

THE NON-CATHOLIC CEMETERY IN ROME.

ITS HISTORY, ITS PEOPLE, AND ITS SURVIVAL FOR 300 YEARS

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Sources for statements made in the book, and bibliography

The initial number refers to a page of the book. The topic or quoted phrase is here given a source. The references (author's name and publication date) will be found in full under the author's name in the bibliography that follows.

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1. Letter of Thomas Love Peacock quoted in Murray's *Handbook*, 1868 edition, 400
2. "a second visit": Brown 2009, 106
5. On the Pyramid, Sanguinetti 1961 and Di Meo 2008
5. "the towers...were rebuilt under Pope Nicholas V...": Mancini 2001, Cassanelli *et al.*, 1974
5. "recognised in 1918 as a site of historic interest": as a *Zona Monumentale di Interesse Nazionale*, according to Nylander 1989, 7
5. "the Archaeological Commission...blocked": Chiumenti and Bilancia 1975, 49
6. On the Powder Magazine, Krogel 1995, 178; Menniti Ippolito 1995, 46; and photos at <http://www.romeartlover.it/Vasi11.html#Fabbrica>. On Monte Testaccio, Rodriguez Almeida 1984
7. "the leaves of which fell in luxuriant showers": in Anon. 1843, 146 (previously published in *The Mirror of literature, amusement and instruction* 24 (1834), 320, 394-5)
9. On the death of August Goethe in Rome: Zapperi 2012. Goethe's sketch with the single funerary monument is reproduced by Nylander 1992, Fig.10 and by Di Meo 2008, Fig.26.
10. Waiblinger's poem 'The Tiber' is published in Wilhelm Waiblinger, *Gedichte*. Berlin: Holzinger 2013, p. 135.
12. For Hackert's drawing (in the Albertina, Vienna), see Krogel 1989, Abb. 16a. Both Krogel and Di Meo (2008) reproduce many early engravings of the Pyramid and Cemetery.
13. For views from Monte Testaccio by J. B. Corot (in a private collection), see Krogel 1989, Abb.33a; and by Cole, see Huemer 2011, Fig.19, and *Friends' Newsletter* 31 (2015).

14. For views by Bell Scott, Crane and Howard, see Harrison and Newall 2010, nos. 90-93 and 107.
15. For the views of the Shakhovskaya and Scott graves, see *Friends' Newsletter* 20 (2012). Bruni's painting (1835) is in the Museum of Literature in Moscow.
17. "Giacomo Caneva took photographs among the dense trees...": see plates 50-53 in Romano 1994
17. "poems were written about the graves of Keats and Shelley": Matthews 2004, 115
18. "the grave of Antonio Gramsci...": for its history, see *Friends' Newsletter* 10 (2010)
18. "Modern authors as various as Antal Szerb...": A. Szerb, *Journey by moonlight*, 2000; S. Faulks, *A fool's alphabet*, 1992; C. McCarry, *The tears of autumn*, 1974; and E. Calderón, *The Creator's Map*, 2008
19. The quote from Bergsøe is in fact from his *Rom under Pius den Niende: Skizzer og Skildringer [Rome under Pius the Ninth: sketches and descriptions]*. Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandels, 1877, 400.
20. "Vernon Lee...writing to a friend": in fact, not a letter but a diary entry dated March 4, 1893, in Lee 1906, 28.
20. "buried in roses – a happy grave". James 1909, 270.

