

## *Chapter Ten*

# **See Rome—and Die**

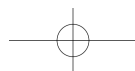
### *Legacies of the Grand Tour in a Roman Cemetery*

Nicholas Stanley-Price

In 1735 a wealthy, young English aristocrat died in Rome of tuberculosis, aged only 19. Edmund Sheffield, 2nd Duke of Buckingham and Normanby, had arrived in Rome three days earlier, already seriously ill. Following his death, his body was shipped back to England for burial in Westminster Abbey.<sup>1</sup> The only surviving son of his father whom he had succeeded in 1721, he was unmarried and had no children. The Dukedom became extinct and the family estates passed to a half-brother, one of his father's illegitimate sons.<sup>2</sup>

Whereas the Duke had traveled to Italy for his health, other young gentlemen met their deaths there, through either illness or accident, while traveling on their personal Grand Tour. In the event of one of them dying, a decision needed to be taken quickly by those on the spot whether to send the body home or to arrange for a local burial. When the news eventually reached the family at home, it was not the sudden bereavement alone that weighed on them: if, as in the Duke's case, the young man had been the heir to the family fortune, legal issues of inheritance also had to be newly negotiated.

In Italy, if the body of the deceased was not returned to his native country, it was interred—following a funeral service—in a church (in the case of Catholics) or in ground set aside for the burial of non-Catholic foreigners. It might then soon have been forgotten, far removed as it was from those relatives and friends living in the home country. In fact, there is evidence to show that this was not the case, at least not immediately. In this chapter I review the legacy of a number of (non-Catholic) Grand Tourists who were buried in Rome.



The cemetery in which they lie came to be featured in numerous accounts written by travelers to Rome and was depicted in fiction, poetry, and pictorial art.<sup>3</sup> The evidence of the graves themselves and of literary references to them together throw light on this aspect of the Grand Tour legacy. Essentially the legacy consists of three phases of contrasting character: Phase 1, during which the Grand Tourists' graves are the object of attention by friends, relatives and casual visitors; Phase 2, consisting of most of the nineteenth century, when they scarcely appear in the accounts of visitors to the cemetery; and Phase 3, which continues today, when a very few of them regain attention for their historical significance and for their didactic value to visitors.

#### IDENTIFICATION OF "GRAND TOURISTS" IN THE PROTESTANT BURIAL-GROUND IN ROME

As early as 1716 there is evidence for the Protestants who died in Rome being allocated their own plot of ground for burial. The area that they were allowed to use, seemingly with the informal or even formal permission of the Papal government, was public land inside the city walls that lay directly in front of the Pyramid, itself the tomb of Caius Cestius (first century B.C.). The impulse for the creation of this burial-ground appears to have been the arrival in Rome of the Stuart court in exile, many of whose members were Protestant. But, from its earliest years, other Protestants visiting Rome on the Grand Tour who met their deaths there were also allowed to be buried in it.<sup>4</sup>

How can such burials be identified as those of Grand Tourists? And how is the period of the Grand Tour to be defined? For many authors, it was the outbreak of the Napoleonic Wars that put an end to the Grand Tour as an aristocratic institution, whereas for others the Tour resumed, albeit in a modified form, after the wars ended in 1815. Others have declared that the systematic organization by Thomas Cook in the 1850s of group tours to Europe marks the end of the Grand Tour as such, with the building of railways the final nail in its coffin. Others again would maintain that the Grand Tour as an idea has never ended but instead has evolved: it is mainly the means of transport and the sources of information that have changed in a continuing tradition of travel for cultural enlightenment.

In this chapter, in addition to restricting the focus to the city of Rome, I adopt a limited definition of the Grand Tour phenomenon so as better to identify those who arrived in the city and eventually died there. Accordingly I limit the discussion to young men of the aristocracy and landed gentry from northern European countries—but especially from Britain—who set off for travel in other countries in order to complete their liberal education. Eliminated by this definition are all those who traveled to Rome for other reasons.

I therefore exclude the members of the Stuart court in exile, diplomats, doctors, clergymen, and military officials, those who came to Rome primarily in search of a healthier climate, and, notably, the many young artists who came to Italy. The latter do not qualify here as Grand Tourists even though the object of their travel may also have been to experience the art and the light of Italy. They may have been granted a stipend to make possible their travel but thereafter they depended on commissions and sales to earn their living; this placed them in a different category to those of the privileged classes who were able to travel using their own means and who, unlike many of the artists, soon returned home.

