

THE PROTESTANT CEMETERY, ROME: a study undertaken under the auspices of the *Unione degli Istituti di Archeologia Storia e Storia dell'Arte in Roma*. An interim Report

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Abstract

This report describes a project to record the Protestant Cemetery in Rome, and conduct research into the history of the cemetery and the social history of the foreign communities in Rome. The cemetery contains c. 2600 memorials commemorating c. 4000 people, from 1738 to the present day. Work started in 1984, and by the end of 1985 the description and measurements of each stone, details of the people commemorated and the full text of the inscription had been recorded, and transferred to computer. Recording procedure is described, and the planned developments of further work and publication. There follow sections describing a) the history and layout of the cemetery, b) the nationalities and languages represented in the cemetery, c) the types of memorial, their variation by date and nationality, and the lettering style and d) the prospects for analysis of the texts of the inscriptions.

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1 Introduction

The Protestant Cemetery in Rome has long been a subject of interest and study for visitors to Rome, and it has a remarkable reputation, spreading far into literary and artistic circles, on account of the poets and artists buried there (the guide to the cemetery (*Beck-Friis 1957a*, *Beck-Friis 1957b*) deals charmingly with this aspect). Pre-eminent amongst these objects of pilgrimage is the grave of John Keats, but Lord Byron (for the English), Goethe's son (for the Germans), Axel Munthe (for the Scandinavians), Antonio Gramsci (for the students of 20th century politics) and Evelyn Story (for the Americans) continue to draw many visitors. But the interest of the cemetery is more than purely for its association with the Muses; it encapsulates, *en petit*, the history of the foreign community in Rome, its composition, its health, its religious beliefs and its aspirations. It is for these reasons that the project described in this article was set in motion¹, yet the study of a cemetery of a religious minority in a deeply religious country is also of powerful interest to students of mortuary behaviour in all periods of history.

The Cemetery has been under the administration of a committee of the Ambassadors of the countries concerned since the end of the 2nd World War, having been ceded to the foreign community by the Papal authorities in the early 19th century (a fuller description and history is given below). Working with the cemetery Director is another 'Aesthetic' committee of heads of the various foreign Institutes in Rome, and it was under the aegis of the latter that this study was begun. The author made a sample study of the gravestones in 1981, as part of an M.A. at the London Institute of Archaeology (*Rahitz 1981*), and this coincided with a growing concern in the Aesthetic Committee about the lack of proper documentation for the cemetery and the threats of vandalism, over-crowding and environmental pollution. Initial discussion was between the British School (Dr David Whitehouse) and the Swedish Institute (Professor Carl Nylander), but in 1984 the work was given a broader backing by the *Unione degli Istituti di Archeologia, Storia e Storia dell'Arte* in Roma and a steering committee was formed under Professor Nylander. A preliminary season of work was carried out for 2 weeks in June 1984, and two full seasons in November 1984 and August 1985, totalling nearly 300 man days so far. The work in the cemetery has been directed by the writer, while Professor Nylander has co-ordinated other research. Future work in the cemetery, related research and planned publications are discussed below.

The project has three main aims:

- The preparation of a full archival record of the cemetery as it is today, including transcriptions and photographs of all stones.
- Research into the history of the cemetery and related subjects, including prosopographical investigations into the people interred there.
- The analysis and publication of the cemetery data as an archaeological resource.

By August 1985 the initial record of the stones in the cemetery, and the detailed inscriptions, was complete (although the photography remains a major task for 1986 and 1987) and with the end of this first stage of the work, it seemed appropriate to publish in this article a summary account of what had been achieved, and the direction analysis might take. The second part above is also under active research, and initial results will be published with an archive of the oldest part of the cemetery (*Nylander & Rahtz 1986/7*).

The reader should be warned that this article is not an initial *analysis* of the Protestant Cemetery, but a *description* of the data; it is inevitable that much of the data will remain unpublished for years (if not for ever) and it is to be hoped that this broad outline will make its availability widely known, so that it can be used by other scholars. It must also be stressed that this article concentrates on the 'archaeological' side of the work, and little reference will be made in what follows to the personalities buried in the cemetery, contemporary Roman history or documentary sources. The data is described and interrogated on its own terms, but the full synthesis must wait until the remaining stages of the project are complete.

1.1 Recording Procedures

The procedure for recording the stones was based on that developed in the 1970s in England, formalised by the Council for British Archaeology (*Jones 1979*) and implemented by the writer for his 1981 study. Essentially, this involved an objective archaeological description, using preprinted *pro formas*, of each stone and each inscription

¹The author would like to thank Dr Carl Nylander (Director, Swedish Institute, Rome) for all the work he has undertaken in Rome looking after the administration and fund-raising of the project—we are enormously grateful for financial support to the Administration of the Protestant Cemetery, the Konung Gustav VI Adolfs Fond for Svensk Kultur, the Carl-Bertel Nathorts Vetenskapliga och Altmannytiga Stiftelse, the Fund for Nordic Culture and the British School at Rome. The work in the field and in Britain could not have taken place without the active collaboration of the Cemetery Director, Dr Remo Morbidelli, the staff of the Swedish Institute, Rome, the British School at Rome (Dr. Graeme Barker Director, Dr David Whitehouse ex-Director and Dr Amanda Claridge Assistant Director), and ICL Roma, ACT International and Microage International (loan of computers). It is a pleasure to thank Lou Burnard for help and advice with computing, and Espen Andersson, Julie Dunk, John Giorgi, Sarah Jones, Sarah Jones, Lena Landgren, Paul Molloy, Kitty Mrosovsky, Chris Neville, Nike Nylander and Pia Sibilia, who actually did the work in the cemetery.

Photographs were taken by Sebastian Rahtz (thanks are due to Philip Rahtz for printing them at short notice) and the illustrations were redrawn, from originals by John Giorgi and Julie Dunk, by Chris Webster (Southampton University Department of Archaeology).

