

MICROMOSAICS: SOUVENIRS, COLLECTIVE MEMORY, AND THE RECEPTION  
OF ANTIQUITY ON THE GRAND TOUR

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Degree Doctor of Philosophy

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by  
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Approval

The undersigned, appointed by the dean of the Graduate School, have examined the dissertation entitled

**MICROMOSAICS: SOUVENIRS, COLLECTIVE MEMORY, AND THE RECEPTION OF ANTIQUITY ON THE GRAND TOUR**

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To my parents for their unwavering support and faith in me.

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## Chapter One: Introduction

### Overview

The finest of all the ornaments have a probability of being longer preserved than would once have been imagined, by the astonishing improvements which have of late been made in the art of copying pictures in Mosaic...By this means, the works of Raphael and other great painters, will be transmitted to a later posterity than they themselves expected...How happy would it make the real lovers of the art in this age, to have such specimens of the genius of Zeuxis, Apelles, and other ancient painters!<sup>1</sup>

This passage is Grand Tourist John Moore's commentary on the painted altarpieces of St. Peter's Basilica that were replaced with more enduring mosaic copies, a moment which signaled the birth of the micromosaic industry. He suggested how the enduring nature of mosaic would save artworks from the fate of loss, as happened with the renowned paintings of antiquity recorded only in texts like that of Pliny's *Natural History*. The way that Moore referenced both the arts of antiquity and the contemporary practice of mosaic in a single discussion is a theme that will continue throughout this dissertation.

Micromosaics, which were used to create the copied altarpieces Moore referenced, are created from tiny, intricately arranged tesserae, and were also used for purposes other than replicating altarpieces in St. Peter's Basilica. Peddled to eighteenth and nineteenth-century travelers as souvenirs, micromosaics also decorated objects like snuffboxes and jewelry, depicting a range of subjects that were reflective of the sights of the Grand Tour in Italy, including antiquities, modern artworks and buildings, and pastoral and idyllic scenes from contemporary life. The objects themselves are known today primarily through museum catalogues, which typically provide only basic

information about methods of production, technological advances in materials, the general subjects depicted, and the names of artists. Particularly striking is the lack of scholarship linking micromosaics to recent thinking about souvenirs, especially the role of souvenirs as a modifier of experience and its place in the shaping and marketing of memory. Recent scholarly discussion of souvenirs has instead largely focused on non-Western objects and exchanges and on the European experience of the "exotic" world. As souvenirs that played an important role in European society's experience of its own past, this topic has intersected with both anthropological and sociological studies on the souvenir and tourism. By interrogating micromosaics as souvenirs, I will demonstrate how micromosaicists marketed their objects to appeal to the ideals of the tourist, and have therefore contributed toward pushing the definition of the souvenir beyond the exotic, to which it is oftentimes limited. I will address the factors behind the apprehension of scholarly study of souvenirs in Western art history in the second chapter. In this chapter I will sketch out the materiality and production of micromosaics and the conditions behind the Grand Tour.

### **Micromosaics and Micromosaicists: A Brief History**

A larger discussion of micromosaics' origins, stylistic and technological developments, the artists and their studios, and the historiography of micromosaic studies is necessary for understanding the place of micromosaics in the hierarchy of art historical genres. The English term micromosaic is a modern one, coined by the mid-twentieth-

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<sup>1</sup> John Moore, *A View of Society and Manners in Italy*, Vol. II, (Philadelphia: Robert Bell, 1783), 145.

century micromosaic collector Sir Arthur Gilbert. Since this is the most consistently used name for the artistic medium, I will use this term throughout the dissertation.<sup>2</sup>

### *Technical Composition*

Micromosaics today are still largely manufactured as they were in the eighteenth century. Micromosaics consist of small glass-like tesserae, called *smalti*, that are carefully pieced together to produce a painting-like effect. *Smalti* are composed of enamel made of powdered glass that was produced in an oven. *Smalti* are not spun, but rather are pulled from canes into bars, which are then later cut into small tesserae.<sup>3</sup>

Once cut, tesserae are assembled into compositions. Micromosaicists first used copper trays as supports for their compositions and only later, in the mid-nineteenth century, did they begin to use Belgian black stone trays instead. Micromosaicists used glass supports for very small mosaics and iron for backing of very large mosaics. Micromosaics could vary drastically in size from only a few centimeters and to over a meter. Next, the support is filled with gypsum plaster onto which a design is sketched. Designs were frequently drawn from cartoon paintings, which were often reused many times by micromosaicists in the same studio.<sup>4</sup> Then the micromosaicists slowly removed

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<sup>2</sup> Contemporary historian Gaetano Moroni refers to them as “musaco in piccolo” (“Mosaico.” In *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro ai nostri giorni*, vol. XLVII (Venezia: dalla Tipografia Emiliana, 1847), 78). Other terms include mosaici minuti, mosaici in piccoli, and micromosaico.

<sup>3</sup> Judy Rudoë, “Mosaico in Piccolo: Craftsmanship and Virtuosity in Miniature Mosaics,” in *The Gilbert Collection: Micromosaics*, ed. Jeanette Gabriel, (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2000), 29-30.

<sup>4</sup> Maria Grazia Branchetti, “Dai cartoni per I mosaici della Fabbrica di San Pietro: evoluzione del gusto e scelte imprenditoriali dello Stuido Vaticano del Mosaico dell’Ottocento e del primo Novecento,” in *Magnificenze Vaticane: tesori inediti dall Fabbrica di San Pietro*, ed. Alfredo Maria Pergolizzi, (Roma: De Luca, 2008), 122.

the plaster replacing it with mastic into which the tesserae are set.<sup>5</sup> Once the mastic backing is set after a few days, micromosaicists polish it first with a hard stone, then emery, and finally lead. Polishing led to a more finished and painterly look and therefore such micromosaics were more highly marked in price.<sup>6</sup> After polishing, the spaces between tesserae are filled with colored wax and then the whole composition is given a final polish with wool and wax.<sup>7</sup>

### *Studio del Mosaico Vaticano*

The history of micromosaics in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries is tied to the Studio del Mosaico Vaticano, under the purview of the Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro. The studio, while founded much earlier in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, took its modern form in 1727 when it was revived under the superintendence of artist Pietro Paolo. The need for the mosaic workshop stemmed from Pope Urban VIII's idea to replace the deteriorating altarpieces of St. Peter's with more enduring copies in mosaic.<sup>8</sup>

While the Studio del Mosaico Vaticano was instrumental in creating excitement about micromosaics, they alone were not responsible for the medium's popularity in the

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<sup>5</sup> Roberto Grieco and Arianna Gambino, *Roman Mosaic: l'arte del micromosaico tra '700 e '800* (Milano: De Agostini Rizzoli Arte & Cultura, 2001), 191-2.

<sup>6</sup> Jeanette Gabriel, ed., *The Gilbert Collection: Micromosaics*, (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2000), 32.

<sup>7</sup> Grieco *Roman Mosaic*, 192.

<sup>8</sup> Steffi Röttgen, "The Roman Mosaic from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Century: A Short Historical Survey," in *The Art of Mosaics: Selections from the Gilbert Collection*, ed. Alvar González-Palacios, (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Country Museum of Art, 1982), 24. However, the first mosaic altarpiece was made in St. Peter's as early as 1627. This altarpiece had drawbacks caused by the use of Venetian glass; for example, the glass reflected too much light and there were not enough tones of color to adequately represent the subject (Dario Narduzzi, ed., *Mosaici in mostra dallo Studio del Mosaico della Fabbrica di S. Pietro in Vaticano*, (Città Vaticana: Tipografia Vaticana, 2001, 9-11).

eighteenth century. An important discovery that helped fuel the zeal for modern mosaic making, and thus for the Studio del Mosaico Vaticano, was the discovery of the Doves of Pliny mosaic from Hadrian's Villa in 1737, as will be discussed in further detail in the fourth chapter. The mosaic was a fine work of ancient craftsmanship with 150-160 tesserae per square inch. In comparison, the acclaimed Nile mosaic from Palestrina had only 24-25 tesserae per square inch.<sup>9</sup> The excitement in regards to the picture-like qualities and skilled craftsmanship of the Doves of Pliny mosaic increased the profile of the micromosaic products of the Studio del Mosaico Vaticano. Additionally, many antique mosaics that were discovered in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as the Doves of Pliny and the Nile mosaic from Fortuna Primigenia at Palestrina, required conservation from the Studio del Mosaico Vaticano.<sup>10</sup> The studio also worked often on restoring ancient mosaics in-situ in churches, such as those at Santa Pudenziana and Santa Sabina.<sup>11</sup>

Concerning workshop practices, the Studio del Mosaico Vaticano had a rather rigid structure. The supervisory mosaicist was in charge of assessing the quality of micromosaics and because he was most often a painter, he often supplied the sketches and drafts for the mosaic works.<sup>12</sup> Workers were divided by the specific medium in which they worked. For example, a document from the Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro recorded how Guglielmo Chibel and Gherardo Volponi worked only in "mosaico minuto

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<sup>9</sup> Maria Grazia Branchetti, "A maggior eleganza dell'arte musiva: personaggi ed eventi della storia del mosaico Romano del XVIII secolo," *Bolletino dei Musei Comunali di Roma* 20 (2006): 84.

<sup>10</sup> Narduzzi, *Mosaici in mostra*, 15.

<sup>11</sup> Archivio Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro, Armadio 64 A2, F131.

<sup>12</sup> Narduzzi, *Mosaici in mostra*, 13. We see evidence of this in the records of the studio. Late nineteenth-century contracts for certain works of art often describe artists who execute a mosaic from an "originale in pittura di proprietà della Reverenda Fabbrica" (Archivio Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro, Armadio 84 A8, Sezione II, Titolo I, 177, F4).

in smalti filati.”<sup>13</sup> These mosaic artists were carefully selected and monitored. The studio required that new mosaicists be well versed in design and color and have prior knowledge about the theory of *smalti*. Potential mosaicists were also required to submit a design of a full figural study for review before they were hired.<sup>14</sup> Therefore, the mosaicists of the Studio del Mosaico Vaticano were carefully chosen and overseen; high quality production was a significant concern to the Vatican.

The French occupation of Rome at the beginning of the nineteenth century interfered with the activities of the Studio del Mosaico Vaticano. The studio moved in 1811 to the Palazzo del Sant’Uffizio and its name was changed to the Studio Imperiale del Mosaico. Under this new title, the studio produced increasingly more neoclassical and secular subjects on micromosaics.<sup>15</sup> While micromosaicists listed poor conditions caused by a lack of proper compensation during the time of the occupation, this was not a new concern as there are also records of poor pay during the seventeenth century.<sup>16</sup> Under French occupation there were two separate studios: the “mosaicisti dello studio grande” who worked on large pictures and the “mosaicisti dello studio di filati” who worked on the mosaici minuti, demonstrating that this divide between the two types of mosaic art continued.<sup>17</sup> Following the return of Italian power, the workshop moved first to the Borgo Palazzo Giraud and then finally back to the Vatican Palace in 1825.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Archivio Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro, Armadio 12 G14a, F160, 1826.

<sup>14</sup> Archivio Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro, Armadio 12 G14, F39, 9-10.

<sup>15</sup> Narduzzi *Mosaici in mostra*, 15.

<sup>16</sup> Patrizia Calabria, “Mosaici minuti romani del ‘700 e del’800,” in *Colloqui del Sodalizio: Seconda Serie*, (Roma: De Luca Editori, 1991), 62.

<sup>17</sup> Archivio Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro, Armadio 12 G14c, F360, 1811.

<sup>18</sup> Moroni “Mosaico,” 77.

### *Private Micromosaic Workshops*

Micromosaics, however, were not limited to the boundaries of Vatican City or papal control. Micromosaicists were aggrieved at their inadequate compensation, and mosaicists who worked in the “stile minuto” got paid less than those in the “stile grande.”<sup>19</sup> Those artists working in the “stile minuto” took measures to alleviate this and sought ways to supplement their income. Thus, private micromosaic workshops were born, which peddled smaller micromosaics as souvenirs to tourists. Many private ateliers were situated in the area of the Spanish Steps, a prominent center of the city where Grand Tourists generally took their lodgings. Not surprisingly, private micromosaic studios were a family business.<sup>20</sup> For example, the members of the Moglia family were prominent mosaicists in the early through mid-nineteenth century with Domenico (1780-1851) and his son, Luigi (active in the central decades of the nineteenth century), both producing micromosaics.<sup>21</sup> Giacomo Raffaelli (1743-1836) was a well-celebrated micromosaic artist with his own studio in the late eighteenth century whose son Vincenzo (1783-1865) also worked in mosaic. Giacomo’s 1775 exhibition in his studio in Rome near the Spanish Steps was the first recorded exhibit of micromosaic art, and micromosaic scholars often credit him with the commoditization of micromosaics.<sup>22</sup> Micromosaicists often specialized in certain subjects. For example, Fabrizio Moretti, son of the well-known engraver Bartolomeo Pinelli, specialized in monuments during the

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<sup>19</sup> Archivio Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro, Armadio 98 C33, No. 2 Documenti relativi e proposte e decreti sull’istituzione dello Studio e di mosaicisti 1782-1845, 1844 Rapporto.

<sup>20</sup> Calabria, “Mosaici minuti romani,” 61.

<sup>21</sup> Carlo Pietrangeli, “Mosaici ‘in piccolo’,” *Bollettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma* 25-27 (1986): 88.

<sup>22</sup> Moroni “Mosaico,” 78.

second half of the nineteenth century; his favorite monuments included the Colosseum, Barberini fountain, and the Ponte Nomentano.<sup>23</sup>

It is not entirely clear from where private micromosaicists received their supplies. In the beginnings of these private workshops, it appears that micromosaicists simply used *smalti* from the Studio del Mosaico Vaticano since they were frequently employed there as well. The Vatican's enactment of strict enforcement of the use of their *smalti* by 1794 is reflective of its unauthorized use outside of the Studio.<sup>24</sup> In fact, there was a custodian whose only job was to keep accounts on and strict control over the distribution of *smalti*.<sup>25</sup> Documents note how Vatican micromosaicist Antonio De Angelis (active first half of the nineteenth century) received a sum of 370 scudi from Signore Luigi Marini, who ran a private mosaic workshop on the Via del Babuino, for *smalti filati*; this document is stamped with the papal insignia and dates from the first half of the nineteenth century, which suggests that Vatican *smalti* continued to infiltrate the private market well after stricter regulations were enacted.<sup>26</sup> A document from the Reverenda Fabbrica suggests that the prices of *smalti filati* sold to private workshops outside of the studio depended on the quality, color, and difficulty of color composition of the *smalti*.<sup>27</sup> For example, Andrea Volpini (1756-1820) “ha sempre goduto il privilegio di poter prendere dall Fabbrica gli smalti occorrenti per i diversi lavori da farsi nel suo studio ai

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<sup>23</sup> Mario Moretti, “I mosaici minuti di Fabrizio Moretti (1851-1876), artista Romano,” *L'Urbe* 46 (1983): 256.

<sup>24</sup> Domenico Petochi, Massimo Alfieri, and Maria Grazia Branchetti, *I Mosaici Minuti Romani dei secoli XVIII e XIX*, (Roma: Abete, 1981), 18.

<sup>25</sup> Archivio Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro, Armadio 12 G14, F39, 7.

<sup>26</sup> Archivio di Stato di Roma, busta 98 (Fabbrica di mosaici 1813-1838) [Fabbrica di mosaici di L.M.], Num. 2: Lettere e conti (1819-1838, 1847).

<sup>27</sup> Archivio Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro, Armadio 12 G14a, F161.

prezzi.”<sup>28</sup> Perhaps, then, the Vatican’s concern with micromosaicists using *smalti* in outside studios had more to do with lack of proper compensation than its actual use. Despite continued use of the Vatican’s *smalti*, a letter to micromosaicist Giacomo Raffaelli, in his studio in Milan, from a Venetian named Giuseppe Carpani documents that micromosaicists were still receiving materials from Venice. Carpani offers Raffaelli *smalti* and iron and copper backings for his compositions.<sup>29</sup> Therefore, it seems probable that micromosaicists received *smalti* from both the Studio del Mosaico, despite strict regulations, and outside sources.

Mosaic workshops were not restricted to Rome and spread outside of Italy as well. Giacomo Raffaelli directed a studio opened in 1803 in Milan during the French occupation by order of Prince Eugène Beauharnais.<sup>30</sup> Napoleon appointed Francesco Belloni (1772-1843) to direct the State Mosaic Workshop in Paris beginning in 1809.<sup>31</sup> There was a workshop in Naples that operated from 1811-1814 under Giovanni Battista Luchini (active in the first half of the nineteenth century). Venice and Ravenna also had workshops. The South Kensington Museum had a studio for a short time of unknown dates but it proved unsuccessful.<sup>32</sup> Mikhail Lomonosov requested a studio in St. Petersburg, which closed following his death. In 1846 Michelangelo Barberi (1787-1867) opened a Russian Mosaic Workshop in Rome and in 1850 Vincenzo Raffaelli set up

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<sup>28</sup> Archivio Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro, Armadio 12 G14c, F417 (1758-1817).

<sup>29</sup> Fondazione Antonio Negro, Archivio Raffaelli, Roma, Giuseppe Carpani to Giacomo Raffaelli, 3 October 1830.

<sup>30</sup> Gabriella Pascarelli, *Mosaic: The Work of the Muses*, (Rome: Xpress, 2000), 108. Petochi, Alfieri, and Branchetti, *I mosaici minuti*, 29.

<sup>31</sup> Gabriel, *The Gilbert Collection*, 20.

<sup>32</sup> Chiara Bertaccini and Cesare Fiori, *Micromosaico: storia, tecnica, arte, del mosaico minuto romano*, (Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole, 2009), 50-1.

a workshop in St. Petersburg.<sup>33</sup> However, micromosaicist Michelangelo Barberi ran the St. Petersburg studio until 1917.<sup>34</sup> Throughout all of this international spread of micromosaics, Rome remained the primary center for micromosaic production.

### *Technological Innovations in Micromosaic Making*

Now that I have laid out the structure of micromosaic studios, we must turn to technological innovations that propelled the art forward. Vatican reliance on Venice for their *smalti* ended in 1730 when Alessio Mattioli successfully manufactured a new type of opaque vitreous paste called *scorzetta*, which decreased the reflection of light in the glass and increased the homogenous structure of coloring making the tesserae compositions appear more painting-like.<sup>35</sup> In 1731 Mattioli signed a contract with the Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro, carefully stipulating that his chemical recipes remain secret.<sup>36</sup> Additionally, Mattioli's new opaque glass had a high percent of pigment allowing for a range of new colors.<sup>37</sup> For example, Mattioli invented the color purple for use in *smalti*.<sup>38</sup> A purchase of its own furnace in the eighteenth century ensured that the Studio del Mosaico Vaticano could produce its own materials.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Petochi, Alfieri, and Branchetti, *I mosaici minuti*, 29.

<sup>34</sup> Pascarelli, *Mosaic*, 107.

<sup>35</sup> Röttigen, "The Roman Mosaic," 24-5.

<sup>36</sup> Branchetti, "A maggior eleganza dell'arte musiva," 79. In fact, the Reverenda Fabbrica kept all of the color composition formulas a secret in a book called *Libro contiene tutte sorte di segreti di smalti* with entries on the "segreto per fare la tinta d'aria" and Mattioli's "segreto di fare la porporino" (Archivio Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro, Armadio 12 G14a, F361-372).

<sup>37</sup> Narduzzi, *Mosaici in mostra*, 11. The Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro credited Mattioli for his innovations attributing to him the fact that "Roma, che in tutte le sue opere, si è sempre soprattutto le altre nazioni distinta, non picciola Gloria a riportate a nostri tempi dalla perfezione de Mosaici..." (Archivio Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro, Armadio 12 G14a, F513).

<sup>38</sup> Branchetti, "A maggior eleganza dell'arte musiva," 79.

<sup>39</sup> Narduzzi, *Mosaici in mostra*, 13.

Innovations to *smalti* resulted in an increased naturalism in micromosaic compositions. Micromosaic scholars often credit Giacomo Raffaelli as the first to work with *smalti filati*, which resulted in spun *smalti* instead of cut *smalti*. This released tesserae shapes from the strict four sided shapes of *smalti*.<sup>40</sup> A further innovation in the field was by Antonio Aguatti (active in the second half of the nineteenth century) in the mid-nineteenth century, when he combined several color strands into a single *smalto* allowing for finer variations in coloring.<sup>41</sup> These mixed-color *smalti*, called *malmischiato*, made micromosaics appear more painterly in their execution since they were irregularly mixed.<sup>42</sup> Giuseppe Mattia, active in the first half of the nineteenth century, worked to clarify the *malmischiato* colors by using a torch on the *smalti filati*, which resulted in a much clearer coloring.<sup>43</sup> These innovations all led to a new influx of colors into the stylistic repertoire of micromosaicists, which allowed for greater naturalism in turn. The Studio del Mosaico Vaticano had an outstanding number of colors of *smalti filati*; for example, they had 3,045 tints of “carnagione” alone.<sup>44</sup>

### *Stylistic Developments in Micromosaics*

The development of the style of micromosaics followed innovations. The first phase of micromosaics in the eighteenth century saw a preference for subjects that were relatively simple and static. Tesserae were regularly four sided in shape and

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<sup>40</sup> Petochi, Alfieri, and Branchetti, *I mosaici minuti romani*, 90. However, the Reverenda was familiar with this methodology since similar work was conducted with Venetian *smalti* (Röttigen “The Roman Mosaic,” 32).

<sup>41</sup> Röttigen, “The Roman Mosaic,” 35.

<sup>42</sup> Maria Grazia Branchetti, “L’Arte del mosaico minuto: una tecnica e il suo tempo,” in *Mosaici Minuti Romani del 700 e dell’800*, ed. Massimo Alfieri, Maria Grazia Branchetti, Guido Cornini, (Roma: Edizioni del Mosaico, 1986), 24.

<sup>43</sup> Branchetti, “L’Arte del mosaico minuto,” 24.

micromosaicists laid them in parallel rows. Colors were limited and backgrounds were nearly always monochromatic.<sup>45</sup> Each tessera was composed of a single color unlike the *malmischiato* that developed later. Often a border of millefiori mosaic ringed these early micromosaics.<sup>46</sup>

At the turn of the century, the style of micromosaics began to evolve thanks to the above-discussed innovations in technology. There was an increased interest in naturalism as foreshortening was introduced into figural groups. Thanks to the *smalti filati* and innovations in introducing new colors, tesserae broke away from strict four-sided shapes to irregularly formed and curvilinear shapes.<sup>47</sup> As the nineteenth century progressed, colors became much more vivid and varied and subjects continued to take on an increased realism.<sup>48</sup> Beginning in the later nineteenth century, tesserae became larger in size.<sup>49</sup> Mosaics were more quickly produced and the careful standards of earlier micromosaicists dropped off.<sup>50</sup> However, some micromosaicists did continue to produce high quality micromosaics.

Micromosaics were typically not signed, and it is therefore difficult to trace particular artist's works, let alone assign a date to them. Because of the difficulty in assigning micromosaics to a specific hand, scholars frequently use the above-discussed stylistic qualities to date individual objects. While stylistic differences are a very useful

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<sup>44</sup> Archivio Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro, Armadio 12 G14c, F51.

<sup>45</sup> Petochi, Alfieri, and Branchetti, *I mosaici minuti romani*, 94.

<sup>46</sup> Rudoe, "Mosaico in piccolo," 32.

<sup>47</sup> Petochi, Alfieri, and Branchetti, *I mosaici minuti romani*, 104.

<sup>48</sup> Petochi, Alfieri, and Branchetti, *I mosaici minuti romani*, 117-124.

<sup>49</sup> Petochi, Alfieri, and Branchetti, *I mosaici minuti romani*, 165.

<sup>50</sup> Rudoe, "Mosaico in piccolo," 45.

tool for dating, the differences are not always strict and it is better to date micromosaics on non-stylistic evidence, such as the stamps of goldsmiths or silversmiths.

### *Subjects on Micromosaics*

Micromosaicists relied on prints, publications, or their own imaginative drawings as guides for the subjects of their micromosaics. For example, documentation between Francesco Depoletti and the micromosaicist Giacomo Raffaelli demonstrates how Raffaelli used both original works by Depoletti for his subjects as well as prints since Depoletti offered for Raffaelli an original work representing a quail hunt as well as prints of *putti*, costumes by Bartolomeo Pinelli, and of the ancient sculptures of the muses with Apollo.<sup>51</sup> By 1795 the Studio del Mosaico Vaticano, which had formerly only produced religious subjects, introduced profane subjects into their repertoire under the directorship of Domenico De Angelis because of the pressures of competing private ateliers.<sup>52</sup> Profane subjects characterize most micromosaic souvenirs that were sold outside of the Reverenda Fabbrica.

Antique monuments proved to be a popular subject, growing throughout the nineteenth century as increasingly more buildings were discovered and researched.<sup>53</sup> Popular monuments included temples, such as those in Paestum or the Temple of Hercules Victor; grave monuments, such as that of Gaius Cestius or Cecilia Metella; columns, such as that of Trajan or Marcus Aurelius; and other monuments, such as the Basilica of Maxentius or the Colosseum. More infrequent were modern monuments,

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<sup>51</sup> Fondazione Antonio Negro, Archivio Raffaelli, Roma, Francesco Depoletti to Giacomo Raffaelli. 13 March 1818.

<sup>52</sup> Petochi, Alfieri, and Branchetti, *I mosaici minuti romani*, 18. Branchetti "Dai cartoni per i mosaici," 122.

such as the Trevi Fountain; one popular modern monument of significance on micromosaics is St. Peter's basilica and square. Additionally, other antique artworks were featured on micromosaics, such as sculptures like the bust of Zeus Otricoli or groups of putti inspired by the wall paintings from Pompeii. Also popular were *vedute* of the city, which were fueled by the popularity of the panorama in other artistic mediums, such as paintings and prints. Nineteenth-century micromosaic subjects also reflected the rise of Romanticism with landscapes modeled after Claude Lorrain or Nicholas Poussin.<sup>54</sup> The first half of the nineteenth century saw the introduction of the common people of Italy on micromosaics, encouraged by prints of Bartolomeo Pinelli that depicted peasant life.<sup>55</sup> These typically included peasants in pairs dancing or taking part in other aspects of daily life. Rarer were contemporary genre scenes of Europeans, such as a micromosaic depicting the interior of an artist's studio. Animal compositions were quite popular with tourists and proliferated on micromosaics; especially popular were micromosaics depicting dogs. Micromosaics also took existing masterpieces as their subjects, such as a Giacomo Raffaelli's micromosaic after *The Last Supper* or other micromosaics based on the paintings of Caravaggio or Raphael. Also common were portraits, such as a mosaic of George IV by Domenico Moglia taken from the portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence or papal portraits.<sup>56</sup> While nearly the entirety of micromosaics depict scenes and subjects from Italy, there are a few micromosaics that represent architecture outside of the country. For example, St. Basil's Cathedral from Moscow and the Erectheion porch from Athens are featured on some micromosaics.

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<sup>53</sup> Petoichi, Alfieri, and Branchetti, *I mosaici minuti romani*, 191.

<sup>54</sup> Bertaccini, *Micromosaico*, 89-91.

<sup>55</sup> Röttigen, "The Roman Mosaic," 40.

My study only addresses micromosaics that depict ancient monuments and artworks in Italy. I had several factors in mind when choosing these subjects. Foremost, I chose micromosaics that memorialized or modified their antique subject in some way. Second of all, I made sure to include micromosaics that depicted antique subjects most prolifically. Third, I tried to include a range of media; therefore, I chose micromosaics that depicted antique monuments, sculptures, paintings, and mosaics.

Micromosaics decorated a range of objects. Micromosaics made a perfect marriage with snuffboxes, decorating their lids. Micromosaic jewelry remained a highly popular item throughout micromosaic production. Paperweights, most often made of Belgian black stone, were introduced in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>57</sup> At the beginning of the nineteenth century micromosaicists decorated tabletops with micromosaics, often a series of monuments, and these were popular as both souvenirs for tourists and diplomatic gifts.<sup>58</sup> Both tables and paperweights often had inset semi-precious stones within the composition. Micromosaics served as pictures or plaques, and this corresponded to the painterly qualities developed in the medium. Much less common were micromosaics embedded in vases, chimneypieces, or perfume cases.

We get an idea of what these objects cost from 1876 records of the Reverenda Fabbrica, which list smaller souvenir items, such as the paperweight from 40-120 scudi, and larger compositions, such as a table, at 4,000 scudi.<sup>59</sup> A consequence of the varied objects that micromosaics decorate is the wide range of size of micromosaics. Sizes

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<sup>56</sup> Gabriel, *The Gilbert Collection*, 24.

<sup>57</sup> Grieco, *Roman Mosaic*, 119-20.

<sup>58</sup> Steffi Röttigen suggests that the generation of tabletop micromosaics was due to the influence of Sevres tables that had a central motif surrounded by small medallions ("The Roman Mosaic," 36).

<sup>59</sup> Archivio Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro, Armadio 84 A61, F37-39.

ranged from just a few centimeters to over a meter and prices were commensurate with increased size.

### **Micromosaics in Travel Accounts**

Travelers to Rome during the Grand Tour often discussed micromosaics; the travelers themselves and their writings will be discussed in greater detail later in this introductory chapter and in the following chapter on methodology. Most tourists discuss the Studio del Mosaico Vaticano when recalling their experience of the interior of St. Peter's with its micromosaic replacements of painted altarpieces. Tourists praised the enduring qualities of these new altarpieces, and I will return to travelers' preoccupation with the conditions of the survival of paintings again in the fifth chapter when I discuss micromosaics that took the wall paintings of the Vesuvian cities as their subjects.

Another common theme in travelers' accounts is a similar basic understanding of the procedure of the manufacture of micromosaics. For example, an anonymous author wrote a succinct account of the process, after which s/he records that s/he purchased a micromosaic as a memento: "The Mosaics are formed of smalts, an opaque glass, compounded of minerals, &c. so shaped as to be easily cut into suitable pieces; chemically coloured, inserted in a peculiar mastic, and afterwards polished."<sup>60</sup> Others elaborated on the process, such as William Archibald who wrote about how, "The mastic or paste in which the pieces of enamel are stuck is composed of powdered Travertine, stone quicklime, and linseed oil." He also wrote of Giuseppe Mattia's innovative blowpipe and continued that, "mosaic pictures of a moderate size are imbedded in a case

of copper, which has projecting crooked pieces of copper soldered to the bottom in order to fasten the paste. Large pictures are imbedded on a slab of stone. The volcanic stone called Piperino and also Travertine stone is used for this purpose.”<sup>61</sup> Charlotte North marveled at how, “the joining of the pieces of mosaic are so perfectly well continued that they will bear the most minute examination.”<sup>62</sup> This was a wonder that was echoed by other travelers as well when admiring the craftsmanship of the manufacture of mosaics. They carefully detailed procedures of manufactory in order to emphasize the high level of skill required for the art of mosaic making.

Related to describing the technological processes behind micromosaic making was tourists’ preoccupation with recording how very many colors of *smalti* were available. On observing the studio Tobias Smollett recalled how he, “was much pleased with the ingenuity of the process; and not a little surprised at the great number of different colors and tints, which were kept in separate drawers, marked with numbers as far as seventeen thousand.”<sup>63</sup> An anonymous tourist attributed the realism of the mosaics to the numerous hues possible: “The extraordinary beauty, and delicacy of some of the large Mosaic pictures in St Peter’s will less surprise when it is asserted that of these smalts the artisans can employ 1700 different hues, and shades.”<sup>64</sup> The vast number of colors available demonstrated the improvements made on mosaic making since antiquity,

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<sup>60</sup> Anonymous, *Mementoes, Historical and Classical, Of a Tour through part of France, Switzerland, and Italy in the Years 1821 and 1822*, Vol. I, (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1824), 209.

<sup>61</sup> William Archibald Cadell, *A Journey in Carniola, Italy, and France in the Years 1817, 1818*, Vol. I, (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co., 1820), 517-8.

<sup>62</sup> Charlotte North, *Journal* 29.i.1815 to 23.v.1815, Weston Library, Bodleian, Oxford, MS. Eng. C. 7052, 18.

<sup>63</sup> Tobias Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1919), 265.

<sup>64</sup> Anonymous, *Mementoes*, 209. This number is actually quite low in comparison with the actual number of tints available. It may be that the traveler transcribed information incorrectly from another source, such as Smollett’s 17,000.

and this is relevant in connection with a discussion of the Doves of Pliny mosaic in the fourth chapter.

Finally, tourists discussed where the vendors for such micromosaic objects could be found and what objects they made. Some are vague, mentioning only that: “Besides this government establishment at Rome, there are hundreds of artists, or rather artisans, who carry on the manufactory of mosaics on a small scale. Snuff-boxes, rings, necklaces, brooches, ear-rings, &c., are made in immense quantity; and since the English flocked in such numbers to Rome, all the streets leading to the Piazza di Spagna are lined with the shops of these Musaicisti.”<sup>65</sup> Jane Waldie also emphasized how the English tourists were critical to determining the location and number of micromosaicists: “but all Rome, especially that called the English quarter about the Piazza di Spagna, is full of private Fabbriche of mosaic snuff-boxes, necklaces, and trinkets of all descriptions.”<sup>66</sup> Other tourists were more specific in listing locations of studios, such as Augustus Hare and Mariana Starke who listed specific street addresses of the studios of micromosaicists.<sup>67</sup>

## **Historiography of Micromosaics**

### *Primary Historical Sources*

Grand Tourists were among the first to write about micromosaics and micromosaicists, as I have already discussed. Other contemporaries recorded different aspects of the mosaic making industry in Rome. Cardinal Furietti (1685-1764), in his

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<sup>65</sup> Charlotte A. Eaton, *Rome, in the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. I, (London: H.G. Bohn, 1852), 311.

<sup>66</sup> Jane Waldie, *Sketches Descriptive of Italy in the Years 1816 and 1817*, Vol. II, (London: John Murray, 1820), 264.

<sup>67</sup> Augustus John Cuthbert Hare, *Days Near Rome*, Vol. I, (New York: Macmillan & Company, 1902), 3. Mariana Starke, *Letters from Italy*, Vol. II, (London: T. Gillet, 1800), 322.

1752 monograph on mosaics, addressed the Studio del Mosaico Vaticano and their mosaics. In addition to praising the quality of the mosaics of the studio, Furietti also discussed innovation in production, such as those of Alessio Mattioli.<sup>68</sup> Furietti and his relevance to mosaics will be more fully discussed in the fourth chapter on Tivoli.

Gaetano Moroni (1802-1883) wrote the earliest comprehensive source on micromosaics which culminated in an entry on mosaic included in the *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro ai nostri giorni* published in 1847. In this entry Moroni discussed the beginnings of the Studio del Mosaico Vaticano, their early works, innovations in the technology of micromosaics, the works of mosaic in St. Peter's and other basilicas, the organization and artists of the workshop, and the high quality of modern mosaic making.<sup>69</sup>

### *Modern and Contemporary Scholarship*

Scholars of art history and the decorative arts largely overlooked micromosaics until the late twentieth century. Domenico Petochi was the key figure who brought micromosaics back into focus in Europe in the late twentieth century. He edited a book with Massimo Alfieri and Maria Grazia Branchetti, *I mosaici minuti Romani dei secoli XVIII e XIX*, that was the first thorough publication documenting micromosaics. This volume covered a history of the mosaics and mosaicists of the Studio del Mosaico Vaticano, a biography of mosaicists outside of the studio, and the production and technological innovations of micromosaics. Also included in the volume were short

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<sup>68</sup> Alessandro Furietti, *De Musivis ad SS Patrem Benedictum XIV*, (Rome: Apud Jo. Mariam Salvioni Typographum, 1752), 111.

<sup>69</sup> See Moroni, "Mosaico."

entries on the iconography of micromosaics. An important exhibition, “Mostre su Roma: mosaici minuti romani del ‘700 e dell’800” in the Braccio di Carlomagno in Vatican City in 1986, was also significant for calling attention to micromosaics. This exhibition, which showcased micromosaics from both public and private collections, was organized in honor of Domenico Petochi.

Following these initial key re-introductions of micromosaics to the academic world, a steady stream of Italian publications followed. Most focused on micromosaics that were in specific public or private collections or on randomly assorted groups of micromosaics. This very necessary, foundational work has produced volumes on specific private collections in Rome, such as the publication of the proceedings of an auction by Alvar González-Palacios in 1991, the collection in the Studio del Mosaico Vaticano of the Reverenda Fabbrica edited by Dario Narduzzi in 2001, various private collections in Rome by Roberto Grieco in both 2001 and 2009, and the Savelli collection in Rome by Maria Grazia Branchetti in 2004. Other publications focus as a basic introduction to micromosaics, much in the tradition of Petochi’s first publication. This includes Chiara Bertaccini and Cesare Fiori’s *Micromosaico: storia, tecnica, arte, del mosaico minuto Romano* in 2009. In addition to these monographs, micromosaics are also often addressed in scholarly works on mosaics more generally. The notable exception to the nearly entirely Italian historiography of micromosaics is the publications of the Gilbert Collection, a set of micromosaics collected by Sir Arthur Gilbert. This collection was once on a long-term loan at the Los Angeles County Museum of Art but is now mostly housed at the Victoria & Albert. An early publication edited by Alvar González-Palacios in 1981, *The Art of Mosaics: Selections from the Gilbert Collection*, was followed by a

later study on the collection, *The Gilbert Collection: Micromosaics*, by Jeanette Gabriel in 2000. All of these publications cover the topics of the history of micromosaic making, production, and are accompanied by a catalog of micromosaics.

One of the most unique publications on micromosaics is an edited volume by Chiara Stefani, *Ricordi in Micromosaico: vedute e paesaggi per i viaggiatori del Grand Tour*, published in 2011. This volume attempts to move beyond the foundational stages of recording and analyzing micromosaics and their history and is the only publication that aims to specifically address micromosaics in their role as souvenirs. To this end, the volume is successful in many ways. In her own article Stefani discusses why micromosaics appealed as souvenirs: how their size and subject matter made them easily portable reminders of the experience of the Grand Tour. Most interesting is an article by Giuliana Franzini Musiani that collects a number of Grand Tourists' discussions of micromosaics and micromosaicists. This volume, with its accompanying catalog, begins to move beyond merely recording the fundamental information about micromosaics. However, its brevity brushes the surface of souvenir studies and does not fully engage with how micromosaics reflect the tourists' experiences of their visit.

It is thanks to these publications and the work of prolific micromosaic scholars, such as Maria Grazia Branchetti, that a dissertation such as mine is possible with its focus on how micromosaics represent the very nuanced experiences of the Grand Tourist. While all of these works are importantly fundamental, there is missing in them the discourse of the souvenir. This dissertation does not intend to do what these publications that preceded it did; it is not an extensive catalog and does not focus on production or artistry of micromosaics. Rather it concentrates on how we can use these micromosaic

souvenirs as a site for investigating the mentality of the Grand Tourist while engaging with antique works of art during their travels.

### **The Grand Tour and its Travelers**

It is thanks to the Grand Tour, and the many travelers who participated in it, that the souvenir objects of this dissertation were in high demand and are still extant today. The Grand Tour originated in the late seventeenth century and lasted into the late nineteenth century, with the long eighteenth century representative of the height of its enthusiasm.<sup>70</sup> It was a journey first undertaken by European elite men as a formal finishing to their education. It was only after the adoption of this rite of passage by the British gentry that it spread to other northern European cultures with German, Polish, and Russian royalty and Swedish aristocrats joining in.<sup>71</sup> The journey was a complement to the classical education; travelers saw the words of classical texts realized in the topography of Italy.<sup>72</sup> The tour was critical because examining objects and monuments in person allowed travelers to cultivate the best taste in antiquities, which was materially represented by the display of purchased antiquities.<sup>73</sup> The acquired goods both functioned as a way to fulfill notions of tourists' vision of the ideal self and also to

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<sup>70</sup> There was a rise in the number of travelers in the eighteenth century, especially the second half of the century, from England, France, and Germany (Jeremy Black, *The British and the Grand Tour*, (London: Dover, 1985), 1-2).

<sup>71</sup> Cesare de Seta, "Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century," in *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, (London: Tate Gallery Publishing, 1996), 14.

<sup>72</sup> Timothy Webb, "'City of the soul:' English Romantic Travellers in Rome," in *Imagining Rome: British Artists and Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Michael Liversidge and Catharine Edwards, (London: Merrell Holberton Publishers, 1996), 25.

