioned in London in June 1804, the owner described as “a most respected English Gentleman, intimately conversant with the Arts” who had bought them during a long residence in Italy. Another son, Francis (c. 1794–1871), received a Catholic education and became generous benefactor in Florence. Ingamells 1997, 864; Rosticci 2009; Getty Provenance Index Databases 2019.

1803. McEvers, Ruth (1784–1803). American lady. Born Ruth Hunter, at 17 married James McEvers of New York but died at Velletri 3 March, aged 18 years and three months while travelling with her husband for her health (gravestone inscription). Died of consumption leaving an infant daughter. PCR, 296–297.

1803. Friedrich. German servant in household of Prussian Minister in Rome, Wilhelm von Humboldt. Died 7 August shortly before the Minister’s own son (see next entry), buried without monument. Not in Cemetery register. Krogel 1989, 125, n. 153; PCR, 288 (under Dachroeden).

1803. Humboldt, Wilhelm von (1794–1803). German boy. Born in Jena the first son of Wilhelm von Humboldt and Caroline von Dacheröden, died in Ariccia 15 August (gravestone inscription) and buried at Pyramid night of 17 August. His father was granted on 22 November a large circular plot, diam. c. 12 m, for burial of any family members or dependants dying while in Rome (cf. previous entry and 1807 von Humboldt below). On 12 January 1804, he received permission to erect a small inscribed column declaring ownership of the plot. Gay 1913, 36–38; PCR, 294; Krogel 1995, 128–129, 270–272.

1803. Poore, Edward (1743–1803). English collector. Son of George Poore of old Wiltshire family, in Italy by 1789, and recorded in Venice, Turin, Rome, and Naples. As collector had reputation for being difficult and eccentric. John Deare (see

1793 above) was among artists whom he commissioned. His gravestone, erected by Roman friend “Carlo Trebb.” (unidentified) records his death 17 August in Convent of Palazzolo (presumably Convent of Santa Maria *ad Nives* di Palazzolo at Rocca di Papa). PCR, 303; Ingamells 1997, 782.

1805. Moore, Helena (1787–1805). Irish girl. Youngest daughter of Revd Robert Moore of Moore Hill near Tallow, Co. Waterford, Ireland, died 18 April aged 18 years, three months and eight days (gravestone inscription), soon followed by elder sister (see 1803 Moore below). PCR, 299.

1805. Unidentified. English painter, not named, living at 140 Via delle Quattro Fontane, died and due to be buried “in the accustomed manner at the Pyramid of Caius Cestius”. His relatives requested “the usual licence”. Issued 23 April, it implies a death the previous day or night. Menniti Ippolito 1989, 38–39; PCR, 316.

1805. Moore, Isabella (1776–1805). Irish girl. Eldest sister of Helena (see 1805 Moore above), died aged 29 years and six months 29 July (gravestone inscription). Christened at Tallow, Co. Waterford, on 31 August 1776. PCR, 299.

1805. Duttonhofer, Carl Rudolph Heinrich (1784–1805). German architect. Died 27 August while visiting his brother, the engraver Christian Duttonhofer. In July 1804 Christian had married his cousin Luise Duttonhofer (*née* Hummel), the paper-cutting artist, and they had travelled to Rome, living at 140 Via delle Quattro Fontane (as was the 1805 Unidentified, above). Schwab, in his 1829 obituary of Luise, ascribed their shortened stay in Rome of little over a year to unhappy family events, probably the premature deaths of their first child (see next entry) and of Christian’s brother in August. In the autumn, before leaving Rome, Christian erected a half-column memorial to Carl. Gustav Schwab in *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* 154 (29 June 1829), 613–615, reproduced in Koschlig 1968, xxii–xxvii; Noack 1927, vol. 2, 150; PCR, 289.

1805. Duttonhofer, Carl Aurel. German infant. Son of Christian and Luise Duttonhofer and nephew of Carl (see previous entry). Schwab in *Morgenblatt für gebildete Stände* 154 (29 June 1829), 613–615, reproduced in Koschlig 1968, xxii–xxvii.

1805. Stanley, Charles Frederick Ferdinand (1769–1805). Danish architect. Son of sculptor Carl Frederick Stanley, studied at Academy of Fine Art in Copenhagen, with fellow-student Bertel Thorvaldsen becoming close friend. In 1797–1800 as architect in Christiania (Oslo), designing buildings and grave monuments. In 1802 awarded travel scholarship and sailed to Palermo, then to Naples and Rome by January

1805. In August after severe relapse of gout from which he suffered, died probably the 18th, buried at Pyramid the 20th with Thorvaldsen present. His old friend Henrik Vilhelm Lundbye, diplomat and author, gave the eulogy, the text of which survives. Thorvaldsens Museum 2019a.

1806. Bowles, Sidney (1777–1806). English gentleman. Son and heir of James Bowles of Burford House, Shropshire, died 13 November (monument inscription). His wife (and cousin) Elizabeth Rushout, married in 1797, provided the massive memorial, executed in 1808 by German architect Karl Müller from design by Bertel Thorvaldsen and Christian Daniel Rauch (who later disclaimed responsibility for it). On 22 November 1807 Rushout requested permission for a “small” monument, on 28 January 1808 Domenico Ferrari was licensed to demolish temporarily a wall to haul in the monument’s granite column. Noack 1927, vol. 2, 414; Geller 1961, 28–29; PCR, 286; Krogel 1995, 140; Menniti Ippolito 2014, 156–157; Stanley-Price 2016b; Thorvaldsens Museum 2019b.