Correspondence and enquiries about the cemetery data, and the future progress of the project, should be directed to:

Progetto Cimitero Acattolico al Testaccio, c/o Istituto Svedese di Studi Classici a Roma, Via Omero 14, 00197 ROMA, Italy

on it; linked to these are a scale plan with each grave uniquely numbered, and a photographic archive. The detailed location plan (a summary version only is printed here as Fig. 3) was based on the plan prepared for the cemetery administration in the early 1980s, and shows the outline of each tomb and an arbitrarily-assigned record number which is used for all subsequent reference. Most of the recording was designed to be either by measuring or by the use of a limited vocabulary of keywords (eg for the form of the stone); this system is described in greater detail and justified elsewhere (*Rahitz in preparation*). The records made were of four types:

1. The facts about each stone or monument (the position, the size, the basic form, the number of inscribed faces, existence of kerb, masons name) were recorded for each stone. The basic form was one of a fixed number of possibilities (Cross, Headstone, Statue etc—these categories described and listed in part 4 below); no attempt was made at this stage to distinguish between, eg, a Celtic cross and a plain one, the aim being to record the original basic decision made by the person responsible for the monument; it is suggested that this person would first of all decide that a Cross, Ledger or Statue was the appropriate form in general before going into details about the precise form (the basic forms were further studied at a later stage, yielding important sub-divisions of the categories, as discussed in part 4, but the initial simple form is used throughout this discussion).

In addition to this written record, a general photograph of the stone will be taken to provide a basic record of the shape and decoration if no further work is done on that monument. It should be noted that considerable problems were encountered in the consistent classification of tomb types, even with a small team working continuously but it is to be hoped that reducing the classification to a conceptual minimum should have helped to make the records consistent.

2. A summary record was made of the persons commemorated (name, year of death, sex, country of origin and the language of the inscription). This formed an immediately useable record, and the basis of the full interpretative prosopography. Even at this basic level, it was not easy to guarantee accuracy—it is only too easy for an English student to think that ‘HANS MÖDER’ is a person rather than ‘his mother’, while even ‘HOC POSUIT’ might be an unusual Eastern European name to those unversed in Latin!

This part of the record is at present based entirely on the information gathered from the stone (details of nationality were not put in if only known from other sources); this distinction will be kept, and when further information is added (time of year of death, date of birth, profession, cause of death etc)—not given on the stone, but gathered from reference books—it will be flagged as such.

3. The actual text of the inscription was transcribed accurately and, where necessary, transliterated into the Latin alphabet (cf Plates 1 and 2), together with a simple indication of the ‘typestyle’ or alphabet. This was the most demanding of the tasks and the checking is not yet complete, involving the need for a good speaker of each language to check the transcriptions for grammatical mistakes, either by the original mason or by the transcriber. This record will provide the objective record, together with the photograph, of what was actually on the stone. The physical details of the inscription as a whole (face of stone, condition, manner and type - whether primary or secondary) were also recorded.
4. A classification of the decorative features of the stone has only been completed to date for the Parte Antica; this is not intended as an art-historical description, but records the presence and absence of a range of ‘motifs’ in use throughout the cemetery; these motifs are divided into a number of general groups for convenience (listed in Table 1), but they are not intended as a real iconography - clearly most of the items under Flora, Fauna and Miscellaneous were in fact used as very traditional Christian symbols (*Post 1975*), and close attention will have to be paid to copying of classical traditions, undoubtedly very strong in Rome. Examples of decoration range from private crests (Plate 3), ‘art-deco’ Christianity (Plate 4) and classic memorial iconography (Plate 5) to a quite charming brand of sentimentalism (Plate 6).

It is easy to isolate for further study those stones which are of interest to a researcher in flower patterns or representations of the deceased.

1.2 Computerisation

It was envisaged from the start that the written records would be transferred to a computer for fast access, easy duplication and for assistance in publication. All the written records described above are now stored on computer (including the full transcription of the inscriptions) and can be interrogated.

A large number of different computer systems have been used; in November 1984 an ICL Personal Computer (courtesy of ICL Roma) and an Apricot xi (courtesy of ACT International) were used for inputting data at the British School, and in August 1985 an IBM Personal Computer lookalike was rented and a portable Visual Commuter microcomputer was brought from England (loaned by Microage International); the database program *dBaseIII* and the word-processing program *Word* were used for data input and editing. All the files were integrated using *dBaseIII* on a IBM PC AT, and then transferred to mainframe computers, the ICL 2988 at Oxford University Computing Service and the Perkin Elmer 3205 minicomputer in Southampton University Department of Computer Studies. The data has proved a fine testing tool for computer communications and database programs! (*Rahitz*)

Table 1: Decorative Motifs

Group	Examples
Christian symbol	Christ anchor angel angel with lamp angel with palm leaf angel with scythe angel with trumpet (Gabriel) chalice chi rho crown figure with rayed halo figure with round halo good shepherd icon star of David
Flora	clover flower, unknown lily maple palm leaf rose thistle tree
Fauna	bird, unknown bull's head butterfly dog dolphin dove dove and stars evangelical animals fish griffin & lyre lamb owl peacock phoenix putto serpent
Tools and possessions	archimandritical accoutrements arms artists materials bishop's accoutrements childrens toys hammer and chisels harp lyre mask,theatrical mason's tools military accoutrements music musical instrument palette
'Heraldic' devices	Hapsburg eagle coat of arms crest flag medal
Representations	baby bust bust (miniature) family group photograph portrait statue
Architectural	arch column column, broken door
Classical	Psyche caduceus classical scene with figures sarcophagus sphinx
Decorative	celtic rope work ribbons rosette scroll swag
Traditional	draped urn hourglass mourning scene sickle skull skull and cross bones soul torch urn wreath
Miscellaneous	arrows book compass dagger disc fravashi jug lamp