<sup>73</sup> James Buzard, "The Grand Tour and After," in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 40.

communicate to others this same self.<sup>74</sup> Additionally, the Grand Tour helped prepare young men for the social responsibilities of their lives as landed gentry; there was no better place in which to fashion their sociabilities than in one of the most metropolitan cities in the world, Rome.<sup>75</sup> Ironically, however, the Grand Tour was rife with opportunities to engage in gambling, drinking, and affairs with both men and women.

The heart of the tour was Italy and more specifically, Rome, but participants made stops in other countries along their journey. Making the journey itself was a sort of sacral rite in which the tourist left the mundane normalcy of their everyday life and entered into an extraordinary environment.<sup>76</sup> The tour could last as little as a few months or as long as five or more years. In what follows I will discuss the people and places of the Grand Tour and the changing topography of the journey from the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries.

### *The Travelers of the Grand Tour*

The Grand Tour, in many ways, was very much a product of the English. Some of this has to do with England's understanding of its own past. Englishmen saw themselves as the descendents of the ancients, and therefore had a vested interest in the art and culture of this past.<sup>77</sup> Classical culture was also embraced as a way to draw a

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<sup>74</sup> Nigel Morgan and Annette Pritchard, "On Souvenirs and Metonymy: Narratives of Memory, Metaphor, and Materiality," *Tourist Studies* 5 (2005): 33.

<sup>75</sup> Eric J. Leed, *The Mind of the Traveler: from Gilgamesh to Global Tourism*, (New York: Basic Books, 1991), 185.

<sup>76</sup> Beverly Gordon, "The Souvenir: Messenger of the Extraordinary," *Journal of Popular Culture* 20 (1986): 136.

<sup>77</sup> David Marshall and Karin Wolfe, "Roma Britannica," in *Roma Britannica: Art Patronage and Cultural Exchange in Eighteenth-Century Rome*, ed. David Marshall, Susan Russell, and Karin Wolfe, (London: British School at Rome, 2011), 3.

parallel between England's newly won political liberties and the Roman Republic.<sup>78</sup> The elite of the British Isles represented the largest population of travelers on the Grand Tour, and this was both because of their fervor for all things classical in England as well as the nation's robust population of affluent elites, reflected by England's status as the wealthiest country during the period.<sup>79</sup> Artistic products, such as paintings or drawings, brought back from the English artists who studied in Rome especially engendered interest in the classical tradition.<sup>80</sup>

Elite young men dominated the population of the Grand Tour travelers at its beginnings; however, this homogenous demographic diversified as the Grand Tour progressed. Participants in the Grand Tour also included those from other northern countries, such as Germany and France, or later in the nineteenth century, from America. Accompanying these young men were tutors or governors, in addition to servants, instructors, or artists.<sup>81</sup> *Ciceroni*, on-site guides, also played a role in shaping these young men. By the middle of the eighteenth century, we see women and family groups begin travelling as well as older men and those who were not landed gentry.<sup>82</sup> Artists also began to flock to the city in increasing numbers to participate in what art historian

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<sup>78</sup> Philip Ayres, *Classical Culture and the Idea of Rome in Eighteenth-Century England*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 132. And later in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the Roman model of empire would be embraced as a justification for the British Empire (Ayres, *Classical Culture*, 167).

<sup>79</sup> Lynne Withey, *Grand Tours and Cook's Tours: A History of Leisure Travel, 1750 to 1915*, (New York: William Morrow and Company, Inc, 1997), 7.

<sup>80</sup> The foundation of the Royal Academy in London in 1768 was particularly instrumental in encouraging artists to visit Italy and send their artworks back to London for exhibition (Jeremy Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 181-2).

<sup>81</sup> Buzard, "The Grand Tour and After," 41.

<sup>82</sup> Rosemary Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour: The British in Italy, c. 1690-1820*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 7.

Ilaria Bignamini termed an “invisible academy,” which advanced the careers of artists significantly.<sup>83</sup>

### *Travel Times and Obstacles*

The numbers of those travelling and for how long changed over the course of the Grand Tour. Wars interrupted travel routinely throughout the eighteenth century. From 1702-1713 the Wars of Spanish Succession resulted in fighting in northern Italy until 1706.<sup>84</sup> The European conflicts of 1739-1748, such as the Austrian War of Succession from 1741-1748, produced more limited travelers, but tourism increased again in the second half of the century.<sup>85</sup> The Seven Years War from 1756-1763 also caused problems for travelers. While these conflicts often restricted plans, tourists continued to journey to Italy. Despite that it was a very dangerous time to travel with some tourists even captured by the French, travel accounts continued to be published during this period.<sup>86</sup> Following the removal of French power from Italy in 1814 travelers, especially those from Britain, took up tours to Italy in droves. These episodes of conflict throughout the duration of the Grand Tour created confusion with regard to borders, customs, and currency because of the ever-shifting political alliances and boundaries of countries that travelers passed through on their tours.<sup>87</sup>

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<sup>83</sup> Andrew Wilton, and Ilaria Bignamini, eds. *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, (London: Tate Gallery Publishing, 1996), 31.

<sup>84</sup> Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour*, 105.

<sup>85</sup> Black, *The British and the Grand Tour*, 3.

<sup>86</sup> John Marciari, *The Grand Tour: An Exhibition Held at the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library 15 January through 31 March MCMXCVIII*, (New Haven: Yale University, 1998), 29. Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 10. For example, Joseph Forsyth was imprisoned by the French and actually composed his book during this period of confinement (Amy Marshall, *Mirabilia Urbis Romae: Five Centuries of Guidebooks and Views*, (Ontario: University of Toronto Library, 2002), 72).

<sup>87</sup> Withey, *Grand Tours*, 10.

In the beginning years of the Grand Tour, when it was largely restricted to elite young men, tours generally lasted multiple years. It was only later in the 1820s and 1830s that tours became shorter and lasted only a summer or a few months.<sup>88</sup> Travel during the summer months was never as popular with the most tourists preferring to begin their trips from April to May or August to September, due to weather crossing the Alps.<sup>89</sup> The shortening of the Grand Tour to only a few months correlated with the rise of middle class participants who could not afford to take a tour lasting several years.<sup>90</sup> Travel by steamship was introduced in 1821 and by rail in the second half of the nineteenth century, and these innovations enabled a shorter tour at a more reasonable price.<sup>91</sup> In addition to improvements to transportation that enabled easier traveling, institutions of tourism emerged, such as facilities that allowed easier currency exchange in comparison to the convoluted systems in place during the eighteenth century.<sup>92</sup>

### *The Routes of the Grand Tour*

The routes of the Grand Tour were relatively established, even as early as the seventeenth century. Though they varied only slightly there were many different ways through which to enter into Italy.<sup>93</sup> Most popular was a route coming into Italy through

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<sup>88</sup> John Towner, "The Grand Tour: A Key Phase in the History of Tourism." *Annals of Tourism Research* 12 (1985): 325.

<sup>89</sup> Towner, "The Grand Tour," 317.

<sup>90</sup> The middle class was a burgeoning economic group in Britain at this point since they benefitted greatly from the industrialization of the nineteenth century (Withey, *Grand Tours*, 62).

<sup>91</sup> Buzard, "The Grand Tour and After," 47.

<sup>92</sup> Currency exchange proved a real challenge in any Grand Tour where every country had a different currency, and sometimes there were even multiple within a single country. Furthermore, banking in general was quite difficult requiring often letters of introduction to help with exchange or withdrawal (Withey, *Grand Tours*, 11).

<sup>93</sup> Sometimes war dictated tourists' choice of routes. For example, the Seven Years War discouraged British travelers from coming through France (Black, *The British and the Grand Tour*, 92).

France either by crossing the Alps into Turin or coming from Marseilles and landing in Genoa.<sup>94</sup> First, tourists typically left England from Dover and crossed the Channel to Calais, France on what proved to often be a trying boat ride. From Calais, most tourists headed onwards to Paris by carriage where they would take up residence for some time.<sup>95</sup> Instead, some tourists, after crossing the Channel, went on to the cities of the Low Countries and Germany, such as Brussels, Geneva, Vienna, Berlin, Dresden, though most tourists chose to visit these countries on their return from Italy instead. Either directly from Paris or via the Low Countries, tourists then proceeded to the heart of the Grand Tour in Italy. Most preferred to cross the Alps as it was less hazardous and unpredictable than travel by sea, given they were not travelling in the colder months. Even so, crossing the Alps remained a difficult journey since a carriage could not fit through all of the passes and had to be broken down and passengers carried in chair-like litters.<sup>96</sup> Turin welcomed travelers to Italy and often tourists stayed there for a small amount of recovery time. From Turin, tourists visited different cities in Italy, which will be detailed below. Returning to their respective homelands from Italy, tourists generally travelled back either via France or the Low Countries again. These routes, both by land and by sea, were much improved by the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>97</sup>

Just as Grand Tourists followed a programmatic path into Italy, there were standard places to visit within Italy as well.<sup>98</sup> However, there was no exact path that

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<sup>94</sup> John Ingamells, "Discovering Italy: British Travellers in the Eighteenth Century," in *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, (London: Tate Gallery Publishing, 1996), 22.

<sup>95</sup> Black, *The British and the Grand Tour*, 6-8.

<sup>96</sup> Withey, *Grand Tours*, 20.

<sup>97</sup> Withey, *Grand Tours*, 64.

<sup>98</sup> Despite these programmatic agendas, variety within them existed as tourists came to Italy with different agendas (Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour*, 10).

travelers had to follow once in Italy, and they were influenced by the duration of their stay, the weather, their point of arrival, and different festivals they may have wanted to attend.<sup>99</sup> Women, for example, were particularly unlikely to travel further south of Paestum due to the terrible conditions of travel to get to Sicily or Malta.<sup>100</sup> Despite the multiple options of itineraries to take once in Italy, there were essentially two paths tourists could take from Turin. A traveler could either choose to first go south to Genoa and then on to Florence and Rome or to go east first to Venice.<sup>101</sup> While tourists visited many cities of Italy, the most popular were Venice, Florence, Rome, and Naples. Travelers did not routinely venture further south than Naples. However, the cities of Sicily hosted a few tourists attracted by its many ancient ruins, some of whom then went on to Malta or other countries further east, such as Turkey or Egypt.

Venice was a key attraction because of the spectacle the city offered to its visitors with its vibrant and changing street life. This spectacle was not only anchored in the fact that it was visually a very different city, being surrounded by water filled with gondolas and gondoliers, but also because of its vibrant festivals, such as Carnival or the Feast of the Ascension. The maze of the city that had to be navigated via waterways both enthralled tourists and frustrated them as they easily became lost, a predicament that contemporary travelers also suffer. Furthermore, Venice was unique because it was largely a medieval city, as opposed to other classical cities in Italy. The vision and excitement of the city spread through Canaletto's famous *vedute*. The Piazza San Marco was the principal site of the city; the piazza, filled with bright and colorful people,

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<sup>99</sup> Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour*, 34.

<sup>100</sup> Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 55.

<sup>101</sup> Withey, *Grand Tours*, 23.

embodied the spectacle and people of the city, especially during the two-month long Carnival. While San Marco itself confounded travelers with its eclectic mix of architectural styles, the Doge's Palace received great interest from travelers because of its value as a representation of Venetian government, the structure of which was especially admired.<sup>102</sup>

For travelers, Florence was so popular not only because of the Medici collections, but also because it was nearly devoid of some of filth and danger, unlike some other cities of Italy. Literary historian Rosemary Sweet postulates that the city was so popular because travelers often arrived without the preconceived notions of it that they frequently had of Rome.<sup>103</sup> Florence offered a host of cultural possibilities for the traveler: the ducal galleries, the opera and theater, Carnival, and polite sociability.<sup>104</sup> Especially popular to visit was the Galleria, where the Venus de' Medici was housed, the Duomo, and the Palazzo Pitti, which also hosted a spectacular offering of arts. The dazzling appeal of Florence waned towards the end of the eighteenth century, as the focus of the tour shifted further south towards Naples.<sup>105</sup>

Rome, at the very heart of the Grand Tour, presented a city of dichotomies between the modern and ancient, and this is noted in travelers' accounts as they drew comparisons between the two different halves of the city.<sup>106</sup> Visitors arrived to Rome preconditioned by images and narratives of the city that filtered back to their respective

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<sup>102</sup> Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 207-219. De Seta, "Grand Tour," 17.

<sup>103</sup> Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 67.

<sup>104</sup> Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 78.

<sup>105</sup> Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour*, 45.

<sup>106</sup> I will use the term "modern" throughout this dissertation to address the Renaissance and Baroque works of art in Rome. I use this because this is the term that travelers, antiquarians, and scholars used during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to refer to this period of artistic development of Rome. It should not be confused with our contemporary notions of the term.

homelands. Travelers were drawn to its many antiquities; chief amongst them were the Colosseum, the Forum, the Pantheon, and the imperial fora and baths. Visitors were lured into the Pio-Clementino museum by popular antique statues, such as the Apollo Belvedere. While the city, like Florence, offered visitors a substantial number of modern masterworks, one of its biggest attractions was St. Peter's Basilica and the works of Raphael and Michelangelo in the Vatican. The modern city, however, was often criticized for its dirtiness. In addition to art, Rome offered other entertainment, such as Carnival or the *Girandola*, annual fireworks during Easter at Castel Sant'Angelo, and for the festival of Sts. Peter and Paul. Furthermore, Rome provided access to the Roman Campagna, sprinkled with tombs, and Tivoli where visitors could visit Hadrian's Villa.

Visitors who braved the bad roads from Rome to Naples found themselves in a wash of bright colors in the landscape of the vibrant homes and people of the south.<sup>107</sup> Often visitors chose to visit the city in the cooler months, avoiding the heat of the summer. This consequently allowed tourists to visit in the winter months so they might benefit fully from its warmth. The antiquities and spectacles of Pompeii and the other Vesuvian cities overshadowed Naples' character as a place of sensuality and loose morals, a reputation heightened by the danger associated with travel in general. Mt. Vesuvius and the cities that its eruption covered were the primary attraction of the city. The Phlegrean Fields, a volcanic area west of Naples, was an attraction that lured visitors with its hot springs and springs. Naples was also popular for its literary associations: it boasted the home of Virgil and Lake Avernus from where Aeneas descended into the

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<sup>107</sup> Withey, *Grand Tours*, 29.

Underworld.<sup>108</sup> Paestum was a frequently made short trip south of Naples and was home to three Greek temples. Unlike Rome, where breaking into Italian society proved difficult, Naples had a more hospitable court and its English ambassador, Sir William Hamilton, routinely entertained visitors on tour at his residence.<sup>109</sup>

## **Travel Writing**

Travel was an important way of ordering and understanding the world, especially in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is through travel that collective and individual identities arose through the recognition of “sameness” and “otherness” in encounters with distinct cultures.<sup>110</sup> I have formulated an understanding of the expectations, short fallings, and surprises that a tourist might encounter while interacting with the antique based on what travelers record in their travel accounts. It is through drawing on both travel accounts and the iconography of souvenirs that I have been able to posit the mentality of tourists while viewing the antique. I will discuss my methodology more fully in the following chapter.

### *Types of Travel Accounts*

The experiences of travelers were frequently captured in travel accounts, which were then published. The travel documents addressed in this dissertation will be of several types: personal recollections intended for a general audience through publication, personal recollections never intended for the public eye, and formal travel guides.

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<sup>108</sup> Ingamells, “Discovering Italy,” 23-4.

<sup>109</sup> Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour*, 57.

<sup>110</sup> Leed, *The Mind of the Traveler*, 20.

Personal recollections took the form of compiled letters written to loved ones back home, diary entries, or a more organized guide that was edited after returning from the tour. Often those who published their personal recollections of the tour did so in hopes of their accounts becoming codified formal travel guides. This agenda blurs any easy divide between personal accounts and guidebooks. The divide between accounts written for purely personal use and those intended for publication is significant. Those intended for publication were written with effect in mind and tended to follow certain rhetorical expectations of style and borrowed heavily from travelogues that preceded theirs.<sup>111</sup> Nevertheless, authors often employed a rhetorical trope common in eighteenth-century literature in which they denied any initial intentions of publication of their letters when they were first written.<sup>112</sup> This is why primary source accounts that were never intended for publication are so important for getting at travelers' mentalities without rhetorical flourishes added for the sake of publication.

A good example of an early eighteenth century account is Joseph Addison's 1705 *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy* that largely established a format for guidebooks to follow.<sup>113</sup> Addison's geographically guided account recalled the history of the cities and monuments of the Grand Tour side by side with ancient literature, and subsequent travelers in their own travel accounts often quoted his book. However, it was also later criticized for its heavy poetics.<sup>114</sup>

The nineteenth century brought changes in the format of the travel account. Joseph Forsyth's *Remarks on Antiquities, Arts, and Letters during an excursion in Italy in*

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<sup>111</sup> Black, *Italy and the Grand Tour*, 19.

<sup>112</sup> Katharine Turner, *British Travel Writers in Europe 1750-1800*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 145.

<sup>113</sup> Marshall, *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, 62.

*the years 1802 and 1803* and John Chetwode Eustace's *A Classical Tour through Italy* were both commonly invoked travel books during this period. Both of these authors wrote their guides according to the division between ancient and modern Rome, instead of geographically like Addison.<sup>115</sup> Forsyth continued the tradition of the personal account with the traveler in mind.<sup>116</sup> Eustace's account became a standard guide and he was very much still entrenched in the traditions of the eighteenth-century accounts. Mariana Starke's various books, especially her *Information and Directions for Travelers on the Continent*, bore an early resemblance to a guidebook as we know it today before the materialization of formal guidebooks issued by John Murray III of England in 1836 and by Karl and Fritz Baedeker of Germany in 1835. Both Murray's and Baedeker's were firms that provided easy to use travel guides designed to supply practical traveling information, such as currency exchange and recommended routes. These formal guidebooks emerged in the mid-nineteenth century, corresponding with the increased democratization of the Grand Tour and were symbolic of this expansion.<sup>117</sup>

### *Changes in Travel Writing*

There are several interesting trends to note in the observations recorded in travel accounts during the years of the Grand Tour. By the later eighteenth century, travel accounts reflected the Picturesque movement and an interest in ruins. Both of these concepts will be more fully introduced in the third chapter. Furthermore, with increased

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<sup>114</sup> Ingamells, "Discovering Italy," 21.

<sup>115</sup> Tony Cubberley and Luke Herrmann, *Twilight of the Grand Tour: A Catalogue of the Drawings by James Hakewill in the British School at Rome Library*, (Roma: Institutio Poligrafico e Zecca dello Stato Livreria dell Stato, 1992), 44.

<sup>116</sup> Marshall, *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, 72.

excavations in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, interest in more archaeologically and historically accurate information grew.<sup>118</sup> Documenting individual artworks and monuments drove travel accounts at the beginning of the eighteenth century, but later in the century travelers began to attempt to discuss the city more as a whole than as a constituent of many parts.<sup>119</sup> Additionally, there was a burgeoning interest in recording the customs and mannerisms of the Italian peoples.<sup>120</sup> However, these observations were usually derogatory and used as a way to promote the inferiority of the Italian people.

In the eighteenth century, travel accounts tended to be more rigid and objective accounts of classical art and architecture, but by the beginnings of the nineteenth century, we see the softening of these accounts having been influenced by the Romanticism of literature and art.<sup>121</sup> Part of this moderation was the introduction of subjectivity and emotional reactions, both positive and negative, to the sights of the Grand Tour. Tourists expressed dismay and inability to express themselves properly.<sup>122</sup> Often this came in the form of what literary scholar Chloe Chard terms “hyperboles of unrepresentability,” and examples of these sights on the tour in which a traveler was confronted with something that they could not possibly do justice to describe will be addressed throughout the dissertation.<sup>123</sup> Part of this increasing subjectivity is a direct result of the ever-growing number of accounts, which demanded differences to distinguish individual authors.

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<sup>117</sup> Withey, *Grand Tours*, 73.

<sup>118</sup> Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 113-116.

<sup>119</sup> Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 122.

<sup>120</sup> Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 63.

<sup>121</sup> Leed, *The Mind of the Traveler*, 186.

<sup>122</sup> Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 129.

<sup>123</sup> Chloe Chard, *A Critical Reader of the Romantic Grand Tour: tristes plaisirs*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), 25.

Frequently authors wrote, self-deprecatingly, how they could not possibly hope to compete with established travel accounts, such as that of Forsyth, but then go on to list the ways in which their account adds to the genre. This is what Chloe Chard discusses as preterition, where the author states something while at the same time claiming that they are not stating this same fact.<sup>124</sup> Additionally, the formal guidebooks of Baedeker and Murray, having taken on the role of the guidebook, freed authors to more readily express their own opinions instead of mapping out the best itineraries for travelers.<sup>125</sup> The abundance of travel sources upon which I rely date primarily to the nineteenth century precisely because of this shift from neutral observations in the eighteenth century to more subjective observations.

Women authors also contributed to the evolving genre of the travel account beginning in 1770.<sup>126</sup> While men often penned their travels on the tour, women were just as prolific in writing and publishing their accounts since they began participating in the tour during the mid eighteenth century. Literary scholar Katherine Turner credits the emergence of the woman travel writer to a general increase in female literacy and the shift from the late eighteenth-century travelogues of a classical paradigm that lacked any variety to a more sentimental, emotive one at the turn of the century. Women, in their travel writing, accomplished several things. First of all, they tended to address some artworks that were not as frequently addressed by men; that is to say, they did not focus as heavily on architecture, typically associated with the masculine, and instead turned to other media such as sculpture or painting. An example of this is noted in Anna Miller's

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<sup>124</sup> Chard, *A Critical Reader*, 27.

<sup>125</sup> Buzard, "The Grand Tour and After," 49.

account, *Letters from Italy*, in 1776 that privileges painting and sculpture over architecture.<sup>127</sup> Women also tended to focus on matters of sociability and the customs of Italians. Therefore, women were very important in opening the culture of the Grand Tour beyond the rigid borders of classicism.<sup>128</sup>

### **Contents of the Dissertation**

Following this introduction to micromosaics and the Grand Tour and its travelers, I turn to the methodological and theoretical concerns of this dissertation, building on many of the concepts raised here in this introductory chapter. This chapter covers what types of travel accounts I use and why they were selected, constructs a working definition of the souvenir and why it is an area of problematic study in art history, and reviews the methodologies of souvenirs and the miniature in anthropological and sociological studies. Each body chapter of this dissertation demonstrates the variety of mentalities and experiences that can be unpacked when examining micromosaics as marketable souvenirs. Because souvenirs are part of the landscape of tourism, I have organized the materials of this dissertation topographically. “The Mouldering Monuments of the Eternal City” covers micromosaics that depict artworks and monuments of Rome. Architectural monuments proved especially popular to depict on micromosaics with the iconography of Rome. Because of this, these micromosaics of Roman monuments are very deeply ingrained in the language of the Picturesque, and this sets the foundation for monuments discussed in later chapters. In this chapter, I will demonstrate how the

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<sup>126</sup> Only several travelogues written by women existed before this date (Turner, *British Travel Writers*, 127).

<sup>127</sup> Turner, *British Travel Writers*, 53; 130.

Picturesque conditioned the mentalities of tourists when encountering the ancient monument. While there are many antiquities in Rome, I discuss only the Roman Forum, the Colosseum, and the Pantheon. Common to all three of these monuments is the importance of approach and compositional siting. Micromosaicists both memorialized and reorganized the monuments within their environments to align with collective ways of viewing. The importance of forgetting as a critical part of memory is demonstrated by micromosaic depictions of the Roman Forum and the Pantheon where disliked elements are erased from the compositions. I also show how the Roman Forum and Colosseum on micromosaics relied on a complementary narrative of the imagination to complete them, as crafted by literary critic Susan Stewart. The last antiquity I address in this chapter is the equestrian sculpture of Marcus Aurelius. This micromosaic reflects how travelers approached the monument with expectations of naturalism and a different opinion from the antiquarian critics.

“From Stately Ruins to the Ornaments of the Villa of Hadrian” examines the environs of Tivoli, located outside of Rome. I first address the Temple of the Sibyl, and this architectural monument also touches on the Picturesque. More importantly, micromosaicists crafted carefully sited compositions which relied both on past traditions of imaging the temple and on components of the environs that were deemed critical to a complete experience. The next artwork I discuss, the mosaic of the Doves of Pliny, is an excellent example of how an examination of this object as a souvenir reveals the mentalities of its consumers, the Grand Tourists. I am able to demonstrate how its perceived superiority in craftsmanship made the micromosaic souvenir so popular. It

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<sup>128</sup> Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 277-79.

also reveals what literary knowledge micromosaicists presumed of visitors. In conjunction with this mosaic, I discuss another ancient mosaic popularly found on micromosaics, a basket of flowers. The influence of Dutch art is noted in this micromosaic subject, which found its origins in that genre. This micromosaic is particularly illustrative of how interests in other topics drove the melding of ancient subjects together. I discuss a pair of centaur sculptures whose purposeful ambiguity on micromosaics is reflective of confusion and appreciation of an entire series of similar sculptures. From these objects we can learn what sorts of associations tourists brought with them when they encountered artworks and how this was then translated into souvenirs.

In “Painting Naples on Micromosaics: the City in which ‘No Language can do Justice to its Colouring’” I address objects that are associated with the south of Italy. This is the region that is the geographically furthest removed location from the center of micromosaic production in Rome. I discuss two wall paintings in this chapter: that of the Herculaneum Dancers from the Villa of Cicero and that of the Seller of Cupids from the Villa Arianna. The coloring of both of these wall paintings, as represented on micromosaics, reflects tourists’ expectations of the vitality of the paintings. Modifications on both of these micromosaics also reveal how much tourists tied the environment and other sites of attraction in Naples to the wall paintings. Lastly, I examine how micromosaicists carefully depicted the temples of Paestum on micromosaics to align with tourists’ expectations upon arrival.

In the sixth chapter I address the relationship between micromosaicists and their clientele. This chapter explores the different types of clients micromosaicists had, both

travelers on the Grand Tour as well as noble patrons, and the demands they made. I posit how we might interpret both the varied clientele of micromosaicists and their requests for certain subjects. Lastly, I address my conclusions in the seventh chapter suggesting what major themes appear on micromosaics and their appeal and impact as souvenirs.

Instead of providing a single interpretation of the subjects depicted on micromosaics, this dissertation is a demonstration of what micromosaics can teach us about the mentalities, memories, and experiences of tourists on the Grand Tour. I will not extensively investigate specific micromosaic artists, their sources for micromosaics, or how subjects spread amongst different artists. Instead, I use a dual approach of looking at the imagery on micromosaics in conjunction with written travel accounts about these same monuments and artworks. I will contextualize different subjects of micromosaics within the greater tradition of souvenir depictions, as befitting the individual subject. However, it is not my intent to trace the entire historiography of each image. Rather, I use these other souvenirs and artistic mediums to illustrate the ways in which micromosaicists adapted and memorialized aspects of their subjects as necessary. The micromosaics I have selected represent only a small part of the corpus and what I have done with those discussed in the next three chapters could certainly be extended both within the classically inspired subjects of micromosaics and those that represent the modern artworks and monuments of the Grand Tour.

What will become clear throughout this dissertation is that there were multiple viewpoints tourists might have taken toward a single monument, as reflected in both micromosaics and travel accounts. However, with each example I discuss there is a clearly predominant way of representing the monument or artwork on the micromosaic

that is illustrative of the majority of travelers' (re)created experiences. The process of travel engenders collective self-consciousness through recognition of similarities and differences in cultures.<sup>129</sup> Tourists collectively informed which sights became embedded into the experience of the tour and travel journals reinforced expectations. Travelers played a part in a collective ritual by visiting these sights, and acquiring souvenirs of these sights that ensured that those memories could be accessed and recalled once the journey had ended.<sup>130</sup> It is for this reason that souvenirs are so important. Not only are they a reflection of the individual who purchased it, but also they are capable of projecting meaning on an entire collective body. Study of souvenirs can help us access this collective experience and memory, as I will demonstrate in the ensuing chapters through a discussion of individual artworks and monuments memorialized and modified on micromosaics.

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<sup>129</sup> Leed, *The Mind of the Traveler*, 20.

<sup>130</sup> Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory on the Leisure Class*, (New York: Schocken Books, 1976), 137.

## **Chapter Two: Theoretical and Methodological Framework**

In this chapter I turn to the methodological and theoretical concerns of the dissertation, which explain my approach using travel literature, outlines where this study of micromosaic souvenirs falls on the spectrum of souvenir studies, and why such a study is merited. While I introduced the types of travel literature of the Grand Tour in the previous chapter, in this chapter I will describe how I use these travelogues to formulate the opinions tourists took toward the ancient monuments. Then I will discuss souvenirs: their definition, their study, and how the fields of anthropology and sociology have treated them differently from art history. I will lay out how I view the souvenir object and what theoretical models I lean on to understand the souvenirs of the Grand Tour. Lastly, I examine the theoretical models of the miniature and how they factor into my study on micromosaics.

### **Literary Methodology**

The travel accounts that tourists wrote and then often published comprise much of the data I use to determine what tourists thought about the ancient artworks and monuments they saw while in Italy. Travelers undertook tours for many reasons beyond general edification and could be so varied as to leave for the improvement of health or to hide an illegitimate pregnancy. Some travelers only selected a few cities to visit and recount, while others went to nearly every city on the typical itinerary. Some documented their travels as correspondence to loved ones back home who might be funding such a tour, to push a particular religious or political agenda, for private use, or intended for publication. Other writers were semi-permanent residents of the city about

which they wrote. This breadth of motivating factors oftentimes contributes to contradictory opinions about the same monuments, and these opposing opinions will be addressed throughout the dissertation. What remains important amidst all of these different motivating factors is that these travel accounts were intended for use of travelers or as a place to voice personal reflections, as is the case of unpublished accounts.

The many different motivations behind each travel account will not be explored in this dissertation since it is not my intention to analyze the accounts or their generation in their own right. Instead, it is more important to use these travelers' impressions and reactions to gauge the ways in which the ancient monuments featured on micromosaics are represented. I do, however, include an appendix comprising of a brief identification of each travel writer for the reader's reference.

The travelogues that I utilize in this dissertation were chosen for several reasons. First, the travel accounts were ones that placed a heavier emphasis on discussing monuments and artworks of Italy rather than, for example, the customs and manners of the Italian people. Second, the nationalities and genders of the authors used in this dissertation are largely reflective of the tour itself. I primarily rely on British accounts of both male and female authorship. It is the increasing nineteenth-century turn towards subjectivity in these travelogues that is valuable in this dissertation as authors felt the need to provide personal reactions to the art and architecture of the Grand Tour. Therefore, most of the accounts on which I rely are from the nineteenth century. All of these factors contribute to a wealth of opinions about the monuments and are therefore reflective of the range of attitudes taken towards Roman art and monuments.

## **Souvenir Methodology**

### *Defining the Souvenir Object*

The term souvenir evokes a broad range of definitions. In coming to a conclusion about what a Grand Tour souvenir is, and consequently what it is not, I will frequently invoke anthropologist Nelson Graburn, who has written insightfully on and shaped the subject. Graburn dictates that souvenirs must be cheap, portable, and understandable. Furthermore, he explains that the goal to satisfy the customer must be the primary motive of the artist.<sup>131</sup> Other scholars have worked to define categories within the souvenir. Literary and cultural theorist Susan Stewart created a two-pronged system of categorization of souvenirs: sampled souvenirs collected directly from the environment and representative souvenirs consisting of all other manmade souvenirs.<sup>132</sup> Art historian David Hume expands upon Susan Stewart's categories to include also the crafted souvenir, which is produced of raw material from the environment but mediated through the craft of the indigenous culture.<sup>133</sup> These are typically invoked groupings when discussing the souvenir and most souvenirs of the Grand Tour fall into the representative category.

With respect specifically to the Grand Tour there is a range of inclusiveness taken when defining what objects constitute souvenirs. Art historian Antonio Pinelli includes many types of objects that would meet Graburn's criteria, such as fans or cork models of

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<sup>131</sup> Nelson H. H. Graburn, *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 6-15.

<sup>132</sup> Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection*, (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984).

<sup>133</sup> David Hume, *Tourism Art and Souvenirs: the Material Culture of Tourism*, (London: Routledge, 2013), 123.

antique buildings, but then also works of art that do not.<sup>134</sup> For example, he addresses the Loggias of Raphael that Catherine the Great reproduced as a souvenir and this is certainly not a cheap or portable object. In their edited volume, art historians Ilaria Bignamini and Andrew Wilton take a more narrow approach to the souvenir in their catalogue entries of “Memories of Italy.” In this chapter they include statuettes, fans, cork models, and micromosaics as one might expect. However, they also include watercolors and oil paintings that are notably different from souvenir prints that can be reproduced easily.<sup>135</sup> Art historian Alvar González-Palacios produces a list of souvenirs that falls in line most closely with Graburn’s idea of a souvenir. He includes small-scale statuary, porcelain groups and architectural settings that decorated the dessert table, fireplace ornamentation, restored marbles, micromosaics, and porcelain, but also fails to include other similar types of souvenirs.<sup>136</sup> Art historian Sarah Benson does not specifically mention many types of souvenirs, naming only plaster gems and prints, but instead offers more general guidelines suggesting that they “shared [a] set of characteristics inherent to their media and representational conventions and to their use by those who purchased and contemplated them.” However, she does not take into account the producer in her equation and their relationship to the consumer. In fact, she glosses over purchasers, assuming that all prints should be classified as souvenirs.<sup>137</sup> It is with art historian Godfrey Evans’ examples of souvenirs that I most closely align. He discusses small-

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<sup>134</sup> See Pinelli, Anotonio. *Souvenir: l’industria dell’antico e il Grand Tour a Roma*. Roma: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 2010.

<sup>135</sup> Wilton and Bignamini, *Grand Tour*.

<sup>136</sup> Alvar González- Palacios, “Souvenirs de Rome,” in *Ricordi dell’Antico: sculture, porcellane e arredi all’epoca del Grand Tour*, eds. Andreina d’Aglia and Luca Melegati, (Milano: Silvana Editoriale, 2008).

<sup>137</sup> Sarah Benson, “Reproduction, Fragmentation, and Collection: Rome and the Origin of Souvenirs,” in *Architecture and Tourism: Perception, Performance, and Place*, eds. D. Medina Lasansky and Brian McLaren, (Oxford: Berg, 2004), 15.

scale bronzes, gems, shell cameos, micromosaics, jewelry, pietre dure, carved coral, and painted glass plates as Grand Tour souvenirs.<sup>138</sup> Notably missing from his discussion of souvenirs is anything large-scale, and all of the examples that he discusses were marketed to tourists and fit Graburn's criteria. From this quick survey of Grand Tour souvenirs, we can perhaps conclude that the defining features of a souvenir are not as clear-cut as Graburn's criteria. Indeed, one could argue that nearly anything that Grand Tourists brought back with them from their time in Italy was a souvenir, or memento, of the trip in some sense. We only have to look at the cargo list of the *Westmorland*, a ship carrying cargo of Grand Tourists back to England that was intercepted by the French in 1779, to see the breadth of materials tourists brought back as mementoes of their time in Italy. This included full-scale statues, engravings, paintings, books, and fans.

For the purposes of this dissertation, I shall take a narrower approach to souvenirs, more in line with Graburn's qualifications. Generally there is a distinction made between souvenirs, which are commercially produced, purchasable objects, and mementoes, which are objects recognized only by the people who saved them. However, I am not going to distinguish between these as for all intents and purposes both souvenirs and mementoes serve the same function.<sup>139</sup> While I do believe that all of the objects that the Grand Tourists brought back with them were certainly memories of their experience in Italy, I shall use modifications of Graburn's criteria of souvenirs to make the boundaries clearer for the purposes of this study.

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<sup>138</sup> Godfrey Evans, "Mementoes to Take Home: The Ancient Trade in Souvenirs," in *Search of Heritage: as Pilgrim or Tourist?*, ed. J.M. Fladmark, (Shaftesbury: Donhead, 1998), 115-18.

<sup>139</sup> Beverly Gordon, "The Souvenir: Messenger of the Extraordinary," *Journal of Popular Culture* 20 (1986): 135.

Let us see how his definitions play out with micromosaics, which would fall into the representative category of souvenirs. Micromosaicists were sold in the area of the Spanish Steps, the heart of tourism in Rome, and micromosaicists modified their compositions so they would have greatest appeal to potential customers, as I will demonstrate. Therefore, they meet Graburn's criteria of marketing. Furthermore, micromosaics were relatively affordable with even the least affluent Grand Tourist able to purchase a small micromosaic souvenir. Some micromosaics were, in fact, quite large, and would therefore not meet the easily portable or affordability requirements. However, these large compositions were often given as diplomatic gifts. For example, a large micromosaic portrait by Pompeo Batoni was given to Habsburg Empress Maria Theresa as a gift. While Graburn's qualification of size is an extremely important factor in determining whether an item is, or is not, a souvenir, perhaps, we ought not outright dismiss a souvenir on its size as there are often variables.

Instead I find the following criteria more useful in accessing and classifying souvenirs. I would refine Graburn's qualifications of cheapness. A souvenir must be an object marketed toward a certain clientele, matching the targeted groups' financial means. Thus, price does not necessarily need to be a limiting factor. Modifying Graburn's criteria for portability, I would like to add a few further qualifications. Instead of discussing a souvenir as portable, I would propose that they must be easily accessible. It should be an item that is easily found, easily purchased, and easily brought home. In the case of the Grand Tour, many objects, such as statues or other antiquities, were not only larger objects that proved somewhat cumbersome but were also subject to

additional, complicated export restrictions making their acquisition difficult.<sup>140</sup> In comparison, micromosaic workshops were abundant and there were many vendors from which to acquire little, or big, treasures to take home. Often one of the most identifying elements of a souvenir is repetition in production. I would prefer to discuss this in terms of seriality since many souvenirs, including micromosaics, were not mass-produced in identical units. Instead the objects should not be entirely unique, but rather serial in some manner.<sup>141</sup> The appeal of the souvenir is exactly because it reproduces an aspect of the place visited. So seriality in subject matter is critical for establishing an object as representative of a touristic experience. Above all, however, like Graburn, I believe that there has to be a certain element of intention from the manufacturer or artist. The objects must be specifically tailored for the intended audience, as this dissertation will demonstrate. Below, I will address souvenir objects that will be discussed in conjunction with micromosaics as souvenirs.

### *Types of Souvenirs Available for Grand Tourists*

Akin to micromosaics are the semi-precious intaglio gems and their casts that also infiltrated the market in the Piazza Spagna. Like micromosaics, gems and gem impressions emerged in Rome during the Grand Tour. Gems saw resurgence in popularity during both the Renaissance and also the eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries.<sup>142</sup> Micromosaicists and gem-engravers shared a close relationship and close

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<sup>140</sup> Jonathan Scott, *The Pleasures of Antiquity: British Collectors of Greece and Rome*, (New Haven: Published by Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2003), 109.

<sup>141</sup> Hume, *Tourism Art and Souvenirs*, 78-9.

<sup>142</sup> Gertrud Seidmann, "The Reception of Classical Art- Neoclassical Gems," in *Reception of Classical Art, An Introduction*, ed. Donna Kurtz, (BAR International Series 1295. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2004), 73.

quarters. While many tourists purchased genuine, antique gems that farmers regularly uncovered in their fields, they also purchased gems of semi-precious materials that were inspired by the antique and the casts of those gems. Beginning in the 1740s, manufacture of casts of gems became popular.<sup>143</sup> They came in many forms with gem-engravers most commonly employing plaster or red sulphur wax for the casts. Additional copies were made using glass and metal electrotypes as well.<sup>144</sup> Tourists could purchase the small gem casts singly, or more commonly, as sets. Sets usually came in a tray of some sort, such as book volumes, with identifying labels. Serious collectors purchased a dactyliotheca, a cabinet filled with drawers of cast gems. Collectors used these collections for comparative, personal study and sometimes published them to meet public demands for these materials.<sup>145</sup>

The subjects of gems were profuse. Many fit the definition of the souvenir, as I have crafted it, in that they repeat the same subjects. However, the eighteenth century was remarkable in turning up new artworks and these were readily incorporated into the oeuvre of gem-engravers. Moreover, like micromosaics, there were subjects that were more unique and were produced by only a single artist or only a single time.<sup>146</sup>

Gem collecting and studies of these collections remained a prevalent practice throughout the eighteenth century and it was not until the mid-nineteenth century and the

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<sup>143</sup> Seidmann, "The Reception of Classical Art," 74.