Similarly, I limit the period under discussion to one, late, era of the classic Grand Tour. For convenience I have adopted the main period of use of the “Old Cemetery,” the original Protestant burial-ground in Rome, from its initiation until 1822 when burials were no longer permitted in it and a new cemetery was opened on adjacent ground. The period therefore covers a little over one hundred years between 1716 and 1822. Of the burials made during this period, some sixty have surviving stone monuments.<sup>5</sup> Of those sixty or so stone monuments, I argue that fifteen at least of them commemorate young men who died in Rome while on their Grand Tour (table 10.1).<sup>6</sup> Although the sample size is small, the scarcity of burials during the Napoleonic wars is notable, as is their increase following 1815.

Table 10.1. Grand Tourists buried in the "Protestant Cemetery" in Rome.

Year, age at death	Name and family background	Nationality	Gravestone?	Sources for life, and death in Rome
1720 (24)	Thomas Pakington, 2nd son, heir of 4th Baronet	English	no	<i>Original Weekly Journal</i> , May 20 (1720); 1745; <i>Historical Register Chronicle</i> 1720, 17 Ingamells, 416
1723 (19)	James Graham, 1st son and heir of Earl of Alth	Scottish	no	
1738 (22)	George Langton; Grand Tour diary survives	Welsh	no	<i>Parte Antica</i> , 220, 296, Figs.38c, 39c; Ingamells, 588
1765 (25)	Georg Werpup, son of Hanoverian noble	German (Hanover)	yes	<i>Parte Antica</i> , 217-8, 313-4, Figs.30c, 31c, 33c
1766 (24)	James Macdonald, 8th Bart. of Sleat, Isle of Skye	Scottish	yes	<i>Parte Antica</i> , 234, 296, Fig.80c; Ingamells, 622-3
1775 (31)	Edward Stevens, pupil of architect Chambers	English	yes	<i>Parte Antica</i> , 232, 310, Fig.75c; Ingamells, 895-6
1786 (29)	James Six, Fellow, Cambridge University	English	yes	<i>Parte Antica</i> , 238-9, 308, Fig.92c; Ingamells, 860
1806 (29)	William Bowles, of Burford House, Salop	English	yes	<i>Parte Antica</i> , 214, 286, Figs.22c, 23c; Venn, 344
1811 (23)	Iohannes Sinner, of Château de Worb	Swiss	yes	<i>Parte Antica</i> , 216, 315, Figs. 27c, 28c
1819 (19)	Robert Dinwiddie, of Germiston, Glasgow	Scottish	yes	<i>Parte Antica</i> , 227, 289, Fig.59c; <i>Scots Magazine</i> 83-84, July 1819, 96
1819 (22)	Charles Duncombe, of Duncombe Park, Yorks	English	yes	<i>Parte Antica</i> , 219, 289, Fig.35c; <i>Debrett's Complete Peerage</i> 1838, 342
1819 (34)	William Whittred, barrister, Lincoln's Inn	English	yes	<i>Parte Antica</i> , 234, 314, Fig.81c; <i>Gentleman's Magazine</i> 89, Pt. 1, 1819, 377
1820 (32)	Jean Louis Snell, br. of Swiss consul, Rome	Swiss	yes	<i>Parte Antica</i> , 224, 309, Fig.49c
1821 (31)	William Harding, "of Scarbro gentleman"	English	yes	<i>Parte Antica</i> , 243, 292, Fig.103c
1821 (29)	Wm. Waddington, son of London merchant	English	yes	<i>Parte Antica</i> , 225, 312-3, Fig.53c; <i>Gentleman's Magazine</i> 91, Pt 1, 1821, 378

