

SVENSKA INSTITUTEN I ATHEN OCH ROM  
INSTITUTUM ATHENIENSE ATQUE INSTITUTUM ROMANUM REGNI SUECIAE

---

# Opuscula

Annual of the Swedish Institutes at Athens and Rome

15  
2022

STOCKHOLM

#### EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

Prof. Henrik Gerding, Lund, Chairman  
Dr Lena Sjögren, Stockholm, Vice-chairman  
Mrs Kristina Björkstén Jersenius, Stockholm, Treasurer  
Dr Susanne Berndt, Stockholm, Secretary  
Prof. Denis Searby, Stockholm  
Prof. Christer Henriksén, Uppsala  
Prof. Sabrina Norlander-Eliasson, Stockholm  
Dr Lewis Webb, Gothenburg  
Prof. Gunnel Ekroth, Uppsala  
Ms Emelie Byström, Uppsala  
Dr Ulf R. Hansson, Rome  
Dr Jenny Wallensten, Athens

#### EDITOR

Dr Julia Habetzeder

#### SECRETARY'S & EDITOR'S ADDRESS

Department of Archaeology and Classical Studies  
Stockholm University  
106 91 Stockholm, Sweden  
secretary@ecsi.se | editor@ecsi.se

#### DISTRIBUTOR

Eddy.se AB  
Box 1310  
621 24 Visby, Sweden

For general information, see <http://ecsi.se>  
For subscriptions, prices and delivery, see <http://ecsi.bokorder.se>  
Published with the aid of a grant from The Swedish Research Council (2020-01217)  
The English text was revised by Rebecca Montague, Hindon, Salisbury, UK

*Opuscula* is a peer reviewed journal. Contributions to *Opuscula* should be sent to the Secretary of the Editorial Committee before 1 November every year. Contributors are requested to include an abstract summarizing the main points and principal conclusions of their article. For style of references to be adopted, see <http://ecsi.se>. Books for review should be sent to the Secretary of the Editorial Committee.

ISSN 2000-0898

ISBN 978-91-977799-4-4

© Svenska Institutet i Athen and Svenska Institutet i Rom

Printed by PrintBest (Viljandi, Estonia) via Italgraf Media AB (Stockholm, Sweden) 2022

Cover illustrations from Peter M. Fischer & Teresa Bürge in this volume, p. 48

# Memorial sculpture in the Protestant Cemetery at Rome

## New discoveries and an inventory of identified works

### Abstract

The funerary sculpture in the Protestant Cemetery in Rome, the heart of Catholicism, has been little studied. A new inventory of monuments lists over 130 works for which the sculptor, architect or bronze foundry, either Italian or non-Italian, has been identified. Many new identifications, often based on previously unrecorded inscriptions, have brought to light the work of well-documented foreign sculptors who had settled in Rome either temporarily or permanently. Several elaborate monuments were evidently commissions from wealthy relatives or friends of the deceased, but a greater number were contributed by artistic family members or by other fellow artists. In these frequent cases, a desire to commemorate a relative or personal friend, rather than financial gain, would have been the primary motivation.\*

*Keywords:* Italy, Rome, Protestant Cemetery, sculpture, sculptors, tombs, commissions, memorials

<https://doi.org/10.30549/opathrom-15-06>

For more than 300 years non-Catholic foreigners who died in Rome have been buried in a cemetery specifically designated for them. Around 1716, with the arrival of a distinguished Protestant member of the exiled Stuart court, the Papacy conceded a separate burial-ground for foreigners who died

in Rome.<sup>1</sup> The cemetery eventually became a popular destination for visitors to the city, as attested by numerous travellers' memoirs and guidebooks such as Murray's and Baedeker's which celebrated its beautiful setting and the interest of its graves. Among the latter, the graves of the two Romantic poets John Keats and Percy Bysshe Shelley have continued since the 1820s to attract the majority of visitors.<sup>2</sup>

From even earlier, since the peak of the Grand Tour in the 18th century, it was the very location of the Old Cemetery that drew attention to it, lying as it did at the foot of the pyramidal tomb of Gaius Cestius (1st century BC) (*Fig. 1*).<sup>3</sup> The building of pyramidal mausolea in the parks and churchyards of northern Europe and North America owed as much to visitors who had experienced Gaius Cestius's tomb in Rome as to those far fewer travellers who had seen the pyramids at Gizeh. Mausolea imitating the Egyptian pyramids can be found in northern Europe, for example the Tumulus (1856) erected at Branitz (near Cottbus in north-east Germany) as his future burial-place by Hermann Fürst von Pückler-Muskau (1785–1871) who travelled extensively in Egypt.<sup>4</sup> But the Pyramid of Gaius Cestius, of more acute profile compared with the ones at Gizeh, was widely imitated. It probably influenced the design by Antonio Canova (1757–1822) for his Tomb of Maria Cristina of Austria (completed 1805) in Vienna and used later for his own monument (1827) in the Frari Church in Venice; but also other monuments in northern Europe such

\* *Acknowledgments:* Amanda Thursfield, Director of the Non-Catholic Cemetery, kindly granted access to cemetery records and photographs, and the following provided information: Roberta Bertazzoni, Wolfgang Bornemann, Uwe Bornscheuer, Laura Fitzmaurice, Sophie Hay, Diana Kaley, Natalia Kalugina, Annette Landen, Emilia Ludovici, Lisa Lundgren, Bo Lundin, Jana Kebertová, Steen Neergaard, Gabriella Pallenberg, Francis Plowden, Arianna Ricci, Eugen Ruschtal, Oddbjørn Sørmoen, Anna Wegener, Susanna Widjeskog, and Anna Chiara Wohl. Wolfgang Bornemann, John F. McGuigan Jr, and Kjetil Melby kindly supplied photographs.

<sup>1</sup> Corp 2011; Stanley-Price 2017. For the overall history and administration of this private cemetery, see Krogel 1995; Menniti Ippolito 2014; Stanley-Price 2014.

<sup>2</sup> Stanley-Price 2016; 2019. Most early burials were of British origin, hence the popular name of "the English cemetery" before "Protestant cemetery" predominated in the 19th century. "The Non-Catholic Cemetery for Foreigners, Rome" is now the preferred title in English ([www.cemeteryrome.it](http://www.cemeteryrome.it)).

<sup>3</sup> Stanley-Price *et al.* 2016.

<sup>4</sup> See photographs in Trende *et al.* 2004, 22, 50, 66, 73, 84.



Fig. 1. Unknown photographer, *The Protestant Cemetery* (photograph Anderson, no. 258), c. 1861 (dated on internal evidence; private collection). From left to right: the Old Cemetery, the pyramid-tomb of Gaius Cestius, and the New Cemetery with, on the right, the few graves in the new extension inaugurated in 1859.

as Nicholas Hawksmoor's pyramidal memorial (before 1727) at Castle Howard in northern England,<sup>5</sup> the Mausoleum (1810) at Brightling in southern England,<sup>6</sup> and the unrealized project (c. 1810) of Alexandre-Théodore Brongniart for the Père Lachaise Cemetery in Paris.<sup>7</sup>

In contrast to the Pyramid, the influence further afield of memorial sculpture in the Protestant Cemetery has received scant attention, since the sculpture itself has been little studied.<sup>8</sup> In his survey of sculpture in Rome, Alberto Riccoboni usefully identified the authors of a number of memorials in

the cemetery.<sup>9</sup> The art historian William Gerds studied the work of American sculptors there, while Christina Huemer, apparently unaware of Gerds' essay, described the more notable monuments in their historical context.<sup>10</sup> Otherwise, the topic as a whole has been neglected.

Sandra Berresford proposed various reasons why the wealth of 19th-century Catholic funerary sculpture in Italy had not received the study it deserved.<sup>11</sup> Among them were the emphasis given generally to public celebratory sculpture and, for market purposes, to small genre and decorative works, together with a more practical reason—the difficulty of iden-

<sup>5</sup> <https://britishlistedbuildings.co.uk/101149012-castle-howard-pyramid-in-pretty-wood-henderskelfe>

<sup>6</sup> <https://www.historichousesfoundation.org.uk/brightling-mausoleum>

<sup>7</sup> Watercolour in Musée Carnavalet, Paris, no. D 6697.

<sup>8</sup> For example, although relevant to the volume's declared theme, it is not mentioned in Macsotay 2017.

<sup>9</sup> Riccoboni 1942, who mentions more than are listed in his index under "*Cimitero acattolico*".

<sup>10</sup> Gerds 1992, 133–149; Huemer 2012, 204–214.

<sup>11</sup> Berresford 2004, 33.

tifying funerary sculpture, often installed in remote locations and little publicized. These practical considerations are especially true of a cemetery for Protestant foreigners dying far from home. Berresford's final reason—the modern antipathy to the whole subject of death—has changed in recent years, however, as reflected in the rise of “cemetery tourism”.

Despite its neglect, the funerary sculpture of the Protestant Cemetery is of particular interest since it is mostly the product of foreign artists who had settled in Rome either temporarily or long-term. Many of them eventually returned to their native countries and became renowned sculptors. Others such as John Gibson (1790–1866) and Josef von Kopf (1827–1903) achieved that renown while staying in Rome where they eventually died and were buried in the Protestant Cemetery. Tomb sculptures in the cemetery by well-known foreign artists such as John Gibson, Benjamin Spence and Bertel Thorvaldsen and by the Italian Ettore Ximenes have long been known, but others have received only local attention or, in many cases, have not previously been published or even discovered. Two that have attracted wider interest have been Giovanni Battista Piranesi's simple but elegant memorial to James Macdonald (d. 1766), and William Wetmore Story's memorial (1895) to his wife Emelyn. Roberta Battaglia observed that Piranesi's design was one of the first uses of the broken column to signify a life cut short.<sup>12</sup> If so, it has since been widely imitated in cemeteries (and in Freemasonry) worldwide. The most copied monument has been Story's *Angel of Grief* (1894–1895), his final work. By 1900 a photograph of it had reached Jane Stanford in California who then commissioned a copy from the Bernieri brothers in Tuscany as a memorial to her brother.<sup>13</sup> Since then, the sculpture has often been reproduced for gravesites especially, but not exclusively, in the United States. The most popular sculpture for today's visitors, it demonstrates how funerary monuments in the Protestant Cemetery have had an influence much further afield (see also the discussion below of the Scipio Barbatus Sarcophagus).

These are exceptions, however, to the rule of under-appreciation. The aim here therefore is to provide an inventory (see below) of all sculptures in the Protestant Cemetery whose creators have been identified, many of them newly discovered. The inventory, with over 130 entries, provides the substantive basis for a brief review of the types of memorials that Protestants favoured and of the significant works by known sculptors that have not previously been reported. This leads in turn to the question whether funerary sculpture could have been a dependable source of income for foreign artists settled in Rome when not engaged on more attractive commissions.

## The nature of funerary sculpture in the Protestant Cemetery

The small scale and the diversity of this funerary sculpture can be attributed to its being found in what was a cemetery for non-Catholics located in the heart of Roman Catholicism. Its diversity is due to the long tradition of Italian stone-working, particularly in marble and travertine, which was then exploited by artists from northern Europe and North America learning from that tradition and adapting it to their own artistic aims. With very few exceptions there are lacking the types of monumental tombs, chapels and mausolea found in Italian Catholic cemeteries in general,<sup>14</sup> in the Roman municipal cemetery of Campo Verano in particular,<sup>15</sup> or even in the cemeteries of Victorian Britain.<sup>16</sup> The reasons lie in the politico-religious context of the cemetery's existence and in the social status of many of the cemetery's occupants.

Individual burials and gravestones were subject to approval being granted by the municipal authorities of Rome and sometimes by the Vatican too. Stone monuments started to be erected in the 1760s (see the Inventory, Macdonald [James]). By 1822 when this Old Cemetery was closed and the New Cemetery was opened a short distance away (cf. *Fig. 1*), over 150 burials had been made, 60 (only) of them having received a stone memorial.<sup>17</sup> Seven of these appear in the Inventory (Bowles, Carstens, Keats, Macdonald [James], More, Six and Temple). Burials and gravestones in the New Cemetery also required official authorization and the content of any epitaphs was subject to approval. The latter could contain no reference to an afterlife (*Nulla salus extra ecclesiam*)—exceptions can be found, however, which presumably had not been submitted for approval. The modest scale of most grave monuments reflects the tendency of a minority religious community to maintain a low profile (*Fig. 2*). This habit did not change after the declaration of Rome as capital of a unified Italy in 1870 and the growing tolerance in Italy of confessions other than the Catholic one.

The very small number of outsize tombs and mausolea reflects also the socioeconomic profile of the cemetery's population. As foreigners dying in a distant country, they often lacked family or friends locally who would commission and pay for other than the simplest stone grave-marker—burials were frequently marked only by numbered wooden crosses, either permanently or until a stone was installed.<sup>18</sup> The many categories of deceased foreigners whose means, inherited by their survivors, may have afforded no more than a simple head-

<sup>12</sup> Battaglia 1994.

<sup>13</sup> Jamison 1994.

<sup>14</sup> Berresford 2004; Felicori & Sborgi 2012.

<sup>15</sup> Del Bufalo 1992; Cardano 2012; Cardinali & De Ruggieri 2020.

<sup>16</sup> Curl 2000.

<sup>17</sup> Stanley-Price 2020.

<sup>18</sup> See below *Fig. 9*, bottom right, for one such wooden cross, numbered 305.



Fig. 2. Unknown photographer, *New graves in the Protestant Cemetery, Rome*, c. 1879 (dated on internal evidence; private collection). On the left, the new *Obolenskaya* monument covered by a protective roof; at front right, the bust of *Alexander Carlsson* on the tall column and the edicola of *Arnoldo Corrodi*, damaged and removed in 1979.

stone include artists, children, clergymen, craftsmen, orphans, political exiles, refugees, servants, tradesmen, tutors, widows/widowers and writers. Of the wealthier deceased, some—especially Americans in the mid- to late-19th century—would be repatriated to their own countries. Others, such as members of the aristocracy, bankers, merchants and consular officials (e.g., Freeborn, Macbean, Montagu and Page in the Inventory) could afford to be commemorated with personalized commissioned monuments. But their scale remained in keeping with the cemetery's low profile. Moreover, its topography and layout discouraged any massive construction: space was always a limiting factor within the enclosure walls of the New Cemetery which was located on a pronounced slope descending from the city walls (cf. *Figs. 1, 2*). The most striking exception is the massive Ceccarini *tempietto* (see the Inventory, Ceccarini). Erected in memory of the Italian doctor Giovanni

Ceccarini (d. 1888) in the Bologna municipal cemetery where its size was far from unusual, it was transferred following the death of his American widow to Rome and was deliberately located on flat ground at the most distant point from the entrance gate. In the Old Cemetery, the only outsize monument was the one built to a design by Bertel Thorvaldsen and his student Daniel Rauch, both of whom apparently later regretted it.<sup>19</sup>

As for the form of monuments, starting in the Old Cemetery but continuing in the New, they drew heavily on traditions derived from Classical antiquity: the obelisk, the altar (or pedestal), often bearing on its sides the *urceus*-and-*patera*

<sup>19</sup> Malorgio *et al.* 2020.



Fig. 3. Unknown sculptor, Monument to Louisa Cox (d. 1827), a copy of the Scipio Barbatus Sarcophagus. Photograph: Nicholas Stanley-Price.

Monument to:	Nationality	Death year	Location
Charles Duncombe	British	1810	Old Cemetery S23
John Eyre	British	1819	Old Cemetery S42
Elizabeth Synnot	British	1821	Old Cemetery S65
Louisa Cox	British	1827	Zone V.12.21 S174
Frederica de Montmorency	British	1827	Zone V.12.19 S176
Jane Denis	British	1829	Zone 1.15.9 S574
Margherita Peckham Tooker	American	1888	Zone 1.4.30 S1239
Carrie Brown Bajnotti	American	1892	Zone 2.8.20 S1799
Florence Baldwin Deacon	American	1918	Zone V.10.22 S223

Table 1. Copies of the Scipio Barbatus Sarcophagus in the Protestant Cemetery, Rome (not in the Inventory because their sculptors are unidentified).