<sup>144</sup> Claudia Wagner and Gertrud Seidmann, "A Munificent Gift: cast collections of gem impressions from the Sir Henry Wellcome Trust," in *Plaster Casts: Making, Collecting, and Displaying from Classical Antiquity to the Present*, eds. Rune Fredericksen and Eckart Marchand, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 451.

<sup>145</sup> Daniel Graepler, "A Dactyliotheca by James Tassie and Other Collections of Gem Impressions at the University of Göttingen," in *Plaster Casts: Making, Collecting, and Displaying from Classical Antiquity to the Present*, eds. Rune Fredericksen and Eckart Marchand, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 439-43.

<sup>146</sup> Lucia Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, "Monumenti antichi nella glittica romana del XVIII secolo," in *Le gemme incise nel settecento e ottocento: continuità della tradizione classica*, ed. Maurizio Buora, (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2006), 52-3.

Poniatowski scandal that gems fell out of vogue. After the death of Polish Prince Stanisław Poniatowski, his gem collection was brought to sale at Christie's in 1839. Poniatowski had asserted that his 2,600 gems were all ancient in origin, but the process of sale revealed that many were made by contemporaneous gem-engravers.<sup>147</sup> The questioning of the authenticity of the Poniatowski collection resulted in widespread attention to forgery and a disinterest in gems and gem impressions in general during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Another popular souvenir from the Grand Tour was the fan. While fans did not grow out of the Grand Tour, the subjects of Italian fans catered to the interests of tourists. In the eighteenth century, fan production in Italy was centered, not surprisingly, on the most popular stops of tourists: Venice, Florence, Rome, and Naples. Fan production in Italy mirrored the Grand Tour; it was most prolific from the mid-eighteenth century through the first quarter of the nineteenth century.<sup>148</sup> The nineteenth century also saw the rise of the printed fan, which allowed for easy reproduction.<sup>149</sup> Minor painters, who never signed their work, frequently made painted fans.<sup>150</sup> Part of a much broader network, France usually dictated the style of fans throughout Europe; however, the country did not dictate subject matter as is demonstrated by Italian fans.<sup>151</sup> While early fans of the eighteenth century typically depicted a single scene, later neoclassical fans typically hosted several vignettes, with the central one largest.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Scott, *The Pleasures of Antiquity*, 268-9.

<sup>148</sup> Anna Gray Bennett, *Unfolding Beauty: The Art of the Fan*, (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 157.

<sup>149</sup> Grazia Gobbi Sica and Corinne Kraft Bernabei, "Il ventaglio pieghevole nel XVIII secolo," in *Ventagli Italiani: moda, costume, arte*, ed. Roberta Orsi Landini, (Venezia: Marsilio, 1990), 19-22.

<sup>150</sup> Nancy Armstrong, *A Collector's History of Fans*, (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1974), 42.

<sup>151</sup> Bennett, *Unfolding Beauty*, 15.

<sup>152</sup> Armstrong, *A Collector's History*, 34.

Fans that portray figural scenes depicted a range of different subjects. Pastoral and mythical subjects were popular, which corresponds to trends in painting in the eighteenth century. Religious scenes from the Old Testament also frequently adorned fan leaves. Fans with specifically Italian subjects did not appear until the mid-eighteenth century. The earliest was a fan depicting Roman monuments by Joseph Goupy, an English watercolorist who went to Rome, in 1738.<sup>153</sup> Most important to the Grand Tour, however, were the *vedute* that appeared on fans. This, of course, was a product of the demands for such views by tourists travelling in Italy. Most popular were the Pantheon, the tombs of Cecilia Metella and Gaius Cestius, the Colosseum, and the Temple of Vesta. Also frequently found depicted on fans was the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius.<sup>154</sup> While not figural, the ornamentation from the wall paintings in Pompeii and Herculaneum were enthusiastically used as decorative motifs by fan painters to ornament the edges and blank spaces on fans.<sup>155</sup> They followed the colors of the frescoes in these compositions using Pompeian black, red, pale buff, and turquoise making Italian fans with these decorations unique.<sup>156</sup> All of these subjects carried through the nineteenth century, when the demands for antique subjects were still high.<sup>157</sup>

Statuettes were also an industry that grew in popularity during the eighteenth century thanks to the Grand Tour and its mania for classical statuary. There were several different mediums through which a tourist might acquire a statuette that mimicked the classical statuary of the museums of Rome. One was through biscuit reproductions.

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<sup>153</sup> Avril Hart and Emma Taylor, *Fans*, (New York: Costume & Fashion Press, 1998), 57.

<sup>154</sup> Sica and Bernabei, "Il ventaglio," 24-5.

<sup>155</sup> Hart and Taylor, *Fans*, 58.

<sup>156</sup> Armstrong, *A Collector's History*, 34.

Most noted for this type of production was Giovanni Volpato (1735-1803), who first came to Rome as an engraver. He later owned his own manufactory in 1785 where he produced biscuit reproductions of statues that most typically were housed in the Vatican museums.<sup>158</sup> This was because he had secured the rights to the Pontifical State artworks from the pope.<sup>159</sup> Biscuit was an ideal choice for reproduction since its white color echoed the purist aesthetic championed by Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768).<sup>160</sup>

Also popularly reproducing statues in miniature were bronze workers. Bronze was an especially appropriate medium in which to replicate statues as some of the most popularly reproduced statues were derived from bronze originals, such as the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius. Francesco Righetti (1749-1819) had a bronze foundry in Rome where he reproduced statuary in miniature in both single figures and comprehensive groups.<sup>161</sup> Luigi Righetti (1780-1852) had a manufactory in Naples as well.<sup>162</sup> The other main source for bronze statuettes was the Zoffoli brothers, Giacomo (1731-1785) and Giovanni (1745-1805). They too reproduced the most famous statues of the antique world. Another bronze producer was Francesco Giardoni whose bronze factory produced statuary from 1744. Importantly, the subject offerings of these producers of small-scale statuary are preserved in catalogs, much like gem-engravers.

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<sup>157</sup> Grazia Gobbi Sica and Corinne Kraft Bernabei, "Le nuove tipologie del ventaglio ottocentesco," in *Ventagli Italiani: moda, costume, arte*, ed. Roberta Orsi Landini, (Venezia: Marsilio, 1990), 29.

<sup>158</sup> Giuseppe Pucci, "Antichità e manifatture: un itinerario," in *Memoria dell'antico nell'arte italiana: tomo terzo dalla tradizione all'archeologia*, ed. Salvatore Settis, (Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1984), 278.

<sup>159</sup> Chiara Teolato, "Artisti imprenditori: Zoffoli, Righetti, Volpato e la riproduzione dell'antico," in *Roma e l'antico: realtà e visione nel '700*, ed. Carolina Brook and Valter Cruz, (Milano: Skira editore, 2010), 237.

<sup>160</sup> Luca Melegati, "Giovanni Volpato e il cantiere romano," in *Ricordi dell'Antico: sculture, porcellane e arredi all'epoca del Grand Tour*, ed. Andreina d'Agliano e Luca Melegati, (Milano: Silvana Editoriale, 2008), 107.

<sup>161</sup> Pucci, "Antichità e manifatture," 279.

<sup>162</sup> González-Palacios, "Souvenirs de Rome," 40.

Less often discussed because of its arrival in the mid nineteenth century is photography. Photography had a phenomenal impact in shaping the images of the Grand Tour when it was introduced to Rome after 1839. Following 1860, there were many photograph studios in Rome.<sup>163</sup> Photographs usually featured ancient monuments as their subjects. The stark buildings depicted in photographs often undid the fantastical images of renowned printmaker Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-1778).<sup>164</sup> This is important because it provides a closer look into what buildings, and their environments, looked like in reality as compared to more subjective mediums. The collection of photography was promoted through blank books on whose pages tourists could paste photographs.<sup>165</sup> These books could range from simple albums to more highly decorated ones, but most covers had a title proclaiming “Ricordo di [insert city name].”<sup>166</sup>

Cork models were produced in Italy and were reduced-scale models of the most popular ancient buildings of the Grand Tour. Though they were of a reduced scale, they were more cumbersome souvenirs than the other types discussed. Nonetheless, they, and other models of buildings, were easily accessible to tourists. Commonly reproduced were the Temple of Neptune from Paestum and the Temple of the Sibyl from Tivoli. It is important to recognize that, unlike some other souvenirs, cork models reproduced only antique buildings. This is because cork, in particular, was embraced for these models due to its ability to reproduce the picturesque aesthetic of ruins that arose in the eighteenth

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<sup>163</sup> Ann Thornton, trans., *Rome in the Early Photographs: The Age of Pius IX*, (Copenhagen: The Thorvaldsen Museum, 1977), 35.

<sup>164</sup> Heinz K. Henisch, “Roman Antiquities in Early Photography,” in *Light on the Eternal City: Observations and Discoveries in Art and Architecture of Rome*, eds. Hellmut Hager and Susan Scott Munshower, (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University, 1987), 279.

<sup>165</sup> Henisch, “Roman Antiquities,” 283.

<sup>166</sup> Filippo Maggia, ed., *Souvenir del Grand Tour: Immagini dell’Italia de metà Ottocento*, (Modena: Raccolte Fotografiche Modensi Giuseppe Panini, 2005), 5.

century.<sup>167</sup> In fact, the dramatic works of Giovanni Battista Piranesi inspired some cork modelists to add in column drums to the bases of their temple compositions, as I will discuss in later chapters.

Cork models were products of the eighteenth century that grew out of traditional crèche scenes in Naples. At the beginning of the eighteenth century Augusto Rosa (1738-1784) is traditionally credited as the inventor of phelloplastic, cork modeling.<sup>168</sup> However, others, such as Giovanni Altieri (1767-1790), were active during the same time; furthermore, Altieri supplied models to the Society of Antiquaries in London.<sup>169</sup> From Naples, Rosa and Altieri went to work in Rome. Antonio Chichi (1743-1816), who also worked in the mid eighteenth century, was another important modelist who alone remained in Rome through the early nineteenth century after Altieri had returned to Naples and Rosa had died.<sup>170</sup> Cork models appealed especially to antiquarians who found their scaled reproductions a useful study, as well as tourists. For example, the architect Sir John Soane acquired many cork models, as did the King Gustav III of Sweden when he went on a tour.

The last medium that I would like to discuss before moving on to a more theoretical discussion of souvenirs is porcelain. In the very early eighteenth century, Ginori and Gaspero Bruschi ran a porcelain factory in Doccia that produced porcelain

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<sup>167</sup> Valentin Kockel, *Phelloplastica: modelli in sughero dell'architettura antica nel XVIII secolo nella collezione di Gustavo III di Svezia*, (Stockholm: Suecoromana III, 1998), 13.

<sup>168</sup> Anita Büttner, "Korkmodelle," in *Antike Bauten: in Modell und Zeichnung um 1800*, ed. Peter Gercke, (Kassel: Staatliche Kunstmuseen Kassel, 1986), 13.

<sup>169</sup> Kockel, *Phelloplastica*, 12.

<sup>170</sup> Kockel, *Phelloplastica*, 15. Büttner, "Korkmodelle," 13.

with antique themes.<sup>171</sup> This usually found expression in the form of small-scale statuary. It was not until the middle of the century, after Sir William Hamilton published his collection of vases, which offered inspiration and patterns, that porcelain truly embraced the antique. While we can witness this outside of Italy with the Wedgwood manufactories, in Italy a similar phenomenon is attested by the activities of the Real Fabbrica Ferdinanda in Naples, which produced porcelain from 1773-1806. When Domenico Venuti, son and nephew of archaeologists and friend of antiquarians, took over the manufactory in the late eighteenth century, it began to produce porcelain services inspired by the antique. I hesitate to call porcelain services, such as those produced by the Real Fabbrica, souvenirs, which stems from the fact that they were often commissioned as gifts, such as the Servizio Ercolanese made for King Ferdinand IV and as a gift for Carlo III of Spain.<sup>172</sup> The Servizio Ercolanese was one of the manufactory's most famous services and was intended by Venuti to provide a bridge between the Bourbon rulers, Carlo III and his son, Ferdinando IV.<sup>173</sup> Regardless of their questionable fit as souvenirs, the porcelain objects provide important comparisons throughout the dissertation. The Real Fabbrica Ferdinanda produced sculptural groups in porcelain, mostly of mythological groups, that were designed by Filippo Tagiolini, the principal modelist for the manufactory. Other tableware objects depicted views of the city of

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<sup>171</sup> Adreina d'Agliano, "Forme e sculture dall'antico nella porcellana europea," in *Ricordi dell'Antico: sculture, porcellane e arredi all'epoca del Grand Tour*, eds. Adreina d'Agliano and Luca Melegati, (Milano: Silvana Editoriale, 2008), 87.

<sup>172</sup> Gina Carla Ascione, "Il 'souvenir' di Pompei. Dalle immagini neoclassiche alla diffusione nell'epoca della riproducibilità tecnica," *Rivista di Studi di Pompeiana XII-XIII* (2001-2002): 49. Porcelain was often utilized for diplomatic gifts, as is demonstrated by a volume of collected essays on Meissen porcelain used for diplomacy during the eighteenth century (Cassidy-Geiger, Maureen, ed. *Fragile Diplomacy: Meissen Porcelain for European Courts ca. 1710-1763*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

<sup>173</sup> Caròla-Perrotti, *Le Porcellane*, 327.

Naples and its monuments and people as well as figures from wall paintings of ancient Pompeii.

### *The Study of Souvenirs in Art History*

Now since I have addressed the different classes of souvenirs that will be discussed throughout this dissertation I would like to address my souvenir methodology. First, I will lay out the problematic aspects of the study of souvenirs in relation to my project and then second, I will address the theoretical models upon which I have built my understanding of souvenirs and tourism in general. Art history has been slow to approach souvenirs as a topic of inquiry. There are, of course, exceptions; one area that has embraced the study of the souvenir with gusto is pilgrimage studies. The former Keeper of the Medieval Collections at the Museum of London, Brian Spencer, in particular, was a pioneer in studying pilgrimage souvenirs; he acknowledged the pilgrimage journey as a break from the ordinary and pilgrimage souvenirs that pilgrims acquired as touch-relics of the place visited so that the power of the shrine might be accessed away from the sacred site.<sup>174</sup> In his wake followed other studies of the material culture of pilgrimage. Michael Houlihan, for example, acknowledges the role of scallop shells and badges as souvenirs from the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela.<sup>175</sup> A particularly interesting study by Graham Jones tracked souvenirs of Saint Magí across time and media from the pilgrimage made to Brufaganya as he makes a case for both mental and physical

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<sup>174</sup> Brian Spencer, *Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges*, (London: The Stationary Office, 1998).

<sup>175</sup> Michael Houlihan, "Souvenirs with Soul: 800 Years of Pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela," in *Souvenirs: The Material Culture of Tourism*, eds. Michael Hitchcock and Ken Teague, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

souvenirs.<sup>176</sup> It is common for souvenir scholars, especially those in the fields of sociology and marketing, to often evoke parallels to religious pilgrimages when discussing modern tourism and souvenir studies, and this is because tourism is often given origins in Christian pilgrimages.<sup>177</sup>

One of the most useful souvenir studies in the field of art history is by Mary Beard, a classicist whose work spans the fields of history and art history. Beard takes on the subject of postcards sold at the British Museum, beginning in 1912. She tracks which postcards' subjects have historically sold the most, which is a surprising list including Iznik bowls, Beatrix Potter's floppy bunnies illustration, the exterior façade of the museum, and the body of Lindor Man. Most importantly, what results from Beard's careful analysis of these postcards is a look into the mentalities of the visitor. For example, the Beatrix Potter illustration of the flopsy bunnies from the popular children's book series is a work of art that is frequently not even on display at the museum, and Beard suggests that visitors buy it so regularly because not only might it appeal to children or visitors who have children, but it also helps the visitor relate the past of the museum to their own past.<sup>178</sup> No matter Beard's conclusions regarding the flopsy bunnies and the other postcards she discusses, what is significant is her methodology in a study of art historical souvenirs that focuses on the tourists' experiences. It is my aim to use the micromosaic souvenir in a similar way to access Grand Tourists' mentalities towards the objects and monuments they encountered in Italy.

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<sup>176</sup> Graham Jones, "Imaging Saint Magí: Souvenirs of a Catalan Pilgrimage," in *Beyond Pilgrim Souvenirs and Secular Badges: Essays in Honour of Brian Spenser*, ed. Sarah Blick, (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2007).

<sup>177</sup> Kristen K. Swanson and Dallen J. Timothy, "Souvenirs: Icons of Meaning, Commercialization, and Commoditization," *Tourism Management* 33 (2012): 489.

<sup>178</sup> Mary Beard, "Souvenirs of Culture: Deciphering (in) the Museum," *Art History* 15 (1992): 515.

Lastly, a study by art historian Sarah Benson addresses souvenirs of the Grand Tour. It is a short study, but makes important points about how the repeatability of souvenirs shaped collecting practices and the sights of the Grand Tour. Benson also addresses how fragmentation works as a way of isolating monuments to increase readability.<sup>179</sup> She primarily uses prints to make her point, pinpointing them as an easily reproduced souvenir. This brief study on the material culture of the Grand Tour provides an opening for further, more intensive studies on Grand Tour souvenirs that address how this line of study is beneficial to cultivating knowledge about the experience of the tourist.

The edited volume, *Souvenirs: The Material Culture of Tourism* is a good mirror for the study of souvenirs that primarily focuses on indigenous and non-western topics. Out of nineteen studies, only two address European souvenirs, one on the material goods of the women's suffrage movement and another on ceramic ornaments brought back from Blackpool, England.<sup>180</sup> Notably, these essays that do not address the indigenous arts discuss souvenirs that are typically relegated to "crafts" by the art world. The remaining articles examine indigenous souvenirs.

#### *Between Art History and Anthropology: Problematizing the Study of Souvenirs*

By and large, however, the study of souvenir objects is a field that is generally embraced by anthropology and other disciplines that address indigenous populations. In

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<sup>179</sup> Benson, "Reproduction," 29.

<sup>180</sup> See Katherine Bradley, "Women's Suffrage Souvenirs," in *Souvenirs: The Material Culture of Tourism*, eds. Michael Hitchcock and Ken Teague, 79-90. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000) and Gerald Mars and Valerie Mars, "Souvenir-gifts as Tokens of Filial Esteem: The Meanings of Blackpool Souvenirs," in *Souvenirs:*

this way the discipline of souvenir studies became part of a move towards thinking through how traditional communities became implicated in the processes of modernity.<sup>181</sup> Souvenirs are usually discussed as objects made by indigenous people and consumed by Euro-Americans looking for representations of the exotic.<sup>182</sup> Anthropologists do not endorse the idea of the “exotic” souvenir, in fact just the opposite, and yet, that very idea often identifies the souvenir. Souvenirs are often acknowledged in Western culture, but they are habitually restricted to Western collections of these so-called “exotic” objects. See, for example, a recent exhibition catalog, *Delacroix: objets dans la peinture, souvenir du Maroc*, which acknowledges the impact of souvenirs on creating memories but also places the souvenir in the context of the indigenous and exotic. One admirable art historical study by Fred Orton and Griselda Pollock addresses tourism in conjunction with fine art, and yet, it ultimately falls back on discussing depictions of the primitive as well.<sup>183</sup>

From where did these misconceptions of the souvenir as necessarily “exotic” arise? Certainly, this finds its origins in early seventeenth-century practices of collecting and the Wunderkammer stuffed with “exotic” objects as relics from cultural encounters. Tourists brought back bits of the natural world from their travels. The collecting of “exotic” objects facilitated a way to order and classify the world, and they allowed the

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*The Material Culture of Tourism*, eds. Michael Hitchcock and Ken Teague, 91-111. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000).

<sup>181</sup> David Crouch and Nina Lübbren, eds., *Visual Culture and Tourism*, (Oxford: Berg, 2003), 3.

<sup>182</sup> See for example, the collected essays in Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner, “Art, Authenticity, and the Baggage of Cultural Encounter,” in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, eds. Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner, 3-19. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

<sup>183</sup> Fred Orton and Griselda Pollock, “Les données Bretonnantes: la prairie de representation,” *Art History* 3 (1980): 314-344.

owner to develop his or her own self-image in relation to the other.<sup>184</sup> The exotic has always been rooted in the uneasy concept of colonialism, and perhaps this still lingers with the souvenir, which is often identified with the exotic.<sup>185</sup> Relativist concepts of the exotic claim that all cultures experiencing any culture outside of their own experience it as exotic. However, the ways in which a culture experiences “the other” as exotic is decidedly different in Western and non-Western cultures.<sup>186</sup> Anthropologists, who subscribe to relativist concepts of the exotic, openly discuss souvenirs and address their associated exoticism while calling for the placement of so-called “exotic” objects within the realm of art. It is the anthropologist or scholar of non-Western art who has traditionally discussed the souvenir, an object historically entrenched in the exotic, and in turn, European colonialism. I would suggest that it is because collections of the souvenir have traditionally been rooted in the European experience of the other that the field of art history has shied away from the souvenir as a scholarly pursuit, especially during the eighteenth through twentieth centuries when many of these European countries were steeped in the activities of imperialism.<sup>187</sup>

*Neither Here nor There: Classification of the Material Souvenirs of the Grand Tour*

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<sup>184</sup> Susan Pearce, *On Collecting: an Investigation into Collecting in the European Tradition*, (London: Routledge, 1995), 131.

<sup>185</sup> In a retrospective essay on the field of souvenir studies since his landmark study, Nelson Graburn wrote that one of the advances in the topic of tourist arts was the way in which the field underscored the forces of colonialism (“Ethnic and Tourist Arts Revisited,” in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, eds. Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner, 335-354, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).

<sup>186</sup> Asma Agzenay, *Returning the Gaze: The Manichean Drama of Postcolonial Exoticism*, (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2015), 2-14.

<sup>187</sup> The origins of tourism are typically rooted in industrial societies, and these are societies whose activities are imperialistic and colonialistic (Dennison Nash, “Tourism as a Form of Imperialism,” in *Hosts and*

Additionally, the field of souvenirs is largely bifurcated between studies of pilgrimage and modern/contemporary consumption and tourism. The material souvenirs of the Grand Tour fall between these categories. The Grand Tour is on the verge of modern, leisure travel and yet is not quite fully there. I believe that the liminal status of the Grand Tour as a burgeoning movement of not yet quite modern travel results in its souvenirs failing to be included in either studies of pilgrimage or modern tourism.

I would also posit that this reluctance to address the topic of souvenirs draws from the unclear boundaries of the souvenir object that defy any easy classification. Falling on the spectrum somewhere between fine art and tourist baubles, micromosaics do not fit into an easily defined category of art.<sup>188</sup> Micromosaics are in many ways a fine art. Many of the innovations in the medium were rooted in making micromosaics more naturalistic like paintings. Like oil paintings, some of the larger micromosaics took years to produce. They were produced in studio workshops with sometimes multiple artists working on a single piece. Micromosaicists produced gifts for heads of state to give diplomats as was done with other fine arts. However, there are many qualities of micromosaics that relegated the medium to the realm of craft. The medium was not a typical fine art like painting, sculpture, or architecture. Artists also did not routinely sign their names to the micromosaics they produced. Finally, a classification as a fine art is

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*Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, ed. Valene L. Smith, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977), 36).

<sup>188</sup> This is not a condition unique to micromosaics as other mediums also fall prey to their difficult classifications. Alden Cavanaugh and Michael E. Yonan discuss the ways in which porcelain objects fall between art and utility resulting in a “fear of the tchotchke,” or fear of giving value to kitschy objects. This fear limits the ways in which art historians are willing to address porcelain (Alden Cavanaugh and Michael E. Yonan, “Introduction,” in *The Cultural Aesthetics of Eighteenth-Century Porcelain*, eds. Alden Cavanaugh and Michael E. Yonan, (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 4). The unwillingness to address more unusual mediums of art is a result of the discipline of art history that was for many years driven by monument-focused studies.

challenged by the fact that many micromosaics repeat the same subject, which is at odds with the unique qualities ascribed to the “genius” of artists of the fine arts. So while fine art associated with the Grand Tour, such as classical sculpture and tourist portraiture, has recently generated much study, smaller objects that are closely associated with the fine arts, like micromosaics, have attracted much less attention, because their status as souvenirs and copies complicates their association with great art.

Thus, the lack of engagement with micromosaics as souvenirs is indicative of the struggle of the field of art history to reconcile craft production, mass production, and the fine arts. Native American art historian Ruth B. Phillips recognizes the negative reception of commoditized souvenir mediums by art historians who see the objects as inauthentic.<sup>189</sup> Anthropologists, however, have been more eager to elevate souvenirs to art objects and do not seem to engage in the same struggle as the discipline of art history. Therefore, the micromosaic complicates souvenir classifications since it is a prototypically Western art object that is marketed to Western people as a memento of their travels.

#### *Anthropological and Sociological Methodology for Souvenirs*

Because art history does not heavily engage in studying the art of tourism, I rely on theoretical approaches formed in the disciplines of anthropology and sociology. The study of souvenirs and tourism are relatively new fields of exploration that are still in formation. The divisions between discussions of souvenirs and tourism often overlap and

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<sup>189</sup> Ruth B. Phillips, *Trading Identities: The Souvenir in Native North American Art from the Northeast, 1700-1900*, (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998), x. For an overview on the problems of incorporating commodity arts into art history see Phillips and Steiner, “Art, Authenticity.”

are difficult to distinguish. Common in anthropologically based studies is a desire to elevate the tourist arts. In the landmark study *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World*, Nelson Graburn rescued the souvenir from its designation as “primitive art” and instead advocated thinking of souvenirs as objects of art. He established a structure of art that made room for souvenirs amongst other genres of fine arts, commercial fine arts, reintegrated arts, assimilated fine arts, and popular arts. Significantly his structure of arts was non-exclusionary allowing for arts to occupy multiple genres.<sup>190</sup> Anthropologist Bennetta Jules-Rosette takes an approach to her important study on contemporary tourist arts from the Ivory Coast, Zambia, and Kenya that is in line with Graburn.<sup>191</sup> She rejects the idea of mass produced souvenirs that are viewed as less meaningful than high art. Instead she highlights their significance as objects that exhibit signs of creativity.

Souvenir studies also ascribe certain powers to souvenirs. Sometimes this comes in the form of decontextualization when souvenirs have the power to divorce themselves from both time and fixed meaning, as Susan Stewart asserts in her *On Longing*.<sup>192</sup> To Stewart, the souvenir is always slightly incomplete because it remains to be authenticated and validated by its owner, whose narrative makes it complete. Thus, the time of the souvenir is not bound to history, but rather to its owner. Susan Pearce similarly agrees with this thinking that souvenirs place the present in the past and are a way for the owner

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<sup>190</sup> Graburn, *Ethnic and Tourist Arts*, 6-8.

<sup>191</sup> Bennetta Jules-Rosette, *The Messages of Tourist Art: An African Semiotic System in Comparative Perspective*, (New York: Plenum Press, 1984).

<sup>192</sup> Stewart, *On Longing*.

to order their own personal narrative.<sup>193</sup> Other times the power of the souvenir comes in the form of fetish. David Hume, like Stewart and Pearce before him, addresses the fetish in relation to the souvenir. He sees the fetish beginning when the tourist breaks away from his ordinary routines and engages in a new landscape of total consumption that ultimately leads to a souvenir through which the magical power of the material fetish emerges. In many ways he engages the same language as Pearce and Stewart as he sees the souvenir as a tool for unlocking memory, experience, and the understanding of the purchaser.

Many studies on the souvenir are driven by the question of authenticity. This is a concept that is heavily tied to non-Western objects, which were seen as markers of purity and primitive art, and has gained much traction since the introduction of the scholarly pursuit of souvenirs.<sup>194</sup> Scholars who study souvenirs will frequently discuss how travelers sought out both authentic travel experiences and authentic material representations of those experiences. For example, art historian Gary Vikan's book on Byzantine souvenirs of pilgrimage devotes an entire section to questioning the authenticity of these souvenirs; in particular, whether they can be associated with a specific holy site.<sup>195</sup> Asian Pacific historians Maggie Asplet and Malcolm Cooper's study on cultural designs in New Zealand souvenir clothing grapples with how the purchaser

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<sup>193</sup> Susan Pearce, *Museums, Objects, and Collections: A Cultural Study*, (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993), 72. Pearce, *On Collecting*, 32.

<sup>194</sup> Ruth Phillips, "A Proper Place for Art or the Proper Arts of Place? Native North American Objects and the Hierarchies of Art, Craft, and Souvenir," in *On Aboriginal Representation in the Gallery*, eds. Lydia Jessup and Shannon Brag, (Quebec: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2002), 45-6. Graburn "Ethnic and Tourist Arts Revisited," 344.

<sup>195</sup> See Gary Vikan, *Byzantine Pilgrimage Art*, (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2010), 41-44. However, he ultimately dismisses any problems with inauthenticity suggesting instead that there might have been secondary souvenir markets for those who never left home and that the

perceives the authenticity of the Maori cultural motifs utilized on these souvenirs.<sup>196</sup>

Others, however, move in a different direction. While acknowledging the influence the concept of authenticity has had on souvenirs, John Goss emphasizes that while it should not be singled out, the discourse of authenticity does provoke a search for a spiritual or emotional value beyond the monetary value of the souvenir.<sup>197</sup> In *The Tourist Gaze*, sociologist John Urry focuses on modern tourism. In his construction of the gaze and how it has developed in different societies, Urry tries to move away from a preoccupation with authenticity, which guides many studies on tourism and souvenirs, to instead focus on the visual structure of the touristic experience. Similarly, Susan Stewart looks at how the owner authenticates their own past experience through the souvenir instead of the many souvenir studies that focus on the authenticity of the material object.<sup>198</sup> This is something that I especially take cue from, wanting to get away from discussions of an authentic or inauthentic experience of the tourist and instead turn to how souvenirs function as a way to connect to past experiences.

Souvenir studies grapple with the commoditization of the souvenir to appeal to the tourist, while still representing indigenous tradition. Therefore, we see many studies that deal with the acculturation model of tourism, where contact between tourists and indigenous producers results in a product representative of both cultures.<sup>199</sup> Ruth

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power of the material to evoke the sacred was not disrupted since the whole point of the souvenir was to move from the original site to the faithful.

<sup>196</sup> Maggie Asplet and Malcolm Cooper, "Cultural Designs in New Zealand Souvenir Clothing: the Question of Authenticity," *Tourism Management* 21 (2000): 307-312.

<sup>197</sup> John Goss, "The Souvenir: Conceptualizing the Object(s) of Tourist Consumption," in *A Companion to Tourism*, ed. Alan A. Lew, (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 330.

<sup>198</sup> Stewart, *On Longing*, 139.

<sup>199</sup> Theron Nuñez, "Touristic Studies in Anthropological Perspective," in *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, ed. Valene L. Smith, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1977), 207.

Phillips' work on Native North Americans provides an excellent model for how to navigate cross-cultural divides as she looks at both creators and consumers for understanding the appeal of certain pictorial depictions on souvenirs. Bennetta Jules-Rosette argues that the arts of Africa that she discusses are representative of a creative process that balances the needs of the tourist with the creative drive of the artist. She shows how "through the use of visual metaphors tourist art represents the emotions of its makers, the identity of the artist, and a bridge between cultures."<sup>200</sup>

One of the most significant aspects of the souvenir that I will focus on in this dissertation is their ability to serve as a touchstone to memory; they have a capacity to inject intangible meanings into a physical object. Objects as signifiers of meaning, in relation to touristic activities, is a theme on which many studies of souvenirs, especially modern-driven studies, focus. An early example of this is Roland Barthes' study of the Eiffel tower in which he laid forth the ways humans assigned meaning to its form.<sup>201</sup> The problem is that many studies of souvenirs focus on the conceptual ideas of souvenirs as makers of meaning, and do not actually parse out the specifics of those meanings in relation to the object. I aim to bring a closer analysis of the actual objects in relation to meaning making in my inquiry into micromosaic souvenirs. Projects that do try to find a methodology for understanding the meanings behind souvenirs have focused on ethnographic approaches. For example, qualitative sociologists Lisa Love and Peter Sheldon recorded and analyzed narratives of those who travelled and brought back objects. In their results they determined that the meaning of souvenirs was fluid over

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<sup>200</sup> Jules-Rosette, *The Messages of Tourist Art*, 229.

<sup>201</sup> Roland Barthes, *The Eiffel Tower and Other Mythologies*, trans. Richard Howard, (New York: Hill and Wang 1979), 15-6.

time, and that the degree of travel experience determined the types of meanings that were assigned to souvenirs.<sup>202</sup> Another study, by tourism specialists Nigel Morgan and Annette Pritchard, used an auto-ethnographic approach to analyze their own narratives about their personal souvenirs. They too stress the biography of the souvenir and advocate that tourism should be located in the material realm. I attempt to channel this ethnographic approach used by sociologists through the use of travelogues, the closest parallel documentation to personal narratives of travel during this period.

### *Souvenirs and Memory*

Integral to the discussion of souvenirs is memory. Memory is so important because souvenirs seek to encapsulate memory in material form. Morgan and Pritchard highlight the critical nature of the souvenir as a component to perception of place. Souvenirs are signs that evoke memories, and there can be no memory without perception of place and/or landscape or vice versa.<sup>203</sup> Qualitative sociologists Kristen Swanson and Dallen Timothy lay out how the recollection of the souvenir owner changes in time with the souvenir first acting as an aide mémoire, then becoming evidence of the place visited, then a memory of that experience, and ultimately becoming a substitute for the experience.<sup>204</sup> The souvenir is a trigger for memories as well as a memory itself- whether recreated, actualized, or modified.

There are two important aspects of memory that I would like to emphasize here. The first is the individual and collective memory. Literary historian turned cultural

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<sup>202</sup> Lisa L. Love and Peter S. Sheldon, "Souvenirs: Messengers of Meaning," *Advances in Consumer Research* 25 (1998): 171-2.

<sup>203</sup> Morgan and Pritchard, "On Souvenirs and Metonymy," 38-47.

anthropologist Aleida Assman writes how the individual and collective memory cannot be fully untangled. The memory of an individual is formulated interactively, and is thus tied to the memories of others.<sup>205</sup> She points to how once a memory of an individual is enmeshed within the system of language, the memory is no longer individual.<sup>206</sup> We only need to think of the memories shared by travelers on the Grand Tour in their letters and diary entries to see how the individual memory becomes the codified memory of the collective as travelers arrive to sights with preconceived ideas that inform their memories. Assman extends this concept of the collective identity to material objects connected with memory, such as a souvenir like the micromosaic. In 1986 landscape architect Dean MacCannell published the landmark study for tourism, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. MacCannell's aim in publishing this study was to demonstrate how modern society was linked to modern mass leisure. As I have discussed already, it is through travel that individuals form not only their self-identity, but also collective identities of their own, and other, cultures.<sup>207</sup> What MacCannell perhaps emphasizes the most is how a touristic experience, and the memories and souvenirs associated with that, revolve around participating in a collective "ritual" that reinforces a collective identity.<sup>208</sup> He argues that there is a correspondence between individuals who collect souvenirs and tourists who sought out authentic sights that were collectively approved by society.

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<sup>204</sup> Swanson and Timothy, "Souvenirs: Icons of Meaning," 492.

<sup>205</sup> Aleida Assman, "Re-framing Memory. Between Individual and Collective Forms of Constructing the Past," in *Performing the Past: Memory, History, and Identity in Modern Europe*, eds. Karin Tilmans, Frank van Vree, and Jay Winter, (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010), 40.

<sup>206</sup> Assman, "Re-framing Memory," 36.

<sup>207</sup> MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 5.

<sup>208</sup> MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 137-143.

The other significant component of memory is remembrance. The act of forgetting is just as crucial to that of remembering in relation to memory. John Mack demonstrates how the very act of remembering often necessitates forgetting. Thus, the constancy of remembrance selectively seeks to reify certain memories and banishes those that do not work.<sup>209</sup> The act of erasing memories will prove to be critical in the discussion of micromosaic souvenirs reflecting the architecture of Rome.

## **Tourism**

Studies on tourism are very closely related to studies on the material products of tourism, the souvenir. Tourism involves travelling, loosely defined by Eric Leed as “significant human motion undertaken to realize the differences which adhere in the human and natural environments,” and must involve crossing from everyday life to something less familiar.<sup>210</sup> Scholarly studies on tourism tend to naturally focus on modern and contemporary periods of travel, because before the 1850s travel was generally non-industrialized. However, by the early seventeenth century, there were distinct patterns of travel established.<sup>211</sup> This was, of course, the beginning of the Grand Tour. While the Grand Tour was not the first moment of tourism observed, it is one of the largest and thus merits attention for such an early period of mass travel. This period of travel became the way in which Europeans organized and ordered their worldviews.

## **The Miniature**

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<sup>209</sup> John Mack, *The Museum of the Mind*, (London: The British Museum Press, 2003), 33.

<sup>210</sup> Eric J. Leed, “Prolegomenon to a History of Travel,” *Hospitality Review* 2 (1984): 80; 87.

<sup>211</sup> Towner, “The Grand Tour,” 325.

Another important guiding force in this dissertation is the ideas behind the miniature. While many micromosaics do, in fact, fit the qualifications of a miniature, there are many that do not. Some micromosaics are minute in size, while others are quite large. Regardless, all micromosaics are miniatures since they are composed of a miniature medium- the minute tesserae. So even if they are physically large, their constituent parts are minute versions of ancient tesserae. Furthermore, the scale of the subjects that are represented by these minute tesserae are generally miniaturized as well. One of the foundational voices in the study of the miniature is Susan Stewart, whose *On Longing* remains the preeminent source for studies of the miniature. Her scholarly work addresses the miniature book and one of her guiding themes is how the miniature is able to facilitate infinite and collapsed time, which then leads into the creation of a time outside of historical time.<sup>212</sup> Like Stewart, John Mack, whose research has focused on the arts and cultures of Africa, credits the miniature with the ability to divorce itself from present contexts to create a different time.<sup>213</sup>

The power of the miniature stems from different aspects. One commonly emphasized aspect is its manipulability. The allure of the miniature, Stewart argues, is that it is a culturally driven product not found in nature that presents a diminutive and manipulated version of an experience.<sup>214</sup> Ruth Phillips also focuses on the manipulability of miniatures. She demonstrates how the pliability of the miniature allows it to be manipulated in space.<sup>215</sup> Like others, Phillips attributes the reduced scale with a power to recontextualize, taking the object out of its original context. Other scholars discuss the

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<sup>212</sup> Stewart, *On Longing*, 39; 65.

<sup>213</sup> John Mack, *The Art of Small Things*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 186.

<sup>214</sup> Stewart, *On Longing*, 55.

power of the miniature that derives from its size, such as John Mack who focuses on a different allure of the miniature: its ability to captivate through impossibility. The small challenges the human eye to wonder at the skill and imagination of the creator. Here, he relies on social anthropologist Alfred Gell who also ascribes enchantment with objects to the impossibility of making.<sup>216</sup> Mack also attributes the enchantment of the miniature to its ability to evade total understanding.<sup>217</sup> According to Edmund Burke, the small is imbued with special power because of the eye's ability to take in the miniature in a single glance.<sup>218</sup> Phillips credits the power of the miniature to its universality; she argues that the preciousness of the miniature is something that is unanimously appealing.<sup>219</sup> Also of value is Phillips' discussion on the advantages of miniatures. She cites their cognitive accessibility, ease of manipulation, and aesthetic enjoyment as reasons why the miniature proliferated within and outside of communities.<sup>220</sup> Micromosaics were enjoyed for their aesthetic qualities, which challenged the mind to wonder at their smallness and highly crafted compositions.

## Conclusions

This dissertation aims to engage in a study of objects that are often overlooked, or only cursorily addressed, by both souvenir studies and Grand Tour studies.

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<sup>215</sup> Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 87.

<sup>216</sup> Mack, *The Art of Small Things*, 47. Alfred Gell, "The Technology of Enchantment and the Enchantment of Technology," in *The Object Reader*, eds. Fiona Candlin and Raiford Guins, (London: Routledge, 2009), 216-18.

<sup>217</sup> Mack, *The Art of Small Things*, 207.

<sup>218</sup> Edmund Burke, "A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origins of Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful," in *The Words of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke*, Vol. I, New York: Eastburn, Kirk, and Co, 1826), 237. Quoted in Mack 2007, 54.

<sup>219</sup> Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 73.

<sup>220</sup> Phillips, *Trading Identities*, 102.