1807. Humboldt, Friedrich Konstantin Gustav von. Born in Rome 7 January 1806, son of Wilhelm von Humboldt and Caroline von Dacheröden, died 12 November aged one year, ten months and five days (gravestone epitaph). Buried in circular family plot near his brother (see 1803 von Humboldt above) with similar memorial half-column. PCR, 294.

1809. Morison, Colin (1734–1809). Scottish painter, antiquary, and *cicerone*. Attended Marischal College in Aberdeen, left for Italy in 1754 to study painting, becoming a pupil of Anton Raphael Mengs. During long residence in Rome, well-known for prodigious learning and ability as *cicerone*. Died 2 May 1809 (not 1810 as usually published despite 1809 death notice in *The Scots Magazine* 71 [1 November 1809], 878). Buried at Pyramid by friends including fellow-Scot, James Irvine (1757–1831), an executor later buried in the New Cemetery. Ingamells 1997, 679–682; Giffi 2016; Stanley-Price 2017b.

1809. Temple, Elizabeth (*née* Watson) (1767–1809). American lady. In 1797 as young widow in Massachusetts married Sir Grenville Temple (1768–1829), 9th Baronet of Stowe House in England. Died 4 November of burst blood-vessel. Her husband engaged two Swedish artists for elaborate neo-Classical monument, sculptor Erik Gustav Göthe (1779–1838) and epigraphist Johan David Åkerblad (1763–1819; see 1819 below) for Latin epitaph. Age at death was 42, not the 38 given in epitaph. *GM* 80,1 (1810), 180; Millroth 1975, 89, n. 3; PCR, 313.

1811. Sinner, Johann Rudolph (*c.* 1788–1811). Swiss gentleman. Son of owner of Château de Worb near Berne, Switzer-

land, died 6 April aged 23 (monument inscription). His parents commissioned copy of sarcophagus of Scipio Barbatus (*c.* 280 BC) excavated 30 years earlier, one of four copies in Old Cemetery (see 1819 Duncombe, 1819 Eyre, and 1821 A. Synnot below), with others in New Cemetery. PCR, 315 (as “Worb”).

1811. Nevay, James (*c.* 1730–*c.* 1811). Scottish painter. Son of Edinburgh merchant, in Rome by 1755 and pupil of Anton Raphael Mengs. Admired as draughtsman, historical painter, and copyist but known for being slow to finish work. Exhibited at Society of Artists in London in 1773, 1790, and 1791 and at Royal Academy in 1773. In 1781 James Irvine found him “one of the strangest characters imaginable”, living a solitary life, but “a worthy honest man”. Parish registers (*Stati delle Anime*) cease to record him after 1811; probably died that year. Ingamells 1997, 700–701.

1812. Schultz, Philippina (*c.* 1796–1812). Polish girl. Died aged 16. Memorial erected by friend Teresa Tambroni (gravestone inscription), presumably Teresa Couty, then resident in Rome as wife of the scholar Giuseppe Tambroni (1773–1824), who had published a history of Poland (*Compendio delle storie di Polonia*, Milano 1807–1808). PCR, 306.

1815. Deacle, Francis (*c.* 1776–1815). English scholar. Graduated B.A. from Magdalen College, Oxford in 1798, ordained in 1800, and elected Fellow of same College in 1801. Subsequently Bachelor of Divinity (1809) and acting Bursar in 1806 and 1813. Died 10 January aged 38. Two travelling companions, Revds G. Grantham and I.I. Hudson, erected his memorial (gravestone inscription). *GM* 85,1 (1815), 181; *Alumni Oxonienses* vol. 1, 358; PCR, 289.

1815. Sutton, Lucy (Lady). English widow. Daughter of Sir Thomas Assheton Smith of Ashley, Cheshire, married in 1790 Sir Thomas Sutton, of Hurst House, Molesey, Surrey and had two daughters. In 1813 he died at home while Member of Parliament for Surrey and she two years later, on 19 November, in Rome. *Monthly Magazine* 36 (1813), 457; *GM* 85,2 (1815), 639; History of Parliament 2019a.

1816. Sapte, Henry (*c.* 1775–1816). English military officer. Born in Southampton, reached rank of Captain in His Majesty’s 19th (the gravestone gives 17th) Regiment of Foot. Died 22 October in 42nd year; his wife who was with him erected the monument (gravestone inscription). The Sapte family, of Huguenot origin, were prominent merchants at Leghorn (Livorno). *GM* 87,1 (1817), 182; PCR, 306.

1817. Shute, John. English. Born in Plymouth, Devon, died 4 January (gravestone inscription in English). A second in-

scription, in Latin and different hand, suggests a restoration in 1824. PCR, 308.

1817. Bonar, Henry Thomson (1810–1817). English boy. Son of Colonel Thomson Bonar (1780–1828) and wife Anastasia (*née* Guthrie; 1782–1855) of Camden Place, Chislehurst, Kent, died 29 April while visiting Rome. From Naples, the Colonel corresponded with Bertel Thorvaldsen about commissioning a bust (based on death mask) and a relief to be shipped to England for a church wall. Thorvaldsen produced the bust (Thorvaldsen Museum, A 893), and made drawings for a relief (probably not realized). Roman-style family monument in the churchyard of St Nicholas, Chislehurst, England, commemorates his death in Rome. Thorvaldsens Museum 2019c; Kent Archaeological Society 2019.