The average age at death of these young men is around twenty-six years. Some of them (e.g., Thomas Pakington, James Graham, and James Macdonald) came from titled aristocratic families. Many others had a landed gentry background, being identified with particular country estates: William Bowles (Burford House in Shropshire), the Swiss Iohannes Sinner whose family had purchased the castle at Worb, east of Berne, only twenty years earlier, Robert Dinwiddie (Germiston in Glasgow), Charles Duncombe (Duncombe Park in Yorkshire) and Stephen Ram, whose father owned the large estate Ramsfort near Gorey in southern Ireland. Several of these young men (Pakington, Werpup, Graham, Bowles, and Duncombe) were the heirs to the family estate until their deaths in Rome. They all died childless, as did Macdonald who had already succeeded his father as Baronet of Sleat. Dinwiddie was the last in line of his family and with his death the family house passed into other hands. Such could be one of the possible but unwanted results of going on the Grand Tour: an experience designed to give the heir to the family estate those social skills and knowledge that he would need in society resulting instead in his premature death in a foreign land.

Other than their young age and affluent backgrounds, evidence from gravestone epitaphs and contemporary accounts tends to confirm that these men were on a Grand Tour. The epitaph for William Harding of Scarbro records that he died “when making a tour through Italy to see its curiosities of nature and art ancient and modern” while that for the barrister Whitted states that he died “At Rome, on his travels through Italy.” The grave epitaph of Georg Werpup, a young official at the Hanoverian and British court, states that he was traveling on his own account and for the kingdom. His death (and his valet’s) in a carriage accident as they were setting off for Venice after a stay in Rome features in several contemporary records. A letter of 1773 reports that the architect Edward Stevens was proposing “to visit the principal cities in Italy and to remain there with his Family for two or three years.”<sup>7</sup> The case for George Langton having been on the Tour is proven by the diary that describes his travels with companions across the Continent to Italy and that was returned after his death to his family in Wales.<sup>8</sup>

#### PHASE 1 OF THE LEGACY: MEMORIALS TO THE GRAND TOURISTS

The deaths of these Grand Tourists in Rome have been commemorated through three principal media: the gravestones, sometimes bearing epitaphs, that were erected in their memory; references to those gravestones in the accounts of travelers to Rome, some of whom had personally known the deceased; and depictions of the burial ground by artists of the period (too large a topic to be treated here, though see figures 10.1 and 10.2). Many

travelers visited the burial ground and commented on the tragedy of dying in a foreign land, but without naming any of the young men there buried. For instance, J. C. Eustace who visited in 1802 wrote: “None but foreigners excluded by their religion from the cemeteries of the country, are deposited here, and of these foreigners, several were English. The far greater part had been cut off in their prime, by unexpected disease or by fatal accident. What a scene for a traveller far remote from home and liable to similar disasters!”<sup>9</sup> Other visitors, however, do mention specific gravestones or provide valuable eyewitness evidence even if not naming names. Thus the Marquis de Sade, in his *Voyage d’Italie*, mentions that the Protestants erect small monuments with inscriptions and that on 1 November 1775 he could count three of them. These may possibly be identified as those of Georg Werpup, James Macdonald, and the architect Edward Stevens (see table 10.1).<sup>10</sup>

Since other burials continued to be made that never received stone markers, the sixty gravestones that record names and dates, and often include epitaphs, are crucial evidence. Even if news of a young son’s death arrived belatedly in his homeland, his family could still commission a suitable memorial to be erected over his grave. The epitaphs of some of the early grave-



**Figure 10.1.** W. F. Gmelin, *Veduta del luogo sepulchrale per gli Acattolici presso la Piramide di Caio Cestio in Roma*, c. 1819. Engraving.



**Figure 10.2.** J. Godby after V. L. Berghi, *The Protestant Church Yard at Rome*, 1806. Engraving. The depicted tomb resembles that of Jacob More, the landscape painter (1740–1793).

stones mention that a member of the family (a wife, a father, or a brother) had them set up. But, for those that give such information, only one (Bowles) of the Grand Tourists' memorials listed in table 10.1 is stated to have been erected by family. Rather, they were due to the efforts of traveling companions and friends of the deceased. The memorials to the Hanoverian Georg Werpup and to the Welshman George Langton are good examples. Werpup's memorial of 1765 was the first stone monument allowed by the Papal authorities to be erected in the burial ground. Its epitaph states that it was his friend John, Lord Mountstuart, who had it erected. James Boswell was in Rome at the time and records his own attendance at Werpup's funeral and Mountstuart's role in erecting the stone monument, the first in the cemetery.<sup>11</sup> That it was a friend who was also in Italy on the Grand Tour, rather than a court official, who erected the memorial to him tends to confirm that Werpup was in Italy for his own Tour.