Micromosaics fall from the attention of these types of studies because of the tendency of souvenir studies to focus instead on indigenous works of art and art historians to shy away from these discourses couched in exoticism and colonialism. Micromosaics occupy a liminal position between the fine arts and craft, which also causes hesitation in engagement of their study. The souvenir, as I have crafted it, is an object that is considered easily accessible and purchasable to the people to whom it is marketed. I rely on frameworks set up by anthropologists and sociologists to address micromosaic souvenirs. I use travel accounts as a way to uncover the personal narratives that might have once accompanied an oral account of micromosaic souvenirs. I look to souvenirs as a way to authenticate past experiences rather than as a platform to discuss material authenticity. I explore how the physical miniature qualities of souvenirs allow for a discourse free of time constraints. All of these approaches contribute towards an understanding of what these micromosaic souvenirs can reveal about how travelers comprehended the monuments around them, as will be demonstrated in specific examples in the following chapters.

### **Chapter Three: The Mouldering Monuments of the Eternal City**

Rome, frequently referenced as the Eternal City, was the focus of the Grand Tour itinerary. Prepared by texts, guidebooks, published journals, prints, paintings, and models, tourists set off to see the monuments of Rome whose fame preceded them. With visions of the greatness of these monuments in their minds, tourists often found themselves disappointed at the actuality of the Eternal City. In this chapter, I will demonstrate how micromosaic souvenirs sought to rewrite the experience of monuments, correcting disappointing aspects and commemorating those that were celebrated. Micromosaic depictions of the monuments are a good avenue through which to explore why certain aspects of monuments were visually commemorated, as well as modified.

Critical to the discussion of Rome, and the other cities of the Grand Tour that will follow are the conceptual histories of the Picturesque and the ruin, especially in regards to architectural monuments. I will address these fully before turning to the works of architecture as depicted on micromosaics. Next I will examine the Roman Forum and how vantage points and micromosaicists' erasure of the filth that plagued the site played a role in its souvenir manifestations. Then I will demonstrate how micromosaicists commemorated the Colosseum as picturesque through methods of isolation and framing and celebrated its ability to conjure up the past through moonlit visits. I will analyze why the exterior of the Pantheon, as represented on micromosaics, was celebrated as well as why certain elements of the piazza were removed from micromosaic compositions. Lastly, I will explain why the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, a much-discussed sculpture, was chosen for memorialization on micromosaic souvenirs.

## The Picturesque

The Picturesque is important for understanding not only the pictorial modes in which Roman monuments were depicted on micromosaics, but also for comprehending tourists' expectations of the Italian landscape. The Picturesque was an aesthetic that valued a pictorial appreciation of nature and developed in the mid- to late eighteenth century primarily in Britain. Scholars often ascribe the discovery of the visual qualities of nature to poets of the first half of the eighteenth century, such as James Thomson or John Dyer, who stimulated a renewed interest in aesthetics.<sup>221</sup> Edmund Burke's 1757 *A Philosophical Inquiry into the Origins of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, which sparked a dialogue in aesthetics, also heavily influenced the movement. William Gilpin (1724-1804), in *An Essay on Prints*, first introduced the term "Picturesque" in 1769 as "a term expressive of that peculiar kind of beauty which is agreeable in a picture."<sup>222</sup> Gilpin's ideas for encouraging a pictorial imagination took root and were developed into an aesthetic theory in the late eighteenth century.<sup>223</sup>

There are many important players in the development of the Picturesque in the late eighteenth century, chief among them Richard Payne Knight (1750-1824) and Uvedale Price (1747-1829). The two theoreticians of the Picturesque initially agreed in their assessments, especially in regards to their preference for variety and their disdain for landscape gardener Capability Brown whose landscapes they found monotonous. However, Payne Knight and Price engaged in a debate throughout the late eighteenth

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<sup>221</sup> Christopher Hussey, *The Picturesque: Studies in a Point of View*, (London: Archon Books, 1967), 51.

<sup>222</sup> William Gilpin, *An Essay on Prints*, (London: printed for G. Scott and R. Blamire, 1781), xii.

<sup>223</sup> Mavis Batey, "The Picturesque: An Overview," *Garden History* 22 (1994): 121.

century on the specific qualities of the Picturesque.<sup>224</sup> Price saw the Picturesque as a middle point between Burke's categories of the Sublime and the Beautiful that was defined by fairly objective qualities of roughness, irregularity, and sudden variation. Unlike Price, Payne Knight defined the Picturesque not by external factors, but rather by subjective associations created in the mind of the observer; Payne Knight was more concerned with the sensory pleasures of the Picturesque and creating a theory of perception.<sup>225</sup> Payne Knight assumed that classical, pastoral poetry played a large role in facilitating associations between natural scenery and the Picturesque.<sup>226</sup> Essentially where Payne Knight thought the Picturesque was derived from paintings and painters, Price saw the Picturesque as stemming from the objects themselves and not from an association.<sup>227</sup> The disagreements between these two practitioners of the Picturesque worked to further refine ideas about the Picturesque.

The Picturesque played out in travel, as will be demonstrated in travel accounts of tourists that are addressed throughout this dissertation. Pictorial descriptions of landscape begin to appear in accounts of landscape-seeking travelers during the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>228</sup> Tourists undertook specific itineraries where they sought out landscapes that adhered to the principals of the Picturesque; the northwestern Lakes region of England was particularly popular. So what components contributed to

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<sup>224</sup> Stephanie Ross, "The Picturesque: An Eighteenth-Century Debate," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 46 (1987): 277. This debate came in the form of responsorial publications. Richard Payne Knight published *The Landscape* in 1792 and Uvedale Price published *Essays on the Picturesque* in 1794 as a response, which he then revised in 1796 and again in 1810. In 1801 Price published *Dialogue on the Distinct Characters of the Picturesque and the Beautiful*. Knight then responded to this with his *An Analytic Inquiry into the Principles of Taste* in 1805.

<sup>225</sup> Ross, "The Picturesque," 273-7.

<sup>226</sup> Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), 40.

<sup>227</sup> Batey, "The Picturesque," 123.

the picturesque landscape that travelers sought? As earlier mentioned, Uvedale Price demanded irregularities in the landscape. Knight, however, thought the Picturesque belonged to the realm of perception and many of his conditions depended on the ways in which light fell on surfaces agreeably.<sup>229</sup> William Gilpin was especially influential in determining the physical characteristics of the Picturesque. In his treatise on a tour to the Lakes, Gilpin pinpointed that a landscape must have a background, off-skip, and foreground; the background consisted of mountains and lakes, the off-skip consisted of woods and rivers, and the foreground was composed of ruins, rocks, broken ground, or cascades.<sup>230</sup> Gilpin's formulation of the composition of the landscape was dependent on the seventeenth-century paintings of Claude Lorrain,<sup>231</sup> something that will be further addressed in relation to the Temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli in chapter four.

It was the pleasure in recognizing the resemblances between landscapes in nature and landscapes in painting that excited picturesque tourism in the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>232</sup> Claude Lorrain and Salvator Rosa, for example, painted pastoral landscapes that practitioners of the Picturesque revered. The Picturesque viewer was expected to draw connections between the landscape and those of painters and paintings in their imaginations; they were conditioned to see the actual landscape through the eyes of the painter.<sup>233</sup>

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<sup>228</sup> Hussey, *The Picturesque*, 84-97.

<sup>229</sup> Hussey, *The Picturesque*, 247.

<sup>230</sup> William Gilpin, *Observations, relative chiefly to picturesque beauty, made in the year 1772, on several parts of England; particularly the mountains, and lakes of Cumberland, and Westmoreland*, Vol. II, (London: printed for R. Blamire, 1788), 44 ff. Quoted in Hussey, *The Picturesque*, 116.

<sup>231</sup> Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 31.

<sup>232</sup> Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 39.

<sup>233</sup> David Marshall, "The Problem of the Picturesque," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 35 (2002): 429.

While tourists sought after these painted landscapes in nature, they were wont to improve upon it. One of the ways that they accomplished this was with the so-called Claude glass, which was a convex glass through which tourists viewed the landscape. Tourists held the glass at eye level in order to frame the landscape behind them. What the Claude glass accomplished was to reduce the landscape into a miniature composition. This miniaturization of the landscape scene in the glass parallels the way micromosaics miniaturize many monuments and scenes they depict. The Claude glass, while a reflection of the landscape, was a modified image. Its convex lens provided an oval frame for the scene that exaggerated the foreground and accentuated tonal values.<sup>234</sup> Furthermore, the glass could be tinted blue/grey or yellow to simulate moonlight or a full noon sun, respectively.<sup>235</sup> The Claude glass provided a private viewing experience to the tourist that combined both optical and mental reflections.<sup>236</sup> Tourists also utilized the camera obscura to obscure reality and heighten the imagination.<sup>237</sup> As literary scholar Malcolm Andrews writes, the traveler, “with the aid of his knick knacks...converts Nature’s unmanageable bounty into a frameable possession.”<sup>238</sup> As tourists sought out picturesque landscapes, they effectively carried with them a mental picture frame in which they transposed what they saw with their eyes in nature into a new composition in their minds.

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<sup>234</sup> Hussey, *The Picturesque*, 107. Inger Sigrun Brodey, *Ruined by Design: Shaping Novels and Gardens in the Culture of Sensibility*, (New York: Rutledge, 2008), 138.

<sup>235</sup> Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque*, 70.

<sup>236</sup> John Dixton Hunt, “Picturesque Mirrors and the Ruins of the Past,” In *Gardens and the Picturesque*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992), 178.

<sup>237</sup> Marshall, “The Problem of the Picturesque,” 420.

<sup>238</sup> Andrews, *In Search for the Picturesque*, 81.

I would suggest that the Picturesque is particularly fitting to a discussion on souvenirs. Just like micromosaics memorialized and modified Roman art and monuments to align with their expectations, Picturesque viewing also relied on the tourist memorializing and modifying the landscape in their imaginations. We will see exactly how this plays out in the architectural monuments of Rome that will follow a discussion on ruins.

## **Ruins**

Ruins are critical to fully understanding the Picturesque, and they are important for setting the stage for the discussion of Roman architectural monuments on micromosaics that will be discussed in this chapter. Ruins were popular for many reasons: their relation to the Picturesque, as a fragment, as a *memento mori*, their connection with time, and their status as mediator between man and nature. The Picturesque with its emotive associations in conjunction with a rising historical awareness contributed to the ways in which tourists embraced ruins.<sup>239</sup> Like the Picturesque, ruins straddled a division between natural reality and manmade constructions; ruins were ambiguous belonging both to art and nature.<sup>240</sup> It was this

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<sup>239</sup> Karen Lang, "The Dialectics of Decay: Rereading the Kantian Subject," *The Art Bulletin* 79 (1997): 416. The popularity of constructed ruins in the eighteenth century demonstrated how much the ruins of the Grand Tour and those of Gothic churches in the north were embraced. Artificial ruins suggested a co-authorship between man and nature. The divisions between man and nature were blurred with man's construction of building materials colliding with the vegetation of nature. Nature cooperated with man by accurately allowing him to create the illusion of time passed (Elizabeth Wanning Harries, *The Unfinished Manner: Essays on the Fragment in the Later Eighteenth Century*, (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994), 62-9).

<sup>240</sup> Paul Zucker, "Ruins: An Aesthetic Hybrid," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 20 (1961): 119.

ambiguity that gave ruins their power. Also similar to the Picturesque, ruins provided variety with their irregular surfaces, and they similarly had associative powers.<sup>241</sup>

The appreciation of ruins was reliant on the language of emotion, much in the tradition of the Picturesque. This is most clearly demonstrated through the ways in which ruins served as a site to express melancholy. English writer Rose Macaulay discussed the increasing taste for fashionable gloom in the eighteenth century. Eighteenth-century viewers took pleasure in the melancholy of ruins that evoked the fallen greatness of the past.<sup>242</sup> Ruins were often conceived as *memento mori*, since they reminded man of his own mortality through the illusions to decay and death.<sup>243</sup> Evoking melancholy pleasure, ruins were celebrated for their ability to summon up both pleasure and reflective contemplation of the past.

Ruins facilitated a fascination with the fragment and the incomplete. They demand to be seen in two disparate ways: as a visualization of the monument when it was once whole and as ruinous and imperfect.<sup>244</sup> Thus, the viewers of the ruins were forced to reconcile the fragment with the once whole monument.<sup>245</sup> Just as the miniature is never complete without its narrative discourse, the fragmentary ruin is never complete without the mental furnishing of its completeness.<sup>246</sup> The fragment of the ruin was made whole by uniting the past and the present.<sup>247</sup> Philosopher Friederick von Schlegel wrote that, “similar to a work of art in miniature, a fragment must completely detach itself from the

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<sup>241</sup> Michel Baridon, “Ruins as a Mental Construct,” *Journal of Garden History* 5 (1985): 93.

<sup>242</sup> Rose Macaulay, *Pleasure of Ruins*, (New York: Walker and Company, 1967), 1-31.

<sup>243</sup> Naomi Stead, “The Value of Ruins: Allegories of Destruction in Benjamin and Speer,” *Form/Work: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Design and the Built Environment* 6 (2003): 56.

<sup>244</sup> Harries, *The Unfinished Manner*, 84.

<sup>245</sup> Brodey, *Ruined by Design*, 72.

<sup>246</sup> Hunt, “Picturesque Mirrors,” 179.

enviroming world, and like a hedgehog, close in on itself...”<sup>248</sup> Walter Benjamin also discussed this idea of detachment as he saw destruction as a necessary process in order to free the fragment from its history.<sup>249</sup>

Time was so critical to the concept of ruins because it facilitated a conversation about the past and the present. Ruins, by their nature evoke the historical past, and this provided a link to the collective memory of the national history.<sup>250</sup> The ruin navigated between being impressive enough to evoke the greatness of the historical past while at the same time decayed enough to demonstrate the consequences of the historical past; the more monumental the ruin, the greater the effect.<sup>251</sup> Ruins were evoked for both their ability to cast a civilization into decay and to promote a continuing sense of vitality.<sup>252</sup> The lost greatness of these civilizations, as represented by ruins, appealed to the intellectual curiosities of tourists.<sup>253</sup> The ruin, as a historical document, preserved the remnants of the past from disappearance and allowed for the transmission of the future.<sup>254</sup> The key role of preserving a message from the past took precedence over integration with

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<sup>247</sup> Georg Simmel, “The Ruin,” in *Georg Simmel, 1858-1918: A Collection of Essays with Translations and a Bibliography*, ed. Kurt H. Wolff, (Columbus: The Ohio State University Press, 1959), 266.

<sup>248</sup> Friedrich von Schlegel, *Friedrich Schlegel’s Lucinde and the Fragments*, trans. Peter Firchow, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971, no. 206). Quoted in Michel Makarius, *Ruins*, (Paris: Flammarion, 2004), 147.

<sup>249</sup> Stead, “The Value of Ruins,” 58.

<sup>250</sup> In fact, ruins often served as a site to remind viewers of the irrecoverability of the past, of the gulf that separated the viewer from antiquity (Catherine Edwards, *Writing Rome: Textual Approaches to the City*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 11; Catharine Edwards, “The Roads to Rome,” in *Imagining Rome: British Artists and Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Michael Liversidge and Catharine Edwards, (London: Merrell Holberton Publishers, 1996), 10).

<sup>251</sup> Brodey, *Ruined by Design*, 66, 72.

<sup>252</sup> Harries, *The Unfinished Manner*, 57.

<sup>253</sup> Lang, “The Dialectics of Decay,” 421.

<sup>254</sup> Makarius, *Ruins*, 113.

the present time.<sup>255</sup> Therefore, in this way the ruin collapsed temporalities much as a miniature souvenir could create a new sense of time.

Directly related to a discussion of temporality is Alois Riegl's historical and age-values. This stemmed from the idea that every artwork has historical value because it represents a specific point in the history of art. This awareness of time passed inflects an age-value on objects; Riegl defined age-value as an emotional reaction evoked by perceptions that do not depend on historical awareness.<sup>256</sup> The more a ruin decays, the more greatly the age-value impacts the viewer.<sup>257</sup> Viewers were interested in seeing the visible effects of age in the monuments.

Perhaps most often noted in travel accounts are the connections between man and nature in conjunction with the ruin. The ruin was a site in which a tourist observed how the hand of man was controlled by nature.<sup>258</sup> Man built magnificent monuments upon nature, but as time passed nature took control of the manmade. As the monument crumbled into ruins, new appearances of growth emerged in the form of vegetation; the ruin was symbolic not only of the ruin of man, but also of his reintegration into the environment.<sup>259</sup> German sociologist and philosopher Georg Simmel suggested that by allowing buildings to decay, man acted as an agent of nature.<sup>260</sup>

The ideas of the Picturesque and ruins proliferated throughout the eighteenth century and the ramifications of these modes of viewing carried through the nineteenth

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<sup>255</sup> Michael S. Roth, Claire Lyons, and Charles Merewether, *Irresistible Decay*, (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, 1997), 8.

<sup>256</sup> Alois Riegl, "The Modern Cult of Monuments: its Character and its Origin," in *The Nineteenth-Century Visual Culture Reader*, ed. Vanessa R. Schwartz and Jeannene M. Przyblyski, (New York: Routledge, 2004), 58.

<sup>257</sup> Riegl, "The Modern Cult of Monuments," 59.

<sup>258</sup> Baridon, "Ruins as a Mental Construct," 94.

<sup>259</sup> Roth, Lyons, and Merewether, *Irresistible Decay*, 2.

century. These two tenets of viewing in the era of the Grand Tour directly impacted depictions of ancient monuments, as I will demonstrate in a discussion of the popular monuments of Rome following an introduction to the city of Rome and its excavations.

### **Excavating Rome**

Elements of ancient Rome were routinely unearthed throughout the centuries preceding the eighteenth century. Notable discoveries included the much revered Laocoön in 1506 and wall paintings of the Domus Aurea in the sixteenth century, whose grotesques influenced artists of the Renaissance. In the eighteenth century, more systematic excavations began. Francis I, Duke of Parma, organized excavations of the Palatine Hill in 1720, discovering the Palace of Domitian, which was quickly emptied of its sculptures.<sup>261</sup> The Villa Negroni, excavated in 1777 by Spanish ambassador de Azara, revealed many frescoes.<sup>262</sup> The mania for classical sculpture provided the motivations behind much eighteenth-century excavation in Rome. Both Hadrian's Villa and the Appian Way were excavated in the mid-to late eighteenth century in hopes of uncovering statuary. Pope Pius VI sponsored excavations outside of the city, where, for example, he uncovered the city of Otricoli just north of Rome. Other important archaeological discoveries in the Eternal City included the Tomb of the Scipios in 1780 that yielded important sarcophagi. The Villa Fonseca also yielded sculpture and was excavated first by the Fonseca family and later by Gavin Hamilton in 1774.<sup>263</sup>

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<sup>260</sup> Simmel, "The Ruin," 261.

<sup>261</sup> Claude Moatti, *In Search of Ancient Rome*, (New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1993), 61-73.

<sup>262</sup> Ilaria Bignamini and Claire Hornsby, *Digging and Dealing in Eighteenth-Century Rome*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 151-3.

<sup>263</sup> Bignamini and Hornsby, *Digging and Dealing*, 147-9.

Under the occupation of the French beginning in the 1790s, Rome underwent considerable large-scale excavations, employing hundreds of Rome's poor. Much French excavation concentrated in the area of the Roman Forum and Colosseum. Other excavation projects included the Forum of Trajan beginning in 1810, the clearing of the Basilica of Maxentius, and the clearance of the area of the Forum Boarium and Forum Domitiani, now known as the Forum of Nerva.<sup>264</sup>

Following the expulsion of the French, large archaeological undertakings continued in these same areas, such as the Forum. Work on the Via Appia continued under Luigi Canina who aimed to restore the entire extent of the road beginning in 1850. Excavations also took place at the House of Livia on the Palatine Hill. Giovanni Battista de' Rossi, who did much work to map out the catacombs of Rome, excavated the Catacomb of St. Callistus.<sup>265</sup>

### **Travelling to Rome**

Rome, as was discussed in the introduction, was the pinnacle of the Grand Tour. Not only was the Eternal City a center for cultural exchange, playing host to many artists, architects, and writers, but it was also considered the capital of the European Enlightenment.<sup>266</sup> The city's cosmopolitan nature facilitated the coexistence of ancient and modern elements and created an environment that nurtured artists. Artists flocked to

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<sup>264</sup> Moatti, *In Search*, 90-9 ff. Ronald T. Ridley, *The Eagle and the Spade: Archaeology in Rome during the Napoleonic Era*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 131-7.

<sup>265</sup> Moatti, *In Search*, 101-15.

<sup>266</sup> John Wilton-Ely, "Rome," in *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century*, eds. Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, (London: Tate Gallery Publishing, 1996, 137). See Edgar Bowron and Joseph Rischel, *Art in Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2000) for more on Rome as an eighteenth-century cultural center.

the Accademia di San Luca and the French Academy, which awarded the illustrious Prix de Rome.<sup>267</sup> The lively cast of international artists in Rome bred an environment in which Italian and non-Italian artists were all on even footing.<sup>268</sup>

The importance of the city was demonstrated by the emphasis travelers placed on arrival, something that will also be important in relation to the temples at Paestum that will be discussed in the fifth chapter. As Eric Leed demonstrates, the event of arrival is a powerful moment for formulating identity. Leed asserts that identity is read through the architecture of entrance and is also rooted in the landscape of entrance.<sup>269</sup> While travelling through the Roman Campagna, along rough roads littered with *banditti*, travelers eagerly looked for the first glimpses of the city, which came in the form of the dome of St. Peter's Basilica. Most visitors entered the city on the Via Flaminia through the Porta del Popolo that fed them into the piazza with the twin churches of Bernini. Traveler Anne Elwood wrote of her approach to the city: "There is but one Rome in the world, and the peculiarity of the approach strikes the imagination far more forcibly than the ordinary purlieu of a city..."<sup>270</sup> Russell Sturgis wrote that "riding in the Campagna far away on the ruf, and with no sign of a city, or even of a building, in view, one saw swell above some grassy slope a bold curve of dome. Not a sign else of city of building-only in the wide silent expanse this one, this supernal sign of man."<sup>271</sup> While St. Peter's

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<sup>267</sup> The Prix de Rome was an enormously important scholarly undertaking for French architects, painters, or sculptors. It essentially served as not only artistic training, but also as a way to launch an artistic career. Artists spent their time in Rome sketching its many antiquities and monuments, and brought these sketchbooks back with them to use as a sourcebook. The winners of the Prix de Rome were important for helping spread Roman iconography and discoveries of antiquity throughout Europe.

<sup>268</sup> Marshall and Wolfe, "Roma Britannica," 5.

<sup>269</sup> Leed, *The Mind of the Traveler*, 87.

<sup>270</sup> Anne Katharine Curteis Elwood, *Narrative of a Journey Overland from England by the Continent of Europe, Egypt, and the Red Sea to India*, Vol. I, (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Betley, 1830), 41.

<sup>271</sup> Julian Sturgis, *From Books and Papers of Russell Sturgis*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1893), 163.

Basilica figured largely in forming the first impressions of the city, ancient monuments were mentioned in conjunction with entrance to the city as well. Describing the experience of visitors upon entering the city, Edward Burton illustrated the typical encounter as the following: “Most people picture themselves in a certain spot, from whence the towers and domes of the Eternal City burst upon their view. St Peter’s with its cupola, the immense ruins of the Colosseum, the Pillar of Trajan, and such well-known objects are all crowded into the ideal scene; and the imagination is raised to the utmost pitch in expectation of every moment unfolding this glorious prospect.”<sup>272</sup> Entering instead through the gate near San Giovanni Laterano, James Cooper wrote, “presently the carriage came under the walls of a huge oval structure of a reddish stone, in which arches rose above arches to the height of an ordinary church tower, a mountain of edifice; and, though not expecting to see it, I recognized the Coliseum at a glance....My head became confused, and I sat stupid as a countryman who first visits town, perplexed with the whirl of sensations and the multiplicity of the objects.”<sup>273</sup> What these accounts of the approach to the city highlight is how the featured ancient and modern monuments seen upon arrival contributed toward the perception of the duality of the city of Rome.

It was this dual aspect of the city, the ancient and the modern, that propelled Rome to such spectacular popularity on the Grand Tour. Giovanni Panini’s two 1757 paintings, *Ancient Rome* and *Modern Rome*, depict framed views of the sites of each respective half of the city and are representative of the widely recognized duality of the

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<sup>272</sup> Edward Burton, *A Description of the Antiquities and Other Curiosities of Rome: From Personal Observation during a Visit to Italy in the Years 1818-19*, (London: C. & J. Rivington, 1828), 4.

city. Ancient sites were numerous and highlights included monuments such as the Colosseum, the Pantheon, the Roman Forum, the Baths of Diocletian, the Columns of Trajan and Antonius, the Pyramid of Gaius Cestius, and the Temple of Vesta. Furthermore, museums and collections of antiquities, especially sculpture, were frequent sites of interest. Nearly every visit to the city included a stop at the Museo Pio-Clementino, the Museo Capitolino, the Museo Chiaramonti, and the Villa Borghese or Villa Albani collections. The Apollo Belvedere and Laocoön in the Vatican collections were esteemed sculptures that were in high demand. Tourists considered a moonlight tour of the Colosseum and a torchlight tour of the Vatican Museums a staple to any Grand Tour itinerary in Rome, with both the monument and sculptures coming alive by the moonlight or a flickering torchlight. The ancient sights of the city were renowned for their capability to ignite imaginative associations.<sup>274</sup> The Roman Forum, for example, was a place where visitors often found themselves cast back into the days of Cicero.

Modern Rome, though visitors often scorned it for its dirt and filth, also offered travelers many intriguing monuments. Easily the most popular destination of the modern city was the Basilica of St. Peter's, which travelers praised for both its masterful exterior architecture and the brilliant artistic works inside, especially the mosaics. Other popular monuments to visit included other churches, such as Pietro in Vincolo, which boasted Michelangelo's sculpture of Moses, San Giovanni Laterano, or Michelangelo's frescoes in the Sistine Chapel. Like sculpture was a main attraction of antiquities in the ancient itinerary of the Grand Tour, paintings were a critical component of modern Rome's

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<sup>273</sup> James Fenimore Cooper, *Gleanings in Europe: Italy*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1981), 190.

<sup>274</sup> Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 111.

program. Raphael, in particular, was a popular artist; his *Stanze* and *Transfiguration* at the Vatican were especially noted. Other popular paintings included Daniele da Volterra's *Deposition* and Annibale Carracci's frescoes at the Palazzo Farnese. The Catholic Church very much conditioned the sites of modern Rome, as is demonstrated by the way in which sacred pilgrimage itineraries and papal power influenced which monuments visitors sought out.<sup>275</sup>

What power did this city exude where ancient and modern coexisted side by side? With the juxtaposition of ancient and modern monuments, Rome provided an opportunity to experience the past in the present with a keen awareness of both looming large in the city. William Gillespie wrote eloquently of this phenomenon:

Rome is in its single self a whole world of wonders, ancient and modern, and the newly-arrived traveler finds himself bewildered in the "embarrassment of riches." St Peter's calls him on side, the Coliseum on another; a living Pope rivals a dead Emperor; the Apollo Belvidere is a mile from the Dying Gladiator...and the thousand other objects of deep interest are scattered over an immense area, and attract you in every direction, so that if their magnetic powers were all equal, they would keep you balanced immovably in their center.<sup>276</sup>

James Harves' comments on this topic are also very relevant: "In no city is the gulf between the Past and Present so wide as in Rome... The Past lives while the Present swoons."<sup>277</sup> Thus, as demonstrated by these accounts, the lure of the city derived from its ability to both seamlessly combine ancient and modern, and yet to also juxtapose the two opposing powers.

The ways in which visitors familiarized themselves with and navigated through this city of ancient and modern monuments is particularly important for the sights that I

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<sup>275</sup> Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 130-1, 147.

<sup>276</sup> William Mitchell Gillespie, *Rome: As Seen by a New-Yorker*. New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1845), 10.

will discuss in this chapter. While tourists often collected printed maps of the city, such as Gianbattista Nolli's 1748 map of Rome, as souvenirs, they also functioned as guides towards the nineteenth century.<sup>278</sup> Guidebooks often suggested where a visitor could get such a map.<sup>279</sup> Prints, and print makers, were also critical for their role in guidebooks. For example, printmaker Giuseppe Vasi (1710-1782) in 1763 produced the *Itinerario istruttivo diviso in otto giornate per ritrovare con facilità tutte le antiche e moderne magnificenze di Roma*, which was a suggested eight-day itinerary that was illustrated with prints.<sup>280</sup> Since tourists had long acquired the plates of his *Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna* throughout the second half of the eighteenth century as souvenirs, Vasi took advantage of the market and incorporated these prints into his *Itinerario istruttivo*.<sup>281</sup> In the later nineteenth century Vasi's *Itinerario* remained valuable, as Russell Sturgis wrote of its quality: "The best guide for Rome is Vasi's, who, without any remarks of his own, gives you merely a catalogue of the objects worthy of notice, both ancient and modern, as they lie contiguous with each other; and so accurately are they pointed you that with the book in your hand you have no difficulty in following him and would find a valet de place rather an encumbrance."<sup>282</sup> In addition to Vasi, noted

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<sup>277</sup> James Jackson Jarves, *Italian Sights and Papal Principles seen through American Spectacles*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1856), 347, 358.

<sup>278</sup> Nolli's map was very innovative in that it was a very precise map that integrated both ancient and modern Rome (James T. Tice and James G. Harper. "Giuseppe Vasi's Rome," in *Giuseppe Vasi's Rome: Lasting Impressions from the Age of the Grand Tour*, eds. James T. Tice and James G. Harper, (Eugene: University of Oregon Press, 2010), 38).

<sup>279</sup> Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 105.

<sup>280</sup> John Pinto, "Giuseppe Vasi as Interpreter of the Eighteenth-Century Architecture of Rome," in *Giuseppe Vasi's Rome: Lasting Impressions from the Age of the Grand Tour*, eds. James T. Tice and James G. Harper, (Eugene: University of Oregon Press, 2010), 56.

<sup>281</sup> Adrienne Hamilton, "Printmaking as Tourism: Giuseppe Vasi's *Itinerario Istruttivo* of Rome," in *Giuseppe Vasi's Rome: Lasting Impressions from the Age of the Grand Tour*, ed. James T. Tice and James G. Harper, (Eugene: University of Oregon Press, 2010), 77.

<sup>282</sup> Sturgis, *From Books and Papers*, 174-5. Tourists often acquired this book, as is demonstrated by an inclusion of the French version in John Henderson of Fordell's crates aboard the *Westmorland*, an English

printmaker Giovanni Battista Piranesi also helped guide tourists around the city as Tobias Smollett recounted:

At the same time I furnished myself with maps and plans of ancient and modern Rome, together with the little manual, called, *Itinerario...* But I found still more satisfaction in pursuing the book in three volumes, entitled, *Roma antica e moderna*, which contains a description of everything remarkable in and about the city, illustrated with a great number of copper plates, and many curious historical annotations. This directory cost me a zequine; but a hundred zequines will not purchase all the books and prints, which have been published at Rome on these subjects. Of these, the most celebrated are the plates of Piranesi, who is not only an ingenious architect and engraver, but also a learned antiquarian; though he is apt to run riot in his conjectures; and with regard to the ancient Rome, has broached some doctrines, which he will find it very difficult to maintain.<sup>283</sup>

Smollett pinpointed one of the most frequent complaints against Piranesi, namely that his engravings embellished upon the actuality of the sights. Nonetheless, visitors relied on prints to point them to the most celebrated monuments of the city.

Prints not only conditioned conceptions of the city prior to their visits, but also conditioned modes of acceptable viewing.<sup>284</sup> Furthermore, their widespread availability meant that they were also recognized as points of knowledge.<sup>285</sup> While prints were acquired from Giovanni Volpato or Giuseppe Vasi, Piranesi, of course, was the most widely celebrated printmaker. His prints radically changed the way that the city was viewed. Unlike his master, Vasi, Piranesi made his prints much larger in order to cater to

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merchant ship carrying goods purchased by Grand Tourists that was intercepted by French warships off the eastern coast of Spain (Sánchez-Jáuregui, María Dolores and Scott Wilcox, ed., *The English Prize: The Capture of the Westmorland, An Episode of the Grand Tour*, (New Haven: Yale Center for British Art, 2012), no. 109).

<sup>283</sup> Smollett, *Travels*, 250.

<sup>284</sup> Also conditioning modes of viewing before leaving for the Grand Tour were the popular panoramas of Rome in the early to mid-nineteenth century in London (Michael Liversidge, "Rome Portrayed: 'to excite the sensibility, and to awaken the admiration of mankind,'" in *Imagining Rome: British Artists and Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, eds. Michael Liversidge and Catharine Edwards, (London: Merrell Holberton Publishers, 1996), 50).

<sup>285</sup> Dana Arnold writes about this in conjunction with a discussion on the temples at Paestum. She asserts that the lack of authenticity, as calculated by Walter Benjamin, allows for prints to break free from ritual

the market.<sup>286</sup> Tourists purchased plates individually while on tour and either framed them, bound them together, or kept them unbound in folios upon their return.<sup>287</sup>

Piranesi's prints appealed to tourists for many reasons. His attention to time and space created a "layered topography of Rome in its contextual richness [that] intersects with the historical imagination" and the prints encouraged the viewer to engage with the buildings directly.<sup>288</sup> Also appealing was the way in which he was able to balance scientific observation and imagination; the ways in which he engaged with monumental scale, light, and line to heighten the drama of the scene; and the way he included figures in his prints that facilitated viewers' inclusion of themselves in prints.<sup>289</sup>

Prints, while often acquired on the tour, were also traded throughout Europe, seeing a wide distribution that allowed visitors to fix their expectations before they ever even arrived in Italy. Anna Miller wrote about engravings that did not accurately represent the ruins:

Piranesi's are too confused to give a clear idea of them; he is so ridiculously exact in trifles, as to have injured the fine proportions of the columns of the portico to the pantheon, by inserting, in his gravings, the papers stuck on them, such as advertisements, &c. Many other particulars of this nature have confused his designs; yet they are esteemed the best here; and we have made an ample collection of the most valuable of them. The ruins we have seen, greatly exceed our ideas formed of them from books and prints.<sup>290</sup>

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and proclaim their own truth (Dana Arnold, "Facts or Fragments? Visual Histories in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," *Art History* 25 (4) (2002): 466).

<sup>286</sup> Mario Bevilacqua, "The Rome of Piranesi, Views of the Ancient and Modern City," in *The Rome of Piranesi: The Eighteenth-Century City in the Great Vedute*, eds. Mario Bevilacqua and Mario Gori Sassoli, (Rome: Artemide, 2006), 54-5.

<sup>287</sup> John Wilton-Ely, "Piranesi and the World of the British Grand Tour," in *The Rome of Piranesi: The Eighteenth-Century City in the Great Vedute*, eds. Mario Bevilacqua and Mario Gori Sassoli, (Rome: Artemide, 2006), 67-8.

<sup>288</sup> John A. Pinto, *Speaking Ruins: Piranesi, Architects, and Antiquity in Eighteenth-Century Rome*, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2012), 111-3.

<sup>289</sup> Cooper, *Gleanings in Europe*, 108-9, 117. John Wilton-Ely, *The Mind and Art of Giovanni Battista Piranesi*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), 27, 30-32.

<sup>290</sup> Anna Miller, *Letters from Italy, describing the manners, customs, antiquities, paintings, &c of the country, in the years MDCCLXX and MDCCLXXI*, Vol. II, (Dublin: printed for W. Watson, D.

Unlike Miller who found that the engravings exceeded her expectations of the monuments, Joseph Forsyth wrote how the visitor was frequently disappointed by these expectations falsely set by prints: “That rage for embellishing, which is implanted in every artist, has thrown so much composition into the engraved views of Rome, has so exaggerated its ruins and architecture, or so expanded the space in which they stand, that a stranger, arriving here with the expectations raised by those prints, will be infallibly disappointed.”<sup>291</sup> These two opposing reactions to the prints of Rome aptly illustrate the frequently contradictory currents that run through travel accounts of the Grand Tour.

### **The Roman Forum**

Known as the Campo Vaccino during the eighteenth century because of the cattle market held there, the Roman Forum was a critical sight to see on a sojourn in Rome. The Forum overwhelmed the senses with its array of ruins and buildings. Travelers often commented on the levels of confusion and weighed in on the different arguments that existed amongst scholars as to whom each building was dedicated. Micromosaicists often represented the Roman Forum on micromosaics because of its popularity that stemmed from its ability to evoke the greatness of the past, which its ruinous state facilitated. In this discussion, I will address how micromosaics memorialized certain aspects of the experience of the Roman Forum, such as the ways in which tourists

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Chamberlaine, J. Potts, J. Williams, J. Hoey, W. Colles, W. Wilson, T. Walker, W. Gilbert, C. Jenkin, T. Armitage, M. Mills, J. Beatty, J. Exshaw and C. Talbot, 1776), 391.

<sup>291</sup> Joseph Forsyth, *Remarks on Antiquities, Arts, and Letters during an excursion in Italy in the years 1802 and 1803*, (Boston: Wells and Lilly, 1812), 124.

approached it and how excavation changed its ruinous state, and how micromosaicists expelled unpleasant aspects.

Before addressing the ways in which the Roman Forum was memorialized and modified on micromosaics, it is necessary to unpack the history of the Forum in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Forum, of course, was home to not only the ruins of Roman buildings, but also to cattle as it served as a pasture since the seventeenth century.<sup>292</sup> In the eighteenth century, the cattle still roamed the Forum using a huge basin located near the Temple of Castor and Pollux as a water trough.<sup>293</sup> For much of the eighteenth century, the Forum remained untouched by excavations and the ground level was as high as twenty feet above the original ancient level. The first excavations in the Forum happened in 1788 when Swedish ambassador Carl Fredrik Fredenheim undertook excavations of the Basilica Julia on behalf of the Swedish Royal Museum.<sup>294</sup>

However, the most significant excavations did not begin until the nineteenth century. The French occupation of the city of Rome, which lasted from 1798-1814, saw many new archaeological undertakings to remove accumulated rubble. Camille de Tournon (1778-1833), Prefect of the Department of Rome, was charged with clearing the built-up rubble in the Forum in preparation for a visit of Napoleon and Empress Marie-Louise, a visit that never came to fruition.<sup>295</sup> In 1803 Carlo Fea (1753-1836) was appointed the archaeological director of the Forum and undertook restorations and excavations. The Arch of Septimius Severus was excavated from 1802-3 to remove

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<sup>292</sup> Even in the seventeenth century the cattle pasture was not welcome in the forum. Pope Alexander VII banned the market, but it returned in 1659 (David Watkin, *The Roman Forum*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000), 156).

<sup>293</sup> Moatti, *In Search of Ancient Rome*, 89.

<sup>294</sup> Watkin, *The Roman Forum*, 163.

surrounding earth down to the original ancient surface.<sup>296</sup> The Temple of Vespasian, known as Jupiter Tonans until 1827, was excavated in 1810 and was re-erected by Giuseppe Valadier (1762-1839) and Giuseppe Camporese (1761-1822) in 1811.<sup>297</sup> Also associated with the French occupation was a plan to transform the area of the Capitoline and Roman Forum into a garden, Le Jardin du Capitol. Consequently, in 1810 modern buildings in the Forum were removed. By 1812, the Temple of Saturn, known as Temple of Concord until 1834, was cleared of surrounding modern structures built against the temple.<sup>298</sup> The Duchess of Devonshire sponsored the excavation of the Column of Phocas that uncovered its dedicatory inscription in 1813.<sup>299</sup>

After the defeat of Napoleon, excavations and upkeep continued in the Forum. The cleaning and weeding out of the Forum by the French was halted and by 1816 it was once again overgrown. 1816-1818 saw the excavation of the Temple of Castor and Pollux that freed the columns to their bases.<sup>300</sup> After Pope Pius VII was reinstated he ordered the restoration of the Arch of Titus in 1819, which Raffaele Stern (1774-1820) began and Valadier finished in 1822. In 1827, Antonio Nibby (1792-1839) succeeded Fea as director of the excavations of the Forum and continued excavation, clearing the northern part of the Forum. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Pietro Rosa (1810-1891), Rodolfo Lanciani (1845-1929), and Giacomo Boni (1859-1925) carried out more clearing of earth in the Forum.<sup>301</sup> One of the more visible changes, besides further

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<sup>295</sup> Watkin, *The Roman Forum*, 183.

<sup>296</sup> Ridley, *The Eagle and the Spade*, 37.

<sup>297</sup> Watkin, *The Roman Forum*, 185-6.

<sup>298</sup> Ridley, *The Eagle and the Spade*, 193.

<sup>299</sup> Watkin, *The Roman Forum*, 186.