1817. Barnard, Sarah (1800–1817). English girl. Daughter of artist Revd William Henry Barnard (1767–1818) and Sarah Disney of Co. Waterford, Ireland. Both from military families: young Sarah's uncle, Sir Andrew Francis Barnard (1773–1855), and her brother Sir Henry William Barnard (1799–1857) were generals, also her grandfather Sir Moore Disney (1765–1846) (mentioned in the gravestone inscription). Died 24 August. Father was then Rector of Water Stratford and Marsh Gibbon in Buckinghamshire. His drawings and watercolours of Rome dated 1817 imply he was there with his daughter. Another, *The mills at Funchal, Madeira* (Sotheby's, 26 September 2001), alludes to Sarah's birthplace recorded on her gravestone. PCR, 283; Water Stratford 2019; Hart & Stanley-Price 2020.

1818. Easter, Rouard. English (?) servant. Died 10 May aged 27. For eleven years in service of Conde de [*sic*] Funchal (gravestone inscription). In 1808 Queen Maria I of Portugal granted title of “Conde do Funchal” to diplomat Domingos António de Sousa Coutinho (1760–1833) while Portuguese Envoy to London (1803–1814). If in service for eleven years, Easter started around 1807 during the Envoy's London posting. In the 1820s “Count Funchal”, resident in Palazzo Fiano, cut a popular figure in Rome as Portuguese Ambassador. *New Monthly Magazine* 122, no. 85, pt 1 (1828), 27; Blessington 1839, vol. 2, 330–331; PCR, 290; Politipédia 2019.

1818. Montagu, George John, Viscount Hinchinbrooke (1773–1818). English gentleman. At 21 elected Member of Parliament for Huntingdonshire (1794–1814) though apparently never spoke in Parliament. In 1814 succeeded to title as 6th Earl of Sandwich. Died 21 May of consumption at Albano near Rome. *GM* 88 (1818), 640; *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, vol. 2, 443; History of Parliament 2019b.

1818. Pritchard, Martha. English chambermaid aged 47 (Cemetery register), died 7 June (gravestone). But licence to raise a small column is to “Sant' Aubyn Cavaliere Inglese” for grave of his wife [*sic*] Maria Pritchard. Not resolved. The age of “4” recorded by Rahtz misreads the worn inscription. ASC, *Camera Capitolina, Cred.* XVIII, t.54, 190; PCR, 303.

1818. Fohr, Karl Philipp. German landscape painter (1795–1818). Born in Heidelberg, gave up studies in Munich for Rome, arriving in 1816. A weak swimmer, drowned in River Tiber near Ponte Molle on 29 June, witnessed by three artist friends, Samuel Amsler, Johann Anton Ramboux, and Carl Barth (who had encouraged Fohr to jump in). His body only recovered the night of 2 July, far downstream below the Basilica of San Paolo fuori le Mura. Buried following night at Pyramid—a list of funeral costs survives. Amsler engraved a portrait drawing of Fohr by Barth to raise funds for a memorial. Eighteen months later, on 24 December 1819, Bunsen received permission to install a simple, horizontal ledger. Fohr's grave also listed as earth-grave no. I (see text above for earth-graves). Hare 1879, vol. 1, 132–134; PCR, 291; Menniti Ippolito 1989, 85; Krogel 1989, 141–143; Griffiths & Carey 1994, 181, no. 120; Krogel 1995, 251, n. 21 and 295.

1818. Söhnhold, Karl Wilhelm. German painter (1789–1818). Born in Leipzig, in Rome less than a year when drowned in River Tiber on 26 July, his body recovered near Ponte Sisto. Buried at Pyramid. *Diario di Roma* referred to recent similar drowning (presumably Fohr, see previous entry) and warned of the dangerous river. Noack 1927, vol. 2, 561–562; *Diario di Roma* 1 August 1818 (quoted in De Rosa & Trastulli 2010, 79).

1818. Roos, Rt. Hon. Lord Henry de. English gentleman. Died in July of fever in 21st year. Not identified—not listed among the twelve children of Charlotte, Baroness de Roos and Lord Henry Fitzgerald who married in 1791. *GM* 88,1 (1818), 187.

1819. Auquier, Jacques. French silk-worker (1779–1819). Born 29 January (gravestone gives 29 February) in Uzès (Gard, France) into family of Protestant silk-workers. Still in Uzès aged 20 when listed for military conscription but not recorded there in census of 1807/8. Died 1 January. His younger brother Simon (1780–1836) erected the gravestone (inscription), its surname previously misread as “Avovier”. PCR, 282; Stanley-Price 2018b, 8.

1819. Åkerblad, Johan David (1763–1819). Swedish diplomat and linguist. Educated in oriental languages, posted three times as interpreter to Swedish Legation in Constantinople, fluent in Arabic, Greek, and Turkish in addition to

French, German, and Italian. Disillusioned with diplomatic service, in 1804 he left his post in Paris and settled eventually in Rome. Acted as *cicerone* to visitors, continued previous work in deciphering Rosetta Stone and other Coptic and Egyptian hieroglyphic texts. Excavated in the Forum, sponsored by Duchess of Devonshire. Died in penury of stroke on 8 February. No Swedes attended his funeral; to rectify this neglect, in 1824 Bunsen erected small headstone (with incorrect surname and date of death) with epitaph. *New Monthly Magazine and Humorist* 18 (1 May 1826), 204; PCR, 281–282; Thomasson 2013.

