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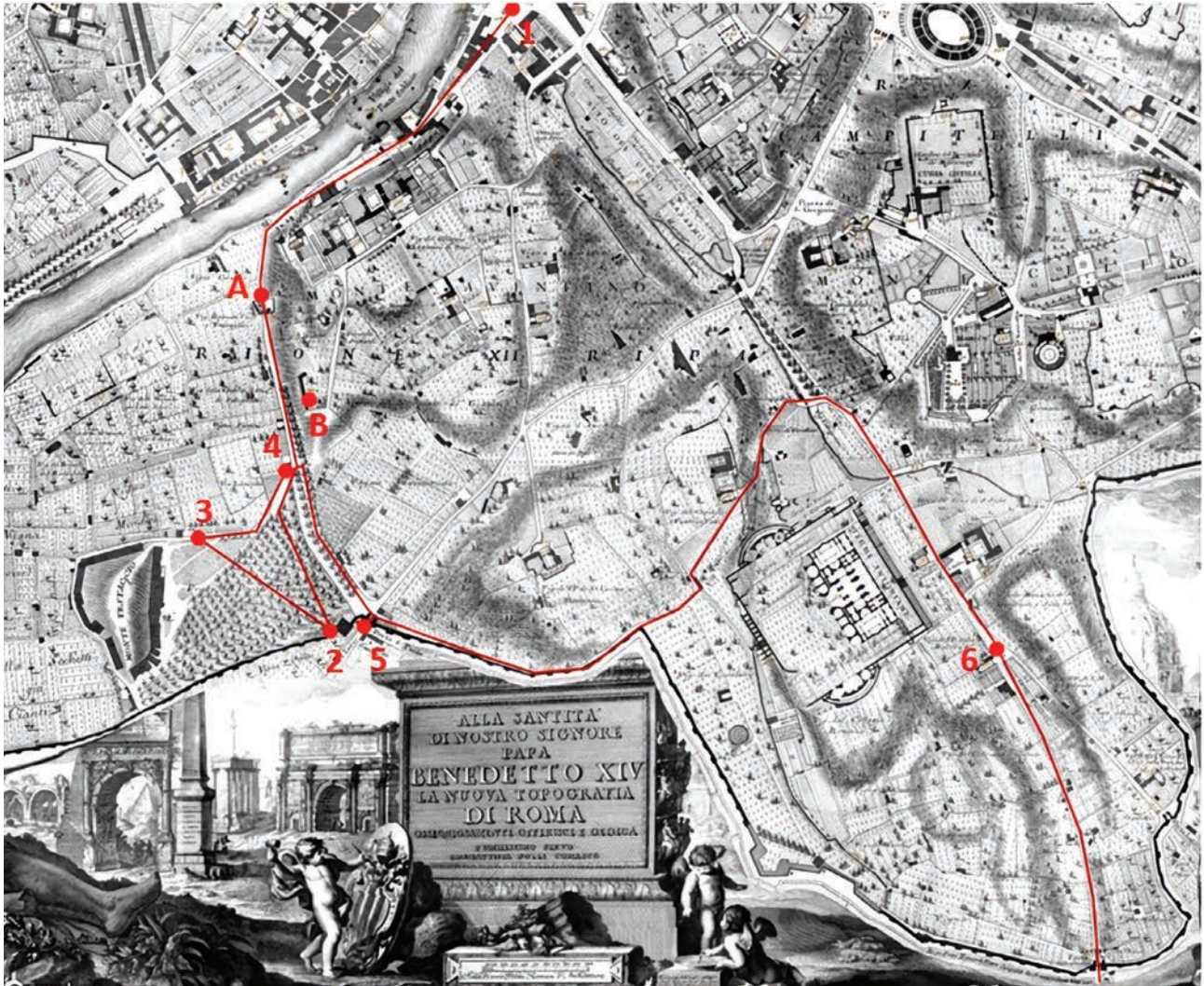
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Thomas Jones's excursion to the English Cemetery and Testaccio in Rome, 1777

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Of the many foreign artists who visited Italy in the late 18th century, the Welshman Thomas Jones (1742–1803) stands out for the detail in which he documented his time there. Many of the landscape drawings in his sketchbooks, preserved in the British Museum and the National Museum of Wales in Cardiff,¹ have captions and are annotated with the precise day and, occasionally, the time of day on which he made them. Moreover, for much of his time in Italy he kept diaries which, after his return to Wales, he drew on in compiling his *Memoirs*,² an invaluable record of his activities, his interactions with fellow-artists, and his impressions of Italian life. These two sources provide an unusually vivid record of the artist's experience in the country.

Jones arrived in Rome on 27 November 1776 but not until late April 1777 did he make use of any detailed diary entries when composing his *Memoirs*. The *Memoirs* include only one very brief entry (for 19 March) during the previous month which is when he made the sketches that are the subject of this article. Even without any diary entries to add

1 Detail of the *Nuova Pianta di Roma* by Giovanni Battista Nolli (1701–1756), 1748, showing Thomas Jones's route on 22 March 1777

substance, the content of his sketchbooks makes it possible to reconstruct his excursions and his method of working.