The burial of George Langton in 1738 was found by chance through excavations made in 1929 at the foot of the Pyramid of Caius Cestius. The long Latin inscription on a lead shield that covered his remains revealed that the erection of a memorial to their "dearest compatriot and travelling companion" was due to four friends: Charles Churchill, William Sturrock, Lancelot Allgood, and Edwin Lascelles.<sup>12</sup> All four are known from other sources

that document those on the Grand Tour in Italy at this period. Likewise, the epitaph for James Six records that the monument was erected by “I.T.S. Decem[bris] 1786”. The “I.T.S.” can be identified with the John Thomas Stanley, who with Oswald Leycester, is reported to have marked the grave with a “small, antique marble altar,” which by 1794 had been defaced.<sup>13</sup>

The monument to William Sidney Bowles (died 1806) is unusual not only for its having been dedicated by his wife (the daughter of Lord Northwick, as the epitaph records) but also for its exceptional size. It consists of a tall granite column and capital set on a stone base recalling a truncated pyramid (figure 10.3). As much the tallest monument in the burial ground and located very near the Pyramid of Caius Cestius, from the start it attracted adverse comment and tended to be remarked upon by visitors. For example, of the sixty or so stone monuments in the Old Cemetery, the one to Bowles is the only one mentioned by Harriet Morton on her visit in 1826.<sup>14</sup>

But the memorial that attracted most attention is the one commemorating James Macdonald. He was a young man of such precocious brilliance and learning that James Boswell exclaimed in his diaries “I wished to be a Sir James Macdonald.” Less kindly, Horace Walpole confided in a letter to



**Figure 10.3.** The monument to William Sidney Bowles (right) in the Old Cemetery.

Horace Mann in 1765: “He is rather too wise for his age, and too fond of showing it, but when he has seen more of the world, he will choose to know less.” In Rome his brilliance had even come to the attention of the Pope who allowed him a public funeral, probably without precedent for a Protestant in Rome. The epitaph on his gravestone states that it was erected by Giambattista Piranesi (the artist and engraver, 1720–1778).<sup>15</sup> So far as legacy is concerned, it was Macdonald’s own fame that led to his grave being mentioned in accounts by visitors during the next sixty years or so. Today, however, it is the fame of Piranesi, ironically, that attracts attention to the simple memorial designed by him. The link between the two men was explained by a fellow Scot, Sir William Forbes, who visited the grave in 1793 and mentioned that the two were close friends.<sup>16</sup> In Rome a couple of years later, Sir Coxe Hippisley sought and was granted permission to raise a monument over Macdonald’s grave (his wife was related to him) but nothing came of the proposal.<sup>17</sup> On his own visit in 1817, William Cadell, another Scot, mentions only two of the monuments in the burial ground, those of Macdonald and Jacob More, the landscape painter and native of Edinburgh.<sup>18</sup> Thereafter Macdonald’s name disappears from the lists of graves in the cemetery that were remarked upon by visitors.

Some of the Grand Tourists who were buried in Rome also had memorials raised to them by their families at home. For instance, the parents of James Six (see table 10.1) had a marble tablet in memory of their son installed in the church of Holy Cross at Westgate in Canterbury (usefully giving his age at death which is not recorded in Rome). But for the most lavish monument it is again James Macdonald who stands out. James Boswell, who knew him well, in his *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* transcribed in full the long text on the wall monument erected by his mother in the church at Sleat in Skye (he also published the texts of the last two letters that the dying Macdonald wrote to her).<sup>19</sup> Again, it was friends whom Macdonald had known in Italy who produced the memorial to be transported from Rome for installation in Skye: James Byres whom he had met in Naples and John Symonds who composed the inscription.<sup>20</sup>