1819. Treadwall [no forename]. American. Died 2 March, listed in Cemetery register as “2 months” (i.e. an infant) of New York, and as earth-grave no. II. Not identified.

1819. Whittred, William. English barrister. Son of Thomas Whittred of Newnham, near Cambridge, matriculated at Exeter College, Oxford, in 1808 aged 23; from 1810 barrister at Lincoln’s Inn, London. Undertook legal work in Yarmouth and Cambridge, and managed his estate at Spinney Abbey in Cambridgeshire. Died 3 March while “on his travels through Italy” after short illness. *GM* 89,1 (1819), 377; *Alumni Oxonienses* vol. 4, 1546; PCR, 314.

1819. Ompteda, Friedrich August Philipp von (1770–1819). Hannoverian diplomat. Son of diplomat, studied law in Erlangen and Göttingen. To Rome as diplomat in 1814, two years later appointed Hannoverian Ambassador to Holy See, responsible also for English relations. In 1817 with Prussian Legate (B. Niebuhr) and Russian Ambassador (A.Y. Italinsky) negotiated to have Cemetery enclosed at their own expense. Died 16 March with the issue unresolved and buried three days later, his coffin escorted by 44 carriages and detachment of Papal cavalry. His eventual successor, August Kestner, had Ompteda’s gravestone erected (Kestner was buried in New Cemetery in 1853). PCR, 302; Krogel 1995, 138.

1819. Duncombe, Charles (1797–1819). English gentleman. Eldest son and heir to Duncombe Park in Yorkshire. Matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford, in 1814 aged 18. Died 2 April aged 22, probably while on Grand Tour. Younger brother William eventually inherited the house and its extensive Italian art collection. Duncombe’s monument is another copy of the Scipio Barbatus sarcophagus (see 1811 Sinner above). *Alumni Oxonienses* vol. 1, 394; PCR, 289.

1819. Edwardes, Dorothy (1816–1819). English girl. Fifth daughter of William Edwardes, 2nd Baron Kensington (1777–1852) and Dorothy Patricia Thomas, died 4 April aged two years, eleven months and 23 days (gravestone inscription). Succeeding his father, Edwardes was Member of

Parliament for Haverfordwest from 1802 until 1818. In Rome with his children (see also 1819 Edwardes below). Three years later the grave slab, broken into three pieces, was further damaged by a shepherd boy. Menniti Ippolito 1989, 43; PCR, 290 (date of death and “third child” are incorrect there); Lundy 2019b.

1819. Hay, Annabella. English lady. Wife of Lieutenant-General Hay, late Adjutant-General of forces serving in Ireland, died probably in April. Hay relinquished his army post in Ireland in summer 1814. *GM* 89,1 (1819), 490; *London Gazette* July 2, 1814, 1341.

1819. Graham, Henry. English student of architecture. Son of Revd John Graham of York, was already known for restoration drawings for interior of 13th-century church at Skelton, near York. Died 5 May aged 24 in Naples (cenotaph inscription; confirmed as “Henry Graham, died May 1819, aged 24 years, an Architect from York” in records of the Old Protestant Cemetery in Naples). Two accompanying fellow architecture students raised the cenotaph in Rome (gravestone inscription). Cemetery register gives “Jan” as death month, a misreading of “May”. *The Literary Gazette: A Weekly Journal of Literature, Science, and the Fine Arts* 3 (1819), 476; PCR, 292.

1819. Slaney, Louisa (1817–1819). English girl. Only daughter of Plowden and Eliza Slaney, born 18 December 1817 (gravestone inscription). Thomas Plowden Slaney of Hatton Grange, near Shifnal, Shropshire, graduated from Cambridge University in 1814 and in December 1816 married Eliza Cook from Shrewsbury. Their daughter died 17 May aged 18 months. Her father died in Florence three months later, on 2 August, buried at Leghorn. *Alumni Cantabrigienses* vol. 5, 531; PCR, 309 (with incorrect readings of the grave inscription: “Lowell” for “Plowden” and “Slane” for “Slaney”).

1819. Dinwiddie, Robert. Scottish gentleman. Only son and heir of Laurence Dinwiddie of Germiston House, Glasgow. Dinwiddie ancestors served as magistrates and provosts; one had been governor of Virginia in mid-18th century. His death in Rome 27 May aged 18 ended the family line and Germiston passed into other hands. Surname misspelt as “Danwiddie” on gravestone. *Scots Magazine* 83–84 (July 1819), 96; “Germiston” in Smith & Mitchell 1878; PCR, 289.

1819. Shelley, William (1816–1819). English boy. Son of Percy Bysshe Shelley and Mary Wollstonecraft, arriving in Rome from Naples in early March. By mid-May William (“Willmo”) was not well and then caught malaria. Treated by Scottish doctor John Bell (see 1820 below), but died 7 June. Parents left Rome three days later before gravestone was installed. Its imprecise location foiled attempts in January 1823

to exhume William for reburial with his father. Gay 1913, 54; PCR, 307–308; Hay 2010, 162–165.

1819. D'Orville, Georgiana. German (?) girl. Died 9 September aged 16 (gravestone inscription). Possibly (Krogel) the daughter of German architect Friedrich Franz D'Orville (see 1821 below) but her epitaph is in English and the architect was not buried next to her. PCR, 303.