Thomas Jones has been gradually rediscovered since the 1950s,³ when his *Memoirs* – historically the first work of its kind written by a British artist – were published by the Walpole Society⁴ and some of his artworks which had stayed with the family since the 18th century appeared on the market.⁵ He is nowadays renowned for these small sketches in oil on paper, praised as harbingers of the future romantic approach towards nature that was typical, for instance, of Camille Corot or John Constable and which have also been compared to Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes's *en plein air* studies.⁶ In addition to his sketches in oil, his prolific artistic output ranges from drawings in graphite, wash, pencil and watercolour, both loose and in sketchbooks, some of them



2 *The Meadows of the Roman People* (detail of Pl 1)

3 *View of the English cemetery in the Meadows of the Roman People* by Thomas Jones (1742–1803), 1777. Watercolour and graphite on paper, 21.5 x 27.7 cm. British Museum, London, 1981,0516.18.14

rapid views but others detailed and accompanied by notes, to fully finished landscape paintings. His *Memoirs* provide the most detailed account of his career and are complemented by two other main sources: the *Italian Account Book*⁷ with revealing information about his life in Naples, and the *General Daybook*⁸ that documents his managing his large estate once he was back in Wales.

Thomas Jones purchased the so-called Small Sketchbook (British Museum 1981,0516.17.1) a few days after his arrival in Rome, on 2 December 1776, and used it until May 1777. He initially drew only on the right pages, then used the left pages and finally, turning over the sketchbook, he started drawing from the back of it. Apart from some more panoramic views of the landscape around Rome (such as *The Lake of Albano*, British Museum 1981,0516.17.13), characterised by the addition of wash to convey depth and shadow, this sketchbook – only slightly larger than a modern postcard – includes mainly details and close-ups of buildings and architecture, often simply rendered in graphite. Simultaneously, Jones used the so-called Large Sketchbook (British Museum 1981,0516.18.1), purchased on 17 February 1777, which fulfilled a different function: it comprises mostly panoramas and views, often painted in watercolour and coloured wash. Yet Jones seems to focus particularly on architecture, albeit seen in a more pictorial frame. He was born into a family of landowners, and this background may explain his concern with features of the landscape, such as the vineyards that he never fails to record in his drawings, as well as the types of materials, colours and textures of the rocks and soil and the masonry of the buildings – a personal reaction to the landscape. Both sketchbooks convey an interest in geometrical volumes and angular shapes, often of ordinary and mundane places – synthetic views built on masses and architectural structures. This way of approaching landscape painting was perfectly suited to drawing in a sketchbook while in front of the subject, and especially for capturing the Italian landscape and light, a combination of architecture and nature that astonished travellers from abroad. Jones appears to express this feeling in his

Memoirs when, referring to Jakob Philip Hackert, he records: ‘He was pleased to pay many Compliments on my progressive Improvement in paying due attention to the Detail – that is to say, minute finishing, which by the bye, was more congenial to his own taste, who like most German Artists, study more the Minutiae than the grand principles of the Art.’⁹

The Large Sketchbook opens with 10 drawings all dated 4 March 1777. Starting with a view (discussed later) of the city-wall of Rome between Piazza del Popolo and the Borghese Gardens, they document an excursion made by Jones to the north of the city towards the Arco Oscuro, Acqua Acetosa and the Ponte Molle (British Museum 1981,0516.18.1 – 1981,0516.18.10). The next group is seven drawings in the same sketchbook, all dated 22 March (British Museum 1981,0516.18.11– 1981,0516.18.17). The first three place the artist in the area of the Foro Boario near the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin (Pl 1: 1). Two of them portray the Aventine hill seen from this side near the river Tiber and the third the Temple of Vesta (now identified as the Temple of Hercules Victor). The seventh and last of this group (British Museum 1981,0516.18.17) is inscribed ‘Sun Set / Part of ye Walls of Rome between the Porta St Sebastiano / and ye Porta Latina 22 March 1777 / Going to St Sebastians Gate’. The other three drawings, as their inscriptions attest, are of views made within the ‘Prati del Popolo Romano’ (the Meadows of the Roman People) which lay in the Testaccio area (Pl 2: C).