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21. "A correspondent for the *New York Times*...": C. M. R. 1899; Rotella 2009
22. On the Stuart court in Rome: Corp 2011; on the origins of the cemetery, Corp in *Friends' Newsletter* 21 (2012), superseding earlier accounts by Steuart 1925, Beck-Friis 1956, Menniti Ippolito 1989 and Krogel 1995
23. Langton's diary: Colyer 1979-80; on his burial and the lead shield, *Friends' Newsletter* 21 (2012)
24. For Werpup's death and monument: Krogel 1989, 116-8, 247; Menniti Ippolito 1989, 58-59; Boswell's comments in Brady and Pottle 1955, entry for 27 May 1765
24. On Macdonald's funeral, Steuart 1925; on Piranesi's monument, Battaglia 1994 and *Friends' Newsletter* 12 (2010)
25. For Bach, Kirsch, Trippel, Reiffenstein, and Hecker, see Menniti Ippolito and Vian 1989, 281-316, where Deare appears mis-recorded as John Bear, d.1799. For Pars, see Andrew in *Friends' Newsletter* 25 (2013); for Åkerström, Huemer 2010, and for Hewetson, Roscoe et al. 2009, s.v. Hewetson
25. On the Recinto di Testaccio, see Menniti Ippolito 1989 and Krogel 1995, indexes; for the date of 1776, Menniti Ippolito and Vian 1989, 317
26. On Grote's burial, Menniti Ippolito 1989, 41-42, 72-73

26. On Coxe Hippisley-Cox's requests, Menniti Ippolito 44, 60-61; Krogel 1995, 125-9
26. Gay 1913, 36-38 gives the full text of Humboldt's request.
27. On the Bowles request, Menniti Ippolito 1989, 73-74. The remainder of this section is drawn from the same source and from Krogel 1995.
29. "pretended to be ill": Gay 1913, 43
35. "ditch of the dogs": *fossa dei cani* as the Protestant dogs: Buriot Darsiles 1921, 589 n.2; Krogel 1995, 207-8
35. Ground clearance for the New Cemetery: Krogel 1995, 155-156
36. This important watercolour in the Museo di Roma was published by Marilyn Perry (Perry 1978) and is attributed to "Abbott" in a pencil annotation on the ~~passepapout~~ bottom of the sheet. There is a well-known engraving of the Pyramid and tombs in the Cemetery (Krogel 1989, Abb.26a; Beck-Friis 1956, frontispiece) by Henry Abbott (1768-1840) and published in his *Antiquities of Rome* (London, 1820). If this watercolour depicts graves dating as late as 1837, it may not be attributable to the same Henry Abbott. Salomon Corrodi's view of the New Cemetery is published in Steinhoff 1992, no.36.
- 37 The custodian's hut and first chapel: Krogel 1995, 155-157
38. "enlarge both cemeteries": Krogel 1995, 175
- 41 De Rosa and Trastulli (2004, 159) publish the painting by Scarabelotto with a caption "*La Piramide di Caio Cestio e il Cimitero Acattolico dall'Aventino*" but the view is taken from Monte Testaccio, not from the Aventine hill. In the painting by Thomas Cole of 1832-33 described by Christina Huemer (2011), the west boundary wall is wrongly depicted as running up to the foot of the tower T3 instead of to its right.
41. A third photo, taken from a viewpoint very similar to that of Illustration 37, shows the First Extension in use at an earlier stage, and is probably datable to the 1860s: ~~Siegel~~ Siegert 1985, 91.
42. Moving the Bombardiers' artillery position: Krogel 1995, 178
42. "the land would be used up": Krogel 1995, 193
42. "the important condition": Article 4 of the agreement between the Comune di Roma and the German Embassy. See Chiumenti and Bilancia 1975, 53 and Krogel 1995, 205 who also describes the negotiations, 198-206.
43. The new chapel: *Friends' Newsletter* 7 (2009)
47. "wall along Via Marmorata": Krogel 1995, 207; "a barred slit in this wall": mentioned by Guthrie 1909, 164 who visited in 1907, and by Potter 1909, 77
47. "a new gateway": not previously identified, it is visible under magnification in Illustration 42 and close-up in a photo captioned "*Cimitero del Testaccio – fra il Vecchio e il Nuovo Cimitero*" by

Rusconi (1908). This visitor's description (C. M. R. 1899) of the new access is confirmed by others' (e.g. O'Brennan 1909, Buriot Darsiles 1921) and by the bridges built over the fossa.