It is now available for interrogation primarily on the Oxford machine (although editing and development work is being done in Southampton, using tools and special programs running under UNIX), using a relational database query manager (Querymaster) which utilises a specific piece of hardware (CAFS—Contents Addressable Filestore) to make extremely fast searches. This is especially important when investigating the inscriptions, all 2100 lines of which can be searched in a few seconds for any chosen word(s)—this makes traditional concordance making unnecessary, and enables the researcher to participate in an interactive query loop; the answer to one question comes back sufficiently fast for it to stimulate further *ad hoc* questions. The relational database also makes it possible to search for inscriptions or stones that match different kinds of data (e.g. the inscriptions with the word “JESUS” which occur on form CROSS before 1872). Fig. 1 is a printout from a session with Querymaster where the computer is asked to list the number, stone form, person’s names and date of death, and the full text of the inscription when the form is a Ledger and the inscription contains the word “LOVE”; the data is listed in order of year of death.

The data can be output on conventional printers, but it is also possible to print the results of queries on the Monotype Lasercomp phototypesetter at Oxford University Computing Service, and this will be used to produce the archival catalogue, of which a sample is shown in Fig. 2 (with the description set in Garamond and the inscription itself set in Bembo typeface; note the reproduction of Russian script). The importance of this procedure should not be underestimated—the archival catalogue for the cemetery can be generated to the highest standards without any human intervention, making enormous savings in proof-reading and increased accuracy (for further discussion of such techniques, see (*Mathews & Rahtz 1986*)).

This article, and other reports, are prepared using the document preparation tools *awk*, *nroff*, *tbl* and *refer* on the UNIX system in Southampton, again making for greater accuracy and consistency. Nor need this be the only part the computer plays in “publication”; through international academic networks (JANET—Joint Academic Network—in Britain) it is possible to interrogate the database from anywhere in the world. A certain amount of expense, patience and computer expertise may be needed, but many Universities are well able to provide the facilities.

1.3 Other Work

This report presents the information gathered in only one part of the project; while other related research cannot be reported on here, it is appropriate to describe what is currently being undertaken:

1. When the records described above have been archived, research can move onto subsidiary data relating to the persons buried in the cemetery. This work is in hand—Professor Birgitta Wohl (Department of Art History, California State University at Northridge) has started work on a prosopography of the Americans in the Parte Antica, and we hope that this will act as a model for further nationality-based studies. The vast documentary sources for 19th and 20th century Rome will be searched, but there are as yet no results to publish. The documentary background to the early history of the cemetery will be dealt with by Dr Ippolito Menneliti (*1986/7*)
2. The opportunity will be taken in the publication of the Parte Antica to include a reappraisal of the entire Testaccio area and the Pyramid in the 18th century, including discussion by Dr Wolfgang Krögel of the early drawings of the cemetery. Dr Menneliti is also drawing together the archival information about the “political” status of the cemetery in the 19th century, its relationship to the Papacy and other cemeteries in Rome (such as the *Cimitero degli Impenitenti del Muro Torto*, and the *Campo Santo Teutonico* in the Vatican being published by Dr Albrecht Weiland (pers. comm.)).
3. The daily administration of the cemetery, its working methods and the attitude towards the graves of relatives, visitors and staff are of great interest for the sociologist and for understanding what has happened in the past. We may cite, for instance, the practice of occasionally recarving the entire inscription on a gravestone (cf Plate 7) when a new name is added to a family stone; this clearly makes the study of lettering styles (see below, part 4) slightly suspect (and one will have to exclude post-war stones from any such study). The dominant interest of all concerned in the cemetery is to provide a guaranteed, peaceful and pleasant resting place for the deceased, and clearly the actual gravestones are subservient to the needs of a working cemetery. Grave plots are now leased for periods of between 25 and 100 years and the increased degree of re-use of plots will merit attention.

As part of the work, a special study has been made of the flora in the cemetery, particularly in the Parte Antica, with a view to making a distinction between naturally occurring wild flowers, those chosen by the cemetery gardeners and those chosen by relatives (there is one plaque which says that a particular tree has been planted *in memoriam*). Initial results will be published in (*1986/7*) by John Giorgi.

A number of publications are planned on the cemetery. A more detailed discussion of the recording problems is in hand (*Rahtz in preparation*) but the first archival publication will be the full report on the Parte Antica in early 1987 (*1986/7*). The main written archive, of which the Parte Antica will stand as an example, will be made available in 1986/7 in computer form, and it is hoped that this will stimulate a series of nationally-based discussions of the social history of foreigners in Rome in the last 2 centuries. Separately, the analysis of the data as ‘ethno-archaeology’ will continue.

Table 2: Number of burials per decade

Year	No.	%	Histogram
unknown	152	3.62	***
→1799	10	0.24	
→1809	10	0.24	
→1819	24	0.57	
→1829	88	2.10	**
→1839	118	2.81	**
→1849	114	2.72	**
→1859	134	3.19	***
→1869	207	4.93	****
→1879	341	8.12	*****
→1889	294	7.01	*****
→1899	214	5.10	*****
→1909	283	6.74	*****
→1919	231	5.50	*****
→1929	287	6.84	*****
→1939	285	6.79	*****
→1949	241	5.74	*****
→1959	289	6.89	*****
→1969	405	9.65	*****
→1979	302	7.20	*****
→1985	168	4.00	****
total	4197		