Lying between Via Marmorata (recorded as ‘Strada di Porta San Paolo’ on Nolli’s map) to the east and the river Tiber to the west, the Meadows were within the city-walls but remained virtually uninhabited, giving them an entirely rural aspect. For centuries they had been considered common land, providing the Roman people with free pasturage for their flocks. Their principal physical feature was Monte Testaccio, an artificial hill

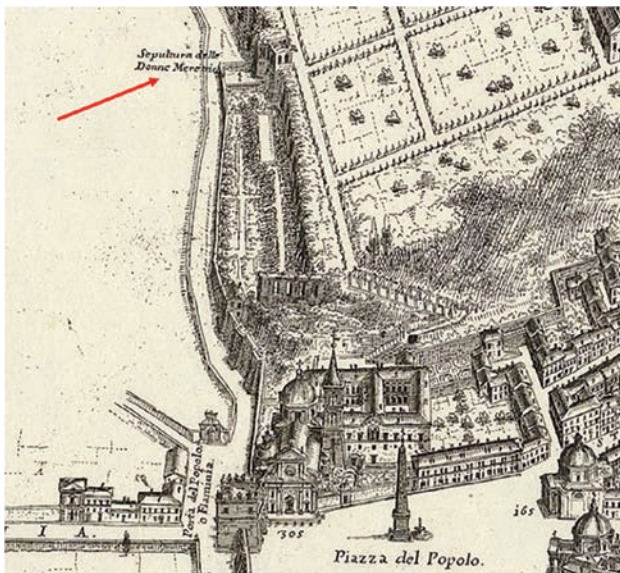


some 36m high which resulted from the dumping there in Roman times of broken amphorae.¹⁰ In 1667 the city authorities began to exploit Monte Testaccio and the Meadows for commercial purposes. The natural environmental properties of cavities excavated into the hill made them ideal for preserving wine and foodstuffs. The city leased concessions for wine-stores inserted into the slopes of the hill and from them there soon developed popular taverns. The concessions were quickly taken up and Carlo Fontana's map of 1695 shows them already encircling the hill.¹¹ The Dogana (the customs authority) also imposed taxes on the transport of wine and goods.¹² The large area of the Meadows that was subject to the levy of taxes was enclosed within a wooden palisade with a single, guarded entrance known as the 'Doganella' (the little Customs House). In addition, in 1669 the Conservatori (the municipal magistrates of Rome), while protective of the public status of the Meadows, decided to develop on them the cultivation of mulberry trees for silk production.¹³ The whole controlled enceinte was known as the Recinto di Testaccio. Nolli's *Nuova Pianta di Roma* of 70 years later (Pl 1) appears to show that most of the area was then devoted to either vineyards or mulberry cultivation. Unsurprisingly, the city authorities' use of the Testaccio meadows for income-generating commercial activities provoked popular protest for infringing the centuries-old right to free pasturage there.¹⁴

Jones's watercolour (Pl 3)¹⁵ is one of the earliest depictions of the area that around 1716 had started to be used for the burial of foreign Protestants.¹⁶ Many of the foreign artists living in Rome have eventually found a grave there. Jones himself in June 1778 witnessed the burials of 'Mrs Pars', the common-law wife of the painter William Pars (1742–1782), and of the Irish artist, antiquary and cicerone Mathew Nulty (c1716–1778).¹⁷

The burial-ground is situated in front of the massive pyramidal tomb of the Roman official Gaius Cestius (who died between 18 and 12 BC). In his sketch, between the pyramidal monument and the ruined towers of the city-wall (dating from 271 AD) of the emperor Aurelian, Jones shows a glimpse of a crenellated tower of the city-gate, the Porta San Paolo (misidentified by Jones in his caption as St John's Gate). Two Roman columns discovered and re-erected during a restoration campaign of the 1660s stand in front of the Pyramid. Jones's view 'looking toward the Colosseum' shows that building, at an exaggerated scale, in the distance. On the horizons there are visible to its right the church of Santa Balbina and to its left the ruins of the Roman Baths of Decius on the Aventine hill. In front of the Colosseum are depicted some of the monumental arches of the Septizodium (Septizonium) on the Palatine hill and, to their right, a single tall building. In front again, and much nearer to the artist, stands a gateway flanked by two decorative stone pillars. This gate on the Via Marmorata led to the Maccarani vineyard, part of the extensive Vigna dei Gesuiti on the lower slopes of the Aventine hill.¹⁸ It is depicted in other contemporary engravings and paintings, for example, Barbault's image of the Pyramid of Cestius.¹⁹

In addition to the caption, Jones made two annotations on his sketch: on the slopes below the church of Santa Balbina he pencilled 'vineyard' (identified on Nolli's map as the Vigna Vivaldi) and on the wall bounding the burying-ground on the Via Marmorata side he wrote 'new white wall'. It was indeed new – in January 1776 this wall was reported as in the course of being built to enclose the Recinto di Testaccio along Via Marmorata, replacing the previous wooden palisade that presumably was considered inadequate for securing the area.²⁰ The wall depicted by Jones in March 1777 was therefore hard-