(jug-and-libation-dish) motifs, and the sarcophagus.<sup>20</sup> Examples of the latter are generally copies, sometimes with simplified decoration, of the Scipio Barbatus Sarcophagus of the earliest 3rd century BC. Rediscovered in 1780 and eventually taken to the Museo Pio-Clementino in the Vatican, it was probably not easily accessible to visitors until after the museum reopened in 1807. By 1810 the family of Charles Duncombe had commissioned a copy of it for his funerary monument. Of the nine examples in the cemetery, all but the first two were commissioned for women (Table 1 and Fig. 3). The demand for copies of the sarcophagus

flourished in the period 1810–1830. It then experienced a revival at the end of the century in the form of memorials to three women from wealthy American families, all of which had mansions on Rhode Island and must have known each other. In Rome, copies appear to have appealed exclusively to the British and Americans, who in turn saw its popularity spread to their own countries. By 1832 (if not earlier) it had been adopted in the USA (for the Spurzheim Monument in Mount Auburn Cemetery, Boston) and by 1834 in Ireland (for the Curran Tomb in Glasnevin Cemetery, Dublin). The sarcophagus copies installed in the Protestant Cemetery may have been as influential as the original in the Vatican's museum in stimulating demand for these reproductions abroad.

<sup>20</sup> Huemer 2012.



Fig. 4. Alexander Pavlovic Bryullov, Mikhail Arefyevich Shchurupov and Ivan Petrovich Vitali, Monument to Karl Bryullov (d. 1852), after restoration in 2010. Photograph: Non-Catholic Cemetery Archives.



Fig. 5. Rudolf Siemering, bronze ledger for the grave of Friedrich Geselschap prior to installation. From *Geselschaps Grab*, undated and unpublished booklet, family collection.

Apart from the sarcophagi, Neoclassical styles were favoured in bas-relief or high-relief figured decoration on the Temple tomb in the Old Cemetery and on a few in the New Cemetery, for instance the Åberg, Bryullov (Fig. 4), Pallenberg, Ræder, Steinmann and Marées monuments. Symbols such as the *ouroboros* (a serpent or dragon eating its own tail) and the extinguished torch recur.<sup>21</sup> Examples of large-scale freestanding sculpture are very few, mainly the work of American artists.<sup>22</sup> Bearing comparison with the Neoclas-

<sup>21</sup> Álvarez Rodriguez 2014.

<sup>22</sup> Huemer 2012.

sical reliefs is Rudolf Siemering's extraordinary bronze relief depicting the triumph of life over death for his friend Friedrich Geselschap who had committed suicide (Fig. 5).<sup>23</sup> The portrait of Geselschap is one of many—over 50 examples of portraits are known—usually in bas-relief but occasionally in high-relief or as busts in the round. Most would have been executed post-mortem from death-masks or from photographs but some were evidently done from life (e.g., William Theed the younger's bust of John Freeborn and Josef von Kopf's bust of himself). In contrast to Catholic cemeteries, photographs

<sup>23</sup> Matthews 2013.

of the deceased were rarely permitted in this Protestant burial-ground (fewer than ten examples known), and portraits in stone or bronze predominated. Less expensive options—available from stock at a local *marmista* (monumental mason)—included a simple inscribed headstone or horizontal ledger, or a standard Latin or Celtic cross set on a stepped base that was inscribed on one or more faces. Traditionally identified as an essential symbol of Catholicism, the cross was rarely used until the mid-19th century by non-Catholics (Lutherans were the principal exception) who then adopted it deliberately in the face of growing Catholicism in the USA and in Britain.<sup>24</sup>

## Works attributed to identified sculptors: new discoveries

Those funerary monuments that can be attributed to an identified sculptor (or architect or bronze-caster) are listed alphabetically by name of the deceased in the Inventory. The

individual sculptors, architects and bronze-casters named in the Inventory are listed alphabetically in *Table 2*. It has long been known that the cemetery contained works by recognized sculptors of various nationalities: John Gibson (who designed monuments to his brother Benjamin and to his friend and rival Richard Wyatt), Richard Westmacott the younger (the monument to Rosa Bathurst), and Benjamin Spence whose full-size reclining effigy of Devereux Plantagenet Cockburn (d. 1859) is the only such monument in the Cemetery.<sup>25</sup> Work by the American sculptors William Wetmore Story (the *Angel of Grief* monument to his wife Emelyn, d. 1894), Richard Greenough and Paul Manship has received summary publication, as have sculptures by the Germans Josef von Kopf and Artur Volkmann, by the Danes Vilhelm Bissen and Bertel Thorvaldsen, and by the Swede Erik Gustav Göthe. Of the Italians, Giovanni Battista Piranesi's simple monument to James Macdonald is the best known whereas work by Giovanni Maria Benzoni, Giuseppe Sacconi and Ettore Ximenes, though noted in publications, has received little attention.

*Table 2. Identified sculptors, architects and bronze-casters of tombs in the Protestant Cemetery, Rome (N/K = not known).*

Artist or designer	Dates	Nationality	Monument
Åkerblad, Johan David, epigrapher	1763–1819	Swedish	Elizabeth Temple
Andersen, Hendrik C., sculptor	1872–1940	American	Andersen family tomb
Andriessen, Mari, sculptor	1897–1979	Dutch	Pietro Scharoff
Antokolski, Mark M., sculptor	1843–1902	Russian	Maria Obolenskaya
Banchini, Alessandro, <i>marmista</i>	N/K	Italian	Robert Finch
Bazzani, Luigi, architect	1836–1927	Italian	Giovanni Ceccarini
Benzoni, Giovanni Maria, sculptor	1809–1873	Italian	Henry Daubeney
Birjukova, Aleksandra, architect	N/K	Russian	Frank Timings
Bissen, Herman Wilhelm, sculptor	1798–1868	Danish	Johan August Krafft
Bissen, Vilhelm, sculptor	1836–1913	Danish	Johanne Bissen
Brewster, Clotilde K., architect	1874–1937	American	Henry B. Brewster
Brown, Henry Kirke, sculptor	1814–1886	American	James De Veaux
Brütt, Adolph, sculptor	1855–1939	German	Olga Steinmann
Campbell, Thomas, sculptor	1790–1858	British	Robert Leslie
Cardwell, Holme, sculptor	1813–1895	British	Aeneas Macbean
Carimini, Luca, architect	1830–1890	Italian	Cornelia Burrowes
Cencetti, Adalberto, sculptor	1847–1907	Italian	Edwin J. Hulbert
Clésinger, Jean-Baptiste, sculptor	1814–1883	French	Arnold Corrodi Hermann Corrodi
Connelly, Pierce, sculptor	1841–1932	American	Pierce Connelly

<sup>24</sup> Smith 2001; cf. Curl 2000, 266.

<sup>25</sup> Gerds 1992, 141.

Table 2 continued.

Artist or designer	Dates	Nationality	Monument
Cornill, Otto, sculptor	1824–1907	German	Hermann Kümme
Cotechini, P., sculptor	N/K	Italian (?)	Luigi Capellini
Cotogni, Raffaele, sculptor	N/K	Italian	Alessandro Gavazzi
Crawford, Thomas, sculptor	1814–1857	American	Francis Kinloch
Crescenzi foundry, Rome	-	Italian	Luigi Miceli
Dahl, Lev V., architect	1834–1878	Russian	Yulia Dahl
D'Aloia, sculptor	N/K	Italian	Nerina Volla
Ducrot, Giuseppe, sculptor	1966–	Italian	Clemente Mosca
Fauveau, Félicie de, sculptor	1801–1886	French	Maria de Bollvillez
Fazzini, Pericle, sculptor	1913–1987	Italian	Catherine Wicks
Fjelde, Jakob H.G., sculptor	1855–1896	Norwegian	Nicoline Peterssen
Fladager, Ole Henriksen, sculptor	1832–1871	Norwegian	Peter Munch
Gajassi, Vincenzo, sculptor	1810–1861	Italian	Marzio Francis Giordano
Gazzeri, Ernesto, sculptor	1866–1965	Italian	Georges Volkoff
Gerhardt, Heinrich, sculptor	1823–1915	German	Heinrich Dreber Eva von François
Gerth, Fritz, sculptor	1845–1928	German	Betty Meyer
Gibson, John, sculptor	1790–1866	British	Benjamin Gibson Richard J. Wyatt
Göthe, Erik Gustav, sculptor	1779–1838	Swedish	Elizabeth Temple
Gott, Joseph, sculptor	1785–1860	British	John Keats
Greenough, Richard S., sculptor	1819–1904	American	Sarah Greenough
Grut, Torben, architect	1871–1945	Swedish	Henrik Åberg
Hanseatische Baugesellschaft, Hamburg, foundry	-	German	Gottfried Semper
Harnisch, Albert E., sculptor	1843–1918	American	Josephine Plowden
Hasselriis, Louis, sculptor	1844–1912	Danish	Helene Klaveness Agnar Strandberg Oscar Ræder
Hoffmann, Johannes, sculptor	1844–1920	Danish	Johan Bravo Christofer Myhlenphort
Hopfgarten, Wilhelm, bronze-caster	1789–1860	German	Wilhelm Hopfgarten
Hosmer, Harriet, sculptor	1830–1908	American	Elizabeth Dundas
Hulot, Louis Jean, architect	1871–1959	French	Malvida von Meysenbug
Johnsson, Ivar, sculptor	1885–1970	Swedish	Ludmila Leksell
Jennewein, Carl P., sculptor	1890–1978	American	Charles D. Curtis
Jerichau, Jens Adolf, sculptor	1816–1883	Danish	Maria Jerichau
Keck, Charles, sculptor	1875–1951	American	Dwight Benton
Keisermann, Franz, painter	1765–1833	Swiss	Jean-François Knébel
Knapp, Johannes M., architect	1791–1861	German	Robert Finch
Kopf, Josef von, sculptor	1827–1903	German	Johann Henzen Josef von Kopf Wilhelm Waiblinger

Table 2 continued.

Artist or designer	Dates	Nationality	Monument
Küsthardt, Friedrich, sculptor	1870–1905	German	Erwin Küsthardt
Küsthardt, Helfried, architect	1862–1950	German	Erwin Küsthardt
Landowski, Paul M., sculptor	1875–1961	French	Malvida von Meysenbug
Larsen, Jørgen, sculptor	1851–1910	Danish	Johannes Takanen
Lascari, Hilda (presumed designer)	1885–1937	Swedish	Hilda Lascari
Lauchhammer foundry, Germany	-	German	Friedrich Geselschap
Leycester, Oswald, companion	1752–1846	British	James Six
Liljefors, Bruno, painter	1860–1939	Swedish	Salvatore Bartiromo
Lotsch, Christian, sculptor	1790–1873	German	August Kestner
Luchetti Gentiloni, Amos, architect	1889–1969	Italian	Hendrik Andersen
Lundberg, Theodor, sculptor	1852–1926	Swedish	Henrik Åberg
Macdonald, Alexander, sculptor	1847–?	British	Laurence Macdonald
Mangionello, Giuseppe, sculptor	1861–1939	Italian	Maria Miceli
Manship, Paul, sculptor	1885–1966	American	Frederick Crowninshield
Matthäi, Carl H.W., sculptor	1807–1888	German	Ludwig Landsberg Johann Christian Reinhart
Mazzacurati, Renato, sculptor	1907–1969	Italian	Antonio Gramsci
Melograni, Carlo, architect	1924–2021	Italian	Antonio Gramsci
Meurer, Moritz, artist	1839–1916	German	Elisabeth Meurer
Minghini, L., sculptor	N/K	Italian	John Gibson
Molin, Johan Peter, sculptor	1814–1873	Swedish	Nils Jakob Olsson Blommér
Monod, Edouard, artist	1873–1963	French	Malvida von Meysenbug
Müller, Karl, architect	c. 1870–?	German	Sidney Bowles
Nellemose, Knud, sculptor	1908–1997	Danish	Tyge Bendix
Nelli foundry, Rome	-	Italian	August Riedel
Nisini, Giovanni, bronze-caster	N/K	Italian	Lucie Kaiser
Ohlfsen-Bagge, Dora, sculptor	1869–1948	Australian	Dora Ohlfsen-Bagge
Pacetti, Vincenzo, sculptor	1746–1820	Italian	Jacob More
Parisini, Alfredo, sculptor	N/K	Italian	Caroline Vedder
Paschetto, Paolo, artist	1885–1963	Italian	Francis Lojacono
Perugini, Giuseppe, architect	1914–1995	Argentine	Giuseppe Perugini
Peterssen, Eilif, artist	1852–1928	Norwegian	Nicoline Peterssen
Piccoli, Giacomo, sculptor	N/K	Italian	John Louis Piccoli
Piranesi, Giovanni Battista, architect, artist	1720–1778	Italian	James Macdonald
Placzek, Otto, sculptor	1884–1968	German	Henriette Hertz
Puech, Denys, sculptor	1854–1922	French	Alfred Strohl-Fern
Quattrini, Enrico, sculptor	1864–1950	Italian	Polly Camilli Luigi Miceli
Rauch, Daniel, sculptor	1777–1857	German	Sidney Bowles
Riedinger foundry, Augsburg	-	German	Gottfried Semper
Roemer, Georg, sculptor	1868–1922	German	Bertha Cornelius
Rössler, Walter, sculptor	1904–1996	German	Friedrich Stahl

Table 2 continued.

Artist or designer	Dates	Nationality	Monument
Rossetti, Pietro, sculptor	fl. 1930–1980	Italian	Salvatore Bartiromo
Rossi, Ettore, architect	1894–1968	Italian	Clara Kirk
Runeberg, Walter, sculptor	1838–1920	Finnish	Peter Bruun Victor Hoving Carl M. Runeberg
Sacconi, Giuseppe, sculptor	1854–1905	Italian	August Riedel
Schäfer, Bruno, sculptor	1883–1957	German	Helene von Gerstfeld
Schulz, Paul, sculptor	1875–1945	Polish	Carl Ludwig Stein
Schulze, Friedrich, sculptor	1838–1914	German	Ulrike Wedecke
Shchurupov, Mikhail, architect	1815–1901	Russian	Karl Bryullov
Sciortino, Antonio, sculptor	1879–1947	Maltese	Violet Court Annie S. Millar
Seeboeck, Ferdinand, sculptor	1864–1952	Austrian	Auguste von Bähndorf Elsbeth Passarge Konrad Telmann
Semper, Emanuel, sculptor	1848–1911	German	Gottfried Semper
Semper, Manfred, architect	1838–1913	German	Gottfried Semper
Severn, Joseph, painter	1793–1879	British	John Keats
Siemering, Rudolf, sculptor	1835–1905	German	Friedrich Geselschap
Simmons, Franklin, sculptor	1839–1913	American	Ella B. Simmons
Spence, Benjamin, sculptor	1823–1866	British	Devereux Cockburn
Stanley, John Thomas, companion	1766–1850	British	James Six
Stebbins, Emma, sculptor	1815–1882	American	Katharine Appleton
Sterne, Maurice, sculptor	1878–1957	American	Reginald Hughes
Story, William Wetmore, sculptor	1819–1895	American	Emelyn Story
Stotz, Paul, foundry, Stuttgart	-	German	Erwin Küsthardt
Strazza, Giovanni, sculptor	1818–1875	Italian	Margarette Gonzales
Strunke, Niklas, painter	1894–1966	Latvian	Niklas Strunke
Tadolini, Tito, sculptor	1825–c. 1900	Italian	Giovanni Ceccarini
Takanen, Johannes, sculptor	1849–1885	Finnish	Alexander Carlsson
Theed, William (the younger), sculptor	1804–1891	British	John Freeborn William Montagu
Thorvaldsen, Bertel, sculptor	1770–1844	Danish	Sidney Bowles Heinrich Reinhold August von Goethe
Trelawny, Edward, writer	1792–1881	British	Percy Bysshe Shelley
Troschel, Julius, sculptor	1806–1863	German	Olaus Kellerman
Vedder, Elihu, artist	1836–1923	American	Caroline Vedder
Vitali, Ivan Petrovich, sculptor	1794–1855	Russian	Karl Bryullov
Volkman, Artur, sculptor	1851–1941	German	Hans von Marées Angela Pallenberg Carl von Pidoll

Table 2 continued.