1819. Eyre, John. British doctor. Died 15 November aged 38 (gravestone inscription), the monument a simplified copy of Scipio Barbatus sarcophagus (see 1811 Sinner above). Twenty years later a close friend, Arthur Brooke-Faulkner, former physician to the Forces, transcribed and published the long epitaph, omitting the final lines with death details. Faulkner 1837, 158–159; PCR, 290–291.

1819. Edwardes, Lucy (c. 1805–1819). English girl. Third daughter of William Edwardes, 2nd Baron Kensington (1777–1852) and Dorothy Patricia Thomas, died 15 December aged 14, their second loss (see Edwardes 1819 above; the couple had at least six sons too). *GM* 89,2 (1819), 568; PCR, 290 (“aged 2” and “fifth child” are incorrect there); Lundy 2019b.

1820. Winkler, Johann Heinrich (1813–1820). Swiss boy. Eldest son of Christoph Winkler, mechanic in Papal spinning-mill at Piazza Termini (see also 1821 Winkler below). Died 13 February aged six of raging fever. Accompanied by preacher, father and his friends, was buried in a coffin near the von Humboldt family plot, but no monument erected. Listed as earth-grave no. III. PCR, 315.

1820. Bell, John (1763–1820). Scottish surgeon. Born in Edinburgh, he and younger brother Charles were eminent doctors. In Edinburgh founded Extramural School of Anatomy and known for often controversial lectures and for publications such as *Anatomy of the human body* (1793) which he illustrated himself. Falling out with medical establishment and in poor health, he travelled with wife Rosine to Italy. His acute insights into its art and architecture resulted in *Observations on Italy* (1825, published posthumously), which proved popular with future travellers. Although ill, was consulted by English in Rome including the Shelleys (see 1819 Shelley above). Died 15 April of dropsy. In 1869 Scottish doctor Sir James Simpson had grave repaired and in 1891 Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh erected a Celtic cross (birth year wrongly given as 1762). Avery 1964; PCR, 284.

1820. Silberschlag, Johann Heinrich Christian (1790–1820). German savant. Son of Evangelical chaplain in Magdeburg, went to Rome for health but died of consumption on 20 April

(gravestone inscription) or 24 April (AEG). Buried at sunset on 27 April to left of grave of von Ompteda (see 1819 above). PCR, 308.

1820. Wimmer, Julius. German form-cutter. A Saxon from Erzgebirge, spent few weeks as form-cutter in calico workshop at San Pietro in Montorio. Died 13 August of malignant fever in Tiber Island hospital. Left no money so fellow-workers provided coffin and Evangelical community paid burial fees. PCR, 314.

1820. Snell, Jean Louis (1788–1820). Swiss gentleman. Born 20 January 1788 in Zofingue (the gravestone has “Zoilingue”) in Argovie canton in Switzerland, died 14 September. On 25 November sculptor Giovanni Ceccarini received permission to erect gravestone on behalf of Snell's brother, Christian, the Swiss Honorary Consul in Rome (1818–1836). ASC, *Camera Capitolina Cred.* XVIII, t.54, 229; PCR, 309; Dodis 2019.

1820. Busch, Johann Jürgen (1758–1820). German sculptor. Son of cabinet-maker in Mecklenburg, studied at Academy of Fine Art in Copenhagen, won scholarship to Rome in 1783. Close friend there of painter Asmus Carstens (see 1798 above). Produced copies of antique sculpture and some commissioned portraits but, with financial support ending in 1808, he struggled. Died poor on 2 December, burial paid by Evangelical community. In 1824 Bunsen organized a “simple marble *Cippus*” for graves of Busch and Åkerblad (see 1819 above), who both died in poverty. *New Monthly Magazine and Humorist* 18 (1 May 1826), 204; Noack 1927, vol. 2, 116; PCR, 287.

1821. Synnot, Anne Elizabeth (1807–1821). Irish girl. Daughter of Sir Walter Synnot (see 1821 below) from his second marriage, in 1804, to Anne Elizabeth Martin. The latter's sister Selina, accompanying the family, described how from October 1820 her niece's health was causing concern. Died 5 January aged 13 years and eight months (gravestone inscription). By 20 February copy of Scipio Barbatus sarcophagus covered her grave (see 1811 Sinner above). Lines from Petrarch on it translated into English in contemporary reports in Britain. *The Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction* 10, no. 285 (December 1, 1827), 371; Martin 1831, 237, 241, 260, 264; PCR, 310.

1821. D'Orville, Friedrich Franz (1769–1821). German architect. From Huguenot family settled in Offenbach am Main, Germany. Died night of 9 January from intestinal inflammation and buried around 7 am. Birth year given as 1789 on gravestone. Possibly father of Georgiana (see 1819 D'Orville above). Noack 1927, vol. 2, 433; PCR, 302–303; myheritage.com 2019.

1821. Hingstedt, Ernst Christian (1795–1821). German painter. Born in Hamburg, travelled to Rome, died there 2 February of exhaustion. Buried next day after sunset, “to the right of the grave of Friedrich Franz D’Orville” (see 1821 above). Licence for gravestone dated 8 April 1821. There survives a portrait of Hingstedt by Philipp Stöhr, his contemporary in Rome. Geller 1952, no. 172; PCR, 293.

1821. Keats, John (1795–1821). English poet. Born in London, at 14 he lost to tuberculosis his mother and in 1818 his younger brother Tom. By early 1820 showing symptoms, on doctors’ advice he sought drier climate in Italy, accompanied by Joseph Severn. Died night of 23 February 1821. Not until June 1823 did Severn, working with English sculptor Joseph Gott, erect a gravestone. PCR, 295; Roe 2013; Stanley-Price 2019.