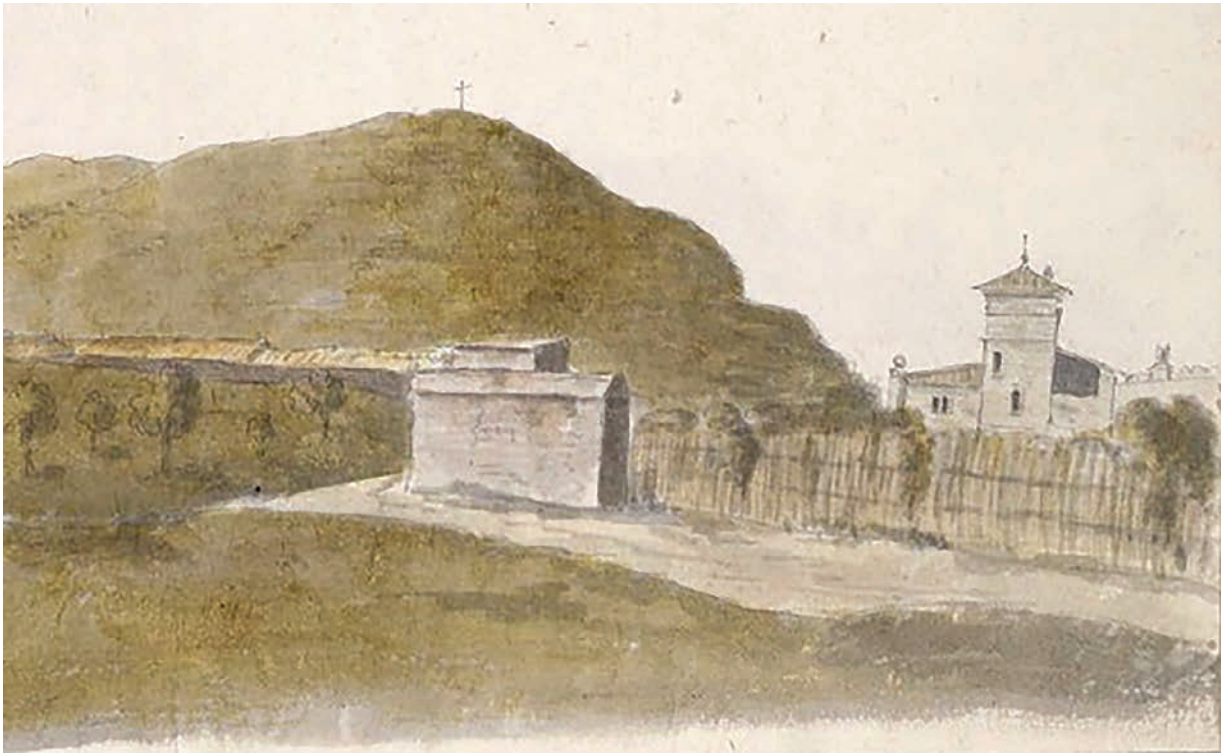
4 View of the walls between Porta del Popolo and the Porta Pinciana with the Muro Torto and the burial-ground of the prostitutes by Thomas Jones (1742–1803), 1777. Watercolour and graphite on paper, 21.5 x 27.7 cm. British Museum, London, 1981.0516.18.1

5 Detail of the *Pianta di Roma* by Giovanni Battista Falda (1643–1678), 1676, showing the Muro Torto cemetery

ly one year old. Its bright white colour features in other artists' views taken from both inside and outside the burying-ground.²¹ The new wall along Via Marmorata had the effect of delimiting on that side the area being used for burials which otherwise, as the Conservatori had insisted, remained unenclosed as part of the commons used for grazing.²²

The four stone monuments that Jones shows in front of the Pyramid match the number that are known to have stood in the cemetery at the time of his visit. The erection of the first stone monument, commemorating the young Hanoverian Georg Werpup (who died in May 1765), was notable enough to be recorded in the foreign press in December 1767.²³ When at the burial-ground on 1 November 1775, the marquis de Sade observed three funerary monuments.²⁴ Shortly after his visit there died the German courtier Wolf Carl Friedrich Reitzenstein (1750–1775), his being the fourth monument to be raised before Jones arrived in March 1777. In the latter's sketch the tombs of Werpup and Reitzenstein can be recognised on the right, two distinctive monuments that were also the subject of the watercolour of 1777 by Jakob Philipp Hackert²⁵ and the drawing made six years later by Nicolas-Didier Bogueuet (1755–1839).²⁶ It is not clear whether Hackert made his visit to the cemetery before or after Jones. He was in Sicily from April to June of that year, and always spent the summer months in his country house at Albano. He is known to have been in Rome in November: his drawing is therefore likely to date from either before April or after September in 1777.²⁷

Before the 'English burying-ground' came into being around 1716, non-Catholic 'heretics' who died in Rome were buried outside the northern wall of the city at a designated spot known as the Muro Torto.²⁸ Here too were interred



6 *View of Monte Testaccio in the Meadows of the Roman People* by Thomas Jones (1742–1803), 1777. Watercolour and graphite on paper, 21.5 x 27.7 cm. British Museum, London, 1981,0516.18.15