Artist or designer	Dates	Nationality	Monument
Voss, Carl, sculptor	1825–1896	German	Albertine Reiger
Wagner, Theodor, sculptor	1800–1880	German	Wilhelm F. Waiblinger
Wegelin, Hermann, sculptor	1845–1898?	German	Louis Salomonsohn
Werres, Anton Jacob, sculptor	1830–1900	German	Franz Heuser
Westmacott, Jr, Richard, sculptor	1799–1872	British	Rosa Bathurst
Wikström, Emil, sculptor	1864–1942	Finnish	Johannes Takanen
Wolff, Emil, sculptor	1802–1879	German	Emil Wolff
Wood, Shakspeare, sculptor	1827–1886	British	Francis Woodward
Württembergische Metallwarenfabrik, foundry, Geislingen	-	German	Olivia Andersen
Ximenes, Ettore, sculptor	1855–1926	Italian	Thomas Jefferson Page
Zelezny-Scholz, Helena, sculptor	1882–1974	Czech	Helena Zelezny-Scholz

To this distinguished list can be added other sculptors whose work has either been confirmed or newly identified over the past ten years. To the Americans can be added two of the group of female sculptors in the circle of Charlotte Cushman,<sup>26</sup> namely Harriet Hosmer and Emma Stebbins, both of whom designed simple gravestones for friends. Thomas Crawford, also resident in Rome, in 1840 obtained a commission from a wealthy South Carolinian family and Charles Keck produced a bronze portrait medallion of the painter Dwight Benson. The fine bust of Josephine Plowden was commissioned from an American sculptor recognized for his portrait busts, Albert Harnisch. Alberto Riccoboni dated it to 1878, the year of her marriage as a Protestant to the Catholic Charles William Plowden. The bust was stolen in 1982 but is known from a photograph (*Fig. 6*).<sup>27</sup> The work of the sculptor Dora Ohlfsen-Bagge has received critical reappraisal in a recent retrospective exhibition in her native Australia and in new publications; her sculpture of Dionysius adorns her own gravestone in Rome.<sup>28</sup> To the two monuments previously identified as by the Austrian Ferdinand Seeboeck can now be added his bronze portrait medallion of the German writer Konrad Telmann.

Among the work of British sculptors, the presence of two attributed to William Theed the younger is of interest, as is the simple headstone inscribed by the Scottish sculptor Thomas Campbell. The monument to William Montagu, 5th Duke of Manchester (d. 1843) is inscribed “W. THEED” and Theed was also responsible for a bust of John Freeborn, an English wine merchant, banker and long-term consular official in Rome until his death in 1859. The bust is earlier, how-

ever, bearing a date of 1847, the year before Theed returned to England after 20 years in the city.

Of the many German sculptors resident in Rome, Artur Volkmann (1851–1941) designed three of the finest Neoclassical reliefs on tombs, all of them belonging to fellow artists who moved in the same circle as Volkmann. To the previously known Hans von Marées and Carl von Pidoll monuments<sup>29</sup> can be added, thanks to a family tradition, the Pallenberg family tomb in which lies Angela Pallenberg, daughter of Arnold Böcklin. Also recently recognized are the bronze medallion made by Julius Troschel for the grave of Olaus Kellerman, a young Danish epigrapher who died in the cholera outbreak of 1837; a bust of Franz Heuser by Anton Jacob Werres; and—significantly—the initials “W H” inscribed on the portrait medallion of the celebrated bronze-caster Wilhelm Hopfgarten, whose superb bronze castings produced with Benjamin Ludwig Jollage have now received the study they deserve.<sup>30</sup>

Bertel Thorvaldsen’s long stay in Rome left its mark in the cemetery with his portrait medallions on the graves of the son (d. 1840) of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe and of the painter Heinrich Reinhold (d. 1825), and with his design for the massive Bowles monument (1808). Danish sculptors are also well represented by the Bissens and their followers. Herman Wilhelm Bissen (1798–1868) delayed 30 years before executing his funerary *stele* and portrait of the painter Johan August Krafft (d. 1829). For his young wife’s grave, his son Vilhelm followed the family’s adopted classical form of a *stele* topped by an *anthemion* (palmette) which is found also on the family grave in Copenhagen. His student Louis Hasselriis, only eight years younger than Bissen, contributed three sculptures, the most accomplished one dating from late in his long career in

<sup>26</sup> Parrott 1988.

<sup>27</sup> On Harnisch’s uneven career, see Catterson 2017; Stanley-Price 2022.

<sup>28</sup> Chanin & Miller 2015; <https://www.artgallery.nsw.gov.au/artboards/dora-ohlfsen/>

<sup>29</sup> Geller 1961, 49–50.

<sup>30</sup> Telato 2016.



Fig. 6. Albert E. Harnisch, *Bust of Josephine Plowden*, 1878. Photograph: M. Piermattei, *Non-Catholic Cemetery Archives*, 1920s.

Rome, the seated female statue of the young Norwegian woman Helene Klaveness (Fig. 7). The Finnish sculptor Johannes Takanen (1849–1885) made a portrait bust of his close friend and fellow sculptor Alexander Carlsson (d. 1878) but his own tomb in the cemetery was the target of the earliest documented theft of a sculpture (previous incidents are referred to in the cemetery's archives but not specified). This was in 1918 when the portrait medallion of Johannes Takanen by the Dane Jørgen Larsen was stolen. It was replaced nine years later by the medallion visible today executed by his fellow Finn Emil Wikström (1864–1942). The other ten or so documented thefts of sculptures date to the period 1974–1997.

Other discoveries include the signature of Johan Peter Molin on the portrait of his fellow Swedish artist Nils Jakob Olsson Blommér, joining the works by other Swedes such as Erik Gustav Göthe (a pupil of Johan Tobias Sergel), Theodor Lundberg and Ivar Johnsson. The only known sculpture by the Norwegian painter Eilif Peterssen is a delicate bas-relief portrait of his wife Nicoline, which was then produced in marble by Jakob Fjelde. The most prominent Norwegian monument is the obelisk,



Fig. 7. Louis Hasselriis, *Monument to Helene Klaveness (d. 1908)*, soon after installation. Photograph from family collection.

bearing a portrait medallion, erected to the national historian Peter Munch (1810–1863) to a design by a fellow Norwegian, Ole Fladager. The latter was one of at least a dozen sculptors whose work can be seen in the cemetery in which they themselves are buried: Holme Cardwell, Ole Fladager, John Gibson, Richard Greenough, Josef von Kopf, Christian Lotsch, Theodor Lundberg, Carl Matthiä, Franklin Simmons, William Wetmore Story, Johannes Takanen and Shakspeare Wood.

Several of the Italians commissioned by foreigners for funerary sculpture are little known nowadays. Exceptions among the new discoveries are Adalberto Cencetti, a student of Adamo Tadolini, who first made his name with funerary monuments, Vincenzo Gajassi known for his engravings as well as his sculptures, and Paolo Paschetto, a talented artist and designer especially of mural paintings and stained-glass windows for Protestant churches.<sup>31</sup> The latter's unusual design for the Lojacono tomb (1932) appears to be his only such

<sup>31</sup> Quattrocchi 1979; Apolloni 1998; Silvestri 2014.

work. Also unique in the cemetery is the square, domed chamber, a form of *sacellum*, commissioned from Ettore Rossi by the American diplomat Alexander Kirk following the death of his mother in 1936. Rossi was one of the leading modernist architects in Rome at the time, known especially for his hospital designs.<sup>32</sup> In the same year (1936), the Maltese sculptor Antonio Sciortino experienced the Fascist government's closure of the British Academy of Art in Via Margutta that he had directed on an honorary basis for 25 years. To his beautiful Art Nouveau angel on the Court tomb, rediscovered by Dennis Vella,<sup>33</sup> can be added another commission attributed to him in the cemetery archives, the much simpler pedestal at the grave of Annie Stevenson Millar.

## Foreign sculptors and funerary monument commissions

In the light of this review of the many previously undocumented works, how important was funerary sculpture as a source of income to foreign artists resident in Rome? Many of the larger works were commissions funded by wealthy relatives or friends of the deceased; but others were done, perhaps without charge or for a much-reduced fee, by a sculptor who was a relative or a friend. Could a foreign sculptor depend, as perhaps he/she could in their home country, on designs for grave monuments when other commissions were not forthcoming?

For Italian sculptors in the 19th century, funerary sculpture was an important source of income.<sup>34</sup> Compared with their Italian counterparts, foreign sculptors were at a severe disadvantage in Rome. Those who were not Catholic were less likely to be considered for commissions in Catholic churches<sup>35</sup> although there were more exceptions than those listed by William Gerds: for example, Harriet Hosmer's Falconnet tomb (1858) in the church of Sant'Andrea delle Fratte;<sup>36</sup> Emil Wolff's grave monuments to Rudolf von Schadow in the same church and to Joseph Sennius in the church of S. Maria in Aquiro;<sup>37</sup> Christian Lotsch's Schlosser monument in the church of Santi Vincenzo e Anastasio, and Julius Troschel's bust of Franz Catel in the church of S. Maria del Popolo.<sup>38</sup> In addition, Wilhelm Hopfgarten cast bronze fittings for the tabernacle and candles for the high altar in the church of

S. Paolo fuori le Mura, and provided without charge a crucifix for a grave in the Camposanto Teutonico (the German cemetery in the Vatican).<sup>39</sup> These remain exceptional, however, since in general Italian artists were preferred.

Commissions to foreigners for memorial sculpture in the Roman municipal cemetery of Campo Verano were also rare. Most of the Italian sculptors named here (e.g., Giovanni Maria Benzoni, Luca Carimini, Ernesto Gazzeri, Enrico Quattrini, Giuseppe Sacconi, Tito Tadolini and Ettore Ximenes) are represented at Campo Verano but very few foreigners (Richard Greenough, Josef von Kopf and Julius Troschel are exceptions).<sup>40</sup> There was also a time when foreign sculptors faced another obstacle, in not being permitted to compete nationally. Antonio Sciortino, who studied and then remained in Rome for more than 30 years, was often considered an "Italian" artist. He won commissions abroad in Britain, Russia and his native Malta but could not enter Italian public competitions.<sup>41</sup>

The potential for funerary sculpture to provide a substantial income to non-Italian sculptors was limited to a few leading practitioners of the art. Wealthy relatives of the deceased sought one of them to provide a suitably conspicuous memorial. Thus in 1806 the rich widow of Sidney Bowles engaged Bertel Thorvaldsen to design a monument and a German architect to implement what proved to be a very expensive project. A few years later Sir Grenville Temple wished to commemorate his American wife with a carved Neoclassical-style frieze depicting the bereaved family.<sup>42</sup> The custom of including surviving family members as mourners in funerary sculpture was common on Italian Catholic tombs<sup>43</sup> but this appears to be the sole example so far recognized in the Protestant Cemetery. Temple's commissioning of Swedes for the monument (Erik Gustav Göthe) and for its epitaph (Johan David Åkerblad) may reflect the scarcity of British sculptors of note remaining in Rome during the Napoleonic Wars. When in 1840 the young Francis Kinloch, a student of sculpture, died in Rome, his affluent family in South Carolina did not hesitate to commission the leading American sculptor in the city, Thomas Crawford, to design a monument—a previously unknown work by that sculptor. The Russian sculptor Mark Antokolski was a friend of the family when, resident in Rome, he was asked in 1876 to design his outstanding monument to the Princess Maria Obolenskaya, his only work in Italy (*Fig. 8*). The independently wealthy diplomat Alexander Kirk could afford to engage a prominent Italian architect (Ettore Rossi). Rarely, a non-resident sculptor was called upon: Konrad Fiedler,

<sup>32</sup> Pandolfi 2013.

<sup>33</sup> Vella 2005.

<sup>34</sup> Berresford 2004, 33.

<sup>35</sup> Gerds 1992, 134.

<sup>36</sup> Groseclose 1980.

<sup>37</sup> Geller 1961, 39, 78, 80.

<sup>38</sup> Geller 1961, 32, 40.

<sup>39</sup> Geller 1961, 38, 82, 84.

<sup>40</sup> Del Bufalo 1992.

<sup>41</sup> Vella 2000, 32.

<sup>42</sup> Millroth 1975, 89, n. 3.

<sup>43</sup> Berresford 2004, 122.



Fig. 8. Mark Matveyevich Antokolski, *Monument to Maria Obolenskaya* (d. 1873) after restoration in 2018. Detail; photograph: G. Malorgio.

the friend and patron of Hans von Marées, sent Artur Volkmann from Germany to design the elaborate Neoclassical relief for the von Marées tomb, the first of his three works in the cemetery.<sup>44</sup>

These examples show that ample financial resources were occasionally invested in monuments, to the benefit of local sculptors and of the Roman craftsmen who produced and installed the finished works. In some cases, components such as sculptural inserts or attachments were produced elsewhere prior to their assembly in Rome, as they were for the elaborate tomb of the architect Gottfried Semper (see the Inventory). His two sons supervised the project, the sculptor Emanuel Semper modelling the portrait and the reliefs of Hercules that were then produced in marble at the Hanseatische Baugesellschaft in Hamburg. The laurel wreaths and swags in bronze were cast at the Riedinger foundry in Augsburg, and then the various components were attached to the Carrara marble sarcophagus constructed for the grave-site.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>44</sup> Geller 1961, 60–62.

<sup>45</sup> Semper 1883, 317.

The role of the two sons would have reduced expenditure for this elaborate monument, one of many in which costs were lowered by involving family members or fellow artists at the start of their careers who may have received modest honoraria or who contributed without payment. For the monument in memory of Malvida von Meysenbug, Gabriel Monod engaged two young *pensionnaires* at the Académie de France (housed in the Villa Medici), one an architect and the other a sculptor.<sup>46</sup> The American Academy in Rome also saw its resident scholars/artists involved in projects at the cemetery. Charles Keck's stay in Rome (1899–1905) coincided with the death of the painter Dwight Benton, for whose tomb he made a portrait medallion, and two former Academy fellows, an architect and a sculptor, collaborated on a headstone for their colleague, the archaeologist Charles Densmore Curtis. Either an honorarium exchanged hands or, when artists provided a memorial for a fellow artist, as the Küsthardts did for their painter brother and Johannes Takanen did for his close friend Alexander Carlsson, there may have been no financial transaction. Similarly, Bertel Thorvaldsen could waive fees: August von Goethe, the writer's son, was due to sit to him for a portrait but his death a few days later prevented it, whereupon the sculptor offered to make a post-mortem portrait medallion for the son's headstone.<sup>47</sup> Costs could also be much reduced, and an appropriate tribute paid, by installing on the monument one of the deceased's own productions (e.g., Pierce Connelly, Dora Ohlfen-Bagge and Helena Zelezny-Scholz). In summary, many funerary monuments appear to have been executed as tributes to a relative or a fellow artist; they may not have represented lucrative projects for foreign sculptors resident in Rome.

Only rarely are the roles of specialized craftsmen such as the *marmista* recognized in the record of funerary (or indeed other) monuments. Unusually, Gabriel Monod credited the *marmista* Augusto Dell'Aquila in his funerary oration for Malvida von Meysenbug. Again unusually, the name of Alessandro Banchini is inscribed on the neo-Gothic Finch monument (1832) as a Roman *marmista* credited alongside its German architect. Banchini's name is also found in the city's archive of requests for authorization of gravestones, including that of Percy Bysshe Shelley.<sup>48</sup> Another gifted sculptor would have been L. Minghini who signed the marble portrait relief on John Gibson's headstone (Fig. 9) for which, based on similar portrait roundels of Gibson in public collections, authorship has been previously but erroneously assigned to either Benjamin

<sup>46</sup> Monod 1904.

<sup>47</sup> Jørnæs 2011, 187.