<sup>300</sup> Ridley, *The Eagle and the Spade*, 59, 189.

<sup>301</sup> Watkin, *The Roman Forum*, 188-197.

excavations, to the Forum during this period was the row of trees planted along the avenue of the Forum in 1857.<sup>302</sup>

The Roman Forum was a complicated site for tourists to understand. It was a jumble of ruins that not only bewildered the eyes, but also puzzled the mind that tried to parse out the individual buildings. Tourists and antiquarians relied on publications and guidebooks to untangle the ruins into an intelligible plan. A seventeenth-century publication that continued to be of importance throughout the eighteenth century was Antoine Desgodetz's *Les edifices antiques de Rome*, which was first published in 1682, and depicted plans and elevations of the individual monuments of the Roman Forum in isolation. It was translated into English in 1771 and 1775.<sup>303</sup> Francesco de' Ficoroni's *Vestigie e rarità di Roma antica* of 1744 also covered the monuments of the ancient city, including individual illustrations of the monuments in the Roman Forum. Antonio Nibby's 1819 *Del Foro Romano, della Via Sacra dell'Anfiteatro Flavio* was a standard source that included plans of the Forum. Giuseppe Valadier published the *Raccolta delle piu insigni fabbriche di Roma antica* from 1810-1826 on the individual monuments of Rome, including the some of those in the Roman Forum.<sup>304</sup> In the nineteenth century one of the most popularly consulted guidebooks was Murray's *A Handbook to Rome and its Environs*. Also available in English was George Ledwell Taylor and Edward Cresy's 1821-1822 *The Architectural Antiquities of Rome*.

Prints were also useful for deciphering the tangle of monuments in the Forum. Piranesi's *Vedute di Roma* of 1748-78 featured overall views of the Forum in addition to

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<sup>302</sup> Henisch, "Roman Antiquities," 281.

<sup>303</sup> Watkin, *The Roman Forum*, 159.

individual buildings, such as the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina or the Arch of Titus. Other engravings include Francesco Morelli's 1810 *Veduta generale del Foro Romano*, or views of the Roman Forum in the 1817 *Cinquanta principali vedute* and *Le Antichità romane* of Luigi Rossini (1790-1857).<sup>305</sup> Paintings also typically embraced the Forum as a subject.<sup>306</sup> Furthermore, tourists chose the Forum as a backdrop for portraits commissioned while on the Grand Tour.<sup>307</sup> This association of portraiture with the topography of the Grand Tour is a practice that will be noted in following chapters as well.

Souvenirs commonly depicted picturesque views of the Forum. Particularly popular were fans that included overall views of the Forum (Figure 1).<sup>308</sup> The Roman Forum was also commonly featured later in photographs (Figure 2).<sup>309</sup> Albums that

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<sup>304</sup> Frank Salmon, *Building on Ruins: The Rediscovery of Rome and English Architecture*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 55.

<sup>305</sup> For *Le Antichità*: pl. 1, 85, and 86.

<sup>306</sup> *Capriccio of the Roman Forum* by Giovanni Paolo Panini in 1741 that depicts the environs of the forum (Yale University Art Gallery, Inv. 1964.41). *View of the Roman Forum* also by Panini in 1747 (The Walters Art Museum, 37.2366). *Forum Romanum, for Mr. Soane's Museum* by JMW Turner, 1826 (Tate Britain, Inv. N00504). *Il Foro romano* by Giovanni Faure in 1835 (Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Inv. 74), William Pars, *The Campo Vaccino, Rome*, 1775-82 in the Tate Gallery (Wilton and Bignamini, *Grand Tour*, no. 107), Giovanni Battista Busiri, *The Campo Vaccino, Rome*, 1740 in private collection of Sir Brinsely Ford (Wilton and Bignamini, *Grand Tour*, no. 106).

<sup>307</sup> Louis Ducros, *The Grand Duke Paul and his Retinue in the Forum Romanum*, 1782 in the Pavlovsk Palace Museum (Wilton and Bignamini, *Grand Tour*, no. 95).

<sup>308</sup> Fan with a view of the Roman Forum that dates to the end of the eighteenth century (Roberta Orsi Landini, ed., *Ventagli Italiani: moda, costume, arte*, (Venezia: Marsilio, 1990), no 64), 1770 and 1775 fans with views of the Forum from the Brighton Museum (*Fans and the Grand Tour*, no. 2, no. 5), and a fan dated to the late eighteenth century from the British Museum (0713.304).

<sup>309</sup> See Thornton, *Rome*, nos. 28, 32, 34, and 37 for general views of the Forum from the mid-eighteenth century, Hensch, "Roman Antiquities," for further mid-eighteenth century photographs of the Forum (figs. 217, 219, 220), an 1865 photograph from the church of Santa Francesca Romana (Anna Maria Voltan, *One Hundred Images of the Nineteenth Century from the Photographic Collection of the Vatican Apostolic Library*, (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 2010), fig. 46), and a photograph of the Forum from before 1865 (Maggia, *Souvenir del Grand Tour*, 51).

An interesting example of a photograph of the Roman Forum is one that is featured prominently in a self-portrait of Jean-Gabriel Elynard. The photograph, featuring the Temple of Saturn and the Temple of Vespasian, sits propped up on a table next to him and is quite possibly a photograph that he himself took. This practice is analogous to Grand Tour portraits that would feature Roman monuments in the background (J. Paul Getty Museum, Inv. 84.XT.255.38).

consisted of 20-100 photographs of monuments, artworks, and views of the city and its daily life became popular in the second half of the nineteenth century in Rome.<sup>310</sup>

While prints and fans depicted *vedute* of the Roman Forum in the eighteenth century, we do not see *vedute* of the Roman Forum on micromosaics until well into the nineteenth century (Figure 3, Figure 4). These nineteenth-century micromosaic *vedute* of the Forum were often quite large, rivaling the size of an oil painting *veduta* of the city. Examining which monuments were fully excavated helps to date micromosaics that depict overall views of the Forum to after the full-scale excavations at the beginning of the nineteenth century. While dating micromosaics is notoriously difficult, the visual evidence and stylistic dating correspond to suggest a nineteenth-century date for *vedute* of the Roman Forum on micromosaics. Micromosaics depicting *vedute* of the eighteenth-century Roman Forum are nonexistent, and the only depictions of the Forum during this century are monuments singled out for individual portrayal.<sup>311</sup>

*Vedute* of the Roman Forum on micromosaics take several different forms, all of which I will elaborate on in further detail below. First and foremost, they are streamlined *vedute* largely minimizing the picturesque touches of eighteenth-century engravings (Figure 5, Figure 6). This is, of course, because the excavations cleared away much of the picturesque dirt drifts and greenery. In micromosaic *vedute* the skies are usually a bright, cloudless blue unlike the cloud filled skies of eighteenth-century prints. They are also, for the most part, cleared of the high number of people and animals that were featured in Piranesi's prints (Figure 7). Micromosaic *vedute* take several different viewpoints. The

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<sup>310</sup> Chiara dall'Olio, "Il Grand Tour fra storia e fotografia," in *Souvenir del Grand Tour: Immagini dell'Italia de metà Ottocento*, ed. Filippo Maggia, (Modena: Raccolte Fotografiche Modensi Giuseppe Panini, 2005), 5-6.

most popular is from the Capitoline Hill looking towards the Colosseum. From this vantage point, there are two different perspectives: one from the Capitoline Tower or Senator's Palace and one from the Campidoglio. While fewer in number, there are also micromosaic *vedute* that look toward the Capitoline from the Colosseum.<sup>312</sup> The paths that visitors took and the ways that this conditioned the views taken on micromosaics will be discussed after I parse out how we can look to tourists to explain the reasons why micromosaicists do not depict *vedute* of the Roman Forum appear on micromosaics until the early to mid nineteenth century.

While the *vedute* of the Forum does not appear until the nineteenth century on micromosaics, micromosaicists depicted individual buildings, such as the Temple of Vespasian, in the late eighteenth century on micromosaics (Figure 8 through Figure 10). Micromosaics zoom in on the Temple of Vespasian, usually covered in foliage, buried nearly up to its column capitals, and against a background with a hill, probably the Caelian. Also frequently included in the composition are peasants. The Temple of Vespasian was shown covered with earth on micromosaics since it was not excavated until 1811.<sup>313</sup> With the exception of one micromosaic depicting the Temple of Vespasian, all depict the temple as it was seen in the late eighteenth century buried amongst the

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<sup>311</sup> The most popular monument to be singled out is the Arch of Titus.

<sup>312</sup> See, for example, Petochi, Alfieri, and Branchetti, *I mosaici minuti*, 1981, 235, no. 5.

<sup>313</sup> This is mirrored by cork models of the Temple of Vespasian that show the temple's columns immersed in unexcavated dirt (Cork model by Antonio Chichi in Landesmussen in Darmstadt, Büttner, "Korkmodelle," fig. 7). Other souvenirs that single out this temple do not show it in its late eighteenth-century context, such as miniature marble or bronze models (Christie's South Kensington Ltd, *Antiquities and Souvenirs of the Grand Tour, Wednesday 27 October 1993*, (London: Christie's, 1993), no. 370, Christie's South Kensington Ltd, *Antiquities and Souvenirs of the Grand Tour, Wednesday 19 October 1994*, (London: Christie's, 1994), no. 214; Christie's South Kensington Ltd, *Antiquities and Souvenirs of the Grand Tour, Wednesday 28 April 1993*, (London: Christie's, 1993), no. 228). This of course may be because of its medium, which did not as easily allow for a heap of dirt to engulf the columns.

rubbish of the Forum.<sup>314</sup> They all overly embrace picturesque qualities, especially vegetation. Several micromosaics place the temple columns behind bushes and the monument itself is burdened with tufts of vegetation (Figure 8). Particularly striking are two micromosaics that employ a jagged tree, a characteristic of Gilpin's rugged Picturesque (Figure 9). These eighteenth-century micromosaics of the Temple of Vespasian, unlike *vedute* of the Forum, correspond to eighteenth-century prints. For example, a print of Piranesi depicts the temple also amongst foliage and buried to its capitals with people walking in front of it (Figure 11). However, Piranesi's print takes a different view of the temple that excludes the Caelian Hill present in the background of micromosaics, which was added regardless of whether it would appear in the composition or not in reality.

All of this picturesque beauty may be surprising when looking at travelers' accounts of the Temple of Vespasian. In the early eighteenth century Edward Wright's experience of the temple is interesting in conjunction with depictions of it on micromosaics: "They [the columns] are so far buried by the Ruins of the old Capitol, which stood a little higher, that scarce half of them is above ground, and what is so, is almost hid by Trees."<sup>315</sup> What is interesting here is how he pinpoints the lack of easy visibility. Anna Miller similarly cited this same issue: "The three superb columns, the only remnants of the temple of Jupiter Stator, attract the admiration of the traveler by the beauty of their proportions and sculpture; and much is it to be regretted, that the greater

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<sup>314</sup> Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaici*, 118. Alfieri, Branchetti, and Cornini, *Mosaici Minuti*, 118, 152. Alvar González-Palacios, *Una raccolta di mosaici minuti*, (Rome: Finarte, 1991), 233. Petochi, Alfieri, and Branchetti, *I mosaici minuti*, 235. Shown behind a hill, but not buried: Roberto Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, (Rome: Gangemi Editore, spa, 2009), 97.

part of them, at this day, lie smothered up in soil of this foul cow market.”<sup>316</sup> What we see in micromosaics, instead, are tufts of appropriately placed greenery and trees pushed off to the side. Micromosaicists rewrote this experience of the temple, transforming the rubble and vegetation that blocked the view of the temple into picturesque ornaments adorning the scene.

Despite travelers’ disappointment at the fact that the temple was almost entirely underground, they enjoyed its celebrated frieze. Three quarters of micromosaics depicting the temple as it was in the late eighteenth century show the temple from an angle that privileges a view of a frieze that depicted different sacrificial implements between boucrania. This frieze is also featured prominently in Piranesi’s print. Thomas Martyn’s account of the temple is insightful: “Three beautiful fluted corinthian columns, at the foot of the Capitoline hill, buried 35 feet in the ground, so that the elegant frieze representing the instruments of sacrifice is in a manner level with the eye.”<sup>317</sup> The advantage of the higher ground level in the Forum in the eighteenth century was the ability to examine the frieze at eye level, a feat that would not have been possible in antiquity. Thus, the Temple of Vespasian is singled out from the many buildings of the Forum and shown in its late eighteenth-century context because it was a single, understandable building in isolation whose unfavorable rubbish and surrounding vegetation were transformed into the Picturesque principles of the period.

If picturesque individual temples of the Forum are depicted on micromosaics in the eighteenth century, it is then curious why micromosaicists chose not to feature the

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<sup>315</sup> Edward Wright, *Some Observations Made in Travelling through France, Italy, &C in the Years 1720, 1721, and 1722*, Vol. I, (London: Tho. Ward and E. Wichsteed, 1730), 256.

<sup>316</sup> Miller, *Letters from Italy*, Vol. II, 190.

Forum as a whole as it was in the late eighteenth century on their micromosaics, especially given how picturesque the scene would have been and how popular *vedute* scenes of the city were. This picturesque appeal is gleaned from Vasi and Piranesi's engravings of the Forum that tout the picturesque qualities of the ruins. We can turn to travel accounts of the Forum to help explain why we do not see the Roman Forum *vedute* in the eighteenth-century micromosaic oeuvre.

Visitors of the late eighteenth century emphasized how the buildings of the Forum were obscured by dirt.<sup>318</sup> While travelers do not seem to embrace the high ground level, often referring to it as rubbish, they also are not terribly offended by the columns sunken in the rubbish. Nathaniel Carter eloquently wrote how the columns of the temple were, “piercing strata of rubbish heaped upon the old pavement to the depth of twenty or thirty feet, rear their Grecian capitals and shattered cornices above the scene of desolation, coming like tell-tale messengers from the world below.”<sup>319</sup> We get the sense that Carter wished to know what these “tell-tale messengers” had to say about the world below. Interesting is the account of Augustus Hare who, writing in the late nineteenth century, was grieved by the result of excavations:

While gaining in historic interest, the Forum has greatly lost in beauty since the recent discoveries. Artists will lament the beautiful trees which mingled with the temples, the groups of bovi and contadmi reposing in their shadow, and above all the lovely vegetation which imparted light and colour to the top of the ruins. As almost every vestige of verdure is carefully cleared away when it springs up, the appearance is that of a number of ruined sheds in a ploughed field, with some fine

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<sup>317</sup> Thomas Martyn, *A Tour Through Italy*, (London: C. and G. Kearsley, 1791), 144.

<sup>318</sup> Tobias Smollett recorded how, “You descend from the Capitol between the remaining pillars of two temples, the pedestals and part of the shafts sunk in the rubbish” (Smollett, *Travels through France and Italy*, 255-6). John Moore wrote that... “two thirds of them [columns of the Temple of Vespasian] buried in the ruins of the old Capitol” (Moore, *A View of Society and Manners*, 159). Ann Flaxman recalled how the Arch of Septimius Severus was “much buried in the earth” (Ann Flaxman, *An Uninteresting Detail of a Journey to Rome, Sept. 1787-11 Oct. 1788*. British Library, Add MS 39787).

<sup>319</sup> Nathaniel Hazeltine Carter, *Letters from Europe*, Vol. II, (New York: G&C Carvill, 1827), 162.

columns interspersed. As Forsyth truly observes, ‘deep learning is generally the grave of taste.’<sup>320</sup>

What is of note here is that Hare did not cite missing the rubbish and earth piled around the monuments that would have been familiar from engravings, but rather he mourned the loss of picturesque vegetation. Therefore, we get rather mixed messages about tourists’ opinions of the monuments of the Forum obscured by earth and cannot yet come to a conclusion that *vedute* only appeared in the nineteenth century because it was only then that the buildings were not covered by earth.

While an individual building covered nearly to its capitals with earth and rubbish of the preceding centuries might have struck the viewer as picturesque, the Forum completely covered in earth was a confusing place. George Hillard explained why there was such confusion:

In the Forum every foot of ground has been the field of antiquarian controversy...The reason of this confusion and ignorance is to be found in two circumstances; one that the buildings were very numerous in proportion to the small space which they occupied, and *the other that the original surface has been covered to the depth of twelve or fifteen feet by the accumulated soil of ages so that the foundations of the structures are no longer to be seen.* The removal of this deposit and the entire clearing out of the Forum were among the plans of improvement projected by the French during the occupation of Rome in the time of Napoleon, and in this instance, actually begun [my emphasis].<sup>321</sup>

Hillard revealed one reason why the Roman Forum of the nineteenth century had greater appeal, and that is the clarity that came with clearing the monuments of rubbish that obscured their entire viewing. Louis Simond wrote of his hopes for an excavated Forum: “The entire removal, on a regular plan, of these twenty feet of rubbish accumulated over the ancient level, would, if any thing can, determine the relative situation of those

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<sup>320</sup> Hare, *Days Near Rome*, 116.

<sup>321</sup> George Stillman Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, (Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields: 1850), 296-7.

edifices and roads...<sup>322</sup> Here also Simond emphasized how excavation would further clarification. The clarity that excavations brought to the area made the Forum more legible to the tourist, as can be seen in a print by Luigi Rossini (Figure 14). The appearance of micromosaics depicting the view of the Roman Forum in the mid-nineteenth century when the monuments had been unearthed suggested an interest in this new order. Furthermore, excavations provided opportunities for micromosaicists to include higher levels of detail in their compositions.<sup>323</sup> This also corresponds to an increasing interest in archaeological knowledge about monuments by tourists in the nineteenth century, so naturally tourists might now be more willing to buy a souvenir through which they could demonstrate their antiquarian knowledge. Micromosaic *vedute* of the Forum, then, in the nineteenth century offered the purchaser a legible souvenir, unlike earlier eighteenth-century prints that depicted the Forum in its less decipherable state.

Some micromosaics that depict *vedute* of the Forum engage with the ideas of the Picturesque, though to a lesser degree than the Temple of Vespasian micromosaics.<sup>324</sup> Opportune tufts of vegetation occupy the foreground or are nestled amongst the columns of buildings of the Forum (Figure 12). Oftentimes there is a carpet of green vegetation at the foreground of the micromosaic composition (Figure 13). The vegetation was a critical element of the picturesque aesthetic of the Forum, as is demonstrated by Augustus Hare's

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<sup>322</sup> Louis Simond, *A Tour in Italy and Sicily*, (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1828), 158.

<sup>323</sup> Branchetti, "Dai cartoni," 124.

<sup>324</sup> This same engagement with the principles of the Picturesque is noted in architectural models of individual temples of the Forum that show them mostly excavated. For example, a cork model by Antonio Chichi of the Temple of Saturn shows a small amount of dirt at the base of its columns or his model of the Temple of Castor and Pollux has marble blocks along its base and propped up against its columns (Landesmussen in Darmstadt, Büttner, "Korkmodelle," fig. 6 and 8).

lamented loss of vegetation quoted above. This green vegetation is an element that is not present in nineteenth-century prints, suggesting the importance of foliage to the traveler to whom the micromosaic was marketed (Figure 14). Another element contributing to the picturesque effect is the column drums strewn in the composition, decorating the foreground (Figure 15). Blocks are found scattered amongst the ruins, representative of the idea that we are looking at ruins. We also see blocks dispersed along the foreground in nineteenth-century prints, such as that of Luigi Rossini (Figure 16). This was something that tourists praised about the site as William Gillespie wrote: “Everywhere, indeed, fragments of columns, capitals, and entablatures are scattered with wonderful profusion.”<sup>325</sup> Peasants also are frequently found amongst depictions of the ruins of the Roman Forum, though not in the same degree as eighteenth-century prints. Normally Italians appeared in the foreground of micromosaics, either alone or in pairings (Figure 4). The peopling of scenes with Italian peasants was a way of engaging in the rustic picturesqueness of the scene. Anna Jameson’s account emphasized this association:

...crowded with the common people gaily dressed; the women sitting in groups upon the fallen columns, nursing or amusing their children...I met a woman mounted on an ass, habited in a most beautiful and singular holiday costume, a man walked by her side, leading the animal she rode, with lover-like watchfulness...Two men followed behind with their long capotes hanging from their shoulders, and carrying guitars, which they struck from time to time, signing as they walked along...All this sounds, while I soberly write it down, very sentimental, and picturesque, and poetical.<sup>326</sup>

The Roman Forum was, after all, a site ripe for picturesque potential as George Evans eloquently reminded his readers: “It would seem as if the destroying angel had a taste for

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<sup>325</sup> Gillespie, *Rome: As Seen by a New Yorker*, 29.

<sup>326</sup> Anna Jameson, *Diary of an Ennuyée*, Vol. II, (London: Henry Colburn, 1826), 79.

the picturesque; for the ruins are left just as the painter would most wish to have them.”<sup>327</sup>

Therefore, micromosaicists made some attempt to include picturesque elements in their nineteenth-century *vedute* compositions of the Forum in order to appeal to their customers who sought picturesque scenes.

Despite the picturesque touches, many micromosaics are starkly empty depicting only the monuments, pavement, some vegetation, a peasant, and dirt, an image that contrasts with what we know from travelogues (Figure 17). Even micromosaics with picturesque elements are strangely devoid of hurried action and represent a quieted scene more in keeping with nineteenth-century engravings, which eschewed the bustling animals and people of the earlier prints of Piranesi. The explanation for these micromosaics that show a clean, streamlined Forum of ruinous buildings is multi-faceted. First, these views of the Forum are erasing the filth and the unsightly holes and piles of dirt. Second, the cleared and sparse ruins of the Forum enabled a platform for visitors to reflect on the historicity of the ruins that filth and dirt piles would disrupt.

Tourists repeatedly expressed dissatisfaction about the Forum’s double life as not only host to ruins of the Roman Republic and Empire, but also to a cattle market on Thursdays and Fridays. Tourists admonished this market for its associated filth. An anonymous writer of a journal commented on the present state of the Forum: “I soon found myself in the middle of the Ancient Forum now called the Campo Vaccino or cow market- only to think of its degradation- How are the mighty fallen.”<sup>328</sup> Nathaniel Carter recorded how, “objects even too disgusting for description, defile the Campo Vaccino.

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<sup>327</sup> George William Evans, *The Classic and Connoisseur in Italy and Sicily*, Vol. I, (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Gren & Longman, 1835), 222.

<sup>328</sup> Anonymous, *Travel Journal*, 1827, Getty Research Center Special Collections, 880273.

Swarms of lizards literally cover the ground, and the rats and mice have become so impudent by a long and undisputed possession, as to sally forth from their homes into open day.”<sup>329</sup> A.W. Galignani most explicitly suggested: “the space in the front is disfigured by a most filthy market, which if taken away and the ground improved, would add infinitely to the effect...”<sup>330</sup> These accounts emphasized how the cattle market lowered the status and aesthetics of the Roman Forum. Micromosaics are entirely devoid of the presence of the cattle market, unlike some prints, which feature the watering trough with cattle near the Temple of Castor and Pollux. This is a reflection of nineteenth-century accounts that criticized the cattle market for its associated filth.

Also the Roman Forum was littered with back dirt from excavations as Louis Simond recalled the unsystematic excavations: “unfortunately the misguided zeal of our foreign dilettanti leads them to each dig out each his own hole, forming a corresponding heap of earth by the side of it; and the result of their desultory researches is only ‘confusion worse confounded’ creating more confusion.”<sup>331</sup> Micromosaics are curiously devoid of these dirt piles that created further disorder for viewers. By erasing traces of excavations and the cattle market on micromosaics that depict the Forum, micromosaicists rewrote the experience of the tourist who could then acquire an object that would void such unpleasant or confusing memories.<sup>332</sup>

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<sup>329</sup> Carter, *Letters from Europe*, Vol. II, 162.

<sup>330</sup> A.W. Galignani, *Galignani’s Traveller’s Guide through Italy*, (Paris: A. and W. Galignani, 1824), 282.

<sup>331</sup> Simond, *A Tour in Italy and Sicily*, 159.

<sup>332</sup> However, micromosaics often bore the contradictions of the Grand Tour. For example, George Hillard wrote how excavations destroyed the aesthetics of the Forum: “Those who can remember the Forum as it was at the beginning of the present century, before any excavations had been made, are now but few in number; but the changes caused by these excavations were looked upon, at the time, with no favor by artists; and this feeling was shared with them by the common people in Rome. What was gained to knowledge, say they, was lost to beauty. Formerly, there was a certain unity and harmony in the whole scene. The mantle of the earth, which for centuries had been slowly gathering around the ruins, had

A souvenir can provoke untainted memories for a tourist that are devoid of whatever initial disappointments they might have experienced. As John Mack argues, the “dynamic of remembering often implied forgetting” and that the erasing of memory is critical to creating memory.<sup>333</sup> Esther Leslie argues that for Walter Benjamin true memory was always voluntary, and that the souvenir acts to create an intentional memory that is not always a true memory. For example, she interprets Benjamin’s desire to acquire a three-piece porcelain smoker’s set as representative of the absence of an experience. This is because the souvenir did not represent the place he was visiting, the Northern Sea, but instead a place he wished to visit in the south.<sup>334</sup>

While micromosaics represented the Forum forgotten of its cattle market and excavations for purposes of aesthetics, tourists’ travel accounts provide further insight. As discussed earlier ruins had the special ability to conjure up images of past greatness. This is seen especially in the case of the Forum. Charlotte Eaton wrote about how the ruins triggered memories of the past: “Amidst its silence and desertion, how forcibly did the memory of ages that were fled speak to the soul! How did every broken pillar and fallen capital tell of former greatness!”<sup>335</sup> George Evans explained the affect of the ruins: “Nothing can be more striking or more affecting than the contrast between what it was,

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become a graceful and appropriate garb. Trees and vines and green turf had concealed the rents and chasms of time; and a natural relation had been established between the youth of nature and the decay of art” (Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, Vol. I, 298). What Hillard regrets is the loss of harmony and unity, which was achieved through vegetation. I would posit that micromosaicists overrode such concerns by adding greenery back into compositions and by eliminating any elements, such as dirt piles from excavations, which would have created disorder.

<sup>333</sup> Mack, *The Museum of the Mind*, 33.

<sup>334</sup> This porcelain set depicts palm trees in the desert, and while writing his travel sketch “Northern Sea,” Benjamin was in a fjord. However, in his autobiographical album *Berlin Childhood Around 1900* he described his desire to connect fjords and palm trees, representative of travel in Northern Europe and the South. Thus, his wish to acquire this souvenir is representative of a missing experience in his travels: the

and what it is. There is enough in the tottering ruins which yet remain to recall the history of its ancient grandeur; while its present misery and degradation are obtruded upon you at every step.”<sup>336</sup> William Gillespie drew the comparison between the ruins of the Forum and a battlefield of time: “...dotted with columns, standing singly and in groups, crowned with moss-grown fragments of their cornices, and looking like tall mourners over the fallen greatness of their companions, or like the sole survivors of the field of battle on which the great works of man had contended in vain with the destroying angel of Time.”<sup>337</sup> These accounts emphasize what I have already discussed with ruins; they recall former greatnesses of civilizations of the past.

Travelers especially were struck by recollections of Cicero when they strolled through the Forum. Charlotte Eaton recalled her experience of the Roman Forum and the Temple of Concord, known as the Temple of Saturn after 1834:

To stand on the grass-grown and deserted spot where Scipio had trod, where Cicero had spoken, where Caesar had triumphed, and where Brutus had acted a “Roman part” was all my hope...At the sound of its name [Temple of Concord], the remembrance flashed upon my mind that it was here Cicero accused to the assembled Senate the guilty conspirators leagued with Cataline...I felt, with enthusiasm which brought tears into my eyes, that I now stood on the very spot his feet had then trod.<sup>338</sup>

Nathaniel Carter wrote about the Temple of Saturn, which conjured up the time when, “...Cicero convened the Senate, for the suppression of the conspiracy of Cataline, and where his bursts of his eloquence overwhelmed the traitor, preserving for a period the

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desert (Esther Leslie, “Souvenirs and Forgetting: Walter Benjamin’s Memory-Work,” in *Material Memories*, ed. Marius Kwint, Christopher Breward, and Jeremy Aynsley, (Oxford: Berg, 1999), 115-6).

<sup>335</sup> Eaton, *Rome, in the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. I, 122.

<sup>336</sup> Evans, *The Classic and Connoisseur*, 221.

<sup>337</sup> Gillespie, *Rome: As Seen by a New Yorker*, 25-6.

<sup>338</sup> Eaton, *Rome, in the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. I, 121.

liberties of the Republic.”<sup>339</sup> William Gillespie also recalled the great orator Cicero in this way: “I walked on in solitude through the fields which were once the Forum in which the people met to decide upon the fate of empires, and in which the eloquence of Cicero had re-echoed from the temples and palaces which then studded every eminence and every valet, but which have now left only these scattered fragments for their memorials.”<sup>340</sup> The Forum demonstrated its power of place as its topography conjured up the great speeches of Cicero. Furthermore, the Forum’s ability to evoke the echoes of Cicero aligned with the classical training of those who embarked upon the Grand Tour.

However, the cattle market of the Forum interrupted these reveries to the past. Travelers connected these two events, appalled that such a market should take place on the very ground where Cicero once stood. Peter Beckford wrote how, “as I strolled amidst its ruins I endeavored to consider what it once was, and was grieved to find that the very place where the ancient Romans met to decide causes, the seat of eloquence, the most frequented part of Rome, was become a market for cattle...”<sup>341</sup> Beckford was vexed by the fact that the cattle market had taken over this site, which was a marker of the historicity of Rome. Priscilla Wakefield’s account of her experience at the Forum best encapsulates how her mental journey to the early days of Rome, evoked by the ruins, was disrupted by the cattle market: “A cow-market is now held where the Forum was- What an alteration! When I heard the lowing of the cattle, I thought of the eloquence of Cicero, and left the place full of grief and vexation.”<sup>342</sup> The sounds of cattle interrupted

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<sup>339</sup> Carter, *Letters from Europe*, Vol. II, 162.

<sup>340</sup> Gillespie, *Rome: As Seen by a New Yorker*, 26.

<sup>341</sup> Peter Beckford, *Familiar Letters from Italy*, Vol. II, (Salisbury: J. Easton, 1805), 127.

<sup>342</sup> Priscilla Wakefield, *The Juvenile Travellers: Containing the Remarks of a Family during a Tour through the Principal States and Kingdoms of Europe*, (London: Darton, Harvey, and Darton, 1815), 198.

Wakefield's idea of how the Forum should be: eloquent, like the speeches of Cicero. These accounts all highlight the ways in which the cattle market disrupted the remembrances of historicity evoked by the ruins of the Forum. Therefore, it is significant that the historicity of the Forum was preserved in micromosaics by eliminating extraneous noise, like the cattle market, that compromised the ability of tourists to use their micromosaic souvenir to meditate upon the past.

Susan Stewart writes about how the souvenir is incomplete without an accompanying narrative of its purchaser asserting that the "supplementary narrative discourse...both attaches it to its origins and creates a myth with regard to those origins."<sup>343</sup> In the case of the clean and quieted representations of the Forum on micromosaics, tourists were meant to use this visual stimulus to narrate the uninterrupted historicity of the site, calling to mind Cicero's eloquent speeches. In this way then, the souvenir's meaning was supplemented by a narrative discourse that the souvenir enabled. This was a narrative that was not always possible on site due to disruptions caused by lowing cattle, as spelled out by Priscilla Wakefield.

The views of the Forum, and its associated buildings, that micromosaicists chose are significant for mirroring the itinerary of the traveler and are therefore instructive in uncovering the experience of the tourist. Most micromosaics depict the northern half of the Forum, looking south towards the Colosseum.<sup>344</sup> This echoes the majority of prints,

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<sup>343</sup> Stewart, *On Longing*, 136.

<sup>344</sup> However, while most micromosaics depict the Forum looking south, there are some that feature the northern half of the Forum looking north towards the Tabularium and Senator's Palace, instead of towards the Colosseum. This view is representative of the vista of the Forum from a midpoint during a walk from the northern to southern side of the Forum via the Clivus Capitolinus, a road by which travelers transversed the Forum. Micromosaicists represented multiple viewpoints of the Forum in order to include the multiple dimensions of experiencing the site. What this viewpoint offered the purchaser was an unobstructed view of the Temple of Castor and Pollux in the foreground, a building that is not easily seen in other

which also look south towards the Colosseum. The advantage to this view is explained by Henry Coxe: "...and at no great distance in front, the Coliseum bursts on the astonished beholder, and presents itself as the stately monarch of the surrounding remains of mouldering grandeur and magnificence."<sup>345</sup> Thus, by employing this viewpoint, the Colosseum, one of the most prized sights of the Grand Tour, looms large over the entire Forum. This way of entering the Forum from the Campidoglio was standard.<sup>346</sup> George Evans recalled: "The walk from the capitol to the Coliseum comprises the history of ages."<sup>347</sup> Evans' path began at the Campidoglio and ended at the Colosseum, just as micromosaicists employed a view that followed the same path.

Two different vantage points, however, are taken of the northern half of the Forum on micromosaics. The first is from the Campidoglio, which featured a view of the Temple of Vespasian and the Temple of Saturn from the back and a view of the Arch of Septimius Severus from an oblique angle in the foreground; other monuments of the

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micromosaic views of the Forum, but was popular in souvenirs. Miniature models of the Temple of Castor and Pollux were especially popular, including marble models (Christie's South Kensington Ltd, *Antiquities and Souvenirs of the Grand Tour, Tuesday 19 May and Wednesday 20 May 1992*, (London: Christie's, 1992), fig. 218; Christie's South Kensington Ltd, *Antiquities and Souvenirs of the Grand Tour, Wednesday 27 October 1993*, fig. 203; Christie's South Kensington Ltd, *Antiquities and Souvenirs of the Grand Tour, Wednesday 28 April 1993*, fig. 205), porcelain models (Christie's South Kensington Ltd, *Antiquities and Souvenirs of the Grand Tour, Wednesday 27 October 1993*, fig. 232), bronze models (Christie's South Kensington Ltd, *Souvenirs of the Grand Tour, Wednesday 23 April 1997*, (London: Christie's, 1997), fig. 59), and cork models (Landesmussen in Darmstadt, Büttner, "Korkmodelle," fig. 6). The multiple vantage points of the Forum were important to encapsulate the full panoramic viewing experience, and this is represented by two cartoons of the Reverenda Fabbrica that capture the northern half of the Forum from the Capitoline and from the southern part of the Forum (Branchetti, "Dai cartoni," fig. 56 and 57 (Both in the collection of the Fabbrica di San Pietro in Vaticano. Unknown artist, *Il Foro Romano con il Campidoglio sullo sfondo* and Romeo Cavi, *Il Foro romano dal Clivo capitolino*).

<sup>345</sup> Henry Coxe, *Picture of Italy; a Guide to the Antiquities and Curiosities of that Classical and Interesting Country*, (London: Sherwood, Neely, & Jones, 1818), 202-3.

<sup>346</sup> It was the same path that guidebooks also followed (Octavian Blewitt, *A Hand-book for Travellers in Central Italy*, (London: John Murray, 1850), 316-19). Vasi's *Itinerario* also recommends first visiting the Campidoglio and then the Forum. His print of the Forum also takes a view towards the south (Giuseppe Vasi, *Itinerario istruttivo diviso in otto stazioni o giornate per ritrovare con facilità tutte le antiche e moderne magnificenze di Roma.*) Roma: Stamperia de Marco Pagliarini, 1763), 48-9).

<sup>347</sup> Evans, *The Classic and Connoisseur*, Vol. I, 221.

Forum are noted in the background extending south. This is a view that takes its cue from prints, such as that of Luigi Rossini's *Veduta Presa all Angolo del Tabularo sul Clivo Capitolino* (Figure 16). This popular vantage point is also replicated in nineteenth-century photographs of the Forum. The Studio Mosaico di Vaticano worked with this view on micromosaics, as is demonstrated by an early twentieth-century cartoon by Romeo Cavi.<sup>348</sup> In itineraries of travelers, tourists often visited the Roman Forum directly after having explored the Museo Capitolino and the Campidoglio of Michelangelo, entering the Forum from the path that descended down from the southern part of the hill.<sup>349</sup> Travelers praised the view that the Campidoglio provided of the Forum; it was so alluring that John Moore wrote how the Capitol "cannot detain you long from the back view [the Forum] to which the ancient Capitol fronted."<sup>350</sup> This view was praised by an anonymous tourist for its vista: "...proceeding to the brow of the hill, passing the buildings on the Capitol, range in prospect o'er the Roman Forum, the grandest, and most extended assemblage of ruined temples, historical recollections, and lofty inspirations, that the world can show collectively."<sup>351</sup> Micromosaics commemorated these views from the Campidoglio taken from the top of the ramp that led tourists down into the Forum.

The other viewpoint that micromosaics utilize is one from the Senator's Palace on the Campidoglio. The Senator's Palace sits on the foundations of the Tabularium, which serves as a northern boundary of the Forum. This viewpoint also features the same cast of monuments, but from a different angle. Now we see the Arch of Septimius Severus

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<sup>348</sup> Branchetti, "Dai cartoni," no. 57.

<sup>349</sup> Waldie, *Sketches Descriptive of Italy*, Vol. I, 332.

<sup>350</sup> Moore, *A View of Society*, Vol. II, 158.

from a less oblique view, the view of the Temple of Vespasian is still from the back, but instead of seeing all three columns easily, two columns are aligned with each other, and the Temple of Saturn is now seen from the front at an oblique view. Traveler's accounts are also helpful for corroborating the viewing of the Forum from the Senator's Palace. For example, J. Salmon wrote about his trip to the Forum that, "we shall begin from the Senators' Palace, which commands the whole."<sup>352</sup> Other travelers, however, record seeing the Forum from the tower of the Capitol, which is on the same axis as the Senator's Palace, such as Anne Elwood's account that emphasizes the advantages of such a viewpoint: "Ascending the tower of the Capitol, a most interesting panoramic view presents itself from thence of the ancient and modern hills which give Rome so picturesque an appearance."<sup>353</sup> As Charles Fowler explained, the tower afforded not only views of the Forum, but also spectacular views of the city of Rome itself: "Made our first visit to the Campidoglio and the remains of the Forum Romanum below it. Had a capital bird's eye view of Rome and the surrounding beauty from the top of the tower."<sup>354</sup>

Micromosaicists adapted several aspects of this viewpoint taken from the Senator's Palace on their micromosaics. First of all, they lowered the viewpoint significantly in micromosaic views, especially in comparison with prints (Figure 18). The view on micromosaics was undoubtedly taken from the Senator's Palace, but a perspective from the windows of either that building, its tower, or the Tabularium below

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<sup>351</sup> Anonymous, *Mementoes*, 285.

<sup>352</sup> J. Salmon, *A Description of the Works of Art of Ancient and Modern Rome*, Vol. I, (London: J. Sammells, 1798), 98.

<sup>353</sup> Elwood, *Narrative of a Journey*, 43-5.

<sup>354</sup> Charles Augustus Fowler. *Travel Diary, 1838-1839*, (Getty Research Institute Archives, 870262), January 15.

would have resulted in a much higher viewpoint.<sup>355</sup> Micromosaicists, instead, adapted a viewpoint that was more aligned with the eye level of the spectator, comparable to looking out at the Forum from the Campidoglio. Piranesi frequently lowered the viewpoint in some of his prints to invariably make the viewer part of the composition, something that is also noted in other *vedute* paintings, such as those by Panini and Canaletto.<sup>356</sup> In the case of micromosaics then, I would suggest that the extreme lowering of the viewpoint by micromosaicists captured an eye-level panorama of all the monuments that would have been impossible in person, but was re-imagined on micromosaics.

More interesting is the rearrangement of monuments that is noted on micromosaics that adopt the viewpoint from the Senator's Palace. Two monuments in particular are moved on micromosaics. A view from the Senator's Palace should show the Temple of Saturn from its western side with the front façade of the temple barely visible. While this topographically correct view is used on some micromosaics, the majority instead adjusts the monument so that its front façade is visible.<sup>357</sup> This is

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<sup>355</sup> This viewpoint would be impossible from the ground level of the Forum, so it is an adjusted viewpoint. Furthermore, other images, such as an engraving of the Roman Forum taken from the tower of the Capital, demonstrate the true vantage point from the capital (G. Cooke, *The Roman Forum from the Tower of the Capital*, 1818, at the Tate Britain, Inv. T06016).

<sup>356</sup> This is noted in the case of a print of the Forum of Augustus or St. Peter's (Wilton-Ely, *The Mind and Art*, 29; 42). However, Piranesi's print of the Forum taken from a window in the Senator's Palace does not lower the viewpoint to the same extent that micromosaicists did.