7 *View of the Aventine Hill from the Meadows of the Roman People* by Thomas Jones (1742–1803), 1777. Watercolour and graphite on paper, 21.5 x 27.7 cm. British Museum, London, 1981,0516.18.16

unbaptised infants, criminals, suicides and prostitutes, the latter category giving it its popular name of the ‘Sepultura delle Donne Meretrici’.²⁹ The first drawing in Jones’s *Large Sketchbook* (British Museum 1981,0516.18.1)³⁰ is a view of this spot at the foot of the walls, looking towards Porta del Popolo (Pl 4).³¹

The stone-walled enclosure depicted by Jones at the foot of the city-wall on the left is in the location identified by Falda as the ‘Sepultura delle Donne Meretrici’ (Pl 5). It fits the later description of ‘un piccolo recinto con qualche edicoletta’.³² The enclosure has a door at left and an aedicula projecting above the interior space. Falda’s plan marks what appears to

be a cross-symbol in the enclosure’s centre, and Vasi’s engraving of the Muro Inchinato or the Muro Torto depicts a walled enclosure at this point but not the aedicula seen in Jones’s view.³³ Much remains to be learnt about the Muro Torto cemetery but Jones’s view of it from 1777 is a valuable addition to its visual record.

Returning to Jones’s drawings made in the Meadows of the Roman People, these are a useful complement to other sources for the topography and the evolution of the Recinto di Testaccio in general and of the English burying-ground and the Doganella in particular. They also afford invaluable insights into the landscape artist at work in eighteenth-century Rome.

Jones's view of the northern end of Monte Testaccio (Pl 6)³⁴ shows, to the left, a row of low tiled-roof buildings along the foot of the hill which were taverns and wine-cellars. In front of them are scattered trees (probably mulberries) in the Meadows. His viewpoint is likely to have been 'Il Cavone', a series of low, artificial mounds of accumulated rubble lying a little to the northeast of Monte Testaccio.³⁵ This location appears to be confirmed by the substantial building shown to the right of his drawing (the rectilinear object, bearing a colour-note of 'grey', in the foreground remains unidentified). The same building, with its distinctive tower, was drawn six years later by Boguet in his distant view of Monte Testaccio,³⁶ and may be the one marked on Nolli's 1748 map as adjacent to the Vigna Mendicini.

Jones's view of the Aventine hill (Pl 7)³⁷ is unusual for including the massive bastion (Pl 1: B) known as La Colonella which was built in 1537–39 by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger.³⁸ On the horizon to its left the church complex of S Maria del Priorato is recognisable. The dominant feature of the drawing, however, is a rare depiction of the Doganella, the customs house guarding the sole entrance to the Recinto di Testaccio. It was a substantial three-storey building, with four windows to each of its two upper floors. Boguet's view of six years later was taken from or near the Bastion, looking in exactly the opposite direction to the one adopted by Jones.³⁹ He gave the building more windows and omitted the chimneys shown by Jones. Both artists show the entrance gate to the Recinto that was controlled by the guard at the Doganella. This building is marked on Nolli's plan of 1748 and on later maps such as the 1829 Census plan⁴⁰ but rarely has it been a subject for artists. A later report of 1850 describes it, 'una casetta di privata persona all'ingresso del recinto sulla destra'.⁴¹ In the 1880s, as the zone of Testaccio started to be developed for workers' housing in the new capital city, the building – by then used as lodging for the Protestant cemetery's gardeners – was destined for demolition.⁴²

On his drawing the artist made pencilled annotations of 'garden' on the slope below S Maria del Priorato, two colour notes of 'brown' on the Bastion and one of 'grey' to its right, and 'white wall', on the wall to the right of the entrance-gate. This is the same wall that ran along Via Marmorata, the 'new white wall' bounding the 'English burying-ground' (discussed earlier), that ended by abutting the city-wall adjacent to Porta San Paolo and that secured the Recinto on this side. The only minor interruption in it, although not one that provided any public access to the Recinto, was the entrance-gate to a Pontifical powder-magazine (Polveriera) built in 1752 (and hence not shown on Nolli's plan of 1748) on Via Marmorata, a little to the north of the English cemetery.⁴³ That the white wall otherwise ran uninterrupted between the Porta San Paolo and the entrance guarded by the Doganella is confirmed by its continuous line depicted on later plans (eg, the architect Raffaele Stern's project proposal of 1818⁴⁴ and the plan made for the 1829 census).