<sup>48</sup> Quoted by Gay 1913, 55, n. 2.

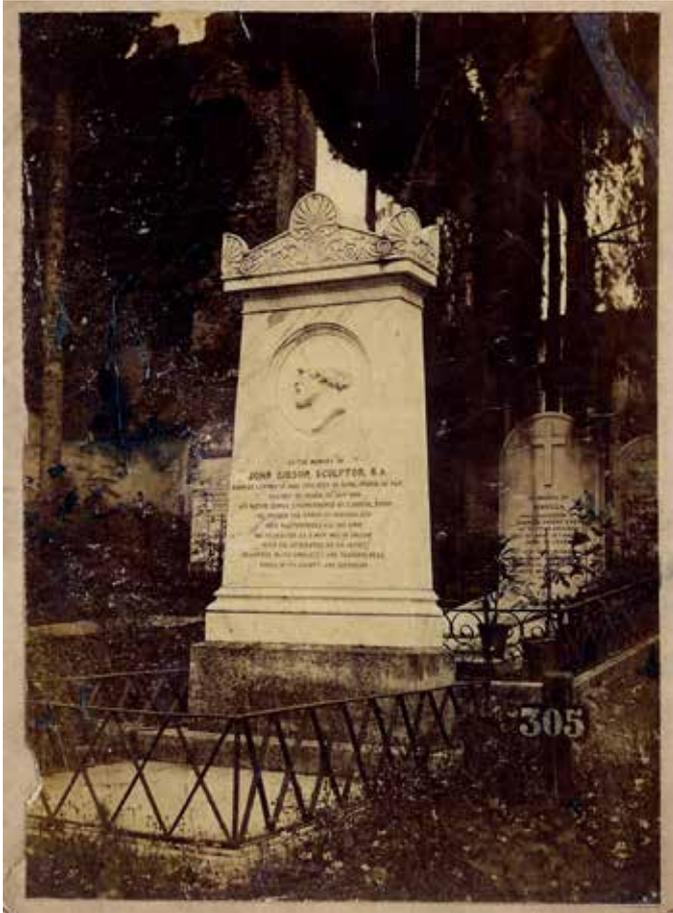


Fig. 9. John Linton Chapman (1839–1905), Tomb of John Gibson in the Non-Catholic Cemetery, Rome, early 1870s, albumen photograph. McGuigan Collection.



Fig. 10. Giuseppe Sacconi, Monument to August Riedel, 1888, after restoration in 2009. Photograph: Non-Catholic Cemetery Archives.

Spence or Harriet Hosmer.<sup>49</sup> The role of these Roman craftsmen, often under-appreciated, was acknowledged by the long-term resident English sculptor, Shakspere Wood, in his popular guide to the city: “Some of the best executed monuments in the cemetery have been made by the [sic] Giuseppe Sassi—whose address is given among others at the end of the introduction. He is a simple mason, with very little, or nothing, to show in his workshop, but is an excellent workman, and thoroughly understands his business.”<sup>50</sup>

As in Italian Catholic cemeteries,<sup>51</sup> there was a boom in the use of bronze on monuments from the 1880s, with many of the finest examples in the cemetery falling into the decade

1900–1910. Earlier examples are Julius Troschel’s portrait relief of the young Dane Olaus Kellermann (d. 1837) and, significantly, the portrait of the great bronze-caster Wilhelm Hopfgarten (d. 1860). Rome’s foundries produced most of the small-scale bronze wreaths, swags and other fittings for monuments in marble or travertine. The name of the Fonderia Alessandro Nelli appears on the Riedel bronze medallion (c. 1888; Fig. 10) and on the bronze wreaths of several monuments not listed in the Inventory (since their designers are not identified) with dates between 1893 and 1905, the year in which the Nelli foundry was taken over after defaulting. Enrico Quattrini’s bust of Luigi Miceli (d. 1906) was cast at another famous Roman foundry, Crescenzi, and a decorative element of the Kaiser tomb at the Giovanni Nisini foundry, known for its artistic designs. The Nelli and Crescenzi foundries also handled large-scale casting of statues which they supplied to destinations worldwide, but the contract for the only large bronze in the cemetery went abroad. Germany’s found-

<sup>49</sup> McGuigan 2014.

<sup>50</sup> Wood 1875, 341.

<sup>51</sup> Berresford 2004, 124.

ries had been used for elements of the Semper monument (see above) and also for the Gesellschaft ledger (Lauchhammer foundry) and the Küsthardt portrait plaque (Paul Stotz foundry, Stuttgart). Another one—the Württembergische Metallwarenfabrik in Geislingen—was selected by Hendrik Andersen for the casting of his ambitious *Eternal Life* statue which, following its rejection by Mount Auburn Cemetery in Boston, was destined to stand on his family tomb in Rome.<sup>52</sup> Andersen had been disappointed by the work of the Fonderia Laganà in Naples and by Nelli in Rome. He requested an estimate from Crescenzi but had heard of a new galvanoplastic technique developed at Geislingen and entrusted this foundry with the order. The outcome was only partly successful. The massive *Eternal Life* figure, at 3.90 m high, developed stress cracks and was returned to Geislingen for repair in 1931. On its return to Rome the cemetery authorities prevented its reinstallation (it is now exhibited in the Museo H.C. Andersen in the city), objecting to its size relative to the majority of the cemetery's monuments and, without doubt, to the frontal nudity of its male figure.

## Conclusions

The funerary sculpture in the Protestant Cemetery in Rome has not attracted interest in the same way that the burial-ground has as a whole, due to its location adjacent to the Pyramid of Gaius Cestius and to the celebrity of some of those buried there. The cemetery's sculpture is, however, important in reflecting the work of a great variety of foreign sculptors who had settled temporarily or permanently in Rome. Some monuments date from early in the careers of artists who found fame as sculptors on their return to their native countries; others were produced by sculptors who made their names in Rome and stayed in the city. Others again were commissioned from Italian sculptors familiar with the large-scale monuments typical of Catholic cemeteries. This wide range of sculpture deserves further study; the Inventory published here provides raw material to this end.

Even so, it is doubtful whether funerary sculpture represented a dependable and lucrative line of business for foreign sculptors, who were rarely considered for projects in Catholic churches or cemeteries. Few of the sculptors identified here have as many as three different projects in the Protestant Cemetery (Louis Hasselriis, Ferdinand Seeboeck, Bertel Thorvaldsen and Artur Volkman; *Table 2*). Financially rewarding projects such as the Bowles, Temple, Kirk and Obolenskaya tombs were a windfall for those engaged on them but these are the exceptions that prove the rule. Moreover, many of the de-

ceased were single people dying at a distance from their families who were not wealthy enough to order other than a simple gravestone, thus reducing the potential for commissions.

Some of the larger monuments do reflect commissions made by wealthy family members or patrons to renowned sculptors and/or architects active in the city; but others are the work of a sculptor providing an appropriate tomb for a relative or for a fellow artist, usually a compatriot. In such cases, money may not have changed hands or, if it did, the costs were met from an informal collection of funds—several epitaphs on gravestones have wording along the lines of “Erected by his friends”. The majority of monuments in the cemetery therefore represent acts of personal commemoration and devotion of this kind rather than lucrative commissions.

NICHOLAS STANLEY-PRICE

Advisory Committee, Non-Catholic Cemetery for Foreigners, Rome  
Via Caio Cestio 6  
00153 Rome, Italy  
nstanleyprice@tiscali.it

## Inventory of monuments with identified sculptors in the Protestant Cemetery, Rome

For transcriptions of tomb epitaphs and a record photograph of each sculpture, see <https://www.cemeteryrome.it/infopoint/EnCerca.asp>

**Name:** Åberg, Henrik (1841–1922). Swedish architect, painter. Zone 3.4.5.4

**Type:** pedimented headstone, marble wreath at base; on reverse, high-relief sculpture of embracing couple.

**Design:** Swedish architect Torben Grut (1871–1945). Reliefs by Swedish sculptor Theodor Lundberg (1852–1926) who is buried in the adjacent grave.

**Source:** *Nordisk Familjebok* 1926.

**Name:** Andersen, Olivia (née Cushing; 1872–1917). American wife of Andreas Andersen (1869–1902), Norwegian-American artist and brother of Hendrik Christian Andersen (1872–1940), all buried in this family tomb. Zone 1.7.10

**Type:** square-built tomb with *acroteria*, external figural and symbolic bas-reliefs and wreaths, over a subterranean crypt decorated internally with sculpture and mosaic work. Surmounted by 3.90 m-high bronze sculpture of *Eternal Life* (the *gesso* exhibited at International Exhibition of Fine Arts, Rome, 1911), cast by the Württembergische Metallwarenfabrik in Geislingen, Germany, and installed on the crypt roof around 1918 but removed for static reasons in 1931 and never

<sup>52</sup> Fabiani 2003, 112–116.

reinstalled; now in Museo H.C. Andersen, Rome. Tomb restored in 2004.

**Design:** Amos Luchetti Gentiloni (1889–1969), Italian architect, and Norwegian-American sculptor Hendrik Christian Andersen, who designed the *Eternal Life* sculpture for brother Andreas's tomb in Mount Auburn Cemetery, Boston, Massachusetts, USA (which rejected it).

**Source:** Fabiani 2003, 112–116; Amaturo 2014, 10.

**Name:** Appleton, Katharine (1816–1863). American wife of Dr Benjamin B. Appleton. Zone 1.15.35

**Type:** “Roman”-style pedestal tomb with projecting crown with volutes.

**Design:** American sculptor Emma Stebbins (1815–1882).

**Source:** inscribed “EMMA STEBBINS FECIT”. *Friends' Newsletter* 27 (2014), 1.

**Name:** Arendrup, Marie Christine (1846–1872). Danish lady's companion. Zone 1.11.48

**Type:** *stele*-type headstone crowned by *anthemion*.

**Design:** stylistically similar to designs by Vilhelm Bissen (see Bissen below).

**Source:** <https://www.cimitero-acattolico-venner.dk/marie-christine-arendrup>

**Name:** Bähndorf, Auguste von (née von Bauerhorst; 1823–1911). German actress, singer.

**Type:** composite monument with urn standing on pedestal bearing a marble bas-relief portrait, cherub figure, etc., all on square base.

**Design:** Austrian sculptor Ferdinand Seeboeck (1864–1952).

**Source:** inscribed “F. Seeboeck Roma MCMXI”. Zimmermann 1955, 155–158; *Friends' Newsletter* 50 (2020), 1–2.

**Name:** Bartiromo, Salvatore (1895–1975). Italian, husband of Barbro (née Liljefors; 1899–1949), also buried in this family tomb.

**Type:** pedestal surmounted by bronze sculpture of raptor attacking a duck.

**Design:** sculpture by Swedish artist Bruno Liljefors (1860–1939), father of Barbro Bartiromo, stolen in 1974, replaced in 1977 with a work by Italian sculptor/“*formista*” Pietro Rossetti (fl. Rome, 1930–1980).

**Source:** theft report dated 29 July 1974 in J.T. Trehwella burial file, Non-Catholic Cemetery Archives, Rome; replacement inscribed “PIETRO ROSSETTI 1977 / LIBERA IMITAZIONE DA UN OPERA DI BRUNI LILJEFORS” [free imitation of a work by Bruno Liljefors].

**Name:** Bathurst, Rosa (1808–1824). English girl. Zone V.13.17

**Type:** square pedimented pedestal, two faces with high-relief scenes, the other two inscribed.

**Design:** English sculptor Richard Westmacott Jr (1799–1872), c. 1823 but inscriptions added post-1830.

**Source:** inscribed “WESTMACOTT IUNR.” Anon 1834, 394.

**Name:** Bendix, Tyge (1894–1962). Danish painter. Zone V.6.21

**Type:** gabled *stele*-type headstone in *pietra serena* with bas-relief portrait medallion.

**Design:** Danish sculptor Knud Nellemose (1908–1997), son-in-law of Bendix.

**Source:** inscribed on reverse “K. NELLEMOSE / SCULPTOR”.

**Name:** Benton, Dwight (1834–1903). American painter. Zone 3.1.8.15

**Type:** jagged-broken headstone on base with bronze bas-relief portrait medallion.

**Design:** medallion by American sculptor Charles Keck (1875–1951).

**Source:** medallion inscribed “C. KECK / SC.”

**Name:** Bissen, Johanne Vilhelmine (born Michelsen; 1836–1862). Danish, wife of Vilhelm Bissen. Zone 2.20.9

**Type:** *stele*-type headstone in Carrara marble crowned by *anthemion*.

**Design:** Danish sculptor Vilhelm Bissen (1836–1913) from design by his father, Herman Wilhelm Bissen (1798–1868), in 1866.

**Source:** <https://www.cimitero-acattolico-venner.dk/johanne-bissen>; *Friends' Newsletter* 51 (2020), 3.

**Name:** Blommér, Nils Jakob Olsson (1816–1853). Swedish painter. Zone V.2.20

**Type:** round-topped headstone with high-relief portrait medallion.

**Design:** medallion by Swedish sculptor Johan Peter Molin (1814–1873).

**Source:** medallion inscribed “Molin Roma 1853”.

**Name:** Bollvillez, Maria de (1828–1845). Russian girl. Zone V.7.18

**Type:** Gothic-style *edicola* with high-relief carving, mosaic decoration. Restored in 2003.

**Design:** French sculptor Félicie de Fauveau (1801–1886).

**Source:** inscribed “Fel[ ... ] de Fauveau”. Mascaldi 2011, 70; *Friends' Newsletter* 25 (2013), 2–3.

**Name:** Bowles, Sidney (1776–1806). English gentleman. S16 in Old Cemetery

**Type:** granite column with marble capital on semi-pyramidal base in travertine. Restored in 2019.

**Design:** Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770–1844) with German sculptor Christian Daniel Rauch (1777–1857); erected by German architect Karl Müller (b. c. 1780) in 1808.

**Source:** Noack 1927, vol. 2, 414; *Friends' Newsletter* 35 (2016), 4–5; Malorgio *et al.* 2020.

**Name:** Brandt, Fritz (1853–1905). German painter. Zone V.5.13  
**Type:** round-topped headstone with unfinished relief carving and bronze bas-relief portrait medallion.  
**Design:** inscribed but unidentified.  
**Source:** medallion inscribed “V B. sc 190[1]”?

**Name:** Bravo, Johan (1797–1876). Danish painter and consul. Zone 2.10.4  
**Type:** tall, *stele*-type gabled headstone in travertine with bas-relief portrait medallion in Carrara marble. Restored in 2019.  
**Design:** medallion by Danish sculptor Johannes Hoffmann (1844–1920).  
**Source:** medallion inscribed “Joh. Hoffmann F. / Roma 1876”.

**Name:** Brewster, Henry Bennett (1850–1908). American writer. Zone V.14.28  
**Type:** “Roman”-style pedestal with projecting crown.  
**Design:** American architect Clotilde Kate Brewster (1874–1937), his daughter.  
**Source:** information from Laura Fitzmaurice, 2016.

**Name:** Bruun, Peter (1843–1865), Norwegian sculptor. Zone 2.18.24  
**Type:** “Roman”-style gabled headstone, relief carving of Latin cross.  
**Design:** Finnish sculptor Walter Runeberg (1838–1920).  
**Source:** information from Susanna Widjeskog. Oddbjørn Sørmoen in *Friends' Newsletter* 11 (2010), 3.

**Name:** Bryullov, Karl Pavlovich (1799–1852), Russian painter. Zone V.3.18  
**Type:** tall pedestal with pediment, its *tympanum* containing scene in high-relief; portrait bust in niche, bas-relief decoration on four sides. Restored in 2010 (see *Fig. 4* here).  
**Design:** Russian architect and artist Alexander Pavlovic Bryullov (1798–1877), brother of Karl; executed by Russian architect and sculptor Mikhail Arefyevich Shchurupov (1815–1901); portrait bust a copy of one by Russian sculptor Ivan Petrovich Vitali (1794–1855).  
**Source:** Kara-Murza 2005, 54; Natalia Kalugina in *Friends' Newsletter* 57 (2021), 1–2.