Both memorials to Macdonald have survived in good condition. But several travelers noted that some of the gravestones in Rome showed signs of damage or even deliberate vandalism that they supposed had been aimed at the heretic Protestants. However, there is also evidence of gravestones in the Old Cemetery being re-set or repaired following damage to them. The gravestone of John Shute, from Plymouth in Devon, records his death in 1817 but a further inscription, executed in a different hand and at a distance from the first, is dated 1824 and refers to a restoration of the stone following its mutilation. An inscription on the small altar-shaped monument to the painter Jacob More (died 1793) records its restoration in 1816. The monument to the first American to have a stone grave-marker, the eighteen-year-old Ruth

McEvers who died in 1803, was re-erected only four years later after a visitor who had known her in New York found it overturned.<sup>21</sup> Finally, the memorial to Jacob Six (died in 1786; see table 10.1) was seen by Adam Walker when he visited the burial-ground the following year.<sup>22</sup> But the inscription (in English) recorded by Walker is, apart from the names and date of death, quite different to the one (in Latin) on the stone to be seen today. Since only a few months had passed since the stone had been erected, it seems that Walker on his visit may have noted only the personal information and then, for his book, either invented an epitaph or paraphrased the one incised on the stone.

#### PHASE 2: A NEAR-OBLIVION OF THE GRAND TOURISTS' GRAVES

In August 1822 the Old Cemetery ceased officially to be used for burials (there were a few exceptions in the 1830s). The “New Cemetery” was opened on adjacent ground, enclosed with walls, and soon (January 1823) received the ashes of Percy Bysshe Shelley. Visitors usually combined a visit to the burial ground with a tour of the Pyramid of Caius Cestius nearby. After visiting the New Cemetery, they could enter the old one on application to the cemeteries’ custodian who would unlock the gate for them.<sup>23</sup> It received fewer visitors than the New Cemetery, which was an active place of burial, but the many who made a point of visiting it were often in search of a specific grave: the grave of John Keats (d.1821). The period from 1822 until the first decade of the twentieth century is characterized by a growing interest in visiting Keats’s grave, especially after mid-century when his poetry had become more widely recognized for what it is. It is largely due to the presence of Keats’s and Shelley’s graves that visitors to the burial ground included writers as diverse as Charles Dickens, George Eliot, George Gissing, Thomas Hardy, Henry James, Herman Melville, and Oscar Wilde. In contrast, interest in visiting the graves of Grand Tourists—as judged by travelers’ accounts—was reduced to virtually nil. In that period of some eighty years, I know of only two references in dozens of travelers’ narratives to any of the graves listed in table 10.1. In the 1870s Edward Freeman devoted a whole chapter of his *Gatherings from an Artist’s Portfolio* to describing the Protestant Cemetery. But, in limiting himself almost exclusively to the English and American dead, he referred only to the “pretentious column” of Bowles’s tomb among the Grand Tour burials, and that only because of its pretentiousness.<sup>24</sup>

It is the same tomb that is mentioned in the other text, an account by Harriet Morton of her visit in 1826 in which she states baldly that “The monument of William Bowles is there.” She does not mention the grave that

was to be the main motivation for gaining access to the Old Cemetery, writing “One poor poet complains, that his name is written in water” without being aware of who that poet was.<sup>25</sup> Despite the many visitors to the grave of Keats as it became an ever more popular object of pilgrimage during the ensuing decades, the Grand Tourists’ graves nearby had fallen into oblivion. As J. D. Sinclair commented during his visit to the burial ground the following year (1827): “A few insignificant tombs and paltry inscriptions vainly attempt to rescue from oblivion the names they record. They can attract the attention of such only as have to lament some friend or relative, who may have found a resting-place in this classic soil.” The footnote adds: “For the sake of true genius, it is to be hoped that there is at least one exception from this conclusion” (presumably referring to John Keats).<sup>26</sup>

If guidebooks for tourists were one sign of the Grand Tour, if not ending, then at least evolving in new directions, it is significant that the early guidebooks (with one exception) make no mention of the Grand Tourists’ graves. The exception is the earliest, Marien Vasi’s *Itinerario istruttivo di Roma antica e moderna*. The burial ground of the Protestants receives a mention as early as the French edition of 1773<sup>27</sup> and continues to feature in successive Italian, French, and English editions. But not until the revised English edition of 1824 are any tombs identified for potential visitors to see.<sup>28</sup> The new edition of that year, printed in London, announced that among the tombs may be seen Sir James Macdonald’s, designed by Piranesi, and the painter Jacob More’s. These are precisely the two graves mentioned by Cadell in his travel narrative published four years earlier in Edinburgh.<sup>29</sup> Possibly the editor of the English edition, who added to the Italian text extensive practical information for intending tourists, inserted these two names on the basis of published descriptions of the cemetery such as Cadell’s. The grave of Keats is not mentioned.