The reality of this new wall bounding the Recinto is crucial to understanding Jones's route on his visit to Testaccio on 22 March 1777 (Pl 1). It is reasonable to assume that the seven drawings in the Large Sketchbook are in the order in which he made them and that they therefore potentially reveal his itinerary. Indeed, the last of the group of seven, a view of the city-wall between Porta San Sebastiano and Porta Latina, is annotated 'Sun Set'.⁴⁵ Leaving the Foro Boario (British Museum 1981,0516.18.11, 1981,0516.18.12 and 1981,0516.18.13) and following the Via della Salara Vecchia (nowadays, the Lungotevere Aventino) on the left bank of the

river Tiber, Jones then took the Via Marmorata towards the Porta San Paolo, keeping the Aventine hill on his left. He passed under the Arco di San Lazzaro (Pl 1: A) which he had sketched on an earlier visit on 16 February (in the Small Sketchbook, British Museum 1981,0516.17.29) before turning right through the Doganella entrance into the Recinto di Testaccio. He then did as many other artists and Grand Tourists did and headed directly towards the Pyramid of Gaius Cestius. There he took up a position (Pl 2: 2) a little to its right to make a sketch of the English burying-ground (British Museum 1981,0516.18.14). He later crossed the Meadows of the Roman People towards Monte Testaccio and sketched it from the Cavone mounds (Pl 2: 3; British Museum 1981,0516.18.15) before heading back to the Doganella gate. Prior to leaving the Meadows he made his sketch of the Aventine hill (British Museum 1981,0516.18.16) from right in front of the Doganella building (Pl 2: 4). He then went through the gate and turned right down Via Marmorata to the Porta San Paolo where, from outside the walls (Pl 2: 5), he made a drawing in his Small Sketchbook (British Museum 1981,0516.17.48). The last of the drawings of 22 March in the Large Sketchbook 'at Sun Set' (British Museum 1981,0516.18.17) is a view from inside the walls of the junction of the Via Appia and the Via Latina in the vicinity of Porta Capena (Pl 1: 6).⁴⁶ After making this sketch, Jones would have left the city through the Porta San Sebastiano and continued along the Via Appia.⁴⁷ The map in Pl 1 shows his probable approximate route, based on the sequence of his sketches.

Why did he not sketch the Porta San Paolo when already nearby at the adjacent Pyramid and cemetery? The reason is that, as all visitors found, whether they arrived on foot or in a carriage, the Porta San Paolo and the Pyramid were not inter-accessible inside the walls. The 'new white wall', replacing the earlier palisade, had made it impossible to move easily between the two. Visitors to the Pyramid or cemetery had to re-trace their steps back to the Doganella and exit the Meadows before either heading back into town or proceeding down Via Marmorata to the city-gate.

Jones's habit of captioning and dating his drawings has therefore provided evidence in favour of this hypothesis about how visitors reached the Protestant cemetery.⁴⁸ The single access point to the Recinto di Testaccio allowed the Conservatori not only to collect taxes on goods in transit but also to monitor the comings and goings of 'heretic' visitors to the cemetery. For the night-funeral in 1793 of the German antiquary Johann Friedrich Reiffenstein, for example, the guards stationed at the Doganella stopped the funeral cortège at the gate in order to identify the participants.⁴⁹

The Pyramid and the English Cemetery fascinated artists for centuries,⁵⁰ yet the wider area around Monte Testaccio and the Meadows of the Roman People received less attention in the 18th century. Compared to the often delicate and precise panorama drawings by Boguet, Jones's watercolours retain that curiosity towards some of the mundane features of the architecture and landscape that is characteristic of his oeuvre. Throughout his Italian stay, Jones shows a keen interest for locations that he considered 'out of the beaten track of the Roman perambulating painters'⁵¹ and made excursions (or 'rambles' as he often describes them) outside the city walls, both to the north (as shown by his views around the Acqua Acetosa and Borghese Gardens) and to the south along the Via Latina and Via Appia past the Circus of Maxentius 'as far as they antiently [sic] burnt the dead bodies',⁵² presumably a reference to the catacombs. His habit of adding notes about the colours and masonry of the buildings allowed him to cover a

large amount of ground in his walks. This practice and his procedure of returning to his drawings to 'touch on'⁵³ them, as he often recalls in his *Memoirs*, emphasise the importance that he attached to them. They deserve to be interpreted as works of art in their own right, and worthy of further labour and time as Jones himself deemed them.