47. "a donation from one of its members": Steele 1956

47. "to make a doorway": Buriot Darsiles 1921, 590

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48. "call its occupants the Reformed": e.g. the maps of G. B. Cipriani in 1832 and of A. Parboni in 1852; Villetti 1985, 166

49. "Protestant chaplains in attendance": Corp 2011, 125-6; 319

49. "the English Anglicans in 1816": Palmer 1981, 1-4; "a Protestant chaplain for the Legation": Bunsen 1868, [vol. 1, 1659](#)

49. "continuing cause of conflict": Esch and Esch 1995

50. "some 250 Italian protestants": Krogel 1995, 204-5

50. "was a private burial-ground ": Krogel 1995, 195

51. Catholic funerals at night: Menniti Ippolito 1989, 71-72; the law of 1874: Krogel 1995, 196

51. The quote about Kirsch's funeral is from Moritz 1792-93, vol. 2, 176; see also Gessner's description (Krogel 1995, 249, n.12). For Åkerström's funeral, Huemer 2010. For the similar funeral for Mrs Pars in 1778 which "great numbers of Romans" attended, see Andrew in *Friends' Newsletter* 25 (2013).

52. Daylight funerals: Carstens in Huemer 2010, 180, n.39; von Ompteda in Menniti Ippolito 74; Anne Synnot in Martin 1831, 260; Keats in Brown 2009, 110. Other than Pinelli's view of a night funeral at the Pyramid, see the two drawings of night funerals in 1795 in Huemer (2010), and Jacques Sablet's depiction of c.1800 in Krogel 1989, Abb.21a.

52. On Macdonald's illness, death and funeral: *Scots Magazine* xxviii (August 1766), 446

52. "Gibson had hardly ever fired": Gregorovius quoted in Hartmann 1955, 234

54. "the Jewish cemetery": Menniti Ippolito 1989, 34, and 56-57 on prohibition of monuments; also Krogel 1995, 84, and 25 for the ban on Jewish gravestones

54. "the common pathway": Stevens quoted in Ingamells 1997, 896

54. "list of tariffs": Krogel 1995, 162 and Appendice 2

54. Crematorium inaugurated at Campo Verano: Krogel 1995, 69, and 71 for non-burial of urns

55. "the form of tombstones and epitaphs": Krogel 115-116; Menniti Ippolito 1989, 56

55. "the proposed wording of all inscriptions": Menniti Ippolito 1989, 76, 86-87

56. "As Mary Hutchings-Thompson...": Abeken 1911, 24
56. "annual demand for concessions": Krogel 1995, 204-5
56. "strenuous efforts to identify living relatives": evidence of the Cemetery's correspondence files, 1920s-1930s
57. "more than 600 graves...were removed": letter of 21 May 1962 from M. Piermattei to Harold E. Voigt, Cemetery archives, Voigt burial file. On the Randall-MacIver donation: letters of 8 June 1933 from M. Piermattei to Major Charles Maclean, HBM Consul in Florence, and of 25 April 1934 from M. Piermattei to Theodore Sedgwick of St Paul's American Church in Rome, Cemetery archives, Maclean 1826 and Hone burial files
57. "a survey by the British School at Rome": Court 2003
57. "mausolea found in Italian Catholic cemeteries": see, e.g. Berresford 2004
59. "a great revival of sculpture in America": Armstrong 1920, 194
59. For American sculptors' work in Rome, see Vance 1989; Gerds 1992; Stebbins 1992; Soria 1980, and Huemer 2012. On de Fauveau, see *Friends' Newsletter* 25 (2013).
59. "Sculptures by noted artists in the Cemetery": list compiled by author, research in progress
60. "I am making a monument": Story in James 1903, vol.2, 324
62. "The one at Stanford University": Jamison 1994. On making a copy, see *Friends' Newsletter* 17 (2011) and Douglas Stephens at <http://cemeteryrome.it/history/reading.html>
62. "a narrow ...entrance": "we push through the fissure in the wall" (Fullom 1864, 262); "the pilaster of the small arched gateway spanning the fosse"(Anon. 1876, 253); Beck-Friis 1956, 12-13
62. "the key to the gate": e.g. Smith 1868, 142-3; Sarah Clarke visiting in 1875 (Clarke 1907); George Gissing in 1888 found the hidden key (Gissing and Gissing 1927, 249).
63. "Joseph Gott working with Joseph Severn": Brown (2009, 149 and 152) identifies Gott's role. On the depiction of the lyre on the headstone, Franklin 2003
63. "Sow, and plant double": Brown 2009, 283-4 and 206-207 on Severn's earlier plans for the grave. Also, Matthews 2009, 31-32
64. "a plaque was installed": Anon 1876; Brown 2009, 324-6
64. On the graves of Joseph Severn: Brown 2009, 339-345; The late Mr Severn, *The Times*, 11 August 1879
65. "as if in compensation": Bennett 2008; on the unveiling of the new gravestone, Lucas 1938, 235
65. "not everyone was willing to contribute": Johnson 1924, 425