2 The History and Layout of the Cemetery

This short description of the cemetery is not designed to replace a full discussion of its origins, but a brief outline will be helpful. The cemetery is on the south side of Rome, running on the inside of the Aurelian wall for c. 300m westwards of the pyramid of Caius Sestius (Fig. 3); at the east end are the British War Cemetery and the Monte Testaccio, which provides the cemetery with its official name (*Cimitero Acattolico al Testaccio*). The first known burial in the insalubrious wasteland by the Pyramid (the *Prati del Popolo*) was in 1738, followed by the first surviving memorial, that of George Werpup (Plate 8) in 1765. The area was not fenced in until 1817, but in the 1820s, official recognition was given and the original burial place, the Parte Antica, was closed to burial except for notable people. There are four areas of the cemetery in use (Fig. 3), of which the Zona Vecchia and the Zona Prima were opened in 1822,² the Zona Seconda in 1856 and the Zona Terza in 1894. At the present time, the land still legally belongs to the Commune di Roma, and it has been declared a ‘Zona Monumentale d’Interesse Nazionale’. There are no substantial blank areas left for burial, and new graves are placed wherever slots can be found in the other areas. The cemetery regulations do not allow Catholics to be buried there (Gramsci was excommunicated), unless they are relatives of an existing burial, but it is not exclusive to Christians — ‘acattolico’ is taken literally. The demand for burial is high, and some connection with Rome must be demonstrated; Table 2 shows the number of burials per decade.

The pattern of use is surprisingly smooth after the gradual build-up between 1820 and 1880, with burials well up in the present decade. Even if one looks at the detailed figures for each year, there is not a great deal of variation—between 1870 (23 burials) and 1985, only 1889, 1890, 1896, 1898, 1906 and 1915 have less than 20 burials a year, and the highest is 49 in 1962 and 1883.

While the Parte Antica (‘The most beautiful and solemn I have ever beheld’—Shelley) is like a traditional churchyard (Plate 9), the main part of the cemetery is on a slope and has many trees; memorials are densely packed, yielding a unique atmosphere (Plate 10). The cemetery administration is carried out in offices in the north-east corner and there is a late 19th century chapel at the west end; parts of the Aurelian wall and other areas are used as ossuaries for those without individual stones.

The cemetery is by no means as large as most of the giant municipal garden cemeteries which began in the mid 19th century (*Curl 1980*), of which the main Catholic cemetery in Rome, the Campo Verano, is a good example; in August 1985 a total of 2658 stones were on record in the Protestant Cemetery, commemorating 4197 people—London’s Highgate Cemetery (*Cemetery 1978*) has approximately 51,000. The basic proportions of burials in the different zones is given in Table 3.

3 Nationalities

The cemetery has brought with its walls the sons and daughters of at least 50 nations; the numbers from each known country are listed in Table 4. There are a number of people whose country is unknown, because it has not been possible to trace the place of birth; a number of known origins presented problems, chiefly due to small states

²Despite the claim of (*Beck-Friis 1957b*) that the Prima was not started until 1856; there are a number of pre-1856 graves in the Prima.

Table 3: Number of stones per zone

Zone	No.	%	Histogram
Antica	80	3.01	***
Vecchia	389	14.64	*****
Prima	980	36.87	*****
Seconda	577	21.71	*****
Terza	632	23.78	*****
total	2658		

Table 4: Proportions of burials by nationality

Origin	No.	%	Histogram
unknown	2102	50.08	***** →
??	45	1.07	*
Argentina	2	0.05	
Albania	4	0.10	
America	296	6.98	*****
Arabia	1	0.02	
Austria	10	0.24	
Australia	11	0.26	
Barbados	1	0.02	
Belgium	5	0.12	
Brazil	1	0.02	
Belize	9	0.21	
Canada	19	0.45	
Ceylon	1	0.02	
China	1	0.02	
Cuba	1	0.02	
Czechoslovakia	3	0.07	
Denmark	40	0.95	
Holland	21	0.48	
Egypt	1	0.02	
English	421	10.01	*****
Estonia	2	0.05	
Finland	5	0.12	
France	24	0.57	
Germany	344	8.15	*****
Greece	27	0.64	
Hungary	6	0.14	
India	8	0.19	
Ireland	60	1.43	*
Italy	270	6.43	*****
Japan	5	0.12	
Java	1	0.02	
Kenya	2	0.05	
Latvia	8	0.19	
Lebanon	1	0.02	
Lithuania	2	0.05	
Malta	1	0.02	
Norway	26	0.62	
New Zealand	1	0.02	
Poland	8	0.19	
Prussia	6	0.14	
Rumania	5	0.12	
Russia	131	3.12	***
South Africa	1	0.02	
Scotland	75	1.79	*
Switzerland	118	2.81	**
Sweden	42	1.00	*
Taiwan	1	0.02	
Turkey	8	0.19	
Wales	8	0.19	
Yugoslavia	4	0.10	
Zambia	1	0.02	
total	4197		

Table 5: Proportions of inscriptions per language

Language	No.	%	Histogram
unknown	599	16.76	*****
Bulgarian	4	0.11	
Czech	2	0.06	
Danish	46	1.29	*
Dutch	7	0.20	
English	1462	40.89	*****
French	83	2.32	**
German	508	14.21	*****
Greek	26	0.73	
Italian	391	10.93	*****
Japanese	4	0.11	
Latin	146	4.09	****
Norwegian	20	0.56	
Romanian	1	0.03	
Russian	243	6.80	*****
Swedish	34	0.95	
total	3576		

which ceased to exist after the First World War (Courlande, Lobrogin and Daghestan, for instance). There has not been complete consistency—Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia and Prussia are listed in Table 4, yet no longer exist.

Despite this very wide range of nationalities, it is important to note that the nationality of 50% of the people commemorated is not known from the stone (though the cemetery records have information on many of these), showing that mention of place of birth is not considered to be an essential element of an inscription. It is probably fair to say the majority of the unknown cases are English, American, German or Italian - people from the smaller countries are much more likely to mention the fact. It will be surprising if further research yields more people from Belize, Cuba or Taiwan. Not surprisingly, there are many examples of stateless people and children of mixed marriages, where it is very difficult to assign a nationality on the basis of information given on the stone (what is the nationality of an English diplomat's child born in Russia and dying in Rome? and should modern law be applied or that in force at the time?).