- 1 British Museum, 1981,0516.17.1 and 1981,0516.18.1; National Museum of Wales, Cardiff, NMW A 2528.
- 2 National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, NLW MS 23812D.
- 3 Francis Hawcroft, *Travels in Italy: 1776–1783; based on the 'Memoirs' of Thomas Jones*, Manchester 1998; Ann Sumner and Greg Smith, *Thomas Jones (1742–1803): an artist rediscovered*, New Haven and London 2003; Anna Ottani Cavina, ed, *Viaggio d'artista nell'Italia del Settecento: il diario di Thomas Jones*, Milan 2003; Richard Veasey, *Thomas Jones Pencerrig: Artist – Traveller, Country Squire*, Talybont 2017.
- 4 Paul Oppé, 'Memoirs of Thomas Jones Penkerrig Radnorshire 1803', *Walpole Society*, XXXII 1946–1948 (1951), pp1–143.
- 5 By descent from the artist to his younger daughter Elizabetha (1781–1806), and by her inheritance to her husband, Captain John Dale, and by descent to Mrs Elphinstone Farrier: Christie's London, 'Catalogue of Engravings and drawings, the property of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Derby ... also old pictures, and drawings, engravings and etchings, from other sources', 2 July 1954 (lots 212–18); Christie's London, 28 July 1955 (lots 1–6), Sotheby's London, 'Eighteenth century and modern drawings and paintings', 27 June 1956 (lot 47).
- 6 J Allan Gere, 'An oil-sketch by Thomas Jones', *The British Museum Quarterly*, vol 21, no 4 (October 1959), pp93–94; Lindsay Stainton, *British landscape watercolours: 1600–1860*, London 1985; Peter Galassi, *Corot in Italy: open-air painting and the classical-landscape tradition*, New Haven 1991.
- 7 Private collection.
- 8 National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth, NLW MS 23811E. The Library also holds other writings by Jones, such as Jones's Notebook with extracts from Shakespeare, ARCH/MSS (GB0210), 305; and a Notebook containing a transcript of 'The Trip to Calais' (1767), ARCH/MSS (GB0210), 306–307 published in: Michael Tomlinson, 'Thomas Jones's The Trip to Calais: a tale of former times', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, vol 26 (2020), pp21–49.
- 9 Oppé, p117.
- 10 Emilio Rodríguez Almeida, *Il monte Testaccio, ambiente, storia, materiali*, Rome 1984; Antonio Aguilera Martín, *El monte Testaccio y la llanura subaventina*, Rome 2002.
- 11 Maria Luisa Mura, *Testaccio. Il XX Rione di Roma*, Rome 2014, Pl 48.
- 12 Antonio Menniti Ippolito, *Il Cimitero acattolico di Roma. La presenza protestante nella città del papa*, Rome 2014, pp99–104; Wolfgang Krogel, *All'ombra della Piramide: storia e interpretazione del Cimitero acattolico di Roma*, Rome 1995, pp86–98.
- 13 Krogel, p93.
- 14 Menniti Ippolito, p102.
- 15 Inscribed: 'The English burying Ground by C[a]iu[s] Cestus's tomb (St Johns Gate) / in the prati del Popolo Romano – looking towards the Colosseo / 22nd March 1777'.
- 16 Edward Corp, 'The origins of the Protestant Cemetery in Rome', Newsletter, *Friends of the Non-Catholic Cemetery in Rome*, 21 (Winter 2012), pp1–2; Nicholas Stanley-Price, 'The Old Cemetery for foreigners in Rome with a new inventory of its burials', *Opuscula. Annual of the Suedish Institutes at Athens and Rome*, 13 (2020), pp187–222.
- 17 Oppé, p73; Stanley-Price, p207.
- 18 Alessandro Mazza, 'La vigna dei Gesuiti, poi Torlonia, all'Aventino' in *L'aventino dal Rinascimento ad oggi*, Mario Bevilacqua and Daniela Gallavotti Cavallero, eds, Rome 2010, p202.
- 19 Jean Barbault and Domenico Montagu in *Les plus beaux édifices de Rome moderne, ou recueil des plus belles vues des principales églises, places, palais, fontaines qui sont dans Rome*, Rome 1763; Agostino Penna, *Veduta della Piramide di Caio Cestio Epulone*, Rome 1830, in Nicholas Stanley-Price, Mary K McGuigan and John F McGuigan Jr, *At the foot of the Pyramid: 300 years of the cemetery for foreigners in Rome*, Rome 2016, exh cat., pp70–71, cat. 17; and Victor-Jean Nicolle's more fanciful rendering, in *At the foot of the Pyramid*, pp44–45, cat. 4.
- 20 Menniti Ippolito, pp102–103; Krogel, p96.
- 21 For example, Nicolas-Didier Boguet, [Porta San Paolo and Pyramid of Cestius], 1783, Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome, FN6254, reproduced in Claire Hornsby, *Nicolas-Didier Boguet (1755–1839): landscapes of suburban Rome*, Rome 2002, p123, no. 43; Johann Christian Klengel, *Die Cestiuspyramide und die Porta San Paolo in Rom, 1790–1792*, watercolour, Hamburger Kunsthalle, Kupferstichkabinett Inv. Nr.: 1957–203, reproduced in Wolfgang Krogel, 'Der Alte Friedhof der Nicht-Katholiken in Rom und seine Umgebung. Ein Szenarium in Wandel', in *The protestant cemetery in Rome: the 'parte antica'*, Antonio Menniti Ippolito and Paolo Vian, eds, Rome 1989, pl 17a; Jakob Wilhelm Mechau, *Die Cestius-Pyramide in Rom*, 1790s?, oil on panel, inv. nr. G 1786, Museum der bildenden Künste, Leipzig; and Edward Edwards and Francis Jukes, *Piramide di Caio Cestio*, 1801, aquatint, Museo di Roma, Rome, in Simonetta Tozzi and Angela Maria D'Amelio, *Luogbi Comuni. Vedutisti stranieri a Roma tra il XVIII e il XIX secolo*, Rome 2013, exh cat., p63, cat. 57. Jukes's engraving is after a drawing by Edwards (1738–1806) who was in Rome only from July 1775 to September 1776, ie during the months in which the wall was built.