**Name:** Burrowes, Cornelia (1844–1858). American girl. Zone V.6.1  
**Type:** domed *tempietto* with eight columns on octagonal base, over octagonal monument with bas-relief decoration. Restored in 2000.  
**Design:** Italian architect Luca Carimini (1830–1890).  
**Source:** Priori & Tabarrini 1993, 29.

**Name:** Camilli, Polly Savery (née Bowers; 1848–1900), American wife of Felice Camilli. Zone 2.10.28  
**Type:** tall composite monument with stone Celtic cross supporting bronze sculpture of Christ, bronze wreath and other fixtures.  
**Design:** Italian sculptor Enrico Quattrini (1864–1950).  
**Source:** inscribed “E. QUATTRINI” on Christ figure, identified by Arianna Ricci in 2017. Ricci 2018.

**Name:** Capellini, Luigi (1841–1898), Italian evangelical pastor. Zone 1.11.9  
**Type:** marble portrait bust on high pedestal with bas-relief decoration of crosses, etc. Restored in 2004.  
**Design:** bust executed by sculptor P. Cotechini (not identified).  
**Source:** reverse of bust inscribed “P. COTECHINI / 1900”.

**Name:** Carlsson, Fredrik Wilhelm Alexander (1846–1878), Finnish sculptor. Zone 1.7.52  
**Type:** portrait bust on tall column.  
**Design:** bust by Finnish sculptor Johannes Takanen (1849–1885), 1879; compare *Bust of the sculptor Alexander Carlsson, gesso*, by J. Takanen, 1879, Finnish National Gallery, Helsinki.  
**Source:** Jaakko Liukkonen in *Friends' Newsletter* 11 (2010), 1–2.

**Name:** Carstens, Asmus Jacob (1754–1798), German-Danish painter. S63 in Old Cemetery  
**Type:** inclined ledger before headstone with marble bas-relief portrait medallion and high-relief scene. Restored in 1997, 2019.  
**Design:** headstone added in 1874, on initiative of Grand Duke of Weimar, with the portrait and a sculptural copy of Carstens's painting *Night with her Children, Sleep and Death*.  
**Source:** Springer 1978.

**Name:** Ceccarini, Giovanni (1823–1888), Italian doctor, and Maria Boorman Ceccarini (1839–1903; née Wheeler), American benefactor. Zone 3.2.11.17  
**Type:** large rectangular *tempietto* supported by three slender columns at each of the four corners, above portrait bust on central pedestal with four column supports. Restored in 2011.  
**Design:** Italian architect Luigi Bazzani (1836–1927) with *marmista* firm D. Venturi & Figlio of Bologna; bust by Tito Tadolini (1825–1910), 1891. Monument erected in Certosa Cemetery, Bologna, in 1890 and moved to Rome in 1907.  
**Source:** inscribed “D.VENTURI & FIGLIO BOLOGNA 1890”; “LUIGIBAZZANI ARCHITETTO”; bust inscribed “TITO TADOLINI ROMA 1891”; Riccoboni 1942, 496; *Friends' Newsletter* 29 (2014), 6–7.

**Name:** Cockburn, Devereux Plantagenet (1828–1850), English soldier. Zone V.4.13  
**Type:** life-size recumbent figure with dog, atop chest with bas-relief carving of heraldic arms, etc.

**Design:** English sculptor Benjamin Spence (1823–1866).  
**Source:** figure inscribed “B.E. SPENCE / FECIT. ROMÆ”.  
*Friends’ Newsletter* 31 (2015), 2.

**Name:** Connelly, Pierce Francis (1841–1932), American sculptor. Zone 3.2.1.11

**Type:** headstone in form of arch over bronze sculpture of female figure.

**Design:** sculpture by Pierce Connelly (presumed). Stolen in 1995.

**Source:** P.F. Connelly burial file, Non-Catholic Cemetery Archives, Rome.

**Name:** Cornelius, Bertha (1834–1904), German artist. Zone 1.15.2

**Type:** sarcophagus with high- and bas-relief decoration, *putti*, swags, etc.

**Design:** German sculptor Georg Roemer (1868–1922).

**Source:** Riezler 1910, 91.

**Name:** Corrodi, Arnold (1846–1874), Swiss painter. Zone 1.9.51

**Type:** steep-pitched “Gothic” *edicola* on supports (damaged in 1979 and removed to *lapidarium*) over stone bust of Christ. Cf. Corrodi, Hermann below. Restored in 1996.

**Design:** copy after French sculptor Jean-Baptiste Auguste Clésinger (1814–1883), *Bust of Christ* (1858).

**Source:** personal observation.

**Name:** Corrodi, Hermann (1844–1905), Swiss painter. Zone 2.12.4

**Type:** raised *edicola* on four columns over stone bust of Christ.

**Design:** copy after French sculptor Jean-Baptiste Auguste Clésinger (1814–1883), *Bust of Christ* (1858).

**Source:** personal observation.

**Name:** Court, Violet (1868–1914), British. Zone 3.2.4.2

**Type:** sculpture of stooping female angel in Carrara marble on travertine base. Restored in 2011.

**Design:** Maltese sculptor Antonio Sciortino (1879–1947).

**Source:** inscribed “A. Sciortino. Roma, 1915”. Vella 2005; *Friends’ Newsletter* 18 (2012), 2.

**Name:** Crowninshield, Frederic (1845–1918), American artist. Zone 3.3.6.3

**Type:** shouldered round-topped headstone with bas-relief carving. Restored in 2011.

**Design:** American sculptor Paul Manship (1885–1966).

**Source:** Wilmers & Sloan 2010, 182; Gertrude Wilmers in *Friends’ Newsletter* 17 (2012), 2–3.

**Name:** Curtis, Charles Densmore (1875–1925), American archaeologist. Zone 3.3.6.6

**Type:** “Roman”-style pedimented headstone with high-relief sculpture of figure in *tympanum*.

**Design:** American sculptor Carl P. Jennewein (1890–1978) and architect James Kellum Smith (1893–1961).

**Source:** Anon 1928, 342.

**Name:** Dahl, Yulia Vladimirova (1838–1864), Russian, daughter of doctor/writer Waldemar Ferdinand Dahl and Julia (born André). Zone 2.19.23

**Type:** shouldered headstone, its crown decorated with micro-mosaic decoration in the form of a wreath.

**Design:** Russian architect Lev Vladimirovich Dahl (1834–1878), her brother.

**Source:** information from Eugen Ruschtal, 2017.

**Name:** Daubeney, Henry (1780–1853), British Major-General. Zone V.3.17

**Type:** sculpture of flaming torch on marble column, set on pedestal base with armorial bas-relief decoration.

**Design:** Italian sculptor Giovanni Maria Benzoni (1809–1873).

**Source:** Barricelli 1966, confirmed by Roberta Bertazzoni; cf. Bertazzoni 2009.

**Name:** De Veaux, James (1812–1844), American painter. Zone V.8.15

**Type:** rectangular headstone with bas-relief portrait medallion.

**Design:** American sculptor Henry Kirke Brown (1814–1886).

**Source:** Gibbes 1846, 214.

**Name:** Dreber, Heinrich (1822–1875), German painter. Zone 2.11.18

**Type:** headstone with bas-relief portrait medallion, crowned with *anthemion*. Restored in 2007.

**Design:** portrait relief by German sculptor Heinrich Gerhardt (1823–1915).

**Source:** inscribed “H. GERHARD” [sic]. Geller 1961, 45.

**Name:** Dundas, Elizabeth (1826–1862), Scottish lady. Zone 2.20.3

**Type:** sarcophagus with chamfered sides, Celtic cross in bas-relief on top surface.

**Design:** American sculptor Harriet Hosmer (1830–1908).

**Source:** Harriet Hosmer to Ann Dundas [sister of Elizabeth], 20 April 1862 in Hosmer 1912, 186; *Friends’ Newsletter* 27 (2014), 1.

**Name:** Finch, Robert (1783–1830), English antiquary and collector. Zone V.15.20

**Type:** tall neo-Gothic spire with finials, on stepped stone base.

**Design:** German architect Johannes Michael Knapp (1791–1861), and Italian *marmista* Alessandro Banchini (dates not known).

**Source:** inscribed “JOHANNES MICHAEL / KNAPP ARCHITECTUS / STUTTGARDIENSES / INVENIT ET DIREXIT / ALESADRO [sic] BANCHINI / MARM ROMANUS / FECIT / A.S. 1832”.

**Name:** François, Eva von (1850–1884), German. Zone 1.5.41

**Type:** “Roman”-style headstone with mourning female figure in high-relief, projecting pediment with cross in *tympanum* and other decoration in bas-relief.

**Design:** German sculptor Heinrich Gerhardt (1823–1915).

**Source:** inscribed “H. GERHARDT FEC”.

**Name:** Freeborn, John (1786–1859), English banker, consul. Zone 1.16.47

**Type:** pedimented monument with corner *acroteria*, coat-of-arms within *tympanum*, niche containing head-and-shoulder bust.

**Design:** bust by English sculptor William Theed the younger (1804–1891).

**Source:** bust inscribed “W. THEED / FECIT ROMAE / 1847”.

**Name:** Gavazzi, Alessandro (1809–1889), Italian patriot, Protestant preacher. Zone 1.13.15

**Type:** head-and-shoulder bust on tall, stepped pedestal, at foot of which is a bronze wreath.

**Design:** bust in Carrara marble (1895) by Italian sculptor Raffaele Cotogni (dates unknown), unveiled 26 June 1896, similar to his bust of Gavazzi in the Janiculum Park of Memory, Rome, 1892.

**Source:** *The Tablet* 21 September 1895, 17; *New York Times* 12 July 1896; Riccoboni 1942, 495.

**Name:** Gerstfeldt, Helene von (1837–1908), Dutch. Zone 3.3.8.2

**Type:** *stele*-type headstone with extensive relief decoration. Restored in 2013.

**Design:** German sculptor Bruno Schäfer (1883–1957).

**Source:** Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome, photolibrary, s.v. “Helene von Gerstfeldt” tomb photograph U.Pl. D 26265, with annotation.

**Name:** Geselschap, Friedrich (1835–1898), German painter. Zone 1.13.20

**Type:** decorated bronze horizontal ledger with epitaph, headed by inclined bas-relief portrait medallion and two cherub figures, all in bronze (see *Fig. 5* here).

**Design:** German sculptor Rudolf Siemering (1835–1905).

**Source:** inscribed “R. Siemering / Seinem Freunde” on ledger, “R. Siemering” on medallion; and “Lauchhammer” for foundry in Germany. Matthews 2013; *Friends’ Newsletter* 38 (2017), 1–2.

**Name:** Gibson, Benjamin (1811–1851), Welsh antiquarian. Zone 1.3.11

**Type:** headstone with *anthemion* crown, a cenotaph for his burial at Bagni di Lucca, Tuscany.

**Design:** Welsh sculptor John Gibson (1790–1866), his brother, in 1852.

**Source:** epitaph on this and on his gravestone at Bagni di Lucca.

**Name:** Gibson, John (1790–1866), Welsh sculptor. Zone 1.12.28

**Type:** “Roman” type headstone with *anthemion* crown and *acroteria*, bas-relief portrait medallion in marble (see *Fig. 9* here).

**Design:** medallion executed by Italian sculptor L. Minghini (dates unknown). Restored in 2021.

**Source:** inscribed on medallion “L. MINGHINI FT ROMAE – 1867” as reported by Jannattoni 1945, 210, now faintly visible; Riccoboni 1942, 495; McGuigan 2014.

**Name:** Giordano, Marzio Francis (1801–1843), French. Zone V.9.22

**Type:** “Roman”-style pedimented headstone with *anthemia* and coat-of-arms in *tympanum*; bas-relief of angel with outspread wings carrying a scythe.

**Design:** Italian sculptor and engraver Vincenzo Gajassi (1811–1861).

**Source:** inscribed “GAJASSI”; for Vincenzo Gajassi see Riccoboni 1942, 352–353; Apolloni 1998.

**Name:** Goethe, August von (1789–1830), German, son of the writer Johann Wolfgang von Goethe. Zone 1.14.20

**Type:** round-topped headstone with bas-relief portrait medallion in Carrara marble, replaced in 1962 with copy in bronze.

**Design:** medallion by Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770–1844).

**Source:** Sass 1965, vol. 3, 98; *Friends’ Newsletter* 32 (2015), 1–2.

**Name:** Gonzales, Margarette Frances (née Hawkins; 1811–1859), Irish. Zone 1.2.4

**Type:** large urn on stepped base resting on hexagonal pedestal with bas-relief decoration and portrait medallion, all in Carrara marble.

**Design:** Italian sculptor Giovanni Strazza (1818–1875).

**Source:** information from Margherita Lamon, 1988, in M.F. Gonzales burial file, Non-Catholic Cemetery Archives, Rome.

**Name:** Gramsci, Antonio (1891–1937), Italian politician, writer. Zone 3.2.1.14

**Type:** small chest in front of headstone. Restored in 2016.

**Design:** Italian architect Carlo Melograni (1924–2021) and Italian sculptor Renato Marino Mazzacurati (1907–1969), for redesign of original monument of 1938 when transferred within the cemetery in 1957.

**Source:** A. Gramsci burial file, Non-Catholic Cemetery Archives, Rome. *Friends' Newsletter* 10 (2010), 1, 3.

**Name:** Greenough, Sarah (née Loring; 1827–1885), American. Zone 2.21.1

**Type:** marble sculpture of *Psyche* on octagonal drum resting on high hexagonal pedestal, inset with marble panels of which two with high-relief sculpture.

**Design:** American sculptor Richard Saltonstall Greenough (1819–1904), as cenotaph for wife Sarah (died at Františkovy Lázně, Czech Republic), 1886. He himself is buried next to the *Psyche* monument.

**Source:** epitaph composed by the sculptor. Gerdtz 1992, 141, fig. 79.

**Name:** Henzen, Johann Heinrich Wilhelm (1816–1887), German epigraphist. Zone 2.4.25

**Type:** “Roman”-style pedestal tomb with projecting crown with volutes, niche containing bronze head-and-shoulders bust. Restored in 2010.

**Design:** German sculptor Josef von Kopf (1827–1903); copy of marble bust in Museo di Roma (formerly in Musei Capitolini) inscribed “Kopf fec. Rom MDCCCLXXXVI”; another copy in German Archaeological Institute, Rome.

**Source:** W. Henzen burial file, Non-Catholic Cemetery Archives, Rome; Hufschmidt & Jannattoni 1989, 256.

**Name:** Hertz, Henriette (1846–1913), German philanthropist, collector. Zone 3.3.8.4

**Type:** cylindrical columnar monument with bas-relief figural decoration on square base.

**Design:** German sculptor Otto Placzek (1884–1968).

**Source:** inscribed: “Otto Placzek / Berlin 1923”. Pollak & Merkel Guldan 1994, 56.

**Name:** Heuser, Franz Theodor (1803–1870). German merchant. Zone 2.15.22

**Type:** pedimented headstone with volutes surmounted by a cross-in-*anthemion*, head-and-shoulders bust in niche with *mensola*.

**Design:** German sculptor Anton Jacob Werres (1830–1900).

**Source:** bust inscribed “WERRES fec. / Roma / 1870”.

**Name:** Hopfgarten, Wilhelm (1789–1860). German bronze-caster. Zone 1.16.45

**Type:** headstone with ornate carved relief crown, surmounted by bronze cross; bas-relief portrait medallion in bronze.

**Design:** Wilhelm Hopfgarten.

**Source:** medallion inscribed “W H”.

**Name:** Hoving, Victor (1846–1876), Finnish businessman, patron. Zone 2.10.1

**Type:** pedimented headstone with *acroteria* and *anthemion*, with bas-relief of *genius* figure. Restored in 2011.

**Design:** Finnish sculptor Walter Runeberg (1838–1920); plaster model of headstone in Finnish National Gallery, Helsinki.