From its first edition published in 1843, Murray’s *Handbook for Travelers in Central Italy* described the cemetery in a paragraph beginning: “The English burial-ground is one of those objects which travellers of all classes and of all tastes will regard with melancholy.”<sup>30</sup> But it makes no mention of any of the fifteen graves listed earlier (Langton’s was not yet rediscovered). Nor, a little later, does Karl Baedeker’s competing guidebook. Both of them gave space to the graves of the two Romantic poets, but differed in the other graves that they considered significant enough to mention. Inclusion of a name brought it to the attention of all those visitors using that guidebook. Thus Clare Benedict wrote of her satisfaction when her sister, the writer and friend of Henry James, Constance Fenimore Woolson (1845–1894), achieved this distinction: “Baedeker has added my sister’s name to the list of distinguished dead, and hardly a day passes that some friend or admirer does not stand there. We often find flowers.”<sup>31</sup> There is therefore a variety of graves in the cemetery mentioned by name in the standard guidebooks and in the

many travelers' descriptions. But it is striking that the graves in the Old Cemetery, other than Keats's, receive hardly any attention during this long period.

### PHASE 3: THE GRAND TOURISTS' GRAVES IN THE TWENTIETH AND TWENTY-FIRST CENTURIES

The third phase, which continues today, is marked by renewed interest in the early graves of the Old Cemetery. Published accounts by visitors still tend to ignore them (other than Keats's), those "few insignificant tombs and paltry inscriptions [that] vainly attempt to rescue from oblivion the names they record" in the words of Sinclair quoted earlier. Instead, they become of interest to historians studying the origins of the cemetery. But only three of the Grand Tourists' graves tend to feature in their histories, not because of their Grand Tour connections but for their early dates.

An interest in the cemetery's origins that arose around 1900 can be ascribed in part to concern for the graves of the two Romantic poets, Keats and Shelley. The various efforts during the later nineteenth century to keep them in good order were put onto a sounder basis in 1906. In that year the Keats-Shelley Memorial Association succeeded in buying the house in Piazza di Spagna in which Keats had died. Early issues of the Memorial's *Bulletin and Review* demonstrate an interest in history as well as literary studies of the Romantics. For his article, still a valuable review, about the early history of the Protestant burial-ground, H. Nelson Gay had evidently inspected carefully the tombs of the Old Cemetery. For the first time in many decades, the dated tombs of Georg Werpup (d. 1765) and James Macdonald (d. 1766) were cited in an account of the cemetery.<sup>32</sup> Ten years later the prolific Scots author, A. Francis Steuart, also made a personal inspection of the tombstones and interviewed the director, Marcello Piermattei, about the history of the cemetery. Steuart's subsequent article drew on archival sources of the Stuart court and travelers' accounts in addition to what he had learned in Rome.<sup>33</sup> Of the Grand Tourists' graves, he mentions only the two earliest monuments, those of Werpup and Macdonald, with the latter's Scottish background being emphasized in an article that was written primarily for a Scots audience.

Only a few years later, in 1929, the received view of the cemetery's early history had to be modified thanks to the unexpected discovery of George Langton's burial at the foot of the Pyramid.<sup>34</sup> It was already suspected, on the basis of Stuart court records, that use of the burial ground predated 1732. But suddenly there was concrete evidence of an early burial (dated to 1738) that predated any of the surviving stone monuments. The later publication by Colyer of Langton's travel diary confirmed his travels to Italy and presence in Rome in that year, even if the author was unaware of the discovery of his

burial.<sup>35</sup> Such was the importance of the discovery that Piermattei, director of the cemetery, had Langton's remains transferred to a modern limestone sarcophagus that was set among the other stone monuments of the Old Cemetery. He had incised on it the text of the Latin inscription on the lead shield that identified and dated the deceased, and other inscriptions in English explaining how it had been found and his own dedication (the whereabouts today of the lead shield are unknown). These three tombs hold a prominent place in subsequent historical accounts of the cemetery (although Beck-Friis, in his authoritative guidebook of 1956, still in print, makes no mention of Macdonald).<sup>36</sup> They have also become better known as a result of the steadily increasing number of visitors to the cemetery.