- 22 Menniti Ippolito, p103.
- 23 Stanley-Price 2020, p196.
- 24 Donatien Alphonse François, marquis de Sade, *Voyage d'Italie*, Maurice Lever, ed, Paris 1995, p85.
- 25 *At the foot of the Pyramid*, pp38–39, cat. 1.
- 26 Hornsby, no. 43.
- 27 Communication from Claudia Nordhoff, 2021.
- 28 John Ingamells (compiler), *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701–1800*, New Haven and London 1997, p896; Menniti Ippolito, pp88–91.
- 29 'Burial-ground of the prostitutes' (all translations are by the authors).
- 30 Inscribed: 'Part of Walls of Rome / between the Porta del Popolo and the / Borghese Gardens, March 4 1777'.
- 31 Reproduced by Ottani Cavina, p60, pl 11, though without comment on the burial-ground.
- 32 'A little enclosure with some small shrines'. *Le mura di Roma disegnate da Sir William Gell, illustrate con teste e note di A. Nibbi*, Rome 1820, p314, cited by Menniti Ippolito, p88.
- 33 Giuseppe Vasi, *Delle Magnificenze di Roma (1744–1761)*, 1747, pl 1a. Sharing many similarities with Jones's watercolour is an anonymous and undated print (Istituto Nazionale per la Grafica, Rome, S-FC82114), whose perspective (compared to Jones's) has been reversed by the process of engraving.
- 34 Inscribed 'Monte Testaccio in the Prati del popolo Romano – 22nd March 1777'.
- 35 Aguilera Martín, pp215–17.
- 36 Hornsby, no. 39.
- 37 Inscribed: 'Aventine Hill from the Prati del popolo Romano – 22d March / 1777'.
- 38 Calogero Bellanca, 'Il Bastione della Colonnella, note di storia e conservazione', in *Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane, La Vita e l'Opera*, Gianfranco Spagnese, ed, Rome 1986, pp383–91.
- 39 Hornsby no. 39.
- 40 Rome, Bibliotheca Hertziana, Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Dg_150-4290.
- 41 'A private person's little house at the entrance of the Recinto on the right'. L Alibrandi, quoted in Menniti Ippolito, pp99–100.
- 42 Krogel 1995, pp198–9.
- 43 Menniti Ippolito, p101; Mura, pp59–60 and pl 56. In Boguet's two panoramic views from the Aventine hill (Hornsby, nos 38 and 39), the powder-magazine fell into the 'gap' between the two sheets and is not shown on either of them (in no. 39, Hornsby's proposed powder-magazine is in fact the Doganella building). It is visible, however, in Boguet's view of Porta San Paolo (Hornsby, no. 40) and in other artists' views, and survives today.
- 44 <https://exhibits.stanford.edu/lanciani/catalog/bf851tz6137>
- 45 The third of this group (British Museum 1981,0516.18.13), showing a view of the Temple of Vesta (the Temple of Hercules Victor) in the Foro Boario, is also annotated 'Sun Set'; but it is a more finished product than its companions, the colours being much wetter and fuller. This was probably one of the drawings that the artist re-worked later, making it a 'sunset' view.
- 46 From a similar vantage point Carlo Labruzzi painted a later view of where the Porta Capena is thought to have stood (British Museum 1955,1210.10.7). His watercolour was etched as part of the series 'Via Appia illustrata ab urbe Roma ad Capuamand' and published in 1794 (British Museum, Nn.4.1). Pier Andrea de Rosa and Barbara Jatta, *La Via Appia nei disegni di Carlo Labruzzi alla Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, Città del Vaticano 2013.
- 47 In the Small Sketchbook, there is a drawing that may possibly depict the Casina Vignola Boccapaduli near the Baths of Caracalla, and finally two drawings of the Via Appia outside the walls, probably the last ones that he made on 22 March (British Museum 1981,0516.17.50 and 1981,0516.17.51).
- 48 Nicholas Stanley-Price, 'The myth of Catholic prejudice against Protestant funerals in eighteenth-century Rome', *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici*, XLII (2017), pp94–95; Nicholas Stanley-Price, 'The grave of John Keats revisited', *The Keats-Shelley Review*, 33, 2 (2019), p182 and Fig. 2.
- 49 Friedrich Weinbrenner, *Denkwürdigkeiten*, Arthur Von Schneider, ed, Karlsruhe 1958, p86.
- 50 *At the foot of the Pyramid*.
- 51 1 May 1777, Oppé, p58.
- 52 21 October 1779, Oppé, p91.
- 53 For example, on 29 October 1780: 'my Employment as Yesterday that is to say – touching on my Sketches' and on 1 December 1778 'touched on my sketches for amusement'; Oppé, pp100, 83.