<sup>357</sup> For the adjusted façade see: Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 58, 84, 92, 114, 130, 143; Alfieri and Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 135; Bertaccini and Fiori, *Micromosaico*, 39; González-Palacios, *Una raccolta*, 18, 42; Petochi, Alfieri, and Branchetti, *I mosaici minuti*, 125, 199, 234, 236; Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, 52, 63; Finarte, *Gioielli, argenti e una raccolta di mosaici minuti*, (Roma, Finarte, 2000), 313, 317. For actualized façade see: Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 83; Maria Grazia Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti romani: collezione Savelli*, (Roma: Gangemi, 2004), 135; Gabriel, *The Gilbert Collection*, 69; Alvar González-Palacios, *Fasto romano: dipinti, sculture, arredi dai palazzi di Roma*, (Roma: Leonardo-De Luca, 1991), 233.

This is a variation also noted in prints, such as those of Luigi Rossini (Luigi Rossini, *Le Antichità romane*, (Rome, 1829), pl. 86).

something that is also practiced on some prints, such as one by Vasi. When entertaining why this particular temple's façade was so important, recall the importance of Cicero in conjunction with the experience of the Forum. Many visitors called to mind remembrances of Cicero's speech against Cataline, which curiously enough, took place at the Temple of Saturn. Views of the Temple of Saturn from the Campidoglio, while from behind, showed a great surface area of the temple.<sup>358</sup> Therefore, I would posit that micromosaicists made the façade of the Temple of Saturn in these micromosaics more visible because of the great significance the temple assumed in the assemblage of Forum buildings.<sup>359</sup>

The other monument that is adjusted on these micromosaics depicting a view from the Senator's Palace is the Column of Phocas. This is something unique to micromosaics, whose ground level view features the entirety of the Temple of Vespasian. This would not have posed a problem in prints that did not feature the temple from this perspective. The Column of Phocas jumps around from location to location on micromosaics. Sometimes it is seen in the distance from between the columns of the Temple of Vespasian, other times to either the right or the left of the temple (Between columns: Figure 12; To the right: Figure 19; To the left: Figure 17). Micromosaicists seemed to only slightly prefer to place the column to the left of the Temple of Vespasian. In actuality when seen from the Senatorial Palace, the columns of the Temple of Vespasian largely obscure the view of the Column of Phocas. In 1813 the dedicatory inscription of

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<sup>358</sup> When featured alone on other souvenirs, such as a fan, the temple is shown from its rear with all columns visible (Bennett, *Unfolding Beauty*, cat. 63).

<sup>359</sup> Further interests in presenting a clear view of the temple relate to early nineteenth-century removal of modern houses associated with it as can be seen in Piranesi's engravings of the temple (Watkin, *The Roman Forum*, fig. 16).

this column was uncovered and this revealed its date and dedicatee. Tourists met this new discovery with great excitement. James Cooper's description of these events explains the intrigue of the column:

...there stood, previously to the year 1813, a solitary column, with nearly half its shaft buried in the earth, the capital being perfect. This column, it was then believed, belonged to a temple, or, if not to a temple, at least to the bridge of Caligula; but, in 1813, the earth was removed from its base, and it was then found to stand on a pedestal, on which there is an inscription that proves the column was erected in honour of Phocas, and as lately as the year 608. I believe it is one of the last things of the sort ever placed in the Forum.<sup>360</sup>

Therefore, the Column of Phocas was important for its role as the last monument erected in the Roman Forum, and this new discovery generated excitement. I would suggest that micromosaicists were concerned with the column's visibility, blocked by the Temple of Vespasian, and this is why they place the column in different locations.<sup>361</sup>

Returning to the idea of visibility in the Forum, we have come full circle. I have suggested that the reason micromosaicists did not produce *vedute* of the Forum until the mid-nineteenth century was because of the increased legibility of the monuments after they had been unearthed. The Temple of Saturn and Column of Phocas are moved in order to create a more readable space. William Wilson, in his account of the Forum, wrote how he found the site confusing and in need of adjustment: "The whole looks a strange jumbled waste piece of ground, so entirely planless, that to attempt to restore it, by drawings, into any thing like regularity or order, would seem a hopeless task, unless the artist should take the liberty of pushing some of the buildings into other situations

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<sup>360</sup> Cooper, *Gleanings in Europe*, 115.

<sup>361</sup> Visibility was a concern earlier in the Forum when modern buildings were demolished from the Forum's center that blocked a clear view from the Capitol to the end of the Forum at the Arch of Titus (Ridley, *The Eagle and the Spade*, 139).

than those they now occupy.”<sup>362</sup> Thus, micromosaicists took up this task of increasing the understandability of this confusing space by moving buildings, just as Wilson suggested, and by presenting a scene devoid of the distracting mess of excavations and the cattle market.

Visitors would have arrived in Rome with certain expectations. I have already discussed how prints set up false expectations for many visitors arriving with high hopes of picturesque scenes of the ancient and modern city. Piranesi, in particular, was especially important in shaping this collective visual memory of Rome for Europeans.<sup>363</sup> Tanya Cooper argues that Piranesi’s prints created “a dialogue between remembered images and present experience, a dialogue in which elements of one or the other usually ended up displaced from memory,” and that by privileging the imagination over the historical accuracy in his prints, Piranesi facilitated selective forgetting.<sup>364</sup> Souvenirs of the city also rewrote the collective memory of experienced monuments. The Roman Forum, for example, as pictured on micromosaics represents a clean and quieted scene that was vastly different from the dirty, loud, and smelly cattle market that left its traces on the Forum. George Hillard wrote about this very clash between reality and imagination: “All engravings and pictures of the Forum which I have seen, are too fine. They do not honestly reproduce the slovenly neglect and the unsightly features of the scene. They make the desolation more picturesque than the reality.”<sup>365</sup> We see

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<sup>362</sup> William Rae Wilson, *Records of a Route through France and Italy*, (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green & Londman, 1835), 333.

<sup>363</sup> Piranesi was so effective in accomplishing these false expectations because his inclusions of figures in prints allowed viewers of these prints to also position themselves within his landscapes (Cooper, *Gleanings in Europe*, 108; 118).

<sup>364</sup> Cooper, *Gleanings in Europe*, 118; 122.

<sup>365</sup> Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, Vol. I, 298.

micromosaics engaging with prints, adopting some of their qualities while turning away from others to create a souvenir that corresponds with the ideal visit to the Roman Forum.

Micromosaics depicting the Forum presented a quieted scene that increased the clarity of the site and was altered to eliminate aspects that tourists did not appreciate. Micromosaicists attempted to increase the readability of the Forum by depicting the monuments fully exposed, by removing back dirt piles that would have cluttered the Forum, and by moving and adopting different perspectives of various buildings. This was so important because of the way in which travelers often made sense of confusing ruins by evoking ancient authors, such as Cicero, who were so deeply embedded in the meaning of the Forum.<sup>366</sup> This streamlined version of the Forum on micromosaics not only made it more decipherable, but eliminated distractions that would disrupt the historicity of the ruins. Micromosaicists memorialized the various ways that tourists experienced the Forum, encapsulating different vantage points that were popular. All of this contributed towards creating a souvenir that enabled a tourist to remember their experience as they might have wished it to happen.

Two accounts of travelers serve as good remarks on why the Forum had the ability to affect its visitors so greatly. Charlotte Eaton wrote:

I stood in the Roman Forum!- Amidst its silence and desertion, how forcibly did the memory of ages that were fled speak to the soul! How did every broken pillar and fallen capital tell of former greatness! The days of its pride and its patriotism- the long struggles for freedom and for power- the popular tumults- the loud acclamations- the energetic harangues- the impassioned eloquence- and all the changeful and chequered events of which it had been the theatre; joined to the images of the great and the good, the wisest and the best of mankind who had successively filled this now lonely and silent spot; the lights of ages, whose memory is still worshipped throughout the world- crowded into my mind, and

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<sup>366</sup> Edwards, *Writing Rome*, 9.

touched the deepest feelings of my heart. Such to me is the charm of being where they have been, that this moment, in which I felt that I stood upon the sacred soil of the Roman Forum, was in itself a sufficient compensation for all the toils and privations, and difficulties and dangers, we had encountered in our long and tedious pilgrimage.<sup>367</sup>

In Eaton's remarks she notes how the silence and the ruins worked together to transport her mind to the past. The souvenir should be an object that can recall not only the physicality of the Forum, but also the experience of the site, as explicated by Jane Waldie:

Those objects were now, indeed, before me, which had been so often pictured by my imagination. I stood and gazed with eager eyes on this sacred spot- the cradle of infant Rome! At moments when thus carried away from all that usually surrounds us, and placed in a new—and so different a scene, how does the mind seek to impress on itself the strong and delightful emotions in which it feels itself involved!<sup>368</sup>

Such emotions would have of course included recalling the experience of hearing the voice of Cicero while in the Roman Forum. The souvenir, quieted of anything to disrupt such voices, enabled a traveler, such as Eaton or Waldie, to reminisce on this experience and provided an opportunity for its owner to showcase their erudition to any visitors to their home.

### **Colosseum**

Tourists in Rome in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries so heavily praised no other antique edifice as much as they did the Colosseum, and this continues with modern tourists as well. Visitors to Rome waited with great anticipation for their first glimpse of this massive building. In the eighteenth century, there was a well-known saying that if

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<sup>367</sup> Eaton, *Rome, in the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. I, 77.

the Colosseum were portable, the English would probably carry it away.<sup>369</sup> Instead, tourists had to settle for taking masonry fragments of the building as souvenirs. The monument was praised for its poetic beauty, exemplified by Lady Sydney's account: "Even now as it moulders it seems some visionary fabric raised by the magic of sweet sounds, by the vibrations of some Amphion's lyre; and falling, as it rose, in harmony. It is so beautiful in ruin, that taste and feeling can send back no regrets for its former state of perfectness."<sup>370</sup> Micromosaicists capture this "...noblest monument of Roman grandeur" with their micromosaic designs that embrace the most celebrated aspects of the monument: its ruinous and Picturesque state, its grand massiveness in a vast and desolate setting, and its viewings by moonlight.<sup>371</sup>

The monument has a long, storied history since its construction in the first century CE, but I will limit the history of the monument to the centuries relevant to the Grand Tour. In the eighteenth century, the Colosseum was a massive building covered with greenery located in what was often referred to by tourists as a semi-deserted valley.<sup>372</sup> North of the Roman Forum, it served as a boundary line for the Forum and dominated the landscape. That the monument still stands is a testament not only to its original construction, but also to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century efforts to stabilize the Colosseum.

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<sup>368</sup> Waldie, *Sketches Descriptive of Italy*, Vol. I, 335.

<sup>369</sup> Keith Hopkins and Mary Beard, *The Colosseum*, (London: Great Books, 2005), 157. So eager was Horace Walpole to purchase every souvenir available that he wrote to Henry Seymour Conway in 1740 that he would buy the Colosseum if he were able (Quoted in Maria Vittoria Marini Clarelli, "Comprerei il Colosseo se potessi..." in *Ricordi in Micromosaico: Vedute e paesaggi per I viaggiatori del Grand Tour*, ed. Chiara Stefani, (Roma: De Luca Editori D'Arte, 2011), 5).

<sup>370</sup> Sydney Owenson, *Italy by Lady Morgan*, Vol. II, (London: Henry Colburn and Co., 1821), 187.

<sup>371</sup> Owenson, *Italy*, 187.

<sup>372</sup> Michela Di Macco, *Il Colosseo: funzione simbolica, storica, urbana*, (Roma: Bulzoni Editore, 1971), 96.

The history of the Colosseum, like the Roman Forum, involves both a French and Italian cast and encompasses excavations, plundering, reconstructions, and various instances of denuding the monument of its vegetation. The Colosseum was not generally a clean place in the eighteenth century. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, some of its arches were closed off to create a manure dump for the manufacture of saltpeter that would continue for nearly the remainder of the century. It was only removed at the beginning of the nineteenth century.<sup>373</sup> Obscured by rubbish that had accumulated over the years, dirt rose as high as 4 meters to the beginnings of the arches on the first level and alongside the interior arena as well. A 1703 earthquake resulted in the quarrying of the Colosseum for building projects around the city, as had happened in the centuries previously. Following this precedence, Pope Clement XI used blocks from the rubble to build a stairway at the Port of Ripetta.<sup>374</sup> The monument saw attention also in the form of excavations, especially as concerning the arena floor. One of the earliest plans of excavation came from Carlo Fontana (1638-1714) who requested excavations and buttressing for the Colosseum in 1705, but nothing came of this.<sup>375</sup> The first excavations actually began in 1714 and were concentrated in the arena with hopes of finding the ancient floor. Also during this year the Pope had some of the arches of the Colosseum repaired and put up fences and closed off entrances in order to prevent criminals from entering the building.<sup>376</sup> As the eighteenth century progressed, the pillaging of the

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<sup>373</sup> Di Macco, *Il Colosseo*, 98. James Boswell wrote how “it was shocking to discover several portions of this theatre full of dung” (Frank Brady, ed., *Boswell on the Grand Tour: Italy, Corsica, and France 1765-1766*, (London: William Heinemann Ltd, 1955), 64).

<sup>374</sup> Rossella Rea, “The Colosseum through the Centuries,” in *The Colosseum*, ed. Ada Gabucci and trans. Mary Becker, (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2001), 212.

<sup>375</sup> Ridley, *The Eagle and the Spade*, 39.

<sup>376</sup> Rea, “The Colosseum,” 212-213.

Colosseum as a source of building materials began to decrease, and was eventually forbidden under Pope Benedict XIV in the mid-eighteenth century, because of the increased importance of the Colosseum as a site for Christian martyrdom.<sup>377</sup> Many tourists saw the Colosseum as a sacred site where good Christians were tortured and killed by the Romans. Pope Clement XI first erected the Stations of the Cross in the interior of the Colosseum in 1720.<sup>378</sup> These were not the first interests of the Catholic Church in the Colosseum; a church, Santa Maria della Pietà, was constructed in the early sixteenth century on the eastern end of the arena, and there was a resident hermit monk who slept in the Colosseum at night.<sup>379</sup> There were further attempts made at restoring and rebuilding the Colosseum. In 1743 the Capitoline Senate remodeled the northwest section of the Colosseum that faced the Forum.<sup>380</sup> In conjunction with the 1749 rebuilding of the Stations of the Cross, first erected in 1720, Pope Benedict XIV consecrated the Colosseum to the memory of Christ's Passion and to the Christian martyrs.<sup>381</sup> A plaque was erected in 1750 on the exterior of the monument to honor Benedict's involvement.<sup>382</sup>

In 1755 debris was removed from the second level of the Colosseum.<sup>383</sup> Benedict XIV placed a pulpit in the interior of the Colosseum from which a monk would deliver a long sermon at masses that by 1756 were held regularly at the Colosseum.<sup>384</sup> The ever-increasing interests of the Catholic Church in the Colosseum were largely responsible for

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<sup>377</sup> Peter Quennell, *The Colosseum*, (New York: Newsweek, 1971), 109.

<sup>378</sup> Rea, "The Colosseum," 209.

<sup>379</sup> Hopkins and Beard, *The Colosseum*, 167.

<sup>380</sup> Rea, "The Colosseum," 213.

<sup>381</sup> DiMacco, *Il Colosseo*, 90.

<sup>382</sup> Hopkins and Beard, *The Colosseum*, 164.

<sup>383</sup> Rea, "The Colosseum," 213.

<sup>384</sup> Rea, "The Colosseum," 209.

both the decrease in the denuding of the Colosseum of its masonry during the eighteenth century and for its preservation.<sup>385</sup> In the late 1760s, blocks were used to repair many holes in the walls of the Colosseum. Pope Gregory XVI had missing parts of the second ring of the building rebuilt on the southern side. Luigi Canina contributed also to restoring parts of the northern side of the monument. To protect the precarious walls of the monument, enclosure walls were built between barrel vaults in the arches on the first two levels of the northeast side of the monument in 1795.

After an 1803 earthquake struck, Giuseppe Camporese, Giuseppe Palazzi, and Raffaele Stern undertook further protective measures by erecting a large buttress to reinforce the eastern side of the Colosseum, and this was completed by 1807. Carlo Fea, the Commissioner of Antiquity, planned for excavations to uncover the arena floor again in 1805, and this effort was led by Camporese, Palazzi, and Stern, but was halted because of expenses. The French undertook excavations in 1811 on the northern side of the monument as well as in parts of the arena, but were stopped by flooding in the underground chambers of the arena.<sup>386</sup> The French, as part of their cleaning of the general area, also attempted to clear up the Colosseum by removing all weeds and plants in 1812.<sup>387</sup> During this same year, they began a campaign to demolish modern buildings, particularly domestic residences, around the Colosseum.<sup>388</sup> The French also began a small, public garden at the base of the Colosseum. Pope Leo XII commissioned a buttress that was added to the western side of the Colosseum in 1826. This massive buttress was constructed by Valadier and came in the form of three stories of

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<sup>385</sup> Hopkins and Beard, *The Colosseum*, 166.

<sup>386</sup> Rea, "The Colosseum," 213- 218.

<sup>387</sup> Quennell, *The Colosseum*, 119.

reconstructed arches.<sup>389</sup> In 1828 Antonio Nibby excavated the area around the Colosseum on the west bringing to light such monuments as the Meta Sudans and the Colossus of Nero.<sup>390</sup>

The foliage that once decorated the Colosseum had returned to the monument after the French left, but it was weeded again in 1852. By 1871, Pietro Rosa had removed nearly all plants had been removed from the Colosseum.<sup>391</sup> In 1873 Rosa continued excavations in the arena of the Colosseum, but they were again suspended because of complications with flooding.<sup>392</sup>

Information about the Colosseum circulated through publications and prints, as well as other media. Antoine Desgodetz's *Les edifices antiques de Rome* remained a critical source for understanding the Colosseum and contained plans and elevations of the monument.<sup>393</sup> An early publication by Carlo Fontana in 1725 provided a comprehensive study of the building both through explanatory text and engravings (Figure 20).<sup>394</sup> The Colosseum frequently made its way into popular poetry as well, such as John Milton's *Paradise Lost* and Lord Byron's *Childe Harold* or *Manfred*, or Edgar Allan Poe's *Politician: A Tragedy*. In London, Robert Buford created a panorama of the Colosseum in 1839 that visitors could pay to see.<sup>395</sup> The Colosseum was also a frequent subject of

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<sup>388</sup> Ridley, *The Eagle and the Spade*, 116.

<sup>389</sup> Ridley, *The Eagle and the Spade*, 241.

<sup>390</sup> Rea, "The Colosseum," 214.

<sup>391</sup> Hopkins and Beard, *The Colosseum*, 7.

<sup>392</sup> Rea, "The Colosseum," 214.

<sup>393</sup> In fact, in his cork model of the Colosseum, Antonio Chichi repeats errors that betray his reliance on Desgodetz (Kockel, *Phelloplastica*, 18).

<sup>394</sup> Carlo Fontana, *L'anfiteatro Flavio descritto e delineato*, (Roma: Nell Haia, 1725).

<sup>395</sup> Liversidge, "Rome Portrayed," 47.

countless drawings and paintings by the many artists in residence in Rome.<sup>396</sup> Like the Forum, prints of the Colosseum were extremely popular as souvenirs. Alessandro Specchi made an engraving in 1703 of the Colosseum as it was as well as a hypothetical reconstruction (Figure 21).<sup>397</sup> Both Vasi and Piranesi engraved different viewpoints of the Colosseum in their *Delle Magnificenze di Roma* and *Vedute di Roma* respectively (Figure 22, Figure 23).<sup>398</sup> An engraving of Pietro Parboni made in 1813 of the interior of the Colosseum shows the French excavation of the arena.<sup>399</sup> The Colosseum was also featured in Luigi Rossini's *Le Antichità romane* (Figure 24).<sup>400</sup> These prints in circulation informed viewers' expectations of the Colosseum. James Cobbett wrote, somewhat

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<sup>396</sup> Drawings: Antonio Canaletto, *The Colosseum* (Ridley, *The Eagle and the Spade*, pl. 31), Angelo Uggeri's *Vues des edifices de Rome antique déblayés et réparés*, 1816 (Ridley, *The Eagle and the Spade*, pl. 37), Filippo Juvarra's *Colosseo*, 1703 at the Fondazione Antonio Maria e Mariella Marocco in Turin (Ada Gabucci, ed., *The Colosseum*, (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2001), 208). Paintings: J.M.W. Turner, *The Colosseum in Rome* in the British Museum (Gabucci, *The Colosseum*, 216), G. Vanvitelli, *Il Colosseo e il Foro Romano* in the Galleria Sabauda in Turin (Gabucci, *The Colosseum*, 210-11), Fjodor Matveiev, *A View of the Colosseum*, in the Tret'jakov State Gallery in Moscow (Gabucci, *The Colosseum*, 172), Bernardo Bellotto, *Capriccio con il Colosseo* in the Galleria Nazionale in Parma (Gabucci, *The Colosseum*, 160), Canaletto, *View of the Arch of Constantine with the Colosseum*, 1742-45 at the Getty Center, H.F. van Lint, *Veduta del Colosseo*, in the Collezione Cassis in Rome (Di Macco, *Il Colosseo*, fig. 165), Panini, *Il Colosseo e l'Arco di Costantino* in the Museo Nazionale in Naples (Di Macco, *Il Colosseo*, fig. 166), Panini, *View of the Roman Forum with the Colosseum* in the Coty collection in Paris (Maurizio Fagiolo Dell'Arco, Annalisa Scarpa Sonino, Ferdinando Peretti, and Llyod Nick *The Grand Tour: Landscape and Veduta Paintings*, (Atlanta: Oglethorpe University Museum, 1997), no. 31), J.F. van Bloemen, *Paesaggio classico*, Galleria Pallavicini in Rome (Di Macco, *Il Colosseo*, fig. 167), F. Guardi, *Colosseo e Tempio di Vespasiano* in the Cailleux Collection in Paris (Di Macco, *Il Colosseo*, fig. 173), Corot, *Veduta del Colosseo* in the Louvre in Paris (Di Macco, *Il Colosseo*, fig. 210), Jakob Philipp Hackert, *The Colosseum with the Temple of Venus and Rome* (Raymond Keaveney, ed., *Views of Rome*, (London: Scala Productions, 1988), no. 27), John Robert Cozens, *The Colosseum from the North*, 1780 in the National Gallery of Scotland (Wilton and Bignamini, *Grand Tour*, no. 109), Gaspar van Wittel, *The Colosseum with the Arch of Constantine*, 1716 in the collection of the Earl of Leicester and Trustees of the Holkham Estate (Wilton and Bignamini, *Grand Tour*, no. 94), Hendrik Frans van Lint, *Colosseo*, 1731 (González-Palacios, *Fasto*, tav. XVIII).

<sup>397</sup> *Prospetto attuale e ipotesi restitutiva del Colosseo* (Di Macco, *Il Colosseo*, fig. 176).

<sup>398</sup> Giuseppe Vasi, *Delle magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna*, (Roma: Chracas, 1747-61), Book II, pl. 33. Piranesi, for example, depicted the Colosseum within its urban context, a print of its interior, and an aerial image (Wilton-Ely, *The Mind and Art*, 44). Giovanni Volpato also made a print of the Colosseum in the late eighteenth century (Boston Museum of Fine Arts, M7765).

<sup>399</sup> Pietro Parboni, *Veduta dell'interno dell'Anfiteatro Falvio detto il Colosseo e dei scavi che vi furono fatti nel 1813* (Ridley, *The Eagle and the Spade*, pl. 74).

<sup>400</sup> Rossini, *Le Antichità*, pl. 76.

begrudgingly, “the engraver has given us a tolerable idea of the Colosseum.”<sup>401</sup> Charlotte North recorded her more disparaging encounter with prints: “We then saw the most magnificent thing of all, which is The Coliseum, here are many very exact prints of it, but none that can give one any idea of the effect of the original as the effect of immense size cannot be given by painting or models, it is really quite sublime.”<sup>402</sup> These two accounts emphasize the range of satisfaction a tourist might feel about their experience of the actual monument versus their encounter with the print of it.

While prints may well have been some of the most popular mementos of the Colosseum to acquire while in Rome, souvenirs depicting the Colosseum came in other forms as well.<sup>403</sup> Photographs and postcards were often purchased during a Grand Tour from the mid-nineteenth century, and beyond (Figure 25).<sup>404</sup> Fans, for example, popularly featured the Colosseum (Figure 26).<sup>405</sup> The Colosseum is even depicted on gems, as seen

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<sup>401</sup> James Paul Cobbett, *Journal of a Tour in Italy and also in part of France and Switzerland*, (London: 11, Bolt-Court, 1830), 173.

<sup>402</sup> North, *Journal*, 19.

<sup>403</sup> The Westmorland ship yet again provides evidence with the sorts of items travelers were bringing back with them to England with a late eighteenth-century watercolor and gouache of the Colosseum (Sánchez-Jáuregui, Dolores, and Wilcox, *The English Prize*, no. 125).

<sup>404</sup> Photographs: 1848 photograph of the Colosseum by Eugene Constant in The Royal Library in Copenhagen (Thornton, *Rome*, no. 46), an 1846 photograph by Calvert Jones in The Royal Library in Copenhagen (Thornton, *Rome*, no. 47), an 1860 photograph of the interior of the Colosseum by Altobelli and Molins in the Collection of Piero Becchetti in Rome (Thornton, *Rome*, no. 48), an 1841 photograph by Lorenzo Suscipij (Hensch, “Roman Antiquities,” fig. 225), an 1841 photograph by Alexander John Ellis (Hensch, “Roman Antiquities,” fig. 226), an 1850 photograph by Robert MacPherson (Hensch, “Roman Antiquities,” fig. 227), an 1850 photograph of the interior of the Colosseum by James Francis Dunlop (Hensch, “Roman Antiquities,” fig. 228), a late nineteenth-century photograph (Voltan, *One Hundred Images*, fig. 53), a late nineteenth-century photograph of the Colosseum with the Arch of Titus (Voltan, *One Hundred Images*, fig. 52). Postcards: mid-nineteenth-century postcard of the interior of the Colosseum (Hopkins and Beard, *The Colosseum*, fig. 2).

<sup>405</sup> Eighteenth-century fan of Tommaso Bigatti in the Galleria Moderna in Rome (Landini, *Ventagli*, no. 61), an 1805 fan (Hélène Alexander, *Fans*, (New York: Drama Book Publishers, 1984), fig. 34), a late eighteenth-century fan (Hart and Taylor, *Fans*, pl. 30), a late eighteenth-century fan from the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Inv. 63.90.76), early nineteenth-century fan at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Inv. 24.80.32), a late eighteenth-century fan from the British Museum (Inv. 1891, 0713.304), a late eighteenth-century fan in the style of Tommaso Bigatti in the Museo Mario Praz (Inv. 801; Patrizia Rosazza-Ferraris, .

on a commemorative medal impression in the Paoletti collection. Other types of souvenirs included models, particularly the cork model (Figure 27 and Figure 28).<sup>406</sup> Tourists also often commissioned portraits that featured the Colosseum in the background.<sup>407</sup> The Colosseum was a prolific subject on micromosaics, and it was featured as part of a series of monuments, like the Forum, on paperweights, tabletops, or jewelry. However, micromosaicists often presented it as a stand-alone monument on snuffboxes, plaques, and paintings. Through an investigation of these micromosaics that depict the Colosseum, I will demonstrate how micromosaicists memorialized important aspects of the experience of the Colosseum, including vantage points, its Picturesque qualities, methods of framing and isolation, moonlight viewings, and the site as a meditative journey back in time.

Like in the case of the Roman Forum, micromosaicists also carefully chose a vantage point of the Colosseum that aligned with tourists' experiences, and we can therefore understand how tourists engaged with the monument. With very few exceptions, micromosaics capture the western side of the Colosseum (pre restoration:

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*Museo Mario Praz: Inventario topografico delle opere esposte*, (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 2008), cat. 162), eighteenth-century fan from the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Inv. 38.91.107).

<sup>406</sup> A model by Antonio Chichi in the Landesmuseum in Darmstadt (Büttner, "Korkmodelle," fig. 18). Carlo Lucangeli made two models of the Colosseum: one in cork at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris (Gabucci, *The Colosseum*, 217) and a wooden model kept in the Colosseum.

<sup>407</sup> A portrait of Edward Augustus, Duke of York by Pompeo Batoni in 1764 in the collection of Her Majesty the Queen (Wilton and Bignamini, *Grand Tour*, no. 35); Batoni's portrait of James Caulfield, later 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Charlemont in 1753-5 at the Yale Center for British Art (Wilton and Bignamini, *Grand Tour*, no. 18); Batoni's portrait of William Weddel in the Balella collection in Rome (Di Macco, *Il Colosseo*, fig. 135). James Russel, *British Connoisseurs in Rome*, ca. 1750 in the Yale Center for British Art (Wilton and Bignamini, *Grand Tour*, no. 43) that depicts Sir Charles Turner, who owned the painting, with others in front of the Colosseum. A portrait of James Grant, John Mytton, Thomas Robinson, and Thomas Wynn in front of the Colosseum by Nathaniel Dance in 1760 (Wilton and Bignamini, *Grand Tour*, no. 14). A portrait of Henry Somerset, 3<sup>rd</sup> Duke of Beaufort in front of the Colosseum attributed to Andrea Soldi in the 1730s in the collection of the Duke of Beaufort (Wilton and Bignamini, *Grand Tour*, no. 11). A portrait of the Izards by John Singleton Copley in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Di Macco, *Il Colosseo*, fig. 136).

Figure 30, post restoration: Figure 31).<sup>408</sup> This draws from the early eighteenth-century print tradition, as seen by Carlo Fontana and Alessandro Specchi's engravings that depict the Colosseum from this same angle (Figure 20 and Figure 21). It does not, however, correspond with other print traditions that usually feature the Arch of Constantine. The western side of the Colosseum is featured on micromosaics, in part, to memorialize the path of the tourist from the Roman Forum. In fact, some micromosaics even include the Via Sacra in this vantage point, the path that wound through the Forum and Arch of Titus and to the Colosseum, in compositions with the Colosseum (Figure 32).<sup>409</sup>

The reason why we see this vantage point taken so regularly on micromosaics is because travelers began their journey to the Colosseum from the Capitoline Hill making their way down through the Forum and emerged on the Via Sacra on the western side of the Colosseum. Visitors often documented their experiences of these two sites in conjunction with one another.<sup>410</sup> William Gillespie recorded how the Forum was, "entered by a triumphal arch, terminated by the Coliseum," and then he goes on to discuss his experience of the Colosseum following his account of the Forum.<sup>411</sup> The importance of this itinerary is engrained in the memory of how tourists experienced the

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<sup>408</sup> One is a micromosaic of the northwestern side of the Colosseum by Constantino Rinaldo (Figure 33). This micromosaic appears to copy Piranesi's prints of the Colosseum from this angle that stretches out the façade of the Colosseum in an unrealistic way (Figure 23). Another interesting viewpoint, such as a micromosaic by Giacomo Raffaelli, shows the southern side of the Colosseum (Figure 34). Domenico Montagu's 1761 print of the Colosseum, *Veduta del Colosseo dalla parte più rovinata*, is the inspiration for some of these southern viewpoints (Carolina Brook and Valter Cruzei, eds. *Roma e l'antico: realtà e visione nel '700*, (Milano: Skira editore, 2010), 450). I have only ever come across one micromosaic that depicts the interior of the Colosseum (Figure 35).

<sup>409</sup> See Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 86, 114, 129, 137, 139.

<sup>410</sup> Furthermore, capriccios of the city often placed monuments of the Forum with the Colosseum in a topographical inaccurate manner. For example, Bernardo Bellotto's *Veduta del Colosseo* places the Temple of Castor and Pollux in front of the Colosseum and Francesco Guardi's *Colosseo e Tempio di Vespasiano* places the Temple of Vespasian in front of the Colosseum.

<sup>411</sup> Gillespie, *Rome: As Seen by a New Yorker*, 25.

Colosseum: that first glimpse of the monument is the view that is most often memorialized on souvenirs.<sup>412</sup>

However, there is also another important reason driving the popularity of the western side of the Colosseum on micromosaics. Regardless of whether micromosaics are shown pre- or post-restorations of Pope Pius VI, the Colosseum is depicted as ruinous. The western side, as featured on micromosaics, is neither wholly complete, nor in complete ruins, but rather the outer ring stands fragmented, revealing the interior rings of the Colosseum. This particular angle showcases both the whole and fragmented aspects of the Colosseum that were conditioned by an arrival from the Roman Forum.<sup>413</sup> Most engravings of the Colosseum also memorialize the advantage of such a perspective of the monument. A more northerly view would make the Colosseum appear complete, as we can see documented in both micromosaics and Piranesi's print. Furthermore, a southerly view, while fragmented, presented the building in a manner that was not as easily decipherable. Thus, we see micromosaicists choosing to depict the monument's western side most often because this was the angle from which the visitor approached and the view that most picturesquely captured the idea of its ruins.

Part of what made ruins so alluring to the tourist, and therefore this western perspective taken on micromosaics, was this fascination with the incomplete. This is emphasized in accounts of the Colosseum by travelers. Joseph Forsyth wrote how: "As it

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<sup>412</sup> Other souvenirs, such as fans, also follow this same trend where they depict the Colosseum's western side (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Invs. 24.80.32, 38.91.107), but some show the southern side (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. 63.90.76), and some are in the style of Piranesi (Rosazza-Ferraris, *Museo Mario Praz*, cat. 162).

<sup>413</sup> Showcasing the most dramatically ruinous side of the Colosseum was also a frequent occurrence in other souvenirs, such as photos (Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, "Introduction," in *Antiquity and Photography: Early Views of Ancient Mediterranean Sites*, eds. Claire L. Lyons, John K. Papadopoulos, Lindsey S. Stewart, and Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2005), 17).

now stands, the Coliseum is a striking image of Rome itself:--decayed—vacant—serious—yet grand;--half gray and half green---*erect on one side and fallen on the other*, with consecrated ground on its bosom—...[my emphasis]”.<sup>414</sup> What is striking about Forsyth’s impression of the Colosseum is how he pinpointed its half-ruinous state. Micromosaics offered glimpses of both of these worlds by featuring the western side of the monument. Furthermore, Forsyth saw the Colosseum as a metaphor for Rome itself: erect on one side, the modern city, and fallen on the other, the antique city. The ruinous western side of the Colosseum presented an “effective visual metaphor for decline and fall” of the Roman Empire.<sup>415</sup> Hester Piozzi also took joy in the incomplete nature of the Colosseum: “The ruin is more gloriously beautiful; possibly more beautiful than when it was quite whole; there is enough left now for Truth to repose upon, and a perch for Fancy to beside, to fly out from, and fetch in more.”<sup>416</sup> Piozzi highlighted one of the aspects of ruins that was so appealing- namely, the ability of ruins to facilitate the imagination.<sup>417</sup>

Ruins were also so attractive because they facilitated meditation on the mortality of man, on the past, and on the destroying power of time and nature. As Hugh Williams

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<sup>414</sup> Forsyth, *Remarks on Antiquities*, 146.

<sup>415</sup> Szegedy and Maszak, “Introduction,” 17.

<sup>416</sup> Hester Lynch Piozzi, “Observations and Reflections Made in the Course of a Journey though France, Italy, and Germany,” in *Women’s Travel Writings in Italy*, ed. Annie Richardson, Vol. III and IV, (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2009), 389.

<sup>417</sup> One of the activities that enhanced the ruinous quality of the Colosseum was its use as a site for pillaging and plundering of stone for building projects all around the city. Travelers often wrote about this in their journals, and this partly contributed to the ruinous and Picturesque state of the monument. As James Galiffe explained, “ruins please me for their own sake, not merely in consequence of what they have been, or might be; and I could never feel particularly angry with those who have removed so considerable a part of the materials [of the Colosseum] for the erection of three or four of the largest palaces” (James A. Galiffe, *Italy and its Inhabitants: an Account of a Tour in the Country in 1816 and 1817*, Vol. I, (London: John Murray, 1820), 348). William Wilson also wrote about how the plundering of the monument increased its picturesque affect: “Plundered, as it has been, of materials for the erection of palaces and other modern buildings, this huge pile seems undiminished in bulk, and to have gained, in picturesque sublimity of character, more than it has lost in the integrity of its architecture” (Galiffe, *Italy*, 329). These accounts

wrote, the Colosseum was a site for ruminations about mortality: “Its vast size, its unnatural destination, its measured and tardy decay, having already outlived the lapse of many centuries, proclaim at once, that the earthly schemes of man, so far beyond the term of his mortal existence, are short-lived, mean, and trifling, compared to his eternal destination.”<sup>418</sup> Both of these accounts highlight the passage of time and its effects.

George Hillard most expressively summarizes how the ruins of the Colosseum intersect with the picturesque, the incomplete, and time. He wrote:

How, or at what period, the work of ruin first began, does not distinctly appear. An earthquake may have first shattered its ponderous arches, and thus made an opening for the destructive scythe of time... as a ruin it [the Colosseum] is perfect. The work of decay has stopped short at the exact point required by taste and sentiment. The monotonous ring of the outer wall is broken, and instead of formal curves and perpendicular lines, the eye rests upon those interruptions and unexpected turns, which are the essential elements of the picturesque, as distinguishes from the beautiful and sublime; and yet so much of the original structure is left, that the fancy can without effort piece out the rents and chasms of time, and line the interior with living forms. When a building is abandoned to decay, it is given over to the dominion of Nature, whose works are never uniform. When the Colosseum was complete, vast as it was, it must have left upon the mind a monotonous impression of sameness, from the architectural repetitions which its plan included; but now that it is a vast ruin, it has all that variety of form and outline which we admire in a Gothic cathedral... No hand of man has trained the climbing plants in the way they should go. All has been left to the will or chance, and the result is, that there is everywhere resemblance, there is nowhere identity. A little more or a little less of decay—a chasm more or less deep- a fissure more or less prolonged—a drapery of verdure more or less flowing—give to each square yard of the Colosseum its own peculiar expression. It is a wilderness of ruin in which no two fragments are exactly alike.<sup>419</sup>

Hillard’s account highlights the importance of variety and incompleteness as determining factors in the Picturesque. The western side of the Colosseum was featured with such

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emphasize how integral ruins were for completing the picturesque effect of the Colosseum, especially given how many times travelers would chide past plundering of antique buildings.

<sup>418</sup> Hugh Williams, *Travels in Italy, Greece, and the Ionian Islands: in a Series of Letters, Descriptive of Manners, Scenery, and the Fine Arts*, Vol. I, (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co., 1820), 285.

<sup>419</sup> Hillard, *Six Months in Rome*, Vol. I, 304-310.

regularity on micromosaic souvenirs because it encapsulated the spirit of the power of nature and time, as can be seen from the account of George Hillard. In addition to these qualities, the western side of the Colosseum was featured in order to memorialize the path, and consequently the first view, of the traveler as well as the picturesque beauty created by its ruinous state.<sup>420</sup>

Also as relates to viewpoints are the ways in which the structural elements of the Colosseum were conceived on micromosaics. On micromosaics we see the arches of the Colosseum opening onto other parts of the ruin or awash with sunlight, emphasizing their status as a window onto another sight. Arches acted as points of sightlines by framing and reframing as a tourist moved along either the exterior or interior of the Colosseum. These arches served as ephemeral windows providing glimpses of ruins and architecture, as is memorialized on micromosaics (Figure 30). As they approached the Colosseum, the arches would frame the ruins of the interior, and as they entered the Colosseum the arches

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<sup>420</sup> Another interesting advantage to displaying the western side of the Colosseum is the way in which its shape, especially after the buttressing efforts of both Pius VII and Leo XII in 1826, resembles a crater (Figure 36). This was something that was also frequently noted in travel accounts, but only after the years of restoration to the Colosseum. Louis Simond likened the Colosseum to a volcano's crater: "The light played with more than usual vagueness, softness and harmony among the cavernous masses which rose in fantastic greatness on all sides of us; and such was the general appearance of the whole, that we might have fancied ourselves in the crater of an extinguished volcano rather than in anything reared by the hand of man, - mere brick and mortar!" (Simond, *A Tour in Italy and Sicily*, 177). Grace Greenwood recalled: "It is only the ruin of a vast edifice, yet it is still so grand and stupendous that it reminds one more of the crater of an extinct volcano, than of any other building" (Grace Greenwood, *Stories and Sights of France and Italy*, (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1867), 219). These comparisons of the ruin to Nature are natural given the ways in which tourists conceived of ruins as a manmade entity that was overpowered by, and returned to, Nature. Furthermore, this was something that was conditioned by prints, such as Piranesi's interior of the Colosseum that struck a remarkable resemblance to a volcano crater. The artificial constructions of man, such as buildings like the Colosseum, were more enthusiastically received when compared to a natural feature (Barbara Maria Stafford, "Toward Romantic Landscape Perception: Illustrated Travels and the Rise of 'Singularity' as an Aesthetic Category," *The Art Quarterly* I (1977): 90). For these reasons of mortality and shape, the ruinous western side of the Colosseum was captured on most micromosaics to memorialize tourists' concerns for ruins.

could not only frame the ruins within the monument itself, but also the ruins of the surroundings.