Among the many visiting educational groups today from Italian and foreign schools and universities, there are several classes of "Semester Abroad" programs that are devoted to "The Grand Tour" and related topics. The tombs of Langton, Werpup, and Macdonald provide excellent didactic material for illustrating three participants of the Grand Tour, all of whom—exceptionally—met their deaths in Rome. In this way those young men who had set out to enlarge their horizons and to complete their own liberal education abroad have, ironically, left a legacy of helping to educate later generations.

Another reflection of the cemetery's greater fame in recent years has been the number of visits, usually without forewarning, by descendants of those buried there, including those buried in the Old Cemetery. Of the Grand Tourists, it is—by chance—again the two tombs of Werpup and Macdonald that have featured, with recent visits being made by a direct descendant of Georg Werpup from the Hanover district in Germany and by the present Lord and Lady Macdonald from Skye. The graves of the other Grand Tourists listed in table 10.1 still await greater recognition and, in turn, the possibility of visits by their descendants.

The young men on their Grand Tour who died in Rome have left a lasting legacy. At the time of their deaths, it was nearly always their friends and travelling companions who saw to their funeral and burial (in the case of non-Catholics) in the Protestant burial ground. For those to whom memorials were erected there, only one (that to Bowles) appears to have been the work of a family member rather than of friends. While the stone memorials have endured, the memory of these young men seems to have lapsed locally within the generation of their deaths. Only in the early twentieth century, as interest grew in the history of the cemetery, was the record of three of them, in particular, drawn upon in written narratives. The same three are important components in visits to the cemetery today, especially for students of the Grand Tour. The other graves that I have suggested were also of Grand Tourists await a similar revival of interest.

Rome was often the ultimate destination of those on the Tour before they turned home again. That for some young men it proved to be in reality their final destination has led to the “legacy” of the Grand Tour being ever present and permanently commemorated near the Pyramid.

## NOTES

1. John Ingamells, comp., *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy, 1701–1800*, compiled from the Brinsley Ford archive, (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 1997), 151.
2. <http://www.crafcroftspeerage.co.uk/online/content/buckingham1702.htm> (accessed 2 January 2015).
3. Nicholas Stanley-Price, *The Non-Catholic Cemetery in Rome: Its History, Its People and Its Survival for 300 Years* (Rome: Non-Catholic Cemetery in Rome, 2014); Antonio Menniti Ippolito, *Il Cimitero accattolico di Roma. La presenza protestante nella città del papa* (Roma: Viella, 2014); Wolfgang Krogel, *All'ombra della Piramide: storia e interpretazione del Cimitero accattolico di Roma* (Rome: Unione internazionale degli istituti di archeologia storia e storia dell'arte in Roma, 1995).
4. Edward Corp, *The Stuarts in Italy, 1719–1766* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 20, 25; Edward Corp, “The origins of the Protestant Cemetery in Rome,” *Friends' Newsletter, Non-Catholic Cemetery in Rome* 21 (2012): 1–2; Carl Nylander, “The People at the Pyramid: Notes on the Protestant Cemetery in Rome,” in *Suecromana 1. Docto peregrino: Roman studies in honour of Torgil Magnuson* (Stockholm: Istituto Svedese di Studi Classici, 1992), 221–49.
5. Antonio Menniti Ippolito and Paolo Vian, ed., *The Protestant Cemetery in Rome: The “Parte Antica”* (Rome: Unione Internazionale degli Istituti di Archeologia, Storia e Storia dell'Arte in Roma, 1989).
6. In table 10.1, “Ingamells”=Ingamells, *Dictionary*; “Parte Antica”=Menniti Ippolito and Vian, *Protestant Cemetery*; “Venn”=John A. Venn, comp., *Alumni Cantabrigienses. A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900*. Part II, volume 1, 1752–1900 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1940). For transcriptions of epitaphs and photographs of the tombs, see “Our Graves” at [www.cemeteryrome.it/graves/databases.html](http://www.cemeteryrome.it/graves/databases.html) (accessed 2 January 2015).
7. Ingamells, *Dictionary*, 895.
8. R. J. Colyer, “A Breconshire gentleman in Europe, 1737–8,” *The National Library of Wales Journal* 21 (1979–80): 265–97; Ingamells, *Dictionary*, 588.
9. John C. Eustace, *A Tour through Italy* (London 1813), 394.
10. Stevens is a more likely candidate than my previous suggestion (Stanley-Price, *Non-Catholic Cemetery*, 25) of Reitzenstein who in fact died on November 20, i.e., after De Sade's visit.
11. Frank Brady and Frederick Pottle, ed., *Boswell on the Grand Tour: Italy, Corsica, and France, 1765–1766* (London: Heinemann, 1955), 84.
12. For English and Italian translations of the inscription, see Nicholas Stanley-Price, “The oldest burial yet found: George Langton (d.1738),” *Friends' Newsletter, Non-Catholic Cemetery in Rome* 21 (2012): 3–4.
13. Ingamells, *Dictionary*, 860.
14. Harriet Morton, *Protestant Vigils, or Evening Records of a Journey in Italy in the Years 1826 and 1827* (London, 1829), Volume 1, 154.
15. Roberta Battaglia, “Giovanni Battista Piranesi e il monumento funebre: la tomba Macdonald,” *Prospettiva* 73/74 (1994): 169–179.
16. Brinsley Ford, transcr., *Journal of Sir William Forbes in Italy, 1792B3*; NLS, Forbes mss 1539B45 (London: Mellon Centre), entry for 12 August 1793.
17. Krogel, *All'Ombra della Piramide*, 125–26.