The large groups of the common nationalities overly a more complicated temporal pattern – the English and the Germans were the dominant users of the cemetery in the first half of the 19th century, while the Americans are very common from the last quarter of the century. In the present century, there are a large number of Russians (their post-1917 dates, use of the old calendar and frequent titles back up the obvious supposition that these are White Russian emigres) and the Italians increase, due mainly to children of mixed marriages who are buried in family plots. Although the analysis has not been completed for the full cemetery, the 1981 study of 10% of the stones (*Rahitz 1981*) indicated that the overall balance of male and female was about equal, but when broken down by nationality, the men are dominant (c. 60% : 40%) until the end of the 19th century, while women predominate in the present century. This almost certainly reflects the different character of the cemetery; having started as the burial place of foreign *visitors*, it has become the resting place of foreign *residents*, who have a more normal community (in contrast to the unnatural group of male travellers).

When we come to consider the languages used in the inscriptions (Table 5), English is by far the commonest (40%), with only German and Italian having over 10% of the total. Those classified as unknown (16%) are inscriptions where only a name and date are given, giving a measure of the garrulity of the stones—most inscriptions are long enough to give an idea of the language. The smaller national groups clearly adopt one of two policies: a) use their own language as a mark of national pride (Bulgarian, Japanese and Czech), or b) use English as a common standard—not Latin except in the early years.

4 The Gravestones

The shape of gravestones and their decoration has been the subject of considerable study in the last 25 years, notably in America; it developed in the 1960s mainly as a convenient way of testing archaeological theories about seriation (the subject of classic papers by James Deetz and Edwin Dethlefsen) (*Deetz 1965, Deetz 1967, Deetz 1971, Deetz 1966*), the aim being to demonstrate theories that were applied to prehistoric data (*Binford 1971*). The iconography was also used by Ludwig (*Ludwig 1966*) for important work on New England Puritan society, the effect of popular beliefs on mortuary art, and the place of the stone cutter in the community. It is unlikely that the Protestant Cemetery will yield such rich pickings as New England for a number of reasons:

- There will be little sense of a “tradition” amongst foreigners in Rome, or a genuinely balanced society to provide a folk art.
- The emphasis on decoration and ornament on monuments has declined since the late 19th century, due to public taste and cost. While the cemetery contains its share of mid-19th century splendours, they are not common (as a glance at Plate 10 will show).

Table 6: Proportions of Memorial Types

Code	Type	No.	%	Histogram
?	Unrecorded	3	0.11	
ARCH	Arch	1	0.04	
BLOCK	Block	1	0.04	
BOOK	Book	9	0.34	
BROKE	Broken	1	0.04	
BUILD	Building	16	0.60	
CHEST	Chest tomb	59	2.22	**
COL	Column	63	2.37	**
COLB	Broken Column	1	0.04	
COPE	Coped Stone	32	1.20	*
CROSS	Cross	573	21.56	*****
FOOT	Footstone	1	0.04	
HEAD	Headstone	712	26.79	*****
KERB	Kerb only	8	0.30	
LEDG	Ledger	423	15.91	*****
OBEL	Obelisk	10	0.38	
OSS	Ossuary	8	0.30	
OTHER	unique	3	0.11	
PED	Pedestal	71	2.67	**
PLB	Plaque on base	492	18.51	*****
PLG	Plaque in ground	97	3.65	***
PLW	Plaque on wall	34	1.28	*
ROCK	Rocks	2	0.08	
SCROLL	Scroll	4	0.15	
STAT	Statue	22	0.83	
TREE	Tree	1	0.04	
URN	Urn	6	0.23	
WRETH	Wreath	5	0.19	
total	2658			

- The relatives of the deceased would often have little contact with the cemetery, and therefore take less care in choosing designs than one might have expected in a “normal” cemetery—this is an area where we can hope for illumination from documentary research, as designs for gravestones had to be submitted to the Papal Legate until 1970, and to the Aesthetic Committee after the 2nd World War (although decisions are normally made directly by the Cemetery Director).

We confine ourselves here to a description of the different types identified, and a brief discussion of their distribution.

4.1 Memorial Shape Classifications

As was explained above, the basis for the division of the memorials into 27 different types was based on the assumption that the person choosing a memorial would have decided at an early stage whether to have a headstone or a cross, long before they decided on the precise form and decoration. Table 6 shows the proportions of different types of memorial.

It is clear that the predominantly common forms are the cross, the headstone, the ledger and the “plaque on a base”s, accounting for 80% of the memorials. The statues which first attract the visitors’ attention number only 22 in the whole cemetery (although of course the simpler basic forms often have sculpted decoration). A distribution of the main 4 types by decade (Table 7) shows clearly how the ledger and the headstone together, the cross and the plaque on base have succeeded one another as the dominant form group, just as the deaths-head is succeeded by the cherub, and the latter by the willow and urn, in the classic American series (*Deetz1966*).

There follows a definition of the different forms, followed by discussion of three of the more interesting forms, the headstone, cross and pedestal.

ARCH Architectural form of free-standing arch.

BLOCK Square block of stone, not conforming to other criteria.

BOOK Normally an open book on a small base.

BROKE Stone so badly broken as to be beyond definition.

BUILD A complete building or facade of one; several open, round “temples”.

CHEST The classic Etruscan & Roman sarcophagus shape, and later imitations.