**Source:** Lindgren 2009, 58; Liisa Lindgren in *Friends' Newsletter* 34 (2016), 3.

**Name:** Hughes, Reginald (1843–1924), English barrister. Zone V.13.20

**Type:** round-topped headstone with inset bronze plaque depicting a shepherd.

**Design:** American sculptor Maurice Sterne (1878–1957), possibly from design by Italian sculptor Arturo Martini (1889–1947).

**Source:** inscribed “MAURICE STERNE SCULPT”. Scialanca 2016.

**Name:** Hulbert, Edwin James (1829–1910). American mining engineer. Zone 1.11.17

**Type:** stone bust under Gothic-style canopy inside enclosure fence with corner-posts.

**Design:** bust by Italian sculptor Adalberto Cencetti (1847–1907).

**Source:** bust inscribed at rear “A. CENCETTI 1900” and at front “CALUMET” (name of Hulbert’s copper concession in Michigan, USA).

**Name:** Jensen, Othilie Christine (1880–1959). Norwegian. Zone 2.19.14

**Type:** pedestal on rusticated base block, surmounted by copy of *Hebe* sculpture by Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770–1844). Copy stolen in 1982.

**Design:** Harold Otto Jensen, her father.

**Source:** Jensen burial file, Non-Catholic Cemetery Archives, Rome.

**Name:** Jerichau, Maria (née Kutzner; 1851–1876), and painter Harald Jerichau (1851–1878), both Danish. Zone 1.7.50

**Type:** antimony statue of angel holding cross on Carrara marble base. Restored in 1997, 2019.

**Design:** Danish sculptor Jens Adolf Jerichau (1816–1883), c. 1878, father of Harald Jerichau.

**Source:** <https://www.cimitero-acattolico-venner.dk/kopi-af-harald-gerichau>

**Name:** Kaiser, Lucie (1845–1893). German. Zone 2.17.13

**Type:** bronze plaque on stone base bearing sculpture of lyre with foliage.

**Design:** unknown but product of Giovanni Nisini artistic foundry, Rome.

**Source:** bronze inscribed “G. Nisini Fus.”

**Name:** Keats, John (1795–1821), English poet. S31 in Old Cemetery

**Type:** round-topped headstone with bas-relief carving of lyre.

**Design:** English painter Joseph Severn (1793–1879), and English sculptor Joseph Gott (1785–1860). Memorial plaque (1876) on adjacent wall by English sculptor John Warrington Wood (1839–1886) with bas-relief profile portrait of Keats which in turn was based on a post-mortem portrait medallion by Italian sculptor Giuseppe Girometti (1780–1851).

**Source:** Scott & Brown 2007; Brown 2009; Stanley-Price 2019.

**Name:** Kellerman, Olaus Christian (1805–1837), Danish epigrapher. Zone 1.12.6

**Type:** “Roman”-style pedimented headstone of Carrara marble, an inset bronze medallion with scene in bas-relief. Restored in 1997, 2019.

**Design:** medallion by German sculptor Julius Troschel (1806–1863).

**Source:** medallion inscribed “Troschel 1840”. Wrongly attributed to Bertel Thorvaldsen in Riccoboni 1942, 359.

**Name:** Kestner, August (1777–1853), Hanoverian diplomat. Zone V.1.23

**Type:** “Roman”-style pedimented headstone with bas-relief portrait medallion. Restored in 2005, 2016.

**Design:** German sculptor Christian Lotsch (1790–1873).

**Source:** Zimmermann 1955, 145; Hufschmidt & Jannattoni 1989, 237.

**Name:** Kinloch, Francis (1798–1840), American student of sculpture. Zone V.10.7

**Type:** trapezoidal monument on stepped base with bas-relief portrait medallion and figured panel.

**Design:** American sculptor Thomas Crawford (1814–1857).

**Source:** inscribed on figured relief: “CT” (monogram of Crawford), and the Francis Kinloch Estate Papers cited by Alexander Moore in *Friends’ Newsletter* 43 (2018), 2.

**Name:** Kirk, Clara Comstock (1851–1936), American. Zone 2.20.21

**Type:** *sacellum*, in the form of a square building with dome, bronze entrance door.

**Design:** Italian architect Ettore Rossi (1894–1968).

**Source:** Kirk burial file, Non-Catholic Cemetery Archives, Rome. *Friends’ Newsletter* 40 (2017), 2–3.

**Name:** Klaveness, Helene (1878–1908), Norwegian woman. Zone 3.1.2.7

**Type:** marble sculpture of seated female in front of round-topped *stele*-type headstone in peperino on square base. Relief decoration of coat-of-arms and Norwegian flag, incised symbol of twins of Rome (see *Fig. 7* here).

**Design:** Danish sculptor Louis Hasselriis (1844–1912). Head stolen in 1995, replicated and tomb restored in 2020.

**Source:** base inscribed “L.HASSELRIIS SCULPT”. Klaveness family records. Oddbjørn Sørmoen in *Friends Newsletter* 28 (2014), 2–3.

**Name:** Kopf, Josef von (1827–1903), German sculptor. Zone 2.6.25

**Type:** “Roman”-style pedestal tomb with projecting crown with volutes, niche containing bronze head-and-shoulders bust. Restored in 2007.

**Design:** Josef von Kopf.

**Source:** bust inscribed “I. KOPF IPSE FEC. 1891 AETATIS SUAE 63”.

**Name:** Krafft, Johan August (1798–1829), Danish painter. Zone 1.16.14

**Type:** tall, gabled headstone with bas-relief portrait medallion. Restored in 1997, 2019.

**Design:** Danish sculptor Herman Wilhelm Bissen (1798–1868), (c. 1860).

**Source:** Rostrup 1945, vol. 1, 99.

**Name:** Kümmel, Heinrich (1811–1855), German sculptor. Zone ZV.2.5

**Type:** “Roman”-style headstone with bas-relief portrait medallion; on reverse, relief of sculptor’s tools within wreath. Restored in 1997.

**Design:** German painter, architect and museum director Otto Cornill (1824–1907).

**Source:** Zimmermann 1955, 148. Medallion inscribed with three (?) initials, unidentified.

**Name:** Küsthardt, Erwin (1867–1901), German painter. Zone V.14.9

**Type:** gabled headstone with bronze bas-relief portrait plaque set behind stone coped coffin/chest between low stone borders. Restored in 2004.

**Design:** the deceased’s brothers, architect Helfried Küsthardt (1862–1950) for the monument and sculptor Friedrich Küsthardt (1870–1905) for the portrait plaque. Cast at the Paul Stotz Kunstgewerbliche Werkstätte GmbH, Stuttgart.

**Source:** portrait relief inscribed “Friedrich Küsthardt”, and plaque inscribed “GOSS [cast] VON P. STOTZ STUTT-GART 1904”. Zimmermann 1955, 152–155.

**Name:** Landsberg, Ludwig (1804–1858), German musician. Zone 1.6.27

**Type:** “Roman”-style round-topped headstone with *acroteria* and lyre motif in *tympanum*.

**Design:** German sculptor Carl Heinrich Wilhelm Matthiä (1807–1888).

**Source:** Noack 1927, vol. 2, 344; Geller 1961, 41.

**Name:** Lascari, Hilda Gustafson (1885–1937), Swedish-American sculptor. Zone 3.1.3.1

**Type:** slender, gable-topped *stèle* with bas-relief sculpture of standing angel.

**Design:** Hilda Lascari (presumed).

**Source:** Lascari burial file, Non-Catholic Cemetery Archives, Rome.

**Name:** Leksell, Ludmila (née Soubotian; 1918–1965), Swedish. Zone V.13.15

**Type:** sculpture of two figures on large stone base.

**Design:** Swedish sculptor Ivar Johnsson (1885–1970), partial copy of his *Morgon* (1962) fountain in Brantingtorget, Stockholm.

**Source:** Beatrice Leksell Clasaeus in *Friends' Newsletter* 20 (2012), 3–4.

**Name:** Leslie, Robert (1802–1827), Scottish sculptor. Zone V.14.19

**Type:** round-topped headstone.

**Design:** Scottish sculptor Thomas Campbell (1790–1858).

**Source:** inscribed “THOMAS CAMPBELL / EX SCOTIA SCULPTOR / POSUIT”.

**Name:** Lojaco, Francis (1906–1932), American-Italian trainee pilot. Zone 1.12.2

**Type:** large block sculpture with symbolic wings on massive travertine base, three bronze medallions.

**Design:** Italian artist Paolo Paschetto (1885–1963).

**Source:** Lojaco burial file, Non-Catholic Cemetery Archives, Rome.

**Name:** Macbean, Aeneas (1819–1864), Scottish banker. Zone 1.14.38

**Type:** monument with roofed drum on “Roman”-type square pedestal with *acroteria*, *anthemion*, swags and crosses in low-relief, on front face of pedestal an inset medallion with bas-relief kneeling female figure.

**Design:** English sculptor Holme Cardwell (1813–1895).

**Source:** Strutt 1875, 342–343.

**Name:** Macdonald, James (1741–1766), Scottish Grand Tourist. S61 in Old Cemetery

**Type:** truncated column with raised and inscribed *tabula ansata*, on rectangular pedestal.

**Design:** Italian artist Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720–1778).

**Source:** epitaph on *tabula ansata* on column. Battaglia 1994.

**Name:** Macdonald, Laurence (1799–1878), Scottish sculptor. Zone 1.7.42

**Type:** “Roman”-style headstone with *acroteria*, relief of sculptor’s tools in *tympanum*, and bas-relief portrait medallion on front face. Restored in 2015.

**Design:** Scottish sculptor Alexander Macdonald (1847–?), his son.

**Source:** inscribed on monument: “ALEX.R MACDONALD / FECIT ROMAE 1878”. Sandro Campos Matos in *Friends' Newsletter* 32 (2015), 2–3.

**Name:** Marées, Hans von (1883–1887), German painter. Zone 2.4.20

**Type:** “Roman”-style pedimented headstone with *acroteria*, *anthemium*, and high-relief sculpture on front face, of Glory crowning the deceased. Restored in 1961, 2005.

**Design:** German sculptor Artur (or Arthur) Volkmann (1851–1941), commissioned by art critic Conrad Fiedler (1841–1895).

**Source:** inscribed “ARTUR VOLKMANN 1888”. Riccoboni 1942, 490; Geller 1961, 60–62.

**Name:** Meurer, Elisabeth (1846–1904) and Meurer, Moritz (1839–1916), German artist and educationalist. Zone 2.19.11

**Type:** tall, *stèle*-type headstone crowned by “Egyptian”-style bronze high-relief of *Uraeus* with scarab; butterfly on reverse; on the *stèle* face two rosettes and a small bas-relief portrait medallion, all but headstone in bronze.

**Design:** (presumed) Moritz Meurer for his sister Elisabeth.

**Source:** portrait medallion inscribed “M. MEURER ROM 1903” and “AA”.

**Name:** Meyer, Betty (1818–1893), German. Zone 2.16.22

**Type:** “Roman”-style pedestal with projecting gabled top surmounted by a cross, high-relief marble plaque of seated woman. Restored in 2004.

**Design:** German sculptor Fritz Gerth (1845–1928).

**Source:** inscribed: “F. GERTH”.

**Name:** Meysenbug, Malvida von (1816–1903), German writer. Zone 1.14.18

**Type:** pedimented *edicola* containing bronze bas-relief portrait medallion and marble urn on pedestal.

**Design:** French architect Louis Jean Hulot (1871–1959); medallion by French sculptor Paul Maximilien Landowski (1875–1961); urn by Edouard Monod (1873–1963).

**Source:** inscription on medallion “LANDOWSKI SCULPTIT” (?). Monod 1904; *Friends' Newsletter* 52 (2020), 2.

**Name:** Miceli, Luigi (1824–1906), Italian politician. Zone 2.18.26

**Type:** tall *stèle*-like marble headstone behind bronze bust on

pedestal, heavy swag and palm leaf also in bronze.

**Design:** bust by Italian sculptor Enrico Quattrini (1864–1950).

**Source:** information from Arianna Ricci, 2017: bust inscribed “E. Quattrini”; also, “Fond.ria Crescenzi / Roma”, the responsible foundry.

**Name:** Miceli, Maria (née Schwarzenberg; 1843–1898), German. Zone 2.18.26

**Type:** pedimented *edicola* with two freestanding columns, over marble portrait bust on pedestal with bas-relief decoration.

**Design:** bust by Italian sculptor Giuseppe Mangionello (né Mangione; 1861–1939).

**Source:** bust inscribed “G. Mangionello / Roma 1905”.

**Name:** Millar, Annie Stevenson (1872–1920), Scottish. Zone 1.7.1

**Type:** “modernist”-style pedestal.

**Design:** Maltese sculptor Antonio Sciortino (1879–1947).

**Source:** A.S. Millar burial file, Non-Catholic Cemetery Archives, Rome.

**Name:** Montagu, William (5th Duke of Manchester, 1771–1843), British peer. Zone V.9.20

**Type:** “Roman” style headstone with *acroteria*, *anthemion*, bas-relief decoration including crown motif.

**Design:** English sculptor William Theed the younger (1804–1891).

**Source:** inscribed “W. THEED”.

**Name:** More, Jacob (1740–1793), Scottish painter. S17 in Old Cemetery

**Type:** “Roman”-style headstone. Inscription records a restoration dated 1816.

**Design:** Italian sculptor Vincenzo Pacetti (1746–1820), 1794.

**Source:** Patricia Andrew in *Friends’ Newsletter* 21 (2012), 6; Campo 2017, 353.

**Name:** Mosca, Clemente (1961–1996), Italian writer. Zone 3.1.3.18

**Type:** bronze sculpture of angel on pedestal.

**Design:** Italian sculptor Giuseppe Ducrot (1966–).

**Source:** inscribed “Giuseppe Ducrot 1997”.

**Name:** Munch, Peter (1810–1863), Norwegian historian. Zone 2.19.15

**Type:** obelisk on stepped base with bas-relief portrait medallion. Restored in 2012.

**Design:** Norwegian sculptor Ole Henriksen Fladager (1832–1871), 1864, inaugurated 1865.

**Source:** *Illustreret Nyhedsblad* 19 June 1865; Christopher Prescott in *Friends’ Newsletter* 50 (2020), 8.

**Name:** Myhlenphort, Christofer Andreas (1837–1891), Danish diplomat. Zone 1.6.34

**Type:** “Roman”-style headstone, projecting pediment with relief cross in *tympanum*, marble bas-relief portrait medallion. Restored in 2019.

**Design:** Danish sculptor Johannes Hoffman (1844–1920).

**Source:** medallion inscribed “J. Hoffmann”.

**Name:** Obolenskaya, Maria (1854–1873), Russian princess. Zone 1.10.45

**Type:** marble statue of seated girl before a gable-roofed *edicula* with bronze doors. Restored in 2018 (see *Fig. 8* here).

**Design:** Russian sculptor Mark Antokolski (1843–1902).

**Source:** Talalay 2006, 632–633, citing Mikhail Osorghin, Ilya Repin; Natalia Primakova in *Friends’ Newsletter* 46 (2019), 1–2.

**Name:** Ohlfsen-Bagge, Dora (1869–1948), Australian sculptor, and Hélène de Kuegelgen (1879–1948), Russian baroness. Zone 1.15.28

**Type:** ledger and undressed headstone with sculpture in niche of Dionysius. Restored in 2003, 2012.

**Design:** Dora Ohlfsen-Bagge. For her plaster *c.* 1930 of Dionysius, see Miller 2013.

**Source:** Miller 2013; Chanin & Miller 2015.

**Name:** Page, Thomas Jefferson (1808–1899), American naval captain. Zone 1.12.22

**Type:** high pedestal with sculpted foliage and coat-of-arms, set on sarcophagus behind a freestanding female figure sculpture, plus a horizontal ledger and two freestanding columns. Restored in 2012.