1821. Waddington, William Pendrell (1791–1821). English gentleman. Son of William, London merchant, and Grace Valentine Sykes, daughter of English mill-owner in France. In 1818 married Jeanne-Marie-Pauline Tzaunt at Protestant church in rue Saint-Honoré in Paris, and naturalized as French. Had one son, Charles. In March 1821 arrived in Rome to visit antiquities, at once fell seriously ill with infectious disease and was nursed regardless by Frances Bunsen, his cousin. Died peacefully 10 March. The death of the “robust young man, lately arrived from London” (Selina Martin) must be Waddington’s. *GM* 91,1 (1821), 378; Martin 1831, 265–266; *Alumni Cantabrigienses* vol. 2, 301; Hare 1879, vol.1, 167, 174, 178; PCR, 312–313.

1821. Read, Henry (Lieutenant-General). English military officer. “Lieut.-General Read of Crowood, Wiltshire, late of His Majesty’s first regiment of Life Guards. His death was occasioned by poison, administered by a Venetian servant, whom he had hired at Paris, and who was afterwards found to have been seven years in the galleys.” (*GM*). The *London Magazine* gives death date (20 April) with similar details about the servant. Permission granted to erect a monument but on 8 November body was repatriated to England (Cemetery register). In Holy Cross church, Ramsbury (village adjacent to Read house at Crowood), a memorial to Lieutenant-General Henry Read who died on 20 April 1821. *GM* 91,1 (1821), 476; *London Magazine* 3 (June 1821), 700; PCR, 304 (as Read, Gule).

1821. Bunsen, Maria Franziska Eleonora (1820–1821). German infant girl. Third child and first daughter of Carl Bunsen, at the time Secretary of Prussian Legation in Rome, and his wife Frances Waddington. Died in Albano of “Roman fever” on 22 July, her first birthday. Mother had taken their three children to Alban hills to escape summer heat but all fell ill.

Buried two hours before sunset by Legation’s chaplain, Heinrich Schmieder. Grave to right of her mother’s cousin (see 1821 Waddington above). Inscriptions on her monument imply its erection after her infant brother’s death in 1823 (see 1823 Bunsen below). Bunsen 1868, 185; PCR, 286.

1821. Synnot, Walter (Sir; 1742–1821). Anglo-Irish landowner. Settled in Ballymoyer, Co. Armagh, where a magistrate for 30 years. Built himself a house, improved land with plantings and roads and in 1783 appointed High Sheriff of Armagh. Married first Jane Seton (in 1770) and had three children. After her death in 1803 married Anne Elizabeth Martin, daughter of Armagh vicar, and had three children, one of them predeceasing her father (see 1821 Synnot above). Died 9 August aged 79 and buried at his request alongside his daughter. Martin 1831, 276, 339, 341; PCR, 311; Ingamells 1997, 192, 922.

1821. Winkler, Jacob Heinrich (1821–1821). Swiss infant. Youngest son of Christoph Winkler, mechanic in Papal spinning-mill at Piazza Termini. Born 1 January, lived fewer than seven months, died 13 August of consumption and associated cramps. Buried with brother (see above 1820 Winkler) near the von Humboldt family grave; no monument erected. Listed as earth-grave no. III. Noack 1927, vol. 2, 650; PCR, 315.

1821. Gundlach, Friedrich (Baron von) (1780–1821). German aristocrat. Born in Mecklenburg-Strehlitz, died of fever aged 41 night of 25 August, buried next evening after sunset. On 10 September Bunsen received permission to erect monument. PCR, 292.

1821. Reinhold, Susette Marie (1808–1821). Dutch girl. Elder of two daughters of Dutch diplomat, Johan Godard Reinhold, who as Royal Netherlands Ambassador (1814–1826) supported negotiations for enclosure of Old Cemetery. Also helped to found German and Evangelical Library in Rome. She died 16 September of violent fever, buried next day after sunset, in grave near that of von Humboldt children (see 1803 and 1807 above). PCR, 305; Krogel 1995, 138.

1821. Carey, Regina Katharina (*née* Schönecker). German painter. Born in Nuremberg *c.* 1762, studied art with artist couple, Johann Gottlieb and Maria Katharina Prestel, producing series of engravings and specializing in aquatints. In 1786 married James Carey (also occasionally as “Quarry”; see 1821 Carey below), an English teacher. Both died night of 15 October of malignant fever. As requested by British Vice-Consul Brunetti, the Prussian Legation chaplain (Heinrich Schmieder) buried them two days later in one grave, in front of large Bowles monument (see 1806 Bowles above). Listed as earth-grave no. IV. PCR, 287; Krogel 1995, 169; Stanley-Price 2017a.

1821. Carey (also sometimes “Quarry”), James Charles. English. English teacher in Frankfurt, in 1786 married Regina Schönecker (see 1821 Carey above). Described as “Consul Ripagrande” (Cemetery register) but a role representing England and/or Germany at Rome’s main river-port is not confirmed. Careys died 15 October and buried together. Listed as earth-grave no. IV. PCR, 287; Krogel 1995, 169; Stanley-Price 2017a.