Table 7: Proportions of major memorial types per decade

Decade	Total	% Ledger	% Headstone	% Cross	% Plaque on base
--> 1805	4	0.00	80.00	0.00	20.00
--> 1819	11	54.55	36.36	0.00	9.09
--> 1829	54	42.59	55.56	1.85	0.00
--> 1839	44	18.18	72.73	2.27	6.82
--> 1849	94	25.53	69.15	4.26	1.06
--> 1859	62	33.87	50.00	12.90	3.23
--> 1869	90	21.11	46.67	31.11	1.11
--> 1879	167	23.95	36.53	33.53	5.99
--> 1889	172	15.12	37.79	38.37	8.72
--> 1899	186	16.13	30.11	46.24	7.53
--> 1909	233	13.73	32.19	48.07	6.01
--> 1919	192	21.35	27.08	44.79	6.77
--> 1929	234	18.80	29.49	41.03	10.68
--> 1939	240	21.67	33.75	28.75	15.83
--> 1949	182	25.82	31.87	22.53	19.78
--> 1959	230	25.65	30.87	17.83	25.65
--> 1969	320	28.75	17.19	15.94	38.13
--> 1979	240	22.92	17.50	10.00	49.58
--> 1985	138	14.49	26.09	13.04	46.38

COL A column with capital (Classical imitation).

COLB A broken column (life cut short).

CROSS A free-standing cross.

FOOT A very small headstone, clearly at the foot of a grave.

HEAD The classic western European grave marker, an upright rectangular slab inscribed on one face.

KERB Stone surround for grave, with no other form of monument.

LEDG A full-sized slab covering the whole grave.

OBEL A complete obelisk, normally with four sides.

OSS An ossuary, normally very large slabs with multiple inscriptions.

OTHER A memorial which does not seem to fall into any other category.

PED The traditional Roman form of square altar-like monument, often inscribed on all faces, with pediment.

PLB A modern form of a small plaque set at an angle on a square base.

PLG A plaque set in the ground as a marker (rather than a grave-covering ledger).

PLW A plaque attached to the cemetery wall.

ROCK Either rocks cemented together in a rough heap, or a single block to carved to imitate this.

SCRLL Like the BOOK, this is a half-read scroll on a small base.

TREE An imitation of a tree stump

URN A funerary urn, normally on a base.

WRETH A wreath of flowers carved in stone on a base.

4.1.1 Headstones

A headstone³ is the classic form of gravestone, essentially an upright shallow rectangle, with only one face for normal use. On first examination, the apparently simple form can be divided into curved or rectangular, or nearly every stone could be said to be in a unique group, for there are few stones that are absolutely identical (there are a few in earlier years, where the memorials are the same and next to each other because the deceased are related, and in more recent years identical stones are certainly a sign of mass production). Closer examination, however, enables us to divide the headstones into 33 types (described in detail and illustrated in the archive report), which fall into 3 broad groups:

³This section is based on the archival report by Sarah Jones

1. The first style has a curved top; variations are based on the shape of the curve (a simple semi-circle, an arched top with convex or concave side etc) and on the addition of pillars at the side, akroteria at the top, and bases.
2. This basic style has a rectangular top; variations have a slight curve, missing corners, pediments and akroteria, scrolls, and various styles of base.
3. The remainder are peculiar—a headstone made up of blocks of stone, usually tiered, or may be just one block with a sloping face; a deliberately rough-edged stone (often moulded to appear as rock) or marble (curved, rectangular or square); a cross which is usually circular on top of a rectangle, though there are two completely rectangular stones with the cross incorporated into the rectangular form. There is also a category for stones which cannot otherwise be classified and they are, apart from one out of seven, dated this century.

Size is important—categories 13–19 tend to be the larger stones though 11 does include obelisk-type stones. The most popular style is the simple form of the curve and the rectangle with a curved top; second in line is the style with akroteria.

4.1.2 Crosses

There is a total of 573 crosses⁴ in the Protestant Cemetery; 1 in the Parte Antica, 34 in the Zona Vecchia, 179 in the Zona Prima, 135 in the Zona Seconda, and 234 in the Zona Terza. There are 4 basic types of crosses, and 55 variations of these. The 4 basic types are:-

- Normal (plain).
- Celtic (with 'wheel' linking the arms, and elaborate decoration).
- Gothic (elaboration of the arms, often with a trefoil).
- Russian (extra bar on main shaft, at an angle).

The bases of the crosses have also been classified according to their form; there are 34 different types of bases, with simple ones being the most popular.

Crosses appear to have become more popular through time, with a peak between the years 1900 and 1950. Although they were technically forbidden by the Papacy (as was any mention of redemption for non-Catholics) before secularization in 1870, there are a number of pre-1870 examples, both as the primary form of the memorial and as decoration. Normal crosses are the most numerous, but there are several unique crosses which display the masons' imaginative and creative skills. In several cases the cross forms just one part of the overall monument, as for example when it sits on top of an elaborate pedestal.

4.1.3 Pedestals

Although a pedestal⁵ is defined (Concise Oxford Dictionary) as "a base supporting a column or pillar; base of statue etc", in its use as a gravestone or monument to the dead the word is used to describe a classical form, which originated as the base of some greater affair, but commonly stands as a monument in its own right. In this study, the pedestals were divided into the following broad categories:

P pedestal as the only component of the monument

PP pedestal as either the primary form of a monument or of equal importance to the other component(s)

PS pedestal as the secondary form of the monument; these pedestals will have been categorized according to their primary form so only a few examples of these will be given.

Over half of the pedestals (34 out of a total of 63) are situated either in the Parte Antica or the Zona Vecchia. Due to the low numbers involved it is difficult to ascertain with the degree of correlation between the erection date of the stones and the groups. One group stands out as a unique group, sharing both form and decoration, and being erected within the space of a decade at the beginning of the 19th century. More general conclusions on the development of the form and function of the pedestal may be summarised as follows (taking into consideration the evidence above on their distribution):

- Pedestals standing alone as monuments: basically the small squat Classical Style pedestal. These were commonly erected from the beginning of the cemetery, with 29 of the 41 being erected before the middle of the 19th century. However, after this date (chosen for convenience), they were only sporadically erected.