18. William A. Cadell, *A Journey in Carniola, Italy and France in the Years 1817, 1818 . . .* (Edinburgh, 1820), Vol. 1, 301.
19. James Boswell, *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, with Samuel Johnson, LLD.* (London: Henry Baldwin, 1785), 169–72.
20. Ingamells, *Dictionary*, 623.
21. Leonard Beach, Theodore Hornberger [and] Wyllis E. Wright, *Peter Irving's Journals*, edited from manuscripts in the Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University, the Miriam Lucher Stark Library, University of Texas, and the New York Public Library (New York: New York Public Library, 1943), 57.
22. Adam Walker, *Ideas, Suggested on the Spot in a Late Excursion through Flanders, Germany, France, and Italy* (London, 1790), 310.
23. Stanley-Price, *Non-Catholic Cemetery*, 62.
24. James E. Freeman, *Gatherings from an Artist's Portfolio* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1877), 282.
25. Harriet Morton, *Protestant Vigils*, 154.
26. J. D. Sinclair, *An Autumn in Italy, Being a Personal Narrative of a Tour in the Austrian, Tuscan, Roman and Sardinian States, in 1827* (Edinburgh: Constable and Co., 1829), 247.
27. Krogel, *All'Ombra della Piramide*, 119.
28. Marien Vasi, *A New Picture of Rome, and Its Environs, in the form of an Itinerary. A New Edition, with Additions, . . .* (London: Samuel Leigh, 1824), 253.
29. Cadell, *A Journey in Carniola*, 301.
30. *Handbook for Travellers in Central Italy* (London: J. Murray and Son, 1843), 464.
31. Clare Benedict, arranged and ed., *The Benedicts Abroad* (London: Ellis, 1930), 290; Karl Baedeker, *Central Italy and Rome, Handbook for Travellers*, 13th ed. (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1900), 290.
32. H. Nelson Gay, "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* (1913): 36.
33. A. Francis Steuart, "The Old Protestant Burial-Ground in Rome," *Scottish Historical Review* 22 (1925): 281.
34. Marcello Piermattei, "La sistemazione della zona limitrofa alla Piramide di Caio Cestio," *Capitolium* 6 (1930): 292–301.
35. Colyer, *A Breconshire Gentleman*.
36. Johan Beck-Friis, *The Protestant Cemetery in Rome: The Cemetery of Artists and Poets* (Malmö: Allhems Förlag, [1956]).