1821. Harding, William. English gentleman. “William Harding of Scarboro gentleman [who] died in this city on the 22 day of October 1821 aged 31 years when making a tour through Italy to see its curiosities of nature and art ancient and modern.” (gravestone). Not identified. Two days later gravedigger Luca Berettini had permission to bury him respecting the new regulations (see text). PCR, 292; Menniti Ippolito 2014, 159 and n. 213 (surname given as “Starding”).

1821. Ferrie (or Farrie), Susette. English chambermaid. Listed as Susette Ferrie Chambermaid English who died aged 16 on 18 December 1821 (Cemetery register). Buried at around 11 am. Listed as earth-grave no. V. PCR, 291; Krogel 1995, 142 (both giving 18 November [*sic*] as date of death).

1822. Knébel, Jean-François (1789–1822). Swiss painter. Son of wealthy tanner in La Sarraz, canton of Vaud, invited to Rome to help cousin, the painter François Keiserman (1765–1833). Collaborated for almost 15 years, showing considerable talent, although little of his own work known. Died unexpectedly on 16 January, replaced at Keiserman’s invitation by Charles-François Knébel (1810–1877), cousin to both of them, whom the painter formally adopted as his son. Buried at Pyramid, with English burial-service translated into French. On gravestone he erected, Keiserman referred to himself as “father by adoption” also of Jean-François. Anonymous 1935, 354–355; PCR, 296.

1822. Remsen, Daniel (1785–1822). American merchant. From family of merchants of Dutch origin, worked for brother Peter’s business in New York. In 1819 married Susan Rogers, from another respected New York family, and had one son. Died 14 February. Stone-worker Raimondo Trentanove given permission to erect gravestone after approval of inscription in Italian and English versions (only English one was used). *ASC, Camera Capitolina Cred.* XVIII, t.54, no. 257; PCR, 306.

1822. Mayer, Carl Johann. Polish doctor from Vilnius. Came to Rome for health but died of consumption on 4 March. Buried at foot of Careys’ grave (see 1821 above) without gravestone. Listed as earth-grave no. VI. PCR, 297.

1822. Ram, Stephen George (1783–1822). Irish clergyman. Son of Stephen Ram of Ramsfoot Goory (correctly, Ramsfort,

Gorey,) Ireland and of Lady Charlotte Ram, daughter of James Stopford, Earl of Coudoun (correctly, Courtown) (gravestone inscription). Elder brother Abel eventually inherited the family property of Ramsfort south of Dublin. Attended Westminster School and Trinity College, ordained deacon (1806) and priest (1807) and since 1812 had been Rector of Ringmore, Devon. Died 25 March from unknown causes. *GM* 92,1 (1822), 478–479; *The Christian Remembrancer* 4 (June 1822), 482; PCR, 303; Westminster School 2019.

1822. Chrisman [forename not recorded]. English. Died 23 May 1822. Listed as earth-grave no. VII. PCR, 288.

1822. Trautnoin, Friedrich. German. Died 4 August in Benefratelli hospital on Tiber Island with funeral the same day, buried following night at Pyramid towards column of Bowles tomb. Listed (misnamed “Trautocin”) as earth-grave no. VIII. PCR, 311.

1823. Bunsen, Friedrich Wilhelm Johannes (1823–1823). German infant boy. Born 24 April, survived only two months, died 20 June. Buried with older sister Maria (see 1821 above). The previous month his father C.C.J. Bunsen succeeded Niebuhr as Prussian Legate in Rome. The Latin epitaph he composed for the two children’s monument must post-date Friedrich’s death. Despite her loss of these two infants, Baroness Bunsen by 1837 had ten other children. Hare 1879, vol. 1, 201–202; PCR, 286.

1823. Harris, William (1796?–1823). English architect. Left in 1821 for extended tour of Italy, reached Sicily in 1822 and with fellow-architect, Samuel Angell (1800–1866), started to explore temples at Selinunte. Found important evidence of polychrome architecture. In May 1823 local opposition to their removing sculptural elements stopped further work, whereupon Angell departed for Palermo with more sculptures. Harris remained to study the site’s topography but caught malaria, dying 16 July. His gravestone survives in English cemetery in Palermo. In Rome his “artists fellow travellers” (cenotaph inscription) erected memorial to him in Old Cemetery, where noted in 1889 by J.G. Kennedy, British Ambassador in Rome. This large rough block with long epitaph now in New Cemetery (Zona Vecchia 14.21). Both stones give his age as 27 years. Parliamentary Papers 1889; Marconi 2007, 133; Regione Siciliana 2019.

1834. Hare, Augustus William (1792–1834). English clergyman. For many years tutor at New College, Oxford, ordained for church in 1825, later appointed vicar of parish of Alton Barnes in Wiltshire, having meanwhile married Maria Leicester. They spent winters in Rome for his poor health, and he died 18 February of consumption. Buried as he had requested, next to Bun-

sen children (see 1821 and 1823 above) in Old Cemetery on 22 February. Licence from Papal Vicariate cited as precedent when Mary Garden died (see 1834 Garden below). His nephew, guide-book writer, A.J.C. Hare, born in Rome one month later, was soon adopted by Maria Leycester. ASAC, 51; Bunsen 1868, 399; Hare 1879; PCR, 292–293; Krogel 1995, 171.