⁴This section is based on the archival report by Julie Dunk

⁵This section is based on the archival report by John Giorgi.

- From the middle of the 19th century onwards, the pedestal appears to have become increasingly used in conjunction with other monument types, but the pedestal was still retained in a number of cases as an equal, if not the primary component. In the middle half of the 19th century, all but one of the pedestals with urns were erected, as were the large square pedestals with small crosses, while the large pedestals with busts were erected in the last quarter of the 19th century.
- After the late 19th century, pedestals became increasingly used simply as bases for other monuments (eg. statues, columns, crosses) particularly so from 1870 when crosses were allowed in the cemetery and thus the significance of the pedestal declined to that of the secondary form or base. The most recent use of the pedestal, in the last 25 years, has been as the base for large capitals.

4.2 Variation by nationality

A breakdown by nationality of the forms (Table 8) shows that most nationalities follow the general pattern, with the following exceptions:

- The Americans have a smaller number of form PLB than might be expected.
- The Scandinavian countries and the Greeks use form LEDG more than average.
- The Italians, the Germans, the French and the Swiss are over-represented on the wall plaques (PLW) - this is due to a few large plaques erected this century for those otherwise uncommemorated, rather than any choice.
- The Russians eschew the headstone in favour of the cross and ledger.

4.3 Lettering styles in the Parte Antica

The only part of the cemetery where examination has been made of the style of the lettering⁶ is the Parte Antica (treated in full by Julie Dunk in (1986/7). Of the 80 gravestones, 76 were in an adequate condition and position to allow a study of the styles of lettering of their inscriptions. Others were inaccessible or too weathered. One Russian example was not included in the study.

A preliminary classification of all the styles of lettering was made according to the presence or absence of serifs (and, if present, of what type they were), the comparative widths of the components of the letters, and the shape of the O. This first classification showed 38 different styles of lettering in the Parte Antica, but several styles shared similar characteristics, so the it was refined by comparing tracings of examples of the 38 different styles. Where the inscriptions were in upper case, the letters H,O,S, and E were traced as these seemed the most characteristic letters on all the inscriptions—they are used to illustrate the basis of the classification. Where the inscriptions were in lower case, whole words containing at least four different letters were traced. The refined classification produced 6 major styles (illustrated in Fig. 4) and 19 substyles—the original 38 groups remained within the substyles. The characteristics of the main styles are as follows:-

I Triangular serifs (a distinctive example is shown prepared for carving in Plate 11)

II Sans serif

III Squared serifs

IV Triangular serifs with rounded corners

V Curved serifs

VI Lower case

Because there are so few graves in the Parte Antica it is difficult to draw any effective conclusions about the development of lettering styles through time, especially when one remembers that the date of death as given on the gravestone is not necessarily the same date as its erection (for instance, the memorial to George Langton, who died in 1738, is a copy made in 1930). Some overall trends are, however, observable when the styles are examined against time, and these are summarized below:

Style I 1738-1976 (ie. the whole period)// Style IV 1760-1976// Style V 1780-1976// Style II 1790-1870// Style III 1790-1976// Style VI 1820-1976//

Style I is used throughout, Styles IV, V, II and VI are introduced at intervals and remain in use, while only Style II has a limited life.

There is a vast range of styles of lettering in the Parte Antica; with the exception of graves 31 and 32 (Keats and Severn) and taking into account size, no two inscriptions have exactly the same style. With the possible exception of Style II (1790-1870), there does not appear to be any limited period of preference for a style, but style I remains the most popular throughout.

⁶This section is based on the archival report by Julie Dunk

Table 8: Memorial types by nationality

Albania	CHEST 1
Albania	HEAD 1
Albania	PLB 1
Albania	ROCK 1
	= 4
America	BUILD 8
America	CHEST 4
America	COL 4
America	COL? 1
America	COPE 6
America	CROSS 50
America	HEAD 110
America	KERB 2
America	LEDG 54
America	OSS 1
America	PED 7
America	PLB 18
America	PLG 10
America	PLW 8
America	STAT 8
America	URN 2
	= 293
Arabia	PLB 1
	= 1
Argentina	CROSS 1
Argentina	LEDG 1
	= 2
Australia	BOOK 1
Australia	CHEST 1
Australia	HEAD 6
Australia	LEDG 1
Australia	OB 1
Australia	STAT 1
	= 11
Austria	COL 1
Austria	HEAD 5
Austria	LEDG 2
Austria	PED 1
Austria	PLB 1
	= 10
Barbados	HEAD 1
	= 1
Belgium	HEAD 2
Belgium	PLW 3
	= 5
Brasil	PLG 1
	= 1
Bulgaria	COPE 1
Bulgaria	HEAD 3
Bulgaria	LEDG 1
Bulgaria	OSS 1
Bulgaria	PLB 2
Bulgaria	STAT 1
	= 9
Canada	COPE 2
Canada	CROSS 4
Canada	HEAD 6
Canada	LEDG 3
Canada	PED 1
Canada	PLB 3
	= 19
Ceylon	COLB 1
	= 1
China	CROSS 1
	= 1
Cuba	CROSS 1
	= 1
Czechoslovakia	BOOK 3
	= 3
Denmark	CHEST 1
Denmark	CROSS 5
Denmark	HEAD 5
Denmark	LEDG 11
Denmark	PLB 10
Denmark	PLG 1
Denmark	PLW 5
Denmark	STAT 2
	= 40
Egypt	CROSS 1
	= 1
England	BUILD 2
England	CHEST 15
England	COL 6
England	COPE 13
England	CROSS 89
England	HEAD 123
England	KERB 1
England	LEDG 43
England	PED 14
England	PLB 21
England	PLG 6
England	PLW 83
England	SCROLL 1
England	URNS 2
England	WRETHI
	= 420
English Language	CHEST 1
	= 1