On micromosaics the arches frame the ruins of the interior of the Colosseum, but we do not see the view from the interior of the Colosseum looking out. Nonetheless, both of these experiences were memorialized in travel accounts, such as John Eustace's comment about "vaults opening upon other ruins; in short, above, below, and around, one vast collection of magnificence and devastation, of grandeur and of decay."<sup>421</sup> Jane Waldie wrote: "Here the terraced arcades repose in silence and desolation; and, as we look forth from their openings, and behold the sinking Arch of Constantine....we see every object around us equally ruined and desolate with the spot on which we stand."<sup>422</sup> Framing was a highly important aspect of viewing monuments of the Grand Tour, including the Colosseum, which will be discussed more fully later.

One of the aspects of the arches of the Colosseum that viewers found so appealing was the way in which they were framed in vegetation, and this idea of vegetation is a necessary component to the success of the Colosseum as a site of the Picturesque. There are two phases of vegetation represented on micromosaics that showcase the Colosseum. The first phase is prior to the restorations to the western side of the Colosseum and therefore applies to micromosaics that date to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when the Picturesque was at the height of its popularity. What we see on these micromosaics during this period is vegetation that appears primarily at the edges of surfaces on the Colosseum including the top edge of the building, the ruined crumbles of its sloping sides, the barrel vaults, and the arched openings (Figure 37 and Figure 38). This

corresponds to eighteenth-century prints of the Colosseum that also depict little tufts of vegetation crowning the ruins of the Colosseum. The second phase of vegetation, as seen on micromosaics, is after the restorations of Pius VII and Leo XI in the mid-nineteenth century. Micromosaicists exercised more restraint in the tufts of vegetation that were limited to the top of the Colosseum and the arched openings since many of the ruinous slopes had been rebuilt and were no longer primed for picturesque weeds in the same way as pre-restoration micromosaics (Figure 39 and Figure 40). The inclusion of vegetation by micromosaicists was a critical component of the experience of the Colosseum.

Tourists hailed the affects of vegetation on the Colosseum. The Colosseum was widely recognized as a site where a variety of plants grew. Several texts were in circulation that recorded the numerous species of plants that grew along the walls of the Colosseum. In 1813 Antonio Sebastiani published the *Flora Colisea*, which listed 261 species of plants and in 1855 Richard Deakin published *The Flora of the Colosseum* that listed 420 species.<sup>423</sup> Hugh Williams even included an appendix to his travel journal that listed the species of plants according to Sebastiani.<sup>424</sup> Tourists to the Colosseum often collected the different plants.<sup>425</sup> Images and other souvenirs of the Colosseum that were in circulation also showcased the monument's vegetation, even architectural drawings, such as that of Carlo Fontana.<sup>426</sup> Selina Martin praised the "broken arches...which are

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<sup>421</sup> John Chetwode Eustace, *A Classical Tour through Italy*, (London: J. Mawman, 1814), 214.

<sup>422</sup> Waldie, *Sketches Descriptive of Italy*, Vol. II, 222.

<sup>423</sup> Hopkins and Beard, *The Colosseum*, 177-8.

<sup>424</sup> Williams, *Travels in Italy*, 389.

<sup>425</sup> Richard Wrigley, *Roman Fever: Influence, Infection and the Image of Rome, 1700-1870*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 185.

<sup>426</sup> Di Macco, *Il Colosseo*, fig. 142. See also the cork model of the Colosseum by Carlo Lucangeli (Rea, "The Colosseum," 217).

festooned by wild plants.”<sup>427</sup> Harriet Morton also wrote about how the foliage had pleasing effects in conjunction with the arches: “I had scarcely reached the second row of seats, and was observing the distant tops of the Apennines as they rose through the tracery of foliage and of broken arches...”<sup>428</sup> Travelers were pleased by the affects of the vegetation, as George Hillard wrote about how “trailing plants clasp the stones with arms of verdure: wild flowers bloom in their seasons, and long grass nods and waves on the airy battlements. Life has everywhere sprouted from the trunk of death.”<sup>429</sup> Jane Waldie recorded how the Colosseum “...presents masses of almost shapeless ruins overgrown with wild straggling shrubs and tall grass- grand even in decay- but melancholy beyond what I have power to express!”<sup>430</sup> What both Hillard and Waldie emphasized was how the vegetation enhanced the feelings of death and melancholy that resulted from the picturesque monument explaining why vegetation was such a valued characteristic of the Colosseum.

One of the curious aspects of vegetation on the second phase of micromosaics with the restorative buttresses present on the Colosseum is that it even exists in any quantity. Many micromosaics of this period contain tufts of greenery on the top of the building. The Colosseum endured several weedings over the course of the nineteenth century in 1812, 1852, and in 1871. Yet despite these weedings, especially the one in 1812, numerous micromosaics of the mid-nineteenth century still show vegetation. Photographs of the Colosseum dating to 1846 and 1848 show a barren monument with

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<sup>427</sup> Selina Martin, *Narrative of a Three Years' Residence in Italy 1819-1822*, (London: John Murray, 1828), 142.

<sup>428</sup> Harriet Morton, *Protestant Vigils or Evening Records of a Journey in Italy in the Years 1826 and 1827*, Vol. I, (London: R.B. Seeley and W. Brunside, 1829), 70.

<sup>429</sup> Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, Vol. I, 307.

very little vegetative accents.<sup>431</sup> Therefore, micromosaicists added in vegetation, though conservatively, to cater to tourists' expectations of the picturesque weeds. Augustus Hare expressed regret at the unfortunate cleanings of the Colosseum and its adverse effect on the Picturesque during his late nineteenth-century trip to Rome: "Even so late as thirty years ago, however, the interior was an uneven grassy space littered with masses of ruin, amid which large trees grew and flourished, and the clearing out of the arena, though exhibiting more perfectly the ancient form of the building, is much to be regretted by lovers of the picturesque."<sup>432</sup> Thus, we can note how the picturesque quality of weeds contributed to tourists' understandings of the monument and was therefore a necessary element to include on micromosaics, even if it was not highly present on the monument in actuality.

Tourists lamented the initial weeding of the Colosseum by the French in 1812, and they were likewise not pleased with their addition of a French garden adjacent to the Colosseum. This French garden does not appear on micromosaics. This was because of the formal nature of the French garden, which did not align with the Picturesque that called for arrangements like those found in nature. Micromosaics dating to the early nineteenth century, when the garden was added to the Colosseum landscape, do not feature this French garden. While this may be due to the short duration of the garden, it is also a reflection of a dislike of the French presence in the city, as well as the garden's unpopularity.<sup>433</sup> Tourists complained about the garden, such as Charlotte Eaton who

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<sup>430</sup> Waldie, *Sketches Descriptive of Italy*, Vol. II, 220.

<sup>431</sup> Thornton, *Rome*, no. 47 and 46.

<sup>432</sup> Hare, *Days Near Rome*, Vol. I, 197.

<sup>433</sup> Lady Morgan wrote about how the Romans did not ever walk in the gardens (Owenson, *Italy*, Vol. II, 189). Since neither the Romans nor travelers appreciated the garden, it did not appear on micromosaics.

proclaimed: “There are other of their [the French] improvements which have been suffered to remain, that we would rather have seen removed. French taste has formed a little public garden at the very base of the Colosseum, so woefully misplaced, that even I, notwithstanding my natural passion for flowers, longed to grab them all up by the roots, to carry off every vestige of the trim paling, and bring destruction upon all smooth gravel walks.”<sup>434</sup> The suppression of the formal, French garden reiterates tourists’ desire for the picturesque, ruinous Colosseum.

Taking into consideration both the importance of viewpoints and the Picturesque to the tourists who sought out the Colosseum, I will now explore why the modes in which micromosaicists framed the monument on micromosaics is significant. Micromosaics have a number of characteristics that enhance a framed view of the monument. First, the monument is often literally framed, surrounded by trees or foliage or with scattered ruins in the foreground. Second, the monument is metaphorically framed by the absence of its surroundings.

Micromosaics utilized vegetation to frame the monument according to tourist expectations. For example, micromosaics of the Colosseum sometimes employed a row of shrubbery in front of the monument that served as a frame (Figure 41 and Figure 42).<sup>435</sup> In other instances, vegetation framed the Colosseum from behind, such as micromosaics where trees form arms extending in an arc from behind the Colosseum (Figure 43).<sup>436</sup> Occasionally, micromosaicists included a lone tree to the right of the composition that enhanced the idea of a frame, as well as appealing to the Picturesque-seeking viewer

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<sup>434</sup> Eaton, *Rome, in the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. I, 83.

<sup>435</sup> Finarte, *Gioielli*, 341. González-Palacios, *Una raccolta*, 229. Grieco, *Roman Mosaic*, 53.

(Figure 44).<sup>437</sup> As earlier discussed, vegetation was a quality that tourists looked for while viewing the Colosseum. We see the same use of shrubbery to frame the Colosseum in prints, such as the one by Carlo Fontana.

Other picturesque elements contributed to the framed effect of the Colosseum. For examples, the stray columns and marble fragments strewn in the foreground of the micromosaic compositions also picturesquely frame the Colosseum (Figure 45 and Figure 46). Marble fragments are sometimes relegated to a corner of the composition or are strewn across the foreground evenly.<sup>438</sup> While the marble fragments do not provide a full frame, they, like the tree placed on the right side of micromosaic compositions, serve as an accent that suggests a frame or composition through which the viewer peers. This was an extremely common compositional element on prints, as is depicted by Luigi Rossini's print of the Colosseum.

In addition to framing the monument on micromosaics with shrubbery and marble fragments, micromosaicists also presented the Colosseum as isolated. They accomplished this in two ways. First of all, they distanced the monument from the modern city. In many micromosaic compositions, the city of Rome is banished from the skyline behind the Colosseum and instead distant trees or mountains are depicted (Figure 47). When the presence of the city is detected on micromosaics, it is only in its diminished presence in the background or a single, small structure (Figure 36). These

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<sup>436</sup> Petochi, Alfieri, and Branchetti, *I mosaici minuti*, 194. Grieco, *Roman Mosaic*, 85. Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, 187.

<sup>437</sup> Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 39. Finarte, *Gioielli*, 326. Christie's Sale 5962, Lot 520, Christie's Sale 5377, Lot 31.

<sup>438</sup> Grieco and Bambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 137; 158. Gabriel, *The Gilbert Collection*, 68. Petochi, Alfieri, and Branchetti, *I mosaici minuti*, 160. Sotheby's, *The Collection of Gianni Versace*, (2001), 100. Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, 85.

micromosaics that feature the buildings of the city are very limited in number and require close looking to notice the modern buildings of the city that are so distant that they nearly blend into the background.<sup>439</sup> This same trend is noted in early eighteenth-century prints where the presence of the city is limited. Later prints do include elements of the surrounding city, though they are not overly visible.

The displeasure of the city is highlighted by tourists' accounts, such as that of Charlotte Eaton who wrote that the Colosseum "stands exactly where you would wish it to stand- far away from modern Rome, her streets, her churches, her palaces, and her population, alone in its solitary grandeur, and surrounded only with the ruins of the Imperial City."<sup>440</sup> This sort of comment is in part derived from an aversion to the filth of the modern city, which was increasingly less tolerated as the eighteenth century wore on.<sup>441</sup> As Eaton emphasized, being far from the city emphasized the solitude of the Colosseum, qualities that, according to Chard, separate a site of the Grand Tour from the continuity of everyday life.<sup>442</sup> Edward Burton wrote about the solitude that surrounded the Colosseum: "its majestic fragments are even magnified by the desolation and solitude which now prevail round it."<sup>443</sup> This desolation and solitude that Burton recorded was the isolation that was expected by visitors to the Colosseum.

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<sup>439</sup> Chiara Stefani, ed., *Ricordi in Micromosaico: Vedute e paesaggi per i viaggiatori del Grand Tour*, (Roma: De Luca Editori D'Arte, 2011), 43. Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 149; 158. Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 105. Gabriel, *The Gilbert Collection*, 68. Petochi, Alfieri, and Branchetti, *I mosaici minuti*, 195.

<sup>440</sup> Eaton, *Rome, in the Nineteenth Century*, 81. Charlotte Eaton, in her account, recorded one of the exceptions of the isolation of the Colosseum. On some micromosaics, the Colosseum is featured with its adjacent ruins: the Arch of Constantine or the Meta Sudans. However, the Colosseum pictured alongside other monuments serves to highlight the importance of ruins.

<sup>441</sup> Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 141-2.

<sup>442</sup> Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt on the Grand Tour: travel writing and imaginative geography 1600-1830*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 226.

<sup>443</sup> Burton, *A Description of Antiquities*, 45.

The second way that micromosaicists presented the Colosseum as isolated was through its enlargement. In micromosaics of the Colosseum, the Colosseum frequently fills the entire field, emphasizing its massiveness (Figure 45). The vast nature of the Colosseum as depicted on micromosaics varied of course, but sometimes it was so large that it barely fit within the bounds of the composition.<sup>444</sup> We see this also, for example, in Piranesi's print of the Colosseum. Even on micromosaics where the Colosseum does not fill the entire picture plane, the structure takes up the majority of the sky, emphasizing its immense size (Figure 48).<sup>445</sup>

The heft of the monument fascinated travelers. James Boswell found himself unable to decide upon the best qualities of the monument: "It is hard to tell whether the astonishing massiveness or the exquisite taste of this superb building should be more admired."<sup>446</sup> James Cooper wrote, "...some time was necessary to become fully conscious of its vastness."<sup>447</sup> The first aspect of the Colosseum that attracted Jane Waldie's attention was its volume: "Having emerged from its shade, the vast mass of the Coliseum claims our first attention."<sup>448</sup> The massiveness of this cherished Roman monument grasped the imaginations of tourists and thus was commemorated on micromosaics where the vastness of the Colosseum pushed out other aspects of its surroundings that might prove a distraction, such as the modern city. Tourists wanted a souvenir that memorialized the vastness of the Colosseum as they were wont to forget, as explained by Goethe: "It is so huge that the mind cannot retain its image; one remembers

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<sup>444</sup> Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 93. Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 39.

<sup>445</sup> Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 137.

<sup>446</sup> Brady, *Boswell on the Grand Tour*, 64.

<sup>447</sup> Cooper, *Gleanings in Europe*, 216.

<sup>448</sup> Waldie, *Sketches Descriptive of Italy*, Vol. II, 213.

it as smaller than it is, so that every time one returns to it, one is astounded by its size.”<sup>449</sup>

Goethe’s thoughts on its massiveness suggest how the Colosseum presented as massive on a souvenir might evoke the memory of the astounding size of the monument.

The vastness of the Colosseum also connects to the idea of solitude.

Micromosaics that feature the Colosseum dominating the picture plane, minimize the presence of everything else, including the peopling of the scenes. Micromosaics of the Colosseum nearly always included peasants in idyllic poses and/or tourists making their way towards the monument (Figure 46).<sup>450</sup> However, these peasants and tourists are minimized, shown scattered across a vast landscape and small against the mass of the Colosseum (Figure 49).<sup>451</sup> This is something that prints, such as those of Piranesi, particularly engaged in. For example, visitors are shown on one micromosaic strolling up towards the Colosseum, but are pushed against the frame of the micromosaic (Figure 50).<sup>452</sup> Giacomo Raffaelli’s micromosaic is a good example of how the peopling of these souvenirs is done with care to not suggest a hectic or rowdy environment (Figure 47). There is a hunched peasant sitting on a wall at the front of the picture plane; to the right of him are a duo of travelers; a woman a little in front of them on the path leading into the Colosseum, and finally a group of tourists, barely perceptible, near the entrance of the monument. What is striking about this composition is the silence evoked by the figures that are still and stopped in their actions, as if basking in the picturesque awe of such a monument.

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<sup>449</sup> Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Italian Journey*, trans. Thomas P. Saine, (New York: Suhrkamp Publishers, 1989), 129.

<sup>450</sup> Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 112.

<sup>451</sup> Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 137.

<sup>452</sup> Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 154. Alfieri, Branchetti, and Cornini, *Mosaici minuti*, 129.

Travelers desired to experience the monuments in solitude. Anna Jameson was particularly offended by the disruption of the silence during her visit to the Colosseum by fellow travelers:

but- (there must always be a but! Always in the realities of this world something to disgust;) it happened that one or two gentleman joined our party- young men too, and classical scholars, who perhaps thought it fine to affect a well-bred nonchalance, a fashionable disdain for all romance and enthusiasm, and amused themselves with quizzing our guide, insulting the gloom, the grandeur, and the silence around them, with loud impertinent laughter at their own poor jokes; and I was obliged to listen, sad and disgusted, to their empty and tasteless and misplaced flippancy.”<sup>453</sup>

While Anna Jameson found the young men’s behavior contemptible, William Gillespie climbed the top of the Colosseum to avoid ladies who were “giggling and babbling below in profane desecration of the influences of the spot.”<sup>454</sup> This idea of silence is depicted on micromosaics through the marginalizing, minimizing, and spreading out of the visitors included in the compositions. Often compositions exclude visitors entirely therefore ensuring none of the disruptions that Jameson and Gillespie suffered.

There are a series of popular micromosaics that impeccably demonstrate framing and isolation as modes to view monuments (Figure 51 through Figure 53).<sup>455</sup> These micromosaics feature two of Rome’s most popular sites, the Colosseum and St. Peter’s Square. These monuments are representative of the two sides of the city that travelers sought: *antica* and *moderna*. Furthermore, they both represented important religious sites of the city; St. Peter’s was an important church and burial site of St. Peter and the

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<sup>453</sup> Jameson, *Diary*, Vol. II, 58.

<sup>454</sup> Gillespie, *Rome: As Seen by a New Yorker*, 27.

<sup>455</sup> Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 134. Gabriel, *The Gilbert Collection*, 88; 89. González-Palacios, *Una raccolta*, 19; 72. Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 154. Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, 109; 113. Christie’s South Kensington Ltd, *Antiquities and Souvenirs of the Grand Tour, Wednesday 19 October 1994*, 273.

Colosseum was a site significant for its Christian martyrs. Most of these micromosaics are composed as follows: the Colosseum is featured on the left and St. Peter's square on the right with both monuments encircled, and divided from one another, by foliage, in front of which is a piazza with a fountain placed between the two monuments, acting as a further divider. The piazza and fountain were located in front of the Villa Medici on the Pincian Hill and overlooked the city, allowing for a view of St. Peter's. Trees surround the fountain, and on micromosaics we see these trees transformed into wreaths of foliage that frame and separate the ancient and modern monuments. Then often, but not always, pairs of Europeans are shown at the edge of the piazza peering out at the scenes of the Colosseum and St. Peter's, as they might have in real life.<sup>456</sup> What is so striking about this is that the people shown are always European and not the Italian peasants that so frequently appear in micromosaics. That the groups of visitors peer into these vistas, as if looking at a picture, completes the idealistic way tourists wished to view these monuments framed by vegetation and in isolation. One such micromosaic is even labeled "ricordo di Roma," suggesting the micromosaicist's intent for this object was to serve as a memory of Rome. In this way, the micromosaicist provided a souvenir for tourists that not only encapsulated the dual aspects of Rome, but also the tourists' desire to experience the monument in isolation, complete with its own vegetative frame to decontextualize the monument from the contemporary city.

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<sup>456</sup> This schema was credited to the well-known micromosaicist, Michelangelo Barberi (Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 134). There is some variation on the scene, but the monuments are nearly always separated from one another by some type of vegetation. For example, one micromosaic does not use a wreath of foliage like the others but instead utilizes a tree in the center with a tree on either side of each monument (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 154). The only micromosaic of this type that does not employ any foliage is one that has a personification of Roma sitting between the monuments (Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 132).

This “language of views” which delimited and framed monuments on micromosaics dictated certain ways of structuring the experience of the monuments in person as is also noted in the written descriptions of the Colosseum.<sup>457</sup> The literary scholar Chloe Chard, in particular, unpacks the ways in which tourists interacted with the ancient monuments of the Grand Tour through an examination of travel journals. She supports an absorptive mode of viewing that completely entralls the viewer through wonder.<sup>458</sup> Chard suggests that tourists employ these strategies of delimitation in order to avoid unpleasant encounters with the topography of the Grand Tour. She posits that in the eighteenth century, visitors required a sense of distance in order to understand a monument and that by the nineteenth century this framed isolation is a quality visitors expect of all monuments of the tour.<sup>459</sup> Chard’s reading of methods of framing and isolation in the accounts of monuments by travelers also corresponds to visual manifestations of these monuments, such as on micromosaics or the use of the Claude glass in Picturesque travelling.

The micromosaic souvenirs of the Colosseum and St. Peter’s that are shown surrounded by vegetation also memorialized another very important way of viewing the Colosseum- by moonlight.<sup>460</sup> These, and other types of micromosaic compositions, often depicted the Colosseum at night lit by the light of the moon.<sup>461</sup> Micromosaics that depict the Colosseum at nighttime feature several trends. One is the presence of clouds that

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<sup>457</sup> Crouch and Lübbren, *Visual Culture and Tourism*, 8.

<sup>458</sup> Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt*, 165.

<sup>459</sup> Chard, *Pleasure and Guilt*, 226.

<sup>460</sup> In addition to daylight, we also note micromosaics that show the Colosseum at dusk (Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, 113, González-Palacios, *Una raccolta*, 72).

<sup>461</sup> Paintings also made the Colosseum by moonlight a frequent subject, such as Ippolito Caffi’s *View of the Colosseum with the Holy Friday’s Procession by Night* (Dell’Arco, Fagiolo, Sonino, Peretti, and Nick,

mysteriously cloak the moon or are floating around it (Figure 54 through Figure 56).<sup>462</sup> Another are the shadows, cast by the moon, on the openings of the arches flooded by moonlight and the warm glow of tourists' torches (Figure 57).<sup>463</sup> Interestingly, all micromosaic compositions of the Colosseum depicted by the light of the moon are after the big restorations of the structure in the early to mid-nineteenth century. This is because with these restorations came rebuilt arches, which significantly increased the dramatic effect of the lit Colosseum.<sup>464</sup> The time of day during which the Colosseum was viewed greatly affected both the physical and mental atmosphere of tourists.<sup>465</sup> Again, we might note the influence of the Claude glass on modes of viewing the sites of the Grand Tour. The Claude glass came in many different colored glasses, with which users could manipulate their surroundings making it appear as though it were sunrise, sunset, or even nighttime. Photography also experimented with manipulating light, such as a photograph by Gioacchino Altobelli that shows the Roman Forum at night, an effect gained through darkroom adjustments.<sup>466</sup>

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*Grand Tour*, 110) or J.M.W. Turner's *The Colosseum, Rome, by Moonlight*, 1819 in the Tate Britain (D16339; Quennell, *The Colosseum*, 125).

<sup>462</sup> Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, 51. Petochi, Alfieri, and Branchetti, *I mosaici minuti*, 195. Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 55. Gabriel, *The Gilbert Collection*, 84. Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 128.

<sup>463</sup> Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 55; 149. Gabriel, *The Gilbert Collection*, 89. Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 128. Alfieri, Branchetti, and Cornini, *Mosaici minuti*, 129. Stefani, *Ricordi*, 46.

<sup>464</sup> Guido Cornini, "La collezione Vaticana di mosaici minuti: note introduttive," in *Arte e artigianato nella Roma di Belli*, ed. Laura Biancini and Franco Onorati, (Roma: Editore Colombo, 1998), 154.

<sup>465</sup> For example, the bright blue sky is often noted in the background of Colosseum on micromosaics. Tourists extolled the sun's affect on the viewing process, such as Charlotte Eaton who cited how it, "breathed its serenity into our minds" (Eaton, *Rome, in the Nineteenth Century*, 84). Art historian Richard Wrigley notes how travel writing observes the ways in which the monuments of the Grand Tour were enhanced by the intensity of the Roman light (Wrigley, *Roman Fever*, 99).

<sup>466</sup> Thornton, *Rome*, no. 37. Travelers, when going to view the Colosseum at night, often would walk through the Forum also.

These visual components of moonlit micromosaics with the Colosseum were valued by tourists and mirrored in their accounts of their nighttime visits. Hugh Williams wrote how:

The innumerable open arches, with the moonbeams shining through them, were like the eyes of past ages looking upon us... We walked by the pale beams through all the witchery of the place; silence and uncertainty prevailed... Sometimes we wandered in the dark; at other times were led by the glimmering light of scattered moonbeams seen from afar, and casting shadows which appeared like the phantoms of the departed... while the moon was marching in the vault of night, and the stars were peeping through the various openings; the shadows of the flying clouds being all that reminded us of motion and of life. While one part was in shadow against the light of the sky, other parts were mingled in the deepened indigo, and seemed as it were blended with the heavens, -strongly remind us, while we looked at the Cross below, of the connection between this and another world.<sup>467</sup>

Williams emphasized how the shadows cast by the moon, the clouds in the sky, and the openings of arches, features that are all noted in micromosaics, instigated the imagination. Nathaniel Carter wrote about the Colosseum bathed in the half-light of the moon: “He must see the moon rise, and produce an image of her own orb, by bathing one half of this little world in light, while the other is lost in darkness. He must see her softened beams peer through the ragged loopholes of time, curtained with festoons of ivy and the wild shrubbery growing upon the ramparts.”<sup>468</sup> By “ragged loopholes of time,” Carter referenced the arched openings of the Colosseum and therefore, also addressed the ways in which the moon delighted the senses by moving in and out of these arched openings. William Gillespie emphasized the effect of the moon to create shadows: “the colossal amphitheater rose like a mountain of stone, with stupendous arches above arches, half hid in the deep shade, and half bathed in the splendour of a day-bright

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<sup>467</sup> Williams, *Travels in Italy*, 300-1.

<sup>468</sup> Carter, *Letters from Europe*, Vol. II, 166.

moon.”<sup>469</sup> These romantic descriptions corresponded to notions during the nineteenth century encouraged by Romantic painters, such as J.M.W. Turner who painted the Colosseum at night.

The clouds and the ways in which the moonlight cast through the arches presented a flickering series of unfolding sights that contributed to an otherworldly atmosphere of the Colosseum at night. Travelers’ accounts demonstrated how moonlit viewings of the Colosseum were so highly valued for their ability to create a magical environment that would take them out of their usual state of mind. This magical experience stemmed from other culturally determined ideas during the eighteenth century. This is perhaps illustrated most clearly by Montesquieu’s 1748 *The Spirit of Laws*, which connected climatic theory to the devolvement of different societies attributing industriousness to those of colder, more northerly environments and laziness to those of warmer, more southerly environments. This was certainly a common perception of Neapolitans, as will be discussed in the fifth chapter. Tourists saw Rome’s climate and environment as affecting the body and mind of all who spent time there.<sup>470</sup> Treading on ancient soil had talismanic forces as the tourist walked upon the same sacred ground as did ancient Romans, and thereby were granted intimacy with the past remains of grandeur.<sup>471</sup>

One of the reasons why moonlit visits were so popular to the Colosseum was the ways in which such a visit fed the imagination. This could only be achieved in an environment that was steeped with ethereal and magical forces, such as one fostered by the moon moving in and out of the clouds of the night. Tourists recorded their

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<sup>469</sup> Gillespie, *Rome: As Seen by a New Yorker*, 26-7.

<sup>470</sup> Richard Wrigley discusses how the dirty conditions of Rome and its Campagna that was plagued by malaria “impinged on the minds and bodies of all who spent time there” (Wrigley, *Roman Fever*, 218).

otherworldly, imaginative experiences of the Colosseum almost exclusively during the night hours. This anonymous account of a moonlit visit demonstrates how the play of the moonlight that is featured in micromosaics is critical to an imaginative jaunt to the past: “in the stillness of night when the silvery moonbeams descend from heaven, and softly play amid the hallowed venerated ruins, illumining the open arch to show a resplendent Roman sky; or gently creep o’er all the wondrous fabric to light it for the enamored gaze...when the mind’s eye, glancing o’er ages that are past, here conjures up, in vision, the games, the shows...”<sup>472</sup> William Wilson similarly recounted how his visit during the stillness of the moonlight contrasted with the once violent past of the arena: “How impressively, too, do the hushy stillness and solemn placidity, which then prevail, contrast with the picture which, in powerful antithesis of feeling, the imagination delineates to itself, of the far different spectacle here presented when the whole of this vast concave was peopled...”<sup>473</sup> George Hillard explained the mystical power of the moon:

As a matter of course, every body goes to see the Colosseum by moonlight. The great charm of the ruins under this condition is, that the imagination is substituted for sight; and the mind, for the eye. But moonlight shrouds the Colosseum in mystery. It opens deep vaults of gloom where the eye meets only an ebon wall, but upon which the fancy paints innumerable pictures in solemn, splendid, and tragic colors. Shadowy forms of emperor and lector and vestal virgin and gladiator and martyr comes out of the darkness, and pass before us in long and silent procession. The breezes which blow through the broken arches are changed into voices...<sup>474</sup>

These travel accounts all emphasize how the magic of the moonlight that filters through the openings and ruins of the Colosseum facilitated meditation on the past events of the

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<sup>471</sup> Wrigley, *Roman Fever*, 210.

<sup>472</sup> Anonymous, *Mementoes*, Vol. I, 399.

<sup>473</sup> Wilson, *Records of a Route*, 330.

arena. Therefore, a micromosaic that captures these mysterious qualities of the moon as it peeks in and out of clouds and casts moonbeams through open arches appealed greatly to tourists who desired to purchase a touchstone to revisit that magical experience where they were transported to the past. The souvenir, steeped in these same magical abilities to transport the purchaser back in time to an experiential past in which they participate, parallels the magical atmosphere of the Colosseum at night.<sup>475</sup>

Micromosaics that depicted the Colosseum memorialized aspects of the monument that tourists cherished most: its ruinous state, its stately picturesque stature, and its magical ability to summon up the ghosts of the Colosseum past. Furthermore, micromosaics reinforced Grand Tour modes of viewing the Colosseum in isolation and framed. Most importantly, these micromosaics served as a touchstone to access not only the past experience of the tourist, but also the past history of the Colosseum that was summoned up by the visual cues memorialized on micromosaics. As William Cooper wrote about the Colosseum: “it must be a dull imagination indeed that does not proceed to people its arches and passages, and to form some pictures of the scenes that, for near 500 years, were enacted within its walls.”<sup>476</sup> Here, he alluded to the power of the Colosseum to evoke the past in the present and to facilitate an otherworldly experience. Thus, these sorts of memories of experiences were accessed through the micromosaic souvenir that framed the ruinous Colosseum so that the magical climate of Rome might transcend time and send its owner to the past.

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<sup>474</sup> Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, Vol. I, 307-8.

<sup>475</sup> Hume, *Tourism Art and Souvenirs*, 68.

<sup>476</sup> Cooper, *Gleanings in Italy*, 216.

## **Pantheon**

The Pantheon is an interesting antique site to examine through the eyes of those on the Grand Tour. The monument was met with equally positive and negative experiences. Perhaps some of this disappointment was simply a case of high expectations, as tourists themselves tell us. Tobias Smollet wrote how he “was much disappointed at the sight of the Pantheon, which, after all that has been said of it, looks like a huge cockpit, open at the top.”<sup>477</sup> Despite disappointment at the sight of the Pantheon, the ancient building was immensely popular. Perhaps the monument grew on tourists with repeated exposure as William Howells recorded: “Even the Pantheon failed to impress me at first sight, though I found myself disposed to return to it again and again, and to be more and more affected by it.”<sup>478</sup> In contrast to the ruins of the Forum and Colosseum previously discussed, micromosaics memorialized the Pantheon’s completeness. Micromosaics also commemorated the paths visitors took while viewing the monument. Furthermore, like in the case of the Roman Forum, aspects of the Pantheon that visitors found universally offensive were eliminated from souvenirs.

The Pantheon was preserved, like so many ancient edifices, because Pope Boniface IV converted it into a church in 608.<sup>479</sup> The building has a long history throughout the years, but the most notable event, before turning to those of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was the addition of two belfries under Pope Urban VIII in the 1620s, commonly referred to as “ass’s ears.” Though nearly everyone disliked them, they were not removed until 1883. Excavations were not as abundant as in the Forum or

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<sup>477</sup> Smollet, *Travels through France and Italy*, 268.

<sup>478</sup> William Dean Howells, *Italian Journeys*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Company, 1907), 129.

the Colosseum because of the relatively complete nature of the building, but Carlo Fea and Giuseppe Valadier conducted early nineteenth-century excavations under Pope Pius VII on the right hand side of the building.<sup>480</sup> Much of the eighteenth-century restorations and cleanings were focused on the interior of the building and were quite contentious; the 1753 destruction of the attic was especially shocking to antiquarians.<sup>481</sup> The interior, like the Colosseum, was the most visible site of the Pantheon's role as a church, Santa Maria ad Martyres.

Publications and engravings informed the general public and antiquarians about the monument. Like the monuments previously discussed, Desgodetz's *Les edifices* in 1682 played a large role in shaping eighteenth-century thought of the monument. Another important publication that formulated thought on the Pantheon was Carlo Fontana's *Templum Vaticanum*, which was published in 1694 and included plans and elevations of the monument. While this publication focused on St. Peter's Basilica, a chapter was reserved for the Pantheon because of the similarity of the buildings' domes, an aspect that I will return to later.<sup>482</sup> Prints also functioned as a way for tourists to familiarize themselves with the monuments before embarking on their tour or as a souvenir to bring back with them from Rome.<sup>483</sup> Giuseppe Vasi included a view of the

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<sup>479</sup> Susanna Pasquali, *Il Pantheon: architettura e antiquarian el Settecento a Roma*, (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini editore, 1996), 54.

<sup>480</sup> Ridley, *The Eagle and the Spade*, 41-4.

<sup>481</sup> Susanna Pasquali, "Neoclassical Remodeling and Reconception, 1700-1820," in *The Pantheon: from Antiquity to the Present*, eds. Tod A. Marder and Mark Wilson Jones, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 351. Susanna Pasquali investigates, in great detail, the eighteenth-century interior reconstruction of the marble revetments and the criticisms with which they were met (Pasquali, *Il Pantheon*).

<sup>482</sup> Pasquali, *Il Pantheon*, 13.

<sup>483</sup> Tourists sometimes expressed their despair in relation to the expectations that prints set, such as George Evans who wrote "Whoever comes to the Pantheon with expectations excited by engravings will probably

Pantheon and its piazza in his *Delle Magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna* (Figure 58).<sup>484</sup> Piranesi naturally included the Pantheon in his *Della magnificenza e architettura de Romani* in 1760 (Figure 58).<sup>485</sup> Ridolfino Venuti also included a plate of the Pantheon in his *Accurata, e succinta descrizione topografica delle antichità di Roma* in 1763 (Figure 60). Piranesi's son, Francesco, covered the Pantheon in his *Seconda parte de tempij antichi* in 1790. Luigi Rossini dedicated a plate to the Pantheon in his *Le Antichità romane* of 1829 (Figure 61).<sup>486</sup> These publications not only served as visual sources for understanding the monument, but were also textual studies. While the 1734 *Interior of the Pantheon, Rome* of Giovanni Paolo Panini is quite possibly the most famous depiction of the Pantheon on canvas, many others also represented the building.<sup>487</sup>

In addition to prints, tourists could acquire other souvenir types of the Pantheon. Fans commonly featured the Pantheon (Figure 62).<sup>488</sup> The Pantheon was also modeled in three dimensions in cork, like both monuments of the Forum and the Colosseum (Figure 63).<sup>489</sup> Unusual is a late eighteenth-century *pietre dure* view of the Pantheon inspired by a

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be disappointed;- and yet it is a noble portico; too grand, perhaps, for the temple to which it leads" (Evans, *The Classic and Connoisseur*, Vol. I, 237).

<sup>484</sup> James T. Tice and James G. Harper, eds. *Giuseppe Vasi's Rome: Lasting Impressions from the Age of the Grand Tour*, (Eugene: University of Oregon Press, 2010), 118, no. 25.

<sup>485</sup> Bevilacqua, "The Rome of Piranesi," 141, 190.

<sup>486</sup> Rossini, *Le Antichità*, pl. 6.

<sup>487</sup> Panini, *Interior of the Pantheon, Rome* of 1734 in the National Gallery of Art (1939.1.24). Hubert Robert, *Vue imaginaire du Panthéon* (in the Palazzo Barberini Inv. N. 2475 in Lorenza Mochi Onori, *Settecento: l'Europe à Rome: chefs-d'œuvre de la peinture du XVIIIe siècle des collections de la Galerie nationale d'art ancien du Palais Barberini*, (Rome: Edizioni De Luca, 2000), no. 54), *View of the Pantheon* by Ferdinando Partini in 1794 in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

<sup>488</sup> Late eighteenth-century fan in the manner of Thomas Bigatti (Landini, *Ventagli*, no. 65), a mid-eighteenth-century and two late eighteenth-century fans from the Brighton Museum (*Fans and the Grand Tour*, no. 3, no. 13, no. 18), late eighteenth-century fan from The Fan Museum in Greenwich (Wilton and Bignamini, *Grand Tour*, no. 263), eighteenth-century fan from the Metropolitan Museum of Art (38.91.107).

<sup>489</sup> Late eighteenth-century cork model made by Antonio Chichi in the Landesmuseum in Darmstadt that is unusual in that it has hinges so that the interior can be displayed as well as the exterior (Büttner, "Korkmodelle," no. 12).

painting of Ferdinando Partini.<sup>490</sup> The Pantheon appears on micromosaics with great frequency. It is often part of a sequence of Roman monuments on jewelry, tables, and paperweights, much like the Roman Forum and the Colosseum, but also as a stand-alone monument. Unlike the previously discussed Roman Forum and Colosseum on micromosaics, those that depict the Pantheon exclusively depict the monument's exterior from the same angle (Figure 64). The interior is never depicted on any micromosaics despite the fact that tourists also recorded positive experiences of the interior. We see this same tendency toward depicting the exterior of the monument also with engravings, though not exclusively. Micromosaics are often a site of contradictory opinions; visitors equally praised and criticized both the interior and exterior of the Pantheon. So why does the exterior get exclusively promoted on micromosaic souvenirs? I suggest that there are several factors that cause this uniformity of the exterior depiction of the Pantheon on micromosaics, and they can be gleaned from travel accounts.

First, travelers sometimes preferred the exterior to the interior. Jane Waldie praised highly the exterior that left “the eye nothing to desire superior in exterior beauty...”<sup>491</sup> Augustus Fowler wrote how he “paid a visit to the Pantheon, which is now turned into a church, the outside is infinitely superior to the inside.”<sup>492</sup> However, praises for the beauty of the exterior were often echoed for the interior so this explanation is not entirely sufficient.<sup>493</sup>

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<sup>490</sup> In the Opificio delle Pietre Dure in Florence.

<sup>491</sup> Waldie, *Sketches Descriptive of Italy*, Vol. I, 336.

<sup>492</sup> Fowler, *Travel Diary*, January 26<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>493</sup> For example, James Cooper was not impressed by the exterior, but found “on entering the building, it is impossible not to be struck by its simple and beautiful grandeur” (Cooper, *Gleanings in Europe*, 225).

A second factor drives the exclusive depiction of the exterior of the Pantheon on micromosaics. The focus of restoration was on the interior of the Pantheon and it was much contested, as can be learned from William Howells' account of the interior: "Nothing vexes you so much in the Pantheon as your consciousness of these and other repairs. Bad as ruin is, I think I would rather have the old temple ruinous in every part than restored as you find it."<sup>494</sup> Howells referred to the marble revetment of the interior in his account. Perhaps the 1753 restoration and its contentious nature led to the favoring of the exterior. Furthermore, the interior was filled with altars and reminders of its function as a modern church, whereas the exterior was more purely indicative of the ancient structure it once was.