66. “the three drowned men”: for Shelley’s death and cremation on the beach, Hay 2010, 247-251

67. On Shelley’s burial in Rome and Trelawny’s role: Gay 1913, 52-57; Brown 2009, 147-9

67. “a space next to her husband”: Matthews 2004, who dates Mary’s visit to 1842 while Brown (2009, 254) gives 1843; “little William’s death”: Hay 2010, 165-7

67. “Shelley’s grave...in the long grass”: e.g. Kip 1846, and M.B. 1846 on its green mould and the custodian’s lumber room behind; also Johnson 1924, 426. “Six young cypresses”: Gay 1913, 56

67. “The anonymous plain slab”: MB 1866; Freeman 1877, 284. Gay (1913, 57-58) recounts the story of Trelawny’s ashes.

68. On the Onslow Ford monument to Shelley, Rodd 1913, 66-68; Rodd 1920-25, Vol.1, 261-2; White 1989; and Haskell 1978

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71. “a systematic inventory”: original and later copies in the Cemetery’s archives

71. “be shown a register”: this was current practice still in the 1950s (Beck-Friis 1956, 15).

72. Beck-Friis 1956, 15. Some correspondence about Shelley’s and Trelawny’s graves at least seems to have survived in the archives of the British Embassy in Rome: Gay 1913, 57 and White 1989.

72. “the printed reports”: Rahtz 1987; Rahtz et al. 1989; Nylander 1989 and 1992

73. “Who is buried in the Cemetery?”: those named in this chapter can be found in the Cemetery’s databases at <http://www.cemeteryrome.it/graves/databases.html>. Where no specific source is given, biographical information has been drawn from biographical dictionaries and online encyclopedias. Biographies of those buried in the Parte Antica can be found in Menniti Ippolito and Vian 1989, 281-316.