1834. Garden, Mary Robertson. Scottish girl. Second daughter of Alexander Garden of Glasgow, died 18 November aged 18 at Frascati (gravestone inscription). Gardens were one of Glasgow's family dynasties grown rich from West Indian trade. Marrying Rebecca Monteith, her father Alexander consolidated relations with another dynasty, Monteith, Bogle and Co. Following Mary's early death, her brother asked British Consul, John Freeborn, to obtain authorization for burial in Old Cemetery. *Conservatori* at the Campidoglio refused but Papal Vicariate, citing the Hare precedent (see previous entry), accepted it on 20 November. Buried next day in service led by Edward Neale, minister at All Saints' Anglican Church. ASAC, 54; Devine 1978; PCR, 291; Krogel 1995, 170–172.

1836. Abeken, Mary (*née* Hutchings Thompson; 1806–1836). English governess. Born in Dover, UK, into affluent family of army officer, but early death of her parents and of fiancé left her in difficulty. In 1832 became governess to the many surviving Bunsen children (see 1823 above) in Rome. In May 1835, although already seriously ill from inflammation of lungs and unlikely to recover, married Heinrich Abeken (1809–1872), tutor to Bunsen's sons and, from 1834, chaplain to Prussian Legation. Died 15 August 1836 at Frascati while staying there with the Bunsens. Bunsen 1868, 425, 431; Barrett-Lennard & Hoper 1911, 24, 34–37, 41; PCR, 281.

1837. Severn, Arthur (1836–1837). English infant boy. Fifth child of Joseph Severn and Elizabeth Montgomerie, died 15 July aged eight months of suffocation in household accident. Buried same day by Heinrich Abeken (see above). Grave, listed as earth-grave no. XI, to right of Keats's grave (see 1821 above) was marked by wooden cross no. 44 (its number in Cemetery register). For his father's burial in 1882 alongside Keats, his remains were moved to foot of father's grave and a gravestone erected. ASAC, 63; PCR, 307; Brown 2009, 209, 211; Stanley-Price 2019.

ADDENDUM

1803. Gareis, Franz (1775–1803). German painter. Died in May of typhus soon after arrival in Rome, buried at Pyramid. Wenzel & Winzeler 2003, 41.

NOTES TO THE INVENTORY

1. Some dates have been corrected from published ones that ignored the use in epitaphs of the ancient Roman calendar system (based on the Kalends, Nones, and Ides). For example, Wilhelm von Humboldt died on 15 August (18.KAL. SEPT) and not 18 September (PCR, 294, but corrected in following entry) and James Macdonald on 26 July (VII.KAL. AVGVST), not 1 August as in PCR, 296.

2. Descriptions in the Inventory of a grave's location, e.g., "near the von Humboldt grave" are from entries made at the time of burial in the AEG (and cited by Krogel in PCR).

3. Possible addenda

1738. Langton. Two other individuals excavated with his remains, if not among those already listed above.

1774. Colders, Petrus Josephus from Malines. Graffito on a tomb, Stanley-Price 2012b, 3–4.

1778. Frahm, Christian Daniel, Danish painter, born Wismar. Died in knife fight. Lange 2015.

1779. Nagel, Georg Abraham, German painter from Nürnberg. Self-portrait in Uffizi. Noack 1927, vol. 2, 419.

1814. Grass, Karl Gotthard. German painter, poet, son of Lutheran pastor in Livonia. Noack 1927, vol. 2, 216.

4. Corrigenda

1803. Friedrich. In his 1840 Catalogue (see *Table 1*), Giovanni Trucchi confused the two von Humboldt children. Gustav (d. 1807) is recorded under 1803 which led to him omitting Wilhelm (d. 1803), whom instead he added at the end of his Old Cemetery list as "*Termini di Guglielmo Humboldt*", a misreading of Wilhelm's epitaph.

1807. "Bourler" in Rahtz's 1989 list refers to the Bowles request in 1807 to erect a monument.

1812. "Knebet" in Rahtz's 1989 list = 1822 Knébel.

1821. "*Regina*" in Rahtz's 1989 list = Carey, listed there.

1823. Harris. The cenotaph was misdated by Francesco Trucchi to 1827 for the Cemetery register, and reported undated as "Jules Harris" in the Parliamentary Papers 1889. Listed by Rahtz *et al.* (1989) as *Harris* 1888.

1875. Po in Rahtz *et al.*'s 1989 list is apparently not a funerary monument (*Newsletter. Friends of the Non-Catholic Cemetery in Rome* 24 (Autumn 2013), 3).

The "grave of Miss Gore in Rome" (mentioned in a letter of 1788 from J.W. von Goethe to F.W. von Stein; Nylander 1992, 239) is probably a misunderstanding, being related to Miss Emily Gore, daughter of an English family which had visited Rome and which was known to Goethe in Weimar. There is no evidence of her having died in Rome.

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PRIMARY SOURCES

AEG = Archiv der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Gemeinde, Rome, Kirchenbuch der Evangelischen Gemeinde zu Rom 1819–1861.

ASAC = All Saints' Anglican Church, Rome, Burial Register, 1825–1871.

ASC = Archivio Storico Capitolino, Rome, *Camera Capitolina*, *Cred.* XVIII, t.54, & *Cred.* XX, t.104.

AVCAU = Archivum Venerabilis Collegii Anglorum de Urbe, Venerable English College, Rome, Liber 292.

RBF = Brinsley Ford archive, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, London.

OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

GM = *Gentleman's Magazine*.

PCR = Biographies, in *The Protestant Cemetery in Rome. The "Parte Antica"*, eds. A. Menniti Ippoliti & P. Vian, Rome 1989, 281–316.

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