Table 9: Method of Inscription

Manner	No.	%	Histogram
Incised	1347	37.58	*****
Incised/coloured	763	20.78	*****
Incised/filled	1282	35.85	*****
Incised in metal	18	0.50	
Raised metal	101	2.82	**
Raised stone	65	1.82	*
total	3576		

4.4 Method of inscription

Apart from the actual text, the condition, type (whether primary or secondary on the stone, a mason's mark or a "comment" such as GOD IS LOVE), face of the stone and the method used for each inscription was recorded. A given stone may have between one and a dozen inscriptions, and it is not always clear which were put on at the time the stone was erected and which were later additions. Normally the year, and perhaps a style of lettering, betrays the date but there are cases where a "secondary" inscription has been put on at the time of the original, in the case where a husband or wife expected to follow the partner very soon.

The number of different inscriptions in each manner is shown in Table 9. Nearly all the inscriptions are either simply incised (Plates 4, 8, 12), incised and the filled with lead lettering (Plate 1), or incised and the painted (Plate 3). The distribution is often temporal - the metal letters are normally 19th century and the colouring 20th century (it is the preferred style of the present director of the cemetery - cf Plate 7), with simple incised letters having a universal popularity. Raised stone or metal lettering is rare.

5 The Language of the Inscriptions

The analysis of the style of the funerary inscriptions is a lengthy task, which is only just beginning. It is to be hoped that the use of a computer, and appropriate software, will enable the research to follow new avenues. Among the topics that will be followed are:

- The definition of a "funerary vocabulary", isolating the most common words and phrases in each language, and finding parallels or divergences in other languages. It will be of interest to see whether the inscriptions of 19th and 20th century Rome match those of antiquity (*Lattimore 1962*).
- The isolation of Biblical and other quotations.
- The mistakes in non-Italian languages (eg "COD IS LOVE"); the aim is part of the larger investigation into the relationship between the deceased (his wishes as expressed in his/her lifetime or will), the relatives or friends who arranged the burial, and the cemetery authorities of the period. How closely supervised was the work, and was the memorial carved by a mason nominated by the relative/friend, or by the cemetery? At the present day, one mason does all the work, and choice is relatively limited.
- The investigation of the styles of particular groups; as a small example, we may look at the Trehwella family (Fig. 5), which had 9 members buried in the cemetery between 1878 and 1924. The family follows the cemetery pattern of starting with the headstone, and then going onto the cross, and the confine themselves to a factual account of life and death, with 4 uses of traditional phrases ("THY WILL BE DONE", "HER CHILDREN ARISE AND CALL HER BLESSED" and "R.I.P."). Unusually, the cause of death is mentioned once (because it is unusual), and we may note that the chief concern of those composed the inscription is threefold: a) the complete name and date of death, b) the relationship to others (there are 4 Trehwellas mentioned here but not in the cemetery) and c) the place of birth or residence. Very seldom in these inscriptions is there any explicit reference to the fact that those buried here are Protestants, and it is a religious disagreement that isolates them in this cemetery. Only seldom, and after the important points mentioned above do the inscriptions go on to talk of profession, of cause of death or of beliefs

6 Conclusions

It has almost become a truism in archaeology that one can study a community through its mortuary behaviour; the study of prehistory in particular relies heavily on the archaeology of the dead (*Chapman 1980*). It has recently become apparent that the same sources are available, and of great value, to the chronicler of more recent times; studies have been made of the obsession with death in Victorian Britain (*Morley 1971, Curl 1972*) and America in the 19th century (*Levy 1973*) as well as, in lighter vein, the 20th (*Mitford 1963*). But despite the valuable work done on Puritan America (*Stannard 1975*) and modern Florida (*Dethlefsen 1981*), many studies of gravestones have been little more than photographic essays; (*Benrimon n.d., Willsher 1975, Cemetery 1978*) one classic discussion the English parish churchyard has appeared (*Burgess 1963*) and a few case studies (*Rahtz 1983*) but the

more substantial cemeteries have seldom been systematically studied (although their potential as one of the great resources of archaeology, which does *not* have to be destroyed by excavation is well realised in some countries, and much work is in progress). Because of the temptation to see the 19th century stones as a source of artistic photographs and source of whimsical inscriptions, this article has concentrated heavily on the raw data to be extracted from recording a *whole* cemetery, and the statistical possibilities that are opened up. Little has been attempted in the way of conclusions; the purpose has been rather to draw the attention of the reader to the *manner* of data that is being recorded, and the sort of questions that can be asked. Work is still in progress, and much that has been said may turn out to be unjustified in the light of further study, but the method of enquiry will remain the same.

In his study of modern Florida burial habits, Edwin Dethlefsen (*Dethlefsen 1981*) argues that the study of mortuary behaviour should result in “a ‘filtered’ and modified reflection of the living community”. The 4000 people who have been buried since 1738 in the Protestant Cemetery were a community, albeit a very odd (and perhaps unviable in isolation) one, and study of their monuments should help to understand the makeup of that community better. On a wider scale, the study of the language used in a particular ritual situation by 30 different nationalities should lead to new insights into the convergence or divergence of their cultures at the point where all differences are subsumed in the grave.

It is appropriate to conclude with an example of all that has gone before; Frank Timing’s memorial (Plate 12) is a headstone with arched top, and a substantial decoration of an inset cross against translucent marble. A chi-rhi is incised on the cross, and a Biblical quotation “BLESSED ARE THE PURE IN HEART” is set over the top. The classic elements of name, date of birth and death, and place of birth are given, but what makes it unique is the charming commemorative phrase “IN FRAGRANT MEMORY”.

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