74. “outbreak of cholera”: Krogel 1995, 173-5; Brown 2009, 211-212

74. Henry Behnes Burlowe: Roscoe et al. 2009

74. Olaf Kellermann: Neergard and Neergard 1998, 108-9

74. Joseph Gott: Roscoe et al. 2009

75. Joseph Severn: Brown 2009, 212

75. “as they tried to leave for Florence”: Olsen 2002, 16

75. Arthur Severn: Brown 2009, 211

75. Charles Ryder and crew: see *Friends’ Newsletter* 8 (2009)

75. Rosa Bathurst: Perry 1978 and *Friends’ Newsletter* 8 (2009) and 19 (2012)

75. Carl Philipp Fohr: Menniti Ippolito and Vian 1989, 295-6; Krogel 1995, 251, n.21 and Appendix 1, Table 1 for the expenses of Fohr's funeral
75. Frederick Prince and Sidney Spratt: see *Friends' Newsletter* 5 (2008)
75. August Kirsch: Moritz 1792-93; Menniti Ippolito and Vian 1989, 295-6
76. Bertie Matthew: Rotella 2009
76. Hartman Kuhn: Armstrong 1920, 236-7
76. George Barfoot: Talbot 1916, 143; death record in Cemetery's register for 1902 but missing in databases
76. Herbert Norman: <http://www.canadianmysteries.ca/sites/norman/home/indexen.html>
79. Jonas Åkerström: Huemer 2010
79. Asmus Carstens: Neergard and Neergard 1998, 66-69
79. Richard Wyatt: "one return visit", Roscoe et al. 2009
79. Dwight Benton: "souvenir watercolours", Vance 1989, vol. 2, 281. On the importance of Italy to American artists, see Vance 1989, Stebbins 1992 and Vance, McGuigan and McGuigan 2009.
80. Peter Boyesen: Neergard and Neergard 1998, 59-61
80. Charles Smeaton: Terry and Osborne 2006
82. Johannes Takanen: see *Friends' Newsletter* 11 (2010)
82. Elihu Vedder: Soria 1970; on Dora Ohlfsen, see Miller in *Friends' Newsletter* 25 (2013); on Hendrik Andersen, Di Majo 2008
82. "designed by Holme Cardwell": Murray's *Handbook* 1881, 446-7; "designed by...Shakespeare Wood": letter of 1 July 1923 from Leveson Scarth to M. Piermattei, Cemetery archives, F. B. Woodward burial file
84. My account of the *Angel of Life* is based on Di Majo 2008
85. Frederic Crowninshield: Wilmers and Sloan 2010 and *Friends' Newsletter* 17 (2011)
85. The Villa Aurelia: Huemer and Puglisi 2006
85. Wolfgang and Hilde Lotz: see Lotz in *Friends' Newsletter* 15 (2011)
85. Wilhelm Henzen and Josef Kopf: see *Friends' Newsletter* 13 (2010) and 8 (2009); "the portrait bust of Henzen is by... von Kopf": note dated 7 November 1978 in Cemetery archives, Henzen burial file

86. Johan David Åkerblad: Menniti Ippolito and Vian 1989, 282-3
86. “painted his uncle’s grave”: painting reproduced in *Friends’ Newsletter* 22 (2013)
87. Morris Moore: see *Friends’ Newsletter* 25 (2013)
87. Basilio Lemmerman: for his donation of watercolours, see Tozzi 2013
87. Niels Ravnkilde: Neergard and Neergard 1998, 120-125; Neergard 2012, 2013
88. Carsten Hauch: Neergard and Neergard 1998, 83-88
88. Rodolfo Wilcock: see *Friends’ Newsletter* 18 (2012)
88. Gregory Corso’s burial: <http://www.woodstockjournal.com/corso7-3.html> (accessed 29/8/09)
89. Antonio Gramsci’s grave: see *Friends’ Newsletter* 10 (2010)
90. Richard H. Dana: see *Friends’ Newsletter* 16 (2011)
91. Bruno Pontecorvo: Mafai 1992
92. Lars Leksell: see *Friends’ Newsletter* 20 (2012)
92. “The absurd term, Roman Fever”: Aitken 1882
93. The Page family: see *Friends’ Newsletter* 7 (2009) and 19 (2012)
93. “Shepherd’s work...is commemorated”: Palmer 1981, 23-24. On Drago Popovich (see below), see <http://www.retecevica.trieste.it/triestecultura/new/serbiatrieste/default.asp?pagina=popovich> (accessed 3.7.11)
94. “All Saints’ Church”: Palmer 1981
95. Maria Chernysheva: see *Friends’ Newsletter* 17 (2011)
95. Alfred Strohl-Fern: see *Friends’ Newsletter* 1 (2006) and De Feo 2010
95. “Three benefactors”: biographical notes on them in Menniti Ippolito and Vian 1989, 281-316
96. “The groom arrived”: *The New York Times*, 22 March 1911
96. Constance Fenimore Wilson: see *Friends’ Newsletter* 2 (2007)
97. “a melancholy and beautiful spot”: in Hensel 1881, vol.2, 82; see *Friends’ Newsletter* 9 (2009)
97. “the Swedes buried there”: Bildt 1900
98. Jacob L. Martin: Marraro 1944, 489-90; Wynne 1966, 14-16
98. George Perkins Marsh: Lowenthal 2000; also *Friends’ Newsletter* 12 (2010)