**Design:** Italian sculptor Ettore Ximenes (1855–1926); columns added in 1970s.

**Source:** Page 1980, 353; *Friends’ Newsletter* 22 (2013), 1–2.

**Name:** Pallenberg, Angela (née Böcklin; 1854–1906). Zone 3.4.5.2

**Type:** gabled headstone with urn in columned niche; high-relief sculpture of two figures on reverse.

**Design:** German sculptor Artur Volkmann (1851–1941).

**Source:** information from Gabriella Pallenberg, Rome.

**Name:** Passarge, Elsbeth Maria Wegener (1884–1902), German girl. Zone 1.16.16

**Type:** headstone; marble sculpture of prone female figure on deathbed. Restored in 2013.

**Design:** Austrian sculptor Ferdinand Seeboeck (1864–1952).

**Source:** inscribed “Ferdinand Seeboeck”. Pollak & Merkel Guldan 1994, 63–64. *Friends’ Newsletter* 50 (2020), 1.

**Name:** Perugini, Giuseppe (1914–1995), Argentine architect. Zone V.4.8

**Type:** cube of travertine balanced on one corner.

**Design:** Italian architect Raynaldo Perugini (1950–), son of Giuseppe.

**Source:** G. Perugini burial file, Non-Catholic Cemetery Archives, Rome.

**Name:** Peterssen, Nicoline (née Gram; 1850–1882), Norwegian, wife of painter Eilif Peterssen (1852–1928). Zone 1.7.32

**Type:** *stèle*-type headstone with projecting crown with *anthemion*, inset with rectangular plaque bearing bas-relief portrait.

**Design:** portrait model by Eilif Peterssen, produced in marble by Norwegian-American sculptor Jakob Henrik Gerhard Fjelde (1855–1896). Fjelde's marble relief cast in bronze and exhibited at Autumn Exhibition, Kristiania (Oslo), 1883.

**Source:** inscribed "EP". Kokkin 2009, no. 204; 2016, 216–217.

**Name:** Piccoli, John Louis (1939–1955), American boy. Zone V.11.24

**Type:** bronze sculpture of two figures on pedestal.

**Design:** Giacomo Piccoli (dates not known).

**Source:** sculpture inscribed "FOR MY SON JOHN / G. PICCOLI".

**Name:** Pidoll, Carl von (1847–1901), Austrian painter. Zone 2.20.15

**Type:** cylindrical drum with bas-relief carving of processing figures, on stepped base.

**Design:** German sculptor Artur Volkmann (1851–1941).

**Source:** inscribed "A.Volkmann Roma 1903". Geller 1961, 49–50.

**Name:** Plowden, Josephine Evangeline (née Senior; 1853–1924), English, wife of Charles William Plowden, banker in Rome. Zone 3.3.5.16

**Type:** head-and-shoulders marble bust with marble base set on marble half-column with appliqué bronze cross, all set on stepped marble ledger (see *Fig. 6* here).

**Design:** American sculptor Albert E. Harnisch (1843–1918) in 1878. Bust stolen in 1982.

**Source:** Riccoboni 1942, 486.

**Name:** Ræder, Oscar Alexander (1844–1877), Danish writer. Zone 2.10.11

**Type:** round-topped headstone in *bardiglio* marble with high-relief in Carrara marble of angel standing amid broken column fragments and holding a palm leaf, on high base with two appliqué branches in bronze.

**Design:** Danish sculptor Louis Hasselriis (1844–1912).

**Source:** inscribed "L. Hasselriis" below relief.

**Name:** Reiger, Albertine (1819–1860), German. Zone 1.16.36  
**Type:** "Roman"-style gabled headstone with cross in relief, inset portrait bas-relief in marble.

**Design:** German sculptor Carl Voss (1825–1896), 1860.

**Source:** bas-relief inscribed "C Voss F". Riccoboni 1942, 490.

**Name:** Reinhart, Johann Christian (1761–1847), German painter. Zone V.7.5

**Type:** headstone crowned with large *anthemion*, bas-relief portrait medallion. Restored in 2011.

**Design:** German sculptor Carl Heinrich Wilhelm Matthiä (1807–1888) in 1852.

**Source:** Feuchtmayr 1975, 52–53; Richter 2010, 15–16.

**Name:** Reinhold, Heinrich (1788–1825), German painter. Zone 1.14.5

**Type:** "Roman"-style headstone with bas-relief portrait medallion in marble, replaced in 1962 with copy in bronze. Restored in 2017.

**Design:** medallion by Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen (1770–1844).

**Source:** Sass 1965, vol. 3, 137; *Friends' Newsletter* 32 (2015), 1–2.

**Name:** Riedel, August (1799–1883), German painter. Zone 1.5.48

**Type:** sarcophagus elevated on high pedestal, bas-relief portrait medallion in gilt bronze. Restored in 2009 (see *Fig. 10* here).

**Design:** tomb by Italian sculptor Giuseppe Sacconi (1854–1905), in 1888; portrait medallion by unknown artist.

**Source:** Hufschmidt & Jannattoni 1989, 188, 235. Medallion inscribed "FONDERIA NELLI ROMA".

**Name:** Runeberg, Carl Michael (1869–1871), Walter Fredrik (1871–1872) and Maria (1872–1873), Finnish children. Zone 2.14.29

**Type:** round-topped headstone. Restored in 2011.

**Design:** Finnish sculptor Walter Runeberg (1838–1920), their father.

**Source:** Lindgren 2009, 54–55; Susanna Widjeskog in *Friends' Newsletter* 11 (2010), 2.

**Name:** Salomonsohn, Louis (1833–1908), German. Zone 3.1.2.10

**Type:** headstone with projecting crown with relief decoration, inset bas-relief portrait medallion in bronze, inclined ledger.

**Design:** probably German painter Hermann Wegelin (1845–1898?).

**Source:** medallion inscribed "H.ANN WEGELIN 190[ ]".

**Name:** Scharoff, Pietro (1886–1969), Russian/Italian actor, director. Zone 1.2.27

**Type:** ledger, sculpture in terracotta of *The Three Sisters* on pedestal.

**Design:** *The Three Sisters* by Dutch sculptor Mari Andriessen (1897–1979); original in bronze stolen in 1982, replica in bronze stolen in 1995, replaced in terracotta.

**Source:** epitaph “QUESTA SCULTURA DI MARI ANDRIESSEN...”.

**Name:** Semper, Gottfried (1803–1879), German architect. Zone 2.8.22

**Type:** table in Carrara marble with corner balusters, bronze swags and wreaths; bas-relief panel and portrait medallion in marble in bronze wreath on slightly inclined marble slab. Restored in 2004.

**Design:** German architect Manfred Semper (1838–1913); medallion by German sculptor Emanuel Semper (1848–1911), both sons of Gottfried.

**Source:** medallion inscribed “E. Semper”. Semper 1883.

**Name:** Shelley, Percy Bysshe (1792–1822), English poet. Zone V.16.2

**Type:** ledger stone.

**Design:** English writer Edward Trelawny (1792–1881).

**Source:** Stanley-Price 2016.

**Name:** Simmons, Ella Bourne (née Slocum; 1847–1905), American. Zone 3.1.1.2

**Type:** statue of male angel on high pedestal, *The Angel of the Resurrection*, holding a gilt bronze trumpet in the left hand. Restored in 1995, and in 2007 without the trumpet.

**Design:** American sculptor Franklin Simmons (1839–1913), buried in the same plot.

**Source:** inscribed “FRANKLIN SIMMONS 1907”. Whiting 1907, 104–105, 218–219; Riccoboni 1942, 489; Gerdts 1992, 143–145, fig. 80.

**Name:** Six, James (1757–1786), English scholar. S70 in Old Cemetery

**Type:** “Roman”-style pedestal (reused Roman gravestone).

**Design:** John Thomas Stanley (1766–1850) and Oswald Leycester (1752–1846), companions of Six, using “a small antique, marble altar”, 1787.

**Source:** epitaph “POSUIT / I.T.S. / DEC. 1786”, also inscribed “I. S.” on reverse side. Ingamells 1997, 860.

**Name:** Stahl, Friedrich (1863–1940). German painter. S8 in Old Cemetery

**Type:** “Roman”-style pedestal with meander pattern in bas-relief.

**Design:** German sculptor Walter Rössler (1904–1996).

**Source:** Walter Rössler in Stahl burial file, Non-Catholic Cemetery Archives, Rome. Dorothee Hock in *Friends’ Newsletter* 51 (2020), 2.

**Name:** Stein, Carl (1851–1882), German forwarding agent (?). Zone 2.7.20

**Type:** headstone with inset high-relief portrait bust.

**Design:** inscribed but unidentified.

**Source:** bust inscribed “G.C. / Roma / 1882”.

**Name:** Stein, Carl Ludwig (1893–1904), German boy. Zone 1.12.46

**Type:** headstone with inset bronze bas-relief portrait medallion and surrounding festoon.

**Design:** Polish sculptor Paul Schulz (1875–1945).

**Source:** medallion inscribed “PAUL SCHULZ 1905”.

**Name:** Steinmann, Olga (1869–1910), German author. Zone 3.3.8.3

**Type:** “Roman”-style headstone with relief of female figure, on high pedestal. Restored in 2013.

**Design:** German sculptor Adolf Brütt (1855–1939).

**Source:** Bibliotheca Hertziana, Rome, photolibrary, s.v. “Olga Steinmann”, annotation to tomb photograph U.Pl. D 26263. Pollak & Merkel Guldan 1994, 56.

**Name:** Story, Emelyn (née Eldridge; 1820–1894), wife of William Wetmore Story. Zone V.15.7

**Type:** sculpture of angel kneeling at altar with *acroteria* and bas-relief carving of wreaths, on three-stepped base, *The angel of grief weeping over the dismantled altar of life*.

**Design:** American sculptor William Wetmore Story (1819–1895), executed 1895.

**Source:** epitaph gives “THE LAST WORK OF W.W.STORY”. Gerdts 1972, 26–27; 1992, 143–147; Jamison 1994; *Friends’ Newsletter* 17 (2011), 1; 19 (2012), 2; 38 (2017), 1.

**Name:** Strandberg, Agnar (1869–1900), Swedish notary, artist. Zone 2.19.10

**Type:** “Roman”-style headstone with high-relief portrait medallion in marble, *tympanum* with *acroteria* containing incised symbols, on pedestal.

**Design:** Danish sculptor Louis Hasselriis (1844–1912).

**Source:** Janssen 1930, 124.

**Name:** Strohl-Fern, Alfred Wilhelm (né Strohl; 1847–1927), French artist/patron. Zone 1.13.17

**Type:** broken column with bronze high-relief portrait medallion on pedestal with projecting cornice.

**Design:** French sculptor Denys Puech (1854–1922).

**Source:** medallion inscribed “D. PUECH / Rome 1923”.

**Name:** Strunke, Niklas (1894–1966), Latvian painter. Zone 1.2.34

**Type:** headstone in form of a Latvian cross, ledger.

**Design:** from a sketch by Niklas Strunke.

**Source:** Astra Smit in *Friends' Newsletter* 25 (2013), 7.

**Name:** Svedomsky, Pavel Alexandrovich, Russian painter (1849–1904). Zone 1.2.9

**Type:** “Roman”-style pedestal tomb with triangular pediment bearing *anthemion* and *acroteria*, two bas-relief angels flanking a niche containing head-and-shoulders bronze bust on marble base.

**Design:** Russian sculptor Nikolai Georgievich Schleifer (1864–1940), a copy in bronze of plaster bust executed in life (1902) in Rome by Schleifer (now State Russian Museum, St Petersburg).

**Source:** Elena Nikolskaya, State Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow, 2021, and inscription with date 1902 on bust. E. Nikolskaya in *Friends Newsletter* 57 (2021), 3–4.

**Name:** Takanen, Johannes (1849–1885), Finnish sculptor. Zone 2.5.22

**Type:** gabled headstone with bronze bas-relief portrait medallion, on pedestal.

**Design:** the medallion (1) by Danish sculptor Jørgen Larsen (1851–1910), stolen in 1918 and replaced in 1927 by (2) Finnish sculptor Emil Wikström (1864–1942) who donated the plaster to Finnish National Gallery, Helsinki.

**Source:** medallion inscribed “1927”. Lindgren 2009, 60–62; *Friends' Newsletter* 11 (2010), 1–2.

**Name:** Telmann, Konrad (né Zitelmann; 1854–1897), German lawyer/writer. Zone 1.13.2

**Type:** ledger stone with attached bronze bas-relief portrait medallion.

**Design:** Austrian sculptor Ferdinand Seeboeck (1864–1952).

**Source:** medallion inscribed “F. Seeboeck / Roma 1897”. *Friends' Newsletter* 50 (2020), 1–2.

**Name:** Temple, Elizabeth (née Watson; 1767–1809), wife of Sir Grenville Temple. S9 in Old Cemetery

**Type:** monumental “Roman”-type altar, projecting crown with *acroteria* and bas-relief decoration, high-relief figured scene depicting the mourning family on one face, inscribed on opposite face, all set on high pedestal. Restored 1995, 2021.

**Design:** Swedish sculptor Erik Gustav Göthe (1779–1838), epitaph by Swedish epigrapher Johan David Åkerblad (1763–1819), executed in 1810.

**Source:** inscribed “G. GOTHE. FEC.ROMAE.MDCC-CX”. Millroth 1975, 89, n. 3; Roby 1996.

**Name:** Timings, Frank Leslie (1904–1938), international civil servant. Zone 3.2.3.14

**Type:** gabled headstone with high-relief stone cross inside arched niche of alabaster.

**Design:** Russian architect Aleksandra Birjukova (dates unknown).

**Source:** Tatiana Warscher (buried alongside) in unpublished ms., information from Sophie Hay, 2020.

**Name:** Vedder, Caroline (née Rosenkrans; 1846–1909), American, wife of Elihu Vedder. Zone 1.7.31

**Type:** ledger, sculpture of shrouded female figure at headstone with urn in niche, set on three-stepped base.

**Design:** American artist Elihu Vedder (1836–1923), sculpted by Italian sculptor Alfredo Parisini (dates unknown). Copied for the George Breck family tomb in Kenosha, Wisconsin, USA.

**Source:** E. Vedder burial file, Non-Catholic Cemetery Archives, Rome. Soria 1980, 206; Gerdtts 1992, 145, fig. 81.

**Name:** Volkoff, Georges (1925–1936), Bulgarian boy. Zone 2.18.2

**Type:** statue of boy seated on undressed block on pedestal; small coped sarcophagus in front. Restored in 2006, 2016.

**Design:** Italian sculptor Ernesto GAZZERI (1866–1965).

**Source:** inscribed “E. GAZZERI / ROMA”.

**Name:** Volla, Nerina (“Negra”) (née Catalano; 1901–1951), Argentine, and Volla, Fernando (1890–1964), Italian. Zone 1.13.53

**Type:** ledger stone and headstone with female bas-relief portrait medallion.

**Design:** medallion by sculptor “D’Aloia” (unidentified; possibly Anna Maria D’Aloia, fl. c. 1955).

**Source:** medallion inscribed “D’Aloia”, D’Aloja [*sic*] given as “sculptor” in F. Volla burial file, Non-Catholic Cemetery Archives, Rome.

**Name:** Waiblinger, Wilhelm Friedrich (1804–1830), German poet. Zone 1.15.14

**Type:** broken column with inset bas-relief portrait medallion in marble, bronze band.

**Design:** German sculptor Josef von Kopf (1827–1903), the medallion after a bas-relief of Waiblinger by his friend, German sculptor Theodor Wagner (1800–1880); broken column not erected until 1865, the inscribed bronze band added by the city of Heilbronn in 1955.

**Source:** Fischer 1865, 31; Hartmann 1976, 420.

**Name:** Wedecke, Ulrike (née Lossius; 1828–1904), German. Zone 2.19.27

**Type:** monument with sculpture of seated woman with urn on high pedestal. Restored in 2006.

**Design:** German sculptor Friedrich Schulze (1838–1914), son-in-law of Wedecke.

**Source:** inscribed “F. Schulze / Fec 1905”.

**Name:** Wicks, Catherine Douglas (1898–1937). English. Zone 3.1.4.7

**Type:** headstone with decorative crown and inset bronze bas-relief portrait medallion.

**Design:** Italian sculptor Pericle Fazzini (1913–1987).

**Source:** medallion inscribed “PERICLE FAZZINI ROMA 193[ ]”.

**Name:** Wolff, Emil (1802–1879), German sculptor. Zone 2.9.10

**Type:** head-and-shoulders bust on tall column. Restored in 2007.

**Design:** self-portrait, copy of self-portrait at Accademia di San Luca, Rome, signed and dated Rome 1876.

**Source:** Hufschmidt & Jannattoni 1989, 234–235.

**Name:** Woodward, Francis Blake (1801–1866), English clergyman. Zone 1.12.32

**Type:** ornate sarcophagus with bas-relief ornament to lid and coloured mosaic inlay decoration on chest. Restored in 2003.