99. Protestants in the Papal forces: Krogel 1995, 237-8 citing letter of 13 May 1940 from M. Piermattei to Executive Commission for Mausoleum Ossuary on the Janiculum for those who fell for Rome, and listing possible names, Cemetery archives, Rozat file.

99. On the remains of Bartolomé Rozat, John Scholey and Artur Bennj, letter of 13 May 1940 from M. Piermattei to Commission (see above) and another of 5 September 1940 from M. Piermattei to German Embassy, Cemetery archives, Rozat burial file. Also Freeman 1877, 296 on Scholey. On other Garibaldini, see *Friends' Newsletter* 16 (2011).

99. Giovanni and Maria Ceccarini: see *Friends' Newsletter* 14 (2011) and Bebi and Delucca 1990

100. On the Pensione Fersen: Geffken 1991; on the Fersens, see *Friends' Newsletter* 6 (2009)

100. Marie Dinesen: Neergaard and Neergaard 1998, 75-78

101. Hotels Hassler and Eden: information from the hotels' websites

101. Hans Barth: Barth 1921, and <http://gostolai.net/storia-e-tradizioni/hans-barth/> (accessed 9.8.13)

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104. "Testaccio...to become a principal industrial zone": see Ranaldi 2012; Gallavotti Cavallaro 1987; Chiumenti and Bilancia 1979

105. "cut across the Old Cemetery": Rodd 1913; Krogel 208-215 and at length on its implications, 215-232

105. "the impending destruction": Rodd 1913; Rodd 1920-25, Vol. 1, 154-6; Vol. 3, 127-8; see also *Friends' Newsletter* 15 (2011); "extremely repulsive": letter from the Marquis of Salisbury quoted by Krogel 1995, 200

108. "In advance of these works": Piermattei 1930

109. "was due to sheep": Menniti Ippolito 1989, 44; "broken into three pieces": Menniti Ippolito 1989, 43

109. "being walked upon": Reinolds 1816

109. "an unrestrained rabble": Martin 1831, 123

109. "the headstone of Ruth McEvers": Beach et al. 1943, 57-8. Overturned monuments: Kotzebue 1806

109. "insert metal pins": Menniti Ippolito 1989, 45. On Jacob More, see *Friends' Newsletter* 21 (2012).

109. Åkerström's funeral: Huemer 2010

110. "mock battles": Freeman 1877, 281; "a mob attacked the Cemetery": Menniti Ippolito 1989, 44

110. "a new regulation had prohibited": letter of 19 April 1934 from M. Piermattei to I. Slatten, Cemetery archives, Bruun burial file. On Chapman's view of the Howard grave and its railings, see *Friends' Newsletter* 25 (2013).

111. "German Ambassador": Krogel 1995, 207

111. "dust raised by vehicles" and "throwing stones at visitors": Krogel 1995, 231

111. "the newly surfaced road": Piermattei 1953

111. The football stadium: Ranaldi 2012, 41-42

112. "Parco Cestio": Ranaldi 2012, 42 n.97

112. "the French and Pontifical troops": Krogel 1995, 167

112. "A report": Beck-Friis 1956, 14

113. "Residents of Testaccio": Ranaldi 2012, 115-123

114. "Three bombs": photos by Ivo Meldolesi for the *New York Times*, on file, Cemetery archives

114. "An appeal for funds": Piermattei in Cianfarra 1950; "Poetry Society of America": Steele 1956, 9

114. "Bombs rained around...": Cacciatore and Rogers 1949, 68

114. "artillery fire": Goldstein 1944

116. "Already in 1922": letter of 20 September 1927 from M. Piermattei to Cesare Tiraborelli, Cemetery archives, Nagatkine burial file

116. "one such incident": notes to file, Cemetery archives, Fraser, Becker, Thompson and Varnbüler files

116. "16 cypress trees": Nylander 1989, 9; note to file dated 11.3.81, Cemetery archives, Arnold Corrodi file

116. Flooding: Krogel 1995, 176-8 and Krogel 1989, Abb.43a, Abb. 45a

117. "reported to be flooded": *New York Times* 2 December 1900

117. "The open spaces of the Recinto": Krogel 1995, 179

117. Burdin's plot: Krogel 1995, 179-80 and p.300, Appendice 4.1

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119. Goethe at the Hotel d'Allemagne: Zapperi 2012; on Alessandro Franz as British consul, see Brown 2009, 287-8, 308-9 and 334-9; and as executor to Joseph Severn, 340-1. His brother Ettore,

the painter, was employed for eight years in the British consulate before joining the family bank in 1872.

120. The Humboldt concession: Krogel 1995, 202-3, etc.

120. Administrator: Beck-Friis 1956, 14

120. Table compiled by Amanda Thursfield

121. Aesthetic Committee: Nylander 1989, 9

121. Table compiled from Menniti Ippolito 1989, Krogel 1995 and from Cemetery records

121. Appointment of Francesco Trucchi: Krogel 1995, 140, 141, 159-160; on the custodian's duties, Krogel 1995, 158-168

122. Giovanni Trucchi's request for stipend: Krogel 1995, 165

122. Succession of Achille Trucchi: Krogel 1995, 192

122. Succession of Piermattei: Krogel 1995, 219-221

123. "One of Piermattei's strengths": Bosi 1970

123. "the Cemetery was effectively bankrupt": letter dated 5 September 1948 from M. Piermattei to L. Chiarelli of the British Council in Rome, Cemetery archives, Ugo Caldwell burial file. See also Cianfarra 1950.

123. "his only son...to succeed him": Bosi 1970

123. "a list of its tariffs": Krogel 1995, Appendice I

124. Armstrong 1920, 162

124. "a high point for English and American visitors": see for example the editor's opening chapter in Huemer 2005

124. "the war was devastating": Cianfarra 1950

125. "the Cemetery suddenly seemed 'wealthy'": this comment and the following references to finances and to the works in the Parte Antica are extracted from Minutes of the meetings of the General Committee of Ambassadors, of which miscellaneous copies were consulted in the Cemetery archives and in the Swedish Institute in Rome. Architects' plans for the refurbishment of the Parte Antica are on file, Cemetery archives.

126. "the loss of information...when graves were removed": e.g. Nylander 1989, 8-13

126. Reports of thefts in 1980 by the director, R. Morbidelli, in Cemetery archives, Davidoff burial file; and in 1995 by the director, G. Marcantoni, in Connolly and other burial files

126. "an exhibition of modern sculpture": Wilsey 1999

127. The British School at Rome report: Court 2003; *International Herald Tribune* 25 and 26 July 2002

127. <http://www.wmf.org/project/cimitero-acattolico>

128. “widespread coverage”: e.g. *International Herald Tribune* 8 February 2006; *The Times* 9 February 2006; *La Repubblica* 9 febbraio 2006; *Corriere della Sera* 10 febbraio 2006

128. “management policies in the third millennium”: Stanley-Price and Thursfield 2011

132. Visit of Cecil Day-Lewis: archives of Keats-Shelley House

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