**Design:** (probably) English sculptor Shakspeare Wood (1827–1886).

**Source:** F.B. Woodward burial file, Non-Catholic Cemetery Archives, Rome.

**Name:** Wyatt, Richard James (1795–1850), English sculptor. Zone 1.5.2

**Type:** round-topped headstone with bas-relief portrait medallion, horizontal ledger stone, both in Carrara marble. Restored in 2021.

**Design:** Welsh sculptor John Gibson (1790–1866).

**Source:** epitaph “ERECTED BY IOHN GIBSON R.A. SCULPTOR”.

**Name:** Zelezny-Scholz, Helena (1882–1974), Czech sculptor. Zone 2.6.24

**Type:** headstone with bas-relief of female figure.

**Design:** Helena Zelezny-Scholz.

**Source:** bas-relief inscribed “H. ZELEZNY / ROMA 1930”. Jana Keibertová in *Friends’ Newsletter* 56 (2021), 3.

## Bibliography

- Álvarez Rodriguez, M.V. 2014. ‘The light that dies. Torches lit and extinguished in the Non-Catholic Cemetery in Rome’, *Newsletter, Friends of the Non-Catholic Cemetery in Rome* 29, 7.
- Amaturo, M. 2014. ‘Il museo di se stesso. La storia, l’arredo e i ritratti’, *Museo H.C. Andersen. Allestimenti e ricerche* 2, 4–21.
- Anon 1834. ‘From the Protestant burial-ground at Rome’, *The mirror of literature, amusement and instruction* 24 (July–December), 320, 394–395.
- Anon 1928. ‘Our academy in Rome’, *American Magazine of Art* 19, 6.
- Apolloni, M.F. 1998. s.v. ‘Gajassi, Vincenzo’ in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 51. <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/vincenzo-gajassi/>
- Barricelli, A. 1966. s.v. ‘Benzoni, Giovanni Maria’ in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 8. <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/giovanni-maria-benzoni/>
- Battaglia, R. 1994. ‘Giovanni Battista Piranesi e il monumento funebre. La tomba MacDonald’, *Prospettiva* 73/74, 169–179.
- Berresford, S. 2004. *Italian memorial sculpture. A legacy of love*, London.
- Bertazzoni, R. 2009. ‘Giovanni Maria Benzoni, 1809–1873’, in *www.Antiqua.mi.it*, eds. A. Bardelli & A. Stella, Songavazzo. <http://www.antiqua.mi.it/opuscoloxwebAntiqua.pdf>
- Brown, S. 2009. *Joseph Severn. A life. The rewards of friendship*, Oxford.
- Campo, E. 2017. ‘L’inventario dei beni di Jacob More. Vita sociale e artistica di un pittore a Roma nel tardo settecento’, in *Vincenzo Pacetti, Roma. L’europa all’epoca del Grand Tour*, eds. A. Cipriani, G. Fusconi, C. Gasparri, M.G. Picozzi & L.P. Biroli Stefanelli, Rome, 351–358.
- Cardano, N. 2012. ‘Per una storia della scultura a Roma. Il Cimitero del Verano’, in *Lo splendore della forma. La scultura negli spazi della memoria*, eds. M. Felicori & F. Sborgi, Bologna, 187–203.
- Cardinali, M. & M.B. De Ruggieri, eds. 2020. *Una passeggiata tra i ricordi. Guida storico—culturale del Cimitero Monumentale del Verano*, Rome.

- Catterson, L. 2017. 'From Florence, to London, to New York: Mr. Morgan's bronze doors', *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 16:2.  
<https://doi.org/10.29411/ncaw.2017.16.2.4>
- Chanin, E. & S. Miller 2015. *Awakening. Four lives in art*. Mile End, South Australia.
- Corp, E. 2011. *The Stuarts in Italy, 1719–1766*, Cambridge.
- Curl, J.S. 2000. *The Victorian celebration of death*, Stroud.
- Del Bufalo, A. 1992. *Il Verano. Un museo nel verde per Roma*, Rome.
- Fabiani, F. 2003. *Hendrik Christian Andersen. La vita, l'arte, il sogno. La vicenda di un artista singolare*, Rome.
- Felicori, M. & F. Sborgi, eds. 2012. *Lo splendore della forma. La scultura negli spazi della memoria*, Bologna.
- Feuchtmayr, I. 1975. *Johann Christian Reinhart 1761–1847. Monographie und Werkverzeichnis*, Munich.
- Fischer, J.G. 1865. 'Ein deutsches Dichtersgrab in Rom', *Freya* 1, 31.
- Friends' Newsletter* = Friends of the Non-Catholic Cemetery in Rome, *Newsletter*, ed. N. Stanley-Price.  
<https://www.cemeteryrome.it/press/newsletter.html>
- Gay, H.N. 1913. 'The Protestant burial-ground in Rome. A historical sketch (with unpublished documents regarding the graves of Keats and Shelley)', *Bulletin and Review of the Keats-Shelley Memorial, Rome* 2, 33–58.
- Geller, H. 1961. *Artisti tedeschi in Roma da Raphael Mengs a Hans von Marées*, Rome.
- Gerds, W.H. 1972. 'William Wetmore Story', *The American Art Journal* 4:2, 16–33.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/1593930>
- Gerds, W.H. 1992. 'American memorial sculpture and the Protestant Cemetery in Rome', in *The Italian presence in American art, 1860–1920*, ed. I.B. Jaffe, New York & Rome, 133–149.
- Gibbes, R.W. 1846. *A memoir of James de Veaux of Charleston, S.C., Columbia, South Carolina* (repr. with a new introduction by Alexander Moore, 2012).
- Groseclose, B.S. 1980. 'Harriet Hosmer's tomb to Judith Falconnet. Death and the maiden', *American Art Journal*, 12:2, 78–89.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/1594194>
- Hartmann, J.B. 1976. 'La scuola di Waiblinger e gli stivali di Andersen', *Strenna dei Romanisti* 1976, 407–428.
- Hosmer, H. 1912. *Letters and memories*, New York.
- Huemer, C. 2012. 'La scultura nel Cimitero acattolico di Roma', in *Lo splendore della forma. La scultura negli spazi della memoria*, eds. M. Felicori & F. Sborgi, Bologna, 204–214.
- Hufschmidt, T.F. & L. Janattoni 1989. *Antico Caffè Greco. Storia, ambienti, collezioni*, Rome.
- Ingamells, J. ed. 1997. *A dictionary of British and Irish travelers in Italy, 1701–1800*, New Haven & London.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt1xp3ngj>
- Jamison, R. 1994. 'The many sorrows of an angel', *Sandstone and Tile* 18:3, 3–7.  
<https://purl.stanford.edu/jf757fj7469>
- Jannattoni, L. 1945. *Roma e gli Inglesi*, Rome.
- Janssen, B. 1930. *Hundrede aar i Rom*, Copenhagen.
- Jørnæs, B. 2011. *The sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen*, Copenhagen.
- Kara-Murza, A.A. 2005. *Roma Russa*, Rome.
- Kokkin, J. 2009. *Eilif Peterssen. Mellom stemninger og impresjoner*, Oslo.
- Kokkin, J. 2016. 'The breakthrough of the modern under Mediterranean skies. Eilif Peterssen and P.S. Krøyer in Rome and Sora 1879–1881', in *I Italiens lys. Et dansk-norsk kunstnerfelleskab 1879–1886*, eds. J. Kokkin, A.-M. Villumsen & M. Saabye, Skovgaard, 209–220.
- Krogel, W. 1995. *All'ombra della Piramide. Storia e interpretazione del Cimitero acattolico di Roma*, Rome.
- Lindgren, L. 2009. *Memoria, gravvårdar, skulpturkonst och minneskultur*, Helsingfors.
- Macsoy, T., ed. 2017. *Rome. Travel and the sculpture capital, c. 1770–1825*, Abingdon.
- Malorgio, G., S. Toscan, G. Ponti & N. Stanley-Price 2020. 'New light on the Bowles monument (1808) and its massive column', *Newsletter, Friends of the Non-Catholic Cemetery in Rome* 53, 2–3.
- Mascalchi, S. 2011. *Félicie de Faveau. Una scultrice romantica da Parigi a Firenze*, Florence.
- Matthews, S. 2013. 'A fin-de-siècle fantasy. The memorial to Friedrich Geselschap', *Newsletter, Friends of the Non-Catholic Cemetery in Rome* 25, 3–4.
- McGuigan, J.F. Jr 2014. 'An old photo and new light on John Gibson's tomb', *Newsletter, Friends of the Non-Catholic Cemetery in Rome* 26, 2.

- Menniti Ippolito, A. 2014. *Il Cimitero acattolico di Roma. La presenza protestante nella città del papa*, Rome.
- Miller, S. 2013. 'Dora Ohlfsen. Australian by birth, Italian at heart', *Newsletter, Friends of the Non-Catholic Cemetery in Rome* 25, 1–2.
- Millroth, T. 1975. Eric Gustaf Göthe, kunglig statybyggare och professor, Ph.D. thesis, Stockholm University.
- Monod, G. 1904. *A la mémoire de Malvida Rivalier von Meysenbug, Vendredi 1er avril 1904*, Rome.
- Noack, F. 1927. *Das Deutschtum in Rom seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, 2 vols., Berlin.
- Nordisk Familjebok* 1926 = s.v. 'Åbergs, Henrik', in *Nordisk Familjebok* vol. 38, ed. T. Westrin, E. Fahlstedt & V. Söderberg, Stockholm.
- Page, G.N. 1980. *L'Americano di Roma*, Milan.
- Pandolfi, E. 2013. *Ettore Rossi (1894–1968) architetto del movimento moderno*, Pesaro.
- Parrott, S.F. 1988. 'Networking in Italy. Charlotte Cushman and "The White Marmorean Flock"', *Women's Studies* 14:4, 305–338.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00497878.1988.9978707>
- Pollak, L. & M. Merkel Guldan, eds. 1994. *Römische Memoiren. Künstler, Kunstliebhaber und Gelehrte 1893–1943*, Rome.
- Priori, G. & M. Tabarrini 1993. *Luca Carimini: 1830–1890*, Modena.
- Quattrocchi, G. 1979. s.v. 'Adalberto Cenchetti' in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* vol. 23.  
<https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/adalberto-cenchetti/>
- Ricci, A. 2018. *Enrico Quattrini (1863–1950). Uno scultore di successo a Roma tra naturalismo e fasti neobarocchi*, Perugia.
- Riccoboni, A. 1942. *Roma nell'arte. La scultura nell'evolo moderno dal Quattrocento ad oggi*, Rome.
- Richter, D. 2010. *Von Hofnach Rom. Johann Christian Reinhart, ein deutscher Maler in Italien. Eine Biographie*, Berlin.
- Riezler, W. 1910. 'Georg Roemer', *Die Kunst* 22, 89–98.
- Roby, T.C. 1996. 'The conservation of funerary monuments at the Protestant Cemetery (Cimitero acattolico) in Rome. Initial treatment of the Lady Temple Memorial', in *Preprints, ICOM Committee for Conservation, 11th Triennial Meeting, Edinburgh, 1–6 September 1996*, ed. J. Bridgland, London, 810–815.
- Rostrup, H. 1945. *H.W. Bissen billedbuggeren, 1798–1868*, 2 vols., Naver.
- Sass, E.K. 1965. *Thorwaldsens Portraetbuster*, vol. 3, Copenhagen.
- Scialanca, L. 2016. 'Arturo Martini cattivo ad Anticoli Corrado', in *ScuolAnticoli.com*, ed. L. Scialanca, Rome.  
[http://www.scuolanticoli.com/pagemartini\\_2.htm](http://www.scuolanticoli.com/pagemartini_2.htm)
- Scott, G.F. & S. Brown, eds. 2007. 'Brown to Severn 1823, 7 Feb. 1823, n. 4', in *New letters from Charles Brown to Joseph Severn*, eds. G.F. Scott & S. Brown, Boulder, Colorado.  
<https://www.rc.umd.edu/editions/brownsevern/letters/7feb1823.html>
- Semper, M. 1883. 'Gottfried Semper's Grabdenkmal auf dem Protestantischen Friedhofe in Rom', *Deutsche Bauzeitung* [Berlin] 17:54, 317.
- Silvestri, S. 2014. s.v. 'Paschetto, Paolo Antonio' in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 81.  
<https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/paolo-antonio-paschetto/>
- Smith, R.K. 2001. 'The cross. Church symbol and context in nineteenth-century America', *Church History* 70:4, 705–734.  
<https://doi.org/10.2307/3654546>
- Soria, R. 1980. 'Gli artisti americani al Cimitero del Testaccio', *Studi romani* 27:2, 201–211.
- Springer, P. 1978. 'Das Grabdenkmal Asmus Jakob Carstens an der Cestius-Pyramide', *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 17, 183–208.
- Stanley-Price, N. 2014. *The Non-Catholic Cemetery in Rome. Its history, its people and its survival for 300 years*, Rome.
- Stanley-Price, N. 2016. 'Shelley's grave revisited', *The Keats-Shelley Journal* 65, 53–69.
- Stanley-Price, N. 2017. 'The myth of Catholic prejudice against Protestant funerals in eighteenth-century Rome', *AnalRom* 42, 89–100.
- Stanley-Price, N. 2019. 'The grave of John Keats revisited', *The Keats-Shelley Review* 33:2, 175–193.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09524142.2019.1659018>
- Stanley-Price, N. 2020. 'The Old Cemetery for foreigners in Rome with a new inventory of its burials', *OpAthRom* 13, 187–222.  
<https://doi.org/10.30549/opathrom-13-08>

- Stanley-Price, N. 2022. The stolen sculpture of Josephine Plowden: still missing but now identified, *Newsletter, Friends of the Non-Catholic Cemetery in Rome* 59, 3.
- Stanley-Price, N., M.K. McGuigan & J.F. McGuigan Jr 2016. *At the foot of the pyramid. 300 years of the cemetery for foreigners in Rome*, Rome.
- Strutt, A.J., ed. 1875<sup>12</sup>. *A handbook of Rome and its environs*, London.
- Talalay, M.G. 2006. 'Il Cimitero del Testaccio e i Russi', *Strenna dei Romanisti* 2006, 627–636.
- Telato, C. 2016. *Hopfgarten and Jollage rediscovered. Two Berlin bronzists in Napoleonic and Restoration Rome*, Rome.
- Trende, K., B. Ettrich, A. Schäfer & H. Wianke 2004. *Fürstliche Bilder. Pücklers Park und Schloß Branitz in Fotografien aus drei Jahrhunderten*, Cottbus.
- Vella, D. 2000. *Antonio Sciortino. Monuments and public sculpture. Catalogue of the exhibition, 19 December 2000*, Valletta.
- Vella, D. 2005. 'A forgotten sculpture by Antonio Sciortino re-discovered in Rome', *Treasures of Malta, Fondazzjoni Patrimonju Malti* 11:2, 33–37.
- Whiting, L. 1907. *Italy, The magic land*, Boston.
- Wilmers, G. & J.L. Sloan 2010. *Frederic Crowninshield. A Renaissance man in the Gilded Age*, Amherst.
- Wood, S. 1875. *The new Curiosum Urbis. A guide to ancient and modern Rome*, Rome.
- Zimmermann, H. 1955. 'Hannoversche Gräber auf dem Protestantischen Friedhof in Rom', *Hannoversche Geschichtsblätter* N.F. 9, 131–162.