As discussed earlier in the chapter, ruins also signified the complete. While the incomplete ruins were greatly praised, tourists still longed for the complete, as is demonstrated by the ways in which lovers of the antique might erect a replica of a Roman monument in their gardens, imagined as complete. Travelers praised the Pantheon's entirety in their accounts. In fact, it was not just a complete monument, but also "the most entire of any of the buildings of ancient Rome," a fact that many tourists, such as Priscilla Wakefield, touted in their accounts of the Pantheon.<sup>495</sup>

The dome, naturally, also contributed to the completeness of the monument. Thomas Hogg wrote about the beauty of the dome: "But the chief beauty and peculiarity of the edifice is the great effect which the cupola produces; if the walls that support it were raised, this would be diminished. It is impossible to do two incompatible things, to

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<sup>494</sup> Howells, *Italian Journeys*, 148.

have a cake and to eat it.”<sup>496</sup> Harriet Morton wrote how, “it is beautiful to see the clear blue of an Italian sky over this fine dome...”<sup>497</sup> While the dome was a feature of the Pantheon tourists admired in its own right, they found even greater appeal in comparing the dome to St. Peter’s Basilica.

I have discussed how the city of Rome in the Grand Tour was juxtaposed as a city of dualities- of ancient versus modern. Louis Simond’s account embodies this in his discussion of the dome of the Pantheon:

As St. Peter’s affords the best sample of modern art in Rome, so does the Pantheon exhibit the most satisfactory and best preserved specimen of ancient art...and with this magnificent model before their eyes, it appears strange that the architects of St. Peter’s should not have accomplished their task more worthily. The Pantheon seems to be the hemispherical summit of a modern temple taken off and placed on the ground;- so it appears to us at least, accustomed to see cupolas in the former situation only; for to the ancients, the summit of a modern temple might appear the Pantheon raised in air.<sup>498</sup>

Here, Simond juxtaposed modern and ancient Rome with a comparison between St. Peter’s as the best example of modern architecture and the Pantheon as its counterpart for ancient architecture. Then he compared how an observer might see the dome of one monument as standing in for the other.<sup>499</sup> Also in Simond’s account we can note the debate of whether modern or antique architecture was more advanced, something that is also present in other accounts. For instance, Napier clearly cited the superiority of the dome of the Pantheon: “The Pantheon however has one advantage; it has stood after 1800

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<sup>495</sup> Wakefield, *The Juvenile Travellers*, 196. Others also repeat her language (Miller, *Letters from Italy*, Vol. III, 31. Moore, *A View of Society and Manners*, Vol. II, 144. James Cobbett is slightly more unusual for describing it as “the least dilapidated” (Cobbett, *Journal of a Tour*, 274).

<sup>496</sup> Thomas Jefferson Hogg, *Two Hundred and Nine Days (or The Journal of a Traveller on the Continent)*, Vol. II, (London: Hunt and Clarke, 1827), 49.

<sup>497</sup> Morton, *Protestant Vigils*, Vol. I, 147.

<sup>498</sup> Simond, *A Tour in Italy and Sicily*, 149.

years and in spite of enemies and earthquakes there it still stands like a rock as if it would never fall. Which St Peter's is all gone. I heard already its dome has given a bend."<sup>500</sup> John Moore, however, touted the superiority of St. Peter's instead: "It is said, that Michael Angelo, to conform the triumph of modern over ancient architecture, made the dome of St. Peter's of the same diameter with the Pantheon."<sup>501</sup> Thus, exterior views of the Pantheon on micromosaics celebrated its magnificent dome, which in turn facilitated comparison to another favorite sight of Rome, St. Peter's. Therefore, I suggest that micromosaicists exclusively depicted the exterior of the Pantheon on micromosaics because of tourists' dislike of the interior renovations and preference for the completeness and the dome of the exterior.

Another aspect of the experience of the monument that micromosaics memorialized was the angle at which the Pantheon was viewed. All micromosaicists chose to depict the Pantheon at an angle from the northwest (Figure 66 and Figure 67). This is something that likely takes cue from print culture, where engravings all also depict the Pantheon from this angle. This viewpoint accomplishes several things. First, it places the Pantheon at an angle that shows off the extent of the dome. If the monument were depicted straight on, the pediment of the Pantheon would partially obscure the extent of the dome. Furthermore, this viewpoint mirrored the itinerary of the Grand Tourist, a trend observed also with the Roman Forum and Colosseum as depicted on monuments. As Joseph Forsyth, a traveler whose account was commonly used as a reference by other

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<sup>499</sup> The Pantheon was poised alongside St. Peter's in formal antiquarian literature also, as in Fontana's *Templum Vaticanum* that compared the two buildings with one another. Most interesting is a print by French engravers that placed the Pantheon in a capriccio with St. Peter's Basilica (Figure 65).

<sup>500</sup> C.J. Napier *Napier Papers*. 1819. British Library Western Manuscripts. Add 49138.

<sup>501</sup> Moore, *A View of Society and Manners*, Vol. II, 144.

travelers, wrote: “Its general design is best seen diagonally from the Giustiniani palace.”<sup>502</sup> Charlotte Eaton echoed this same observation.<sup>503</sup> Indeed the Palazzo Giustiniani was located northwest of the Pantheon at the same angle we see represented in micromosaics.

Micromosaicists modified two different aspects of the Pantheon on micromosaics, and these modifications correlated with visitors’ criticisms about the sight. The first modification that I will address is one of erasure, which was noted in conjunction with the Roman Forum as well. Many micromosaics focus closely on the Pantheon, excluding the fountain with the obelisk in the piazza added by Pope Clement XI in 1711 (Figure 67).<sup>504</sup> This zooming in on the Pantheon results in the exclusion also of many of the contemporary buildings that surrounded the ancient one. Some micromosaicists even go so far as to place the Pantheon away from the modern city altogether and within a rural landscape instead (Figure 68 and Figure 69). These micromosaics also include several peasants, which were typically included in rural landscapes, as will be noted in the following chapter with the Temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli.<sup>505</sup>

As earlier addressed, tourists frequently admonished the filth associated with the modern city. Part of this conception of the dirty, modern city included contemporary buildings that obscured those ancient ones. Already we have observed how contemporary buildings were removed from the Roman Forum for this reason. Fea, Valadier, and Camporese also attempted removal of offending buildings from the

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<sup>502</sup> Forsyth, *Remarks on Antiquities*, 135.

<sup>503</sup> Eaton, *Rome, in the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. I, 123.

<sup>504</sup> Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, 97, 235. Petoichi, Alfieri, and Branchetti, *I mosaici minuti*, 203. Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 124.

<sup>505</sup> Finarte, *Gioielli*, 307. Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, n. 241, 90.

Pantheon, such as a baker whom they were ultimately unsuccessful in relocating.<sup>506</sup>

Tourists noted the ill effects of contemporary structures in their travel accounts, such as Edward Burton who wrote how, “The situation of the building is also very bad, it being in a dirty part of the city, and closely surrounded with houses.”<sup>507</sup> George Hillard wrote how, “The Pantheon stands in a narrow and dirty piazza, and it is shouldered and elbowed by a mob of vulgar houses.”<sup>508</sup> Henry Coxe most bluntly suggested, “the mean houses which join its right side ought also to be removed.”<sup>509</sup> And removed from sight, they were. Micromosaicists zoomed in on the Pantheon to frame it and consequently excluded many of the offending structures. In this way, they rewrote the experience of the monument by erasing memories of contemporary intrusions on the antique.

Micromosaics that do not depict the Pantheon as isolated show more of the piazza. However, the Piazza della Rotunda is eerily quiet, peopled only by small, isolated groups of people, if any people are included whatsoever (Figure 70, Figure 71, and Figure 72).<sup>510</sup> The people represented in those scenes are most always European, representing visitors and tourists. Idyllic peasants are typically reserved for zoomed in representations of the Pantheon.<sup>511</sup> The micromosaics with quiet, calm scenes populated by only a few people milling around do not align with prints that are bustling and full of people and their activities. Instead the prints of Vasi and Piranesi that feature the piazza do not shy away from depicting the crowds of people and market stalls and vendors

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<sup>506</sup> Ridley, *The Eagle and the Spade*, 44.

<sup>507</sup> Burton, *A Description of Antiquities*, 168.

<sup>508</sup> Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, Vol. I, 314.

<sup>509</sup> Coxe, *Picture of Italy*, 248.

<sup>510</sup> Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, 175. Sotheby's, *Versace*, 100-1. Petochi, Alfieri, and Branchetti, *I mosaici minuti*, 199, 203. Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 115, 151. González-Palacios, *Una raccolta*, 21.

<sup>511</sup> Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 103.

selling their goods (Figure 73).<sup>512</sup> However, fans that depict the piazza are devoid of bustling action, as micromosaics (Figure 74).

Travel journals represent a very different scene than the quieted one without the presence of people or commerce presented in micromosaics. The chief complaint made about the Pantheon by travelers was in regards to its filth derived from a fish market that was held in this piazza. As early as June 1656, Pope Alexander took measures to erase the market, at first removing a single stand in the piazza. The following year saw an attempt to keep market stands in certain locations only and in 1662 he forcibly removed vendors of the market. This lasted only nine months.<sup>513</sup> However, Pope Alexander's attempts were largely in vain, as is demonstrated by the fact that additional bans were issued in 1711, 1725, and 1752.<sup>514</sup> Charlotte Eaton described all that might offend in the Piazza della Rotunda surrounding the Pantheon:

Its situation, on the contrary, tends as much as possible to dissolve the spell that hangs over it. It is sunk in the dirtiest part of modern Rome; and the unfortunate spectator, who comes with a mind filled with enthusiasm to gaze upon this monument of the taste and magnificence of antiquity, finds himself surrounded by all that is most revolting to the senses, distracted by incessant uproar, pestered with a crowd of clamorous beggars, and stuck fast in the congregated filth of every description that covers the slippery pavement.<sup>515</sup>

Eaton highlighted many qualities of the piazza that were erased from micromosaic compositions: the noise, the people, and the filth. Robert Finch explained how it was the juxtaposition of the filth with the antique monument that drew such offense: "The area is always dirty, being a herb market, ill corresponding with its ancient splendor and with the

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<sup>512</sup> Wilton-Ely, *The Mind and Art*, fig. 11. Tice, *Giuseppe Vasi's Rome*, no. 25.

<sup>513</sup> Richard Krautheimer, *The Rome of Alexander VII, 1655-1667*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 105-6.

<sup>514</sup> Ridley, *The Eagle and the Spade*, 44.

<sup>515</sup> Eaton, *Rome, in the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. I, 219.

majestic and beautiful porticos of the Pantheon, which decorates it.”<sup>516</sup> Lady Morgan elaborated on Eaton’s account of things offending the senses adding, “the senses are every where assailed; and the pavement, sprinkled with blood and filth, exhibits the entrails of pigs, or piles of stale fish, sold almost within the pale of that miracle of art.”<sup>517</sup> George Hillard added, “the matchless portico is strewn with fish-bones, decayed vegetables, and offal.”<sup>518</sup> As was the case with the Roman Forum, tourists found that the filth of the markets disrupted the grandeur of the antiquity they had anticipated. Once again, Henry Coxe made the sensible suggestion to remove the market: “The space in the front is disfigured by a most filthy market, which if taken away and the ground improved, would add infinitely to the effect of the building.”<sup>519</sup> Micromosaics are curiously devoid of the market, let alone any signs of its associated filth.<sup>520</sup> By not including the market, micromosaicists preserved the integrity of the antique building, which was a top concern of tourists who thought the market degraded the Pantheon’s antique status.

The other major modification of the Pantheon on micromosaics concerns the belfries, or campanili, added by the papal architect Carlo Maderno and Francesco Borromini under the reign of Pope Urban VIII.<sup>521</sup> They were not removed until 1883, and yet a surprising number of micromosaics do not include the campanili (Figure 75 through

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<sup>516</sup> Robert Finch, *Journal of R. Finch*, 1815, (Weston Library (Bodleian, Oxford). MSS. Finch e. 16), 100. Interestingly, Finch’s journal also includes pasted engravings with each monument that he discussed. The engraving of the Pantheon, like micromosaics, eliminates the trace of the market. Only a sprinkling of people populates the piazza.

<sup>517</sup> Owenson, *Italy*, Vol. II, 181.

<sup>518</sup> Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, Vol. I, 315.

<sup>519</sup> Coxe, *Picture of Italy*, 247-8.

<sup>520</sup> I have only pinpointed one micromosaic that shows the stalls of vendors, but there is no trace of the filth that tourists record was scattered on the pavement (Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 113).

<sup>521</sup> The towers are often misattributed to Bernini, even by Grand Tourists themselves. While Bernini was interested in the monument, and indeed did draw it, he never included the towers (Tod. A. Marder and

Figure 78).<sup>522</sup> The high number of micromosaics without the campanili would suggest that the late nineteenth century was overrepresented in the oeuvre of Pantheon micromosaics. However, the shapes and colors of the tesserae of the micromosaics are at odds with a late nineteenth-century date suggesting that instead, micromosaicists removed the campanili prematurely from their compositions earlier in the nineteenth century.<sup>523</sup> One particular micromosaic without campanili proves useful in clarifying the dates of micromosaics without campanili (Figure 78). An inscription on the object records that that it was given to Sir William Drummond in 1827 and thus dates the micromosaic securely to the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>524</sup> Therefore, it is most probable that other micromosaics that seem stylistically earlier than the late nineteenth century and do not have campanili are modified compositions as well. This is something that is also noted in Piranesi's engraving of the Pantheon for *Il Campo Marzio* in 1762 as well as fans (Figure 79).<sup>525</sup> Piranesi's print that has removed the campanili of the Pantheon is not specifically focused on that monument making it a very different composition than that of micromosaics. However, other prints of Piranesi and those of Vasi do include the campanili.

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Mark Wilson Jones, "Introduction," in *The Pantheon: from Antiquity to the Present*, eds. Tod A. Marder and Mark Wilson Jones, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 35-6).

<sup>522</sup> Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 39, 103. González-Palacios, *Una raccolta*, 38, 60. Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, 96. Christie's South Kensington Ltd, *Centuries of Style, Tuesday 4 June 2013*, (London: Christie's, 2013), 103.

<sup>523</sup> This was noted by Maria Grazia Branchetti (Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 39, 103) and González-Palacios (González-Palacios, *Una raccolta*, 38, 60).

<sup>524</sup> González-Palacios, *Una raccolta*, 38.

<sup>525</sup> Marcello Fagiolo, "Roma quanta fuit...Piranesi, the Ruin of Antiquity and the Prophecy of the Modern City," in *The Rome of Piranesi: The Eighteenth-Century City in the Great Vedute*, eds. Mario Bevilacqua and Mario Gori Sassoli, (Rome: Artemide, 2006), fig. 7. Rosazza-Ferraris, *Museo Mario Praz*, cat. 562. Wilton and Bignamini, *Grand Tour*, cat. 263. Fan from the Metropolitan Museum of Art (38.91.107).

Tourists had much to say about these campanili, as recorded in their travelogues. Edward Burton wrote how, “The two turrets or belfries, which are a modern addition by Bernini, must offend every eye.”<sup>526</sup> George Hillard was also offended as he recalled, “He [Urban VIII] shares with Bernini the reproach of having added those hideous belfries which now rise above each end of the vestibule; as wanton and unprovoked an offense against good taste as ever committed.”<sup>527</sup> Other tourists made light of the situation, such as James Cooper who recorded how “two little belfries peep out, like asses’ ears, at each side of the portico, in a way to make a spectator laugh, while he wonders that the man who devised them did not stick them on his own head.”<sup>528</sup> Tourists made clear their dislike for the campanili that they thought disfigured the antique Pantheon. When the campanili were removed in 1883 the public rejoiced.<sup>529</sup> The towers were symbolic of the Christian function of the church and the removal of them restored the building to its antique splendor. While micromosaic scholars Maria Grazia Branchetti and Alvar González-Palacios are undoubtedly correct to both attribute the removal of the campanili to aesthetic practices and the preference for the neoclassical style, I would suggest that this is above all an act that betrays micromosaicists’ relationship to the souvenir market. Micromosaicists’ removal of the campanili was done to appeal to tourists who did not favor the campanili, and therefore made their goods more marketable. The tourist was then able to bring home a souvenir that rewrote their experience of the Pantheon.

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<sup>526</sup> Burton, *A Description of Antiquities*, 168.

<sup>527</sup> Hillard, *Six Months in Rome*, Vol. I, 316.

<sup>528</sup> Cooper, *Gleanings in Europe*, 224.

<sup>529</sup> Robin B. Williams, “A Nineteenth-Century Monument for the State,” in *The Pantheon: from Antiquity to the Present*, eds. Tod A. Marder and Mark Wilson Jones, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 367.

Micromosaics that feature the Pantheon both commemorated and modified the visits of tourists. They commemorated the completed exterior of the building, which represented the antique more so than the interior. While the Pantheon was a building that provoked mixed reactions from tourists, there was uniformity in the dislike of the campanili and crowded market in the piazza. It is these elements that micromosaicists edited out of the composition so that a tourist might acquire a souvenir that encapsulated what an ideal visit to the monument in its antique splendor might have been like. Just as the souvenir micromosaic erased the unpleasant aspects of their visit, the remembrances of those experiences would eventually fade from memory, leaving the purchasers of souvenirs with a visual memory that corresponded with an ideal visit to the Pantheon.

### **Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius**

Like the Pantheon, tourists of the Grand Tour met the bronze equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius with mixed reactions, with some parts of the statue highly praised and others highly criticized. In marked contrast to these mixed reactions, souvenirs of the equestrian statue were prolific, especially in statuary. I will use micromosaics as a platform to explore some of the factors that explain why the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius was so popularly depicted on souvenirs despite its condemnation by many antiquarians and art critics.

The equestrian statue was displayed in Rome long before Grand Tourists arrived in Italy during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The sculpture was found in a

vineyard near the Scala Santa.<sup>530</sup> In the eighth century Pope Sixtus IV set it on a pedestal and placed in the piazza in front of San Giovanni in Laterano, where it would remain for some time. It was not until the 1530s that Pope Paul III brought the statue to the Capitol, where a cast of it remains today.<sup>531</sup> It was here on the Capitol that the statue became the centerpiece of the designs of Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475-1564), as requested by Pope Paul III, who had the statue placed on a new larger pedestal of marble attributed to the Baths of Trajan or Trajan's Forum.<sup>532</sup> Here the statue remained until it was removed for restoration and brought into the Musei Capitolini. The statue was restored in the 1830s when supports and pins were added to stabilize the monument.<sup>533</sup>

Information about the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius spread through in-person visits, prints, and other souvenirs. The statue was the centerpiece of the piazza in front of the Museo Capitolino, a most popular destination for any tourist to see both ancient and modern art. As discussed earlier, a common itinerary began on the Capitoline Hill with the museum, followed by a climb down the hill on the other side and then a stroll through the Roman Forum, ending at the massive Colosseum. Thus, nearly any tourist in Rome was exposed to the statue during their stay in the city. Antiquarians

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<sup>530</sup> There are various suggestions as to when the sculpture arrived in this area of the Laterano, as early as the time of Constantine or perhaps later in the eighth century (Claudio Parisi Presicce, "Il monumento equestre Marco Aurelio: Scheda storico-archeologica," in *Marco Aurelio: Storia di un monumento e del suo restauro*, eds. Alessandra Meluco Vaccaro and Anna Mura Sommella, (Milano: Silvana Editoriale, 1989), 27).

<sup>531</sup> Martin Folkes, "Observations on the Brass Equestrian Statue at the Capitol in Rome, occasioned by a small Brass Model, shewn the Society, by Marin Folkes, Esquire Read April 7, 1736," *Archaeologia: or Miscellaneous Tracts Relating to Antiquity* 1 (1804), 135. Lucilla de Lachenal, "Il monumento nel Medioevo fino al suo trasferimento in Campidoglio," in *Marco Aurelio: Storia di un monumento e del suo restauro*, eds. Alessandra Meluco Vaccaro and Anna Mura Sommella, (Milano: Silvana Editoriale, 1989), 145.

<sup>532</sup> Claudio Parisi Presicce, *The Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius in Campidoglio*, (Milan: Amilcare Pizzi Editore, 1990), 102. Salmon, *A Description*, 61.

<sup>533</sup> Presicce, *The Equestrian Statue*, 109.

might familiarize themselves with publications that discussed the horse statue.<sup>534</sup> Prints also acquainted travelers with what the statue looked like as well (Figure 80).<sup>535</sup> As an equestrian portrait long steeped in the tradition of imperial portraits, the statue of Marcus Aurelius mounted on his horse provided a model for contemporary portraits.<sup>536</sup> While the statue reached the height of its popularity in the mid-seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the souvenir industry for the equestrian sculpture remained strong well into the nineteenth century. Miniature bronze statues were easily the most popular souvenirs of the equestrian group (Figure 81),<sup>537</sup> but it also appeared on gems (Figure 82),<sup>538</sup> photographs (Figure 83),<sup>539</sup> and porcelain (Figure 84).<sup>540</sup>

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<sup>534</sup> Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Storia delle arti del disegno presso gli antichi*, (Roma, Dalla stamperia Pagliarini, 1783-84), Vol. I, 388; II, 395; III, 225. Étienne-Maurice Falconet, *Oeuvres*, (Lausanne: Lausanne Societe Typographique, 1781), Vol. I, 157-348; II 1-38.

<sup>535</sup> An eighteenth-century engraving by Domenico De Rossi (Paolo Alessandro Maffei, *Raccolta di statue antiche e moderne*, (Rome: Stamperia alla Pace con Pruilégio del Sommo Pon e Licenza dé Superiori, 1704), pl. XIV), an eighteenth-century print by Tommaso Piroli and Francesco Piranesi in the Civica Raccolta di Incisioni Serrone Villa Reale (CM020-03711).

<sup>536</sup> Portraits that were modeled after the equestrian sculpture include Bernini's 1685 sculpture of Louis XIV (Reinhold Baumstark, "Das Nachleben der Reiterstatue: Vom caballus Constantini zum exemplum virtutis," in *Marc Aurel: Der Reiter auf dem Capital*, ed. Detlev von der Burg, (München: Hirmer Verlag GmbH, 1999), 103- 110 (abb. 17), the sculpture of Frederik V of Denmark in the Amalienborg-Platz in Copenhagen (Baumstark, "Das Nachleben," abb. 18), a late-eighteenth century statue by Étienne-Maurice Falconet for Tsar Peter the Great in St. Petersburg (Baumstark, "Das Nachleben," abb. 20), Anotonio Canova's bronze equestrian portraits of the Bourbons in Naples, and Bertel Thorvaldsen's early nineteenth-century portrait of the Polish national hero, Józef Poniatowski (Baumstark, "Das Nachleben," abb. 18).

<sup>537</sup> A mid-nineteenth-century statue (Christie's South Kensington Ltd, *Antiquities and Souvenirs of the Grand Tour, Wednesday 4 November 1992*, no. 176), nineteenth-century group (Christie's 27 Oct. 1993, no. 271), mid-nineteenth-century model (Christie's South Kensington Ltd, *Antiquities and Souvenirs of the Grand Tour, Wednesday 27 April 1994*, no. 477); bronze statue in the Brighton Museum (*Fans and the Grand Tour*, no. 136). Furthermore, two noted bronze makers in Rome list the sculpture in their catalogues for purchase (Zoffoli, Giovanni. *Serie di figure fatte, e da farsi in bronzo 1794-6*, "Marco Aurelio a cavalla di Campidoglio" and Righetti, Francesco *Aux amateurs de l'antiquite et des beaux arts 1794*, "Marc Aurele a cheval au Capitole;" Both catalogues listed in the Appendix in Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: the Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), 179). Zoffoli made a small Marcus Aurelius for Pope Clement XIII in 1763 (Teolato, "Artisti imprenditori," 233).

<sup>538</sup> Stefanelli, "Monumenti antichi," tomo ottavo, no. 75.

<sup>539</sup> 1846 photograph by Calvery Jones (in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1992.5167). A photograph of Tommaso Cuccioni dating to the 1850s (J. Paul Getty Museum 84.XM.636.2), and a mid-nineteenth-century photography by Count Jean-François-Charles-André Flachéron (J. Paul Getty Museum, 84.XP.752.29), nineteenth-century photograph by Robert MacPherson (Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 2011.159).

Perhaps, then, it is surprising that this sculpture was subjected to such heavy criticism. The belly of the horse was probably the most frequent critique of the equestrian statue by travelers.<sup>541</sup> Nathaniel Carter wrote of the horse's strange proportions: "but the body appeared to me quite too protuberant, looking as if the steed of the Emperor, instead of being caparisoned for war, had long been turned out to pasture, in the red-clover fields of the Clitumnus."<sup>542</sup> What is interesting about the majority of tourist accounts recounting the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, however, is the way in which they frame their criticism. For example, Charlotte Eaton wrote: "the horse has been much criticized; but the life and action of the noble animal, who seems to share proudly in the triumph of his master, are so admirably given..."<sup>543</sup> Joseph Forsyth similarly dismissed critics of the group: "The great statue of M. Aurelius, or rather of his horse, which was once the idol of Rome, is now a subject of contention. Some critics find the proportion of the animal false, and his attitude impossible. One compares his head to an owl's, another, his belly to a cow's; but the well-known apostrophe of the third will prevail in your first impressions; the spirit and fire of the general figure will seduce the most practised eye."<sup>544</sup> An anonymous traveler wrote: "This work of art, like many others, has been the unfortunate medium of proving the sagacity of critics, by the faults they have found with it. Methinks that, to a unprejudiced mind, and to an observer of art, a more spirited, or finer, horse was never cast in bronze."<sup>545</sup> All of these tourists relied on

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<sup>540</sup> Cup from the Real Fabbrica Ferdinanda in the Raccolta Mario Carignani di Novli (Angela Caròla-Perrotti, ed. *Le Porcellane dei Borbone di Napoli*, (Napoli: Guida editori, 1986), no. 316).

<sup>541</sup> John Northall called it "too bulky" (John Northall, *Travels through Italy*, (London: S. Hooper, 1766), 143-4).

<sup>542</sup> Carter, *Letters from Europe*, Vol. II, 180.

<sup>543</sup> Eaton, *Rome, in the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. I, 119.

<sup>544</sup> Forsyth, *Remarks on Antiquities*, 250.

<sup>545</sup> Anonymous, *Mementoes*, 25.

a rhetorical technique of acknowledging that they are aware of the antiquarian distaste for the statue before dismissing those opinions in favor of their own high regard for the statue. Thus, I would posit that there is a serious gap between the criticism of the art critics and the tourists of the Grand Tour, and it is this that explains the subject's popularity in the souvenir media.

Micromosaics that depict the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius represent it with some minor modifications that make it more appealing to a potential customer (Figure 85 and Figure 87). So, for example, the proportions of the sculpture are adjusted and the horse is made larger in relation to its rider. Marcus Aurelius, on the original bronze, is quite large and seemingly out of proportion with the horse. The other interesting adjustment to the micromosaic is the disappearance, or near disappearance, of the podium on which the horse stood. It is the horse and rider alone that are featured against a blank background on micromosaics. While perhaps Forsyth's comments on the ill-proportions of the statue explain the adjusted proportions that micromosaicists undertook on the mosaics, a fuller investigation is merited to fully understand the impetuses that drove the changes on the micromosaics.

In addition to the horse's lively spirit that drove the popularity of the sculpture, the designer of the piazza of the Capitol, Michelangelo, also played a role in shaping thought about the sculpture. Anne Elwood recounted a famous anecdote of Michelangelo: "...the spirited equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, with which Michelangelo was so struck, that when he first beheld it, he involuntarily exclaimed,

“cammina!”<sup>546</sup> Louis Simond explained the connection between Michelangelo and the sculpture best: “An equestrian brass statue of Marcus Aurelius found in the Forum was also placed here by Michel Angelo, who is said to have admired it, and therefore it is admired, - the spirit of the animal at least, notwithstanding its many defects.”<sup>547</sup> Simond claimed that the statue was admired because Michelangelo was said to have thought the statue convincingly lifelike. Charlotte Eaton connected the anecdote of Michelangelo to the highly admired spirit of the animal: “...like Michel Angelo, who exclaimed on seeing it, “Go on then!” one almost expects to see it move.”<sup>548</sup> What the accounts of both Eaton and Elwood emphasize is the striking realism of the horse, so much so that Michelangelo mistakenly takes it for a real horse and directs it to get going. Furthermore, Eaton found it so lifelike that she actually expected to see the horse move.

Tourists in their accounts of their encounter also observed this naturalism of the horse that Michelangelo praised. An anonymous traveler wrote how “there is courage and spirit in the horse that never was expressed in that animal before.”<sup>549</sup> James Cooper wrote “the ease and the motion of this statue are beyond description. It may, at once, be set down as the model of all we possess of merit in these two respects.”<sup>550</sup> Therefore, when we turn to micromosaics that enlarge the horse on which Marcus Aurelius rides and remove its pedestal, we can observe how micromosaicists engaged with this idea of the naturalism of the horse, as praised by Michelangelo. In fact, the horse is clearly the most

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<sup>546</sup> Elwood, *Narrative of a Journey*, 46.

<sup>547</sup> Simond, *A Tour in Italy and Sicily*, 153. William Cadell added that, “Michel Angelo admired [the equestrian statue] for its animated expression” (Cadell, *A Journey in Carniola*, Vol. I, 410).

<sup>548</sup> Eaton, *Rome, in the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. I, 119.

<sup>549</sup> Anonymous, *A Tour through Several Parts of Europe and the East*, Vol. II, (London: W. Bristow, 1760), 88-9.

<sup>550</sup> Cooper, *Gleanings in Europe*, 271.

important aspect of the sculptural group since travelers more often mention the horse than they do its rider, the prestigious and well-liked emperor Marcus Aurelius.

In addition to the naturalism of the horse, which Michelangelo noted, other factors informed the popularity of the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius. Micromosaics depict the sculpture with either the green patina of bronze or a brassy color. These correspond with travel accounts that hailed the importance of the sculpture's medium. William Boyd showcased this when he wrote, "considered the finest, and said to be the only antique bronze equestrian statue extant."<sup>551</sup> Others also echoed this statement in their accounts of the statue.<sup>552</sup> In travel journals, writers referred to the statue as both bronze and brass, colors which are both noted in micromosaics.<sup>553</sup>

One last interesting anomaly concerns the mane of the horse as depicted on micromosaics. Towards the base of the horse's neck where the mane ends, there is a curious blob that does not correspond with the mane of the equestrian statue on the Capitol. Another reason why travelers found this sculpture intriguing was because of the mane's similarity to an owl. Travel accounts noted this, such as the one of George Evans who wrote, "some have thought they could trace the image of an owl in the mane, and

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<sup>551</sup> William Boyd, *A Guide Through Italy*, (London: Whittaker and Co., 1833), 134.

<sup>552</sup> Carter, *Letters from Europe*, Vol. II, 180. Cooper, *Gleanings from Europe*, 117.

<sup>553</sup> Brass: Smollet, *Travels through France and Italy*, 315. Simond, *A Tour through Italy and Sicily*, 153. Anonymous 1760, 89. Bronze: Waldie, *Sketches Descriptive of Italy*, Vol. II, 153. Boyd, *A Guide*, 134. Carter, *Letters from Europe*, Vol. II, 180.

I would suggest that part of the confusion of between the colors of the horse derives from the fact that the sculpture was bronze, but also gilded. Art historian Peter Stewart suggested that it was not until restorations in the late 1980s that it was realized that the sculpture was gilded (Peter Stewart, "The Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius," in *A Companion to Marcus Aurelius*, ed. Marcel van Ackeren, (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 264). Thus, perhaps the descriptor brass derived from the gilded part of the horse.

have therefore concluded that the artist must have been an Athenian.”<sup>554</sup> Evans placed the owl in the mane of the horse, but others place it differently. An article in *The Spectator* recorded that “for the same reason it is thought, that the forelock of the horse in the antique equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, represents at a distance, the shape of an owl, to intimate the country of the statuary, who, in all probability was an Athenian.”<sup>555</sup> Joseph Forsyth proposed another reading of an owl altogether; he suggested, “one compares his head to an owl’s.”<sup>556</sup> Despite the confusion about the actual placement of the owl on the horse, what remains important is that this was used as a vehicle for connecting the sculptor of the bronze back to Greece. Thus, this statue conforms to the standards of the greatness of Greek art as set forth by Winckelmann. Returning to the blob on the mane of the horse on micromosaics, I would suggest that it bears a curious resemblance to an owl. The owl is attributed to various aspects of the horse: the mane, the forelock, and the head. Perhaps the micromosaicist(s) who designed these micromosaics with the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius included an owl to appeal to those tourists who might have eagerly looked for this perfect angle at which the owl could be seen.

The equestrian portrait of Marcus Aurelius, while often condemned by critics, was popular amongst tourists on the Grand Tour. Looking at micromosaics that memorialize its priceless status as the sole bronze equestrian portrait and emphasize the importance of the horse and its naturalistic qualities, we can begin to explain its popularity in souvenirs.

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<sup>554</sup> Evans, *The Classic and Connoisseur*, Vol. I, 438. Edward Burton also observed an owl in the mane (Burton, *A Description of Antiquities*, 121).

<sup>555</sup> *The Spectator* I, No. 59. Tuesday, May 8, 1711, 238.

## Conclusion

This section on the antiquities of Rome is representative of only a snapshot of the many monuments contained within the walls of the Eternal City. The group of architectural monuments discussed in this chapter, the Roman Forum, the Colosseum, and the Pantheon, bring up themes that will be noted again in the ancient monuments addressed in later chapters. The viewpoints taken of the monuments are critical for memorializing the itinerary taken by Grand Tourists. Furthermore, viewpoints emphasized the ruinous sides of monuments, something that will occur again with the Temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli in the following chapter. Sightlines were adjusted for maximum viewing potential in micromosaic compositions. Zooming in and framing the monuments, literally and in the mind, played a large role in the conception of these monuments. The act of forgetting proves critical in conjunction with the Roman Forum and Pantheon where traces of offensive markets were erased from the ancient monuments. Noted in both the Roman Forum and Colosseum are the ways in which imagination jaunts to the past figured largely in the experience of the antique. While the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius is a decidedly different experience than the architectural monuments of the city, there are still some common connections. Imagination plays a role in painting an owl into the mane of the horse, which is commemorated on micromosaics, and the horse's naturalism, so admired by Michelangelo, is celebrated by removing the base of the statue.

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<sup>556</sup> Forsyth, *Remarks on Antiquities*, 250.

The imagination was a significant component to the Grand Tour. George Hillard wrote about the pitfalls of the imagination:

The traveler who visits Rome with a mind at all inhabited by images from books, especially if he comes from a country like ours, where all is new, enters it with certain vague and magnificent expectations on the subject of ruins, which are pretty sure to end in disappointment. The very name of a ruin paints a picture upon the fancy. We construct at once an airy fabric, which shall satisfy all the claims of the imaginative eye. We build it of such material that every fragment shall have a beauty of its own. We shatter it with such graceful desolation that all the lines shall be picturesque, and every broken outline traced upon the sky shall at once charm and sadden the eye. We wreath it with a becoming drapery of ivy, and crown its battlements with long grass, which gives a voice to the wind that waves it to and fro. We set it in a becoming position, relieve it with some appropriate background, and touch it with soft, melancholy light—with the mellow hues of a deepening twilight, or, better still, with the moon's idealizing rays. In Rome, such visions, if they exist in the mind, are rudely dispelled by the touch of reality. Many of the ruins in Rome are not happily placed for effect upon the eye and mind. They do not stand apart in solitary grandeur, forming a shrine for memory and thought, and evolving an atmosphere of their own. They are often in unfavorable positions, and bear the shadow of disenchanting proximities. The tide of population flows now in different channels from those of antiquity, and in far less volume; but Rome still continues a large capital, and we can nowhere escape from the debasing associations of actual life. The trail of the present is every where over the past.<sup>557</sup>

What micromosaics sought to correct is this gap that George Hillard noted that exists between what the imagination has constructed and what actually exists in Rome.

Micromosaics form “a shrine for memory and thought” that the actual sights of Rome fail to do. They remove the “disenchanting proximities” and give voices to the ruins.

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<sup>557</sup> Hillard, *Six Months in Rome*, Vol. I, 290-1.

## **Chapter Four: From “Stately Ruins” to the “Ornaments of the Villa of Hadrian”**

This chapter will address micromosaics that are related to the environs of the ancient city of Tivoli, which was just a short trip outside of Rome. Antiquities from two main areas investigated in this chapter: the Temple of the Sibyl, located on a precipice overlooking cascades and those artifacts that were excavated from or relate to the Villa of Hadrian. I will examine how micromosaics that depict the popular Temple of the Sibyl and its associated falls memorialize certain viewpoints that showed the temple and its features to its greatest advantage. Cardinal Furietti discovered two very significant objects at Hadrian’s Villa: a mosaic depicting doves drinking from a vessel and a pair of statues of centaurs. Micromosaicists modified Furietti’s doves to cater to an ancient account of the mosaic and to contemporary notions of the superiority of modern mosaic making. The dove mosaic motif was then assimilated with another popular eighteenth-century discovery of ancient mosaic from the Villa di Quintilii that depicted flowers. I will demonstrate how micromosaics depicting this basket of flowers mosaic increased in popularity through their references to Dutch floral still lifes and the dove mosaic of Furietti. I will then examine how micromosaics depicting a centaur drew interchangeably upon a replica series of centaur sculptures in order to cast a wider net of appeal to consumers. Finally, a brief diversion to a mosaic of masks from Hadrian’s Villa will reveal how micromosaicists conceived of and worked with ancient mosaic.

### **Travelling to Tivoli**

The city of Tivoli was a popular destination for Grand Tourists, because of its easy access from Rome and the beauty of the area. Located just eighteen miles east of

Rome, travelers made a relatively swift journey to Tivoli while enjoying travel on the same roads that the ancient Romans once took.<sup>558</sup> Tivoli boasted many attractions that lured tourists away from the wonders of Rome. Perhaps the ultimate draw of visiting Tivoli were the cascades of water falling over rocky outcrops created by diversions of the Anio River, known also as the Aniene or Teverone. Importantly, these falls were closely associated with the circular Temple of the Sibyl (also called the Temple of Vesta) located on a precipice and its adjacent rectangular temple, the Temple of Sybil. While the natural scenery of the area and dramatic cascades provided plenty of incentive to visit, the ancient ruins at Tivoli also appealed to visitors. Just about a mile before entering the city, visitors were welcomed with the site of the Temple of Tosse alongside the Via Tiburtina. Within the city proper there was Hadrian's Villa, comprising miles of ruins set against a lush landscape. Tourists were simply fascinated with the finds from the villa, such as the popular sculpture of Antinous in the Vatican collections. Because many of the artifacts excavated from the villa were located in Rome, tourists came to Tivoli with these objects on their minds. There were also other antiquities that drew visitors, including the villa of Horace, popular of course because it could be connected with an ancient author. Important also for his association with poets, and Horace in particular, was Maecenas, whose villa was located on the edge of one of the cascades. In addition to all the antiquities that Tivoli boasted, there was also the attraction of the renowned gardens and cooling waterworks of the Villa d'Este, a sixteenth-century villa estate commissioned by the Cardinal Ippolito II d'Este. However, many visitors expressed dismay with the

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<sup>558</sup> Robert Sears heralded the Via Tiburtina when he wrote that the journey "can be performed in its whole length over an ancient road whose pavement in many places is in as perfect preservation as when two

decayed and wild state of the gardens, which did not conform to English taste.<sup>559</sup>

Therefore, Tivoli offered tourists, artists, and architects alike natural and ruinous beauty during the centuries of the Grand Tour.

### **Temple of the Sibyl**

One of the most praised monuments, for both the beauty of its architecture and its location, was the Temple of the Sibyl, a well-preserved round temple that dates to the first century BCE. Beginning in the late eighteenth century, the deity to whom the temple was devoted was hotly contested. Travelers, in their accounts, vacillated between an attribution to the Sibyl, to whom the temple was first assigned, or to Vesta. This new attribution to Vesta was sometimes scoffed at, as was the case with Joseph Forsyth, a travel writer of authority who was often quoted by other travelers in their descriptions of Tivoli. Forsyth wrote, "...antiquarians have now turned out the poor prophetess into a neighboring fane, and given up her Corinthian rotondo, merely because it is round, to Vesta."<sup>560</sup> Despite all this, the temple was interchangeably assigned to both Vesta and the Sibyl in accounts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, architects especially, from the beginning of the nineteenth century, used the name Vesta increasingly.<sup>561</sup> For the sake of simplicity, I will refer to the temple as dedicated to the

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thousand years ago the poet Horace loitered along it on his way to his pleasant Sabine farm" (Robert Sears, *Scenes and Sketches in Continental Europe*, (New York: Robert Sears, 1847), 362).

<sup>559</sup> George Hillard wrote that he was, "almost afraid to confess all the admiration I feel for these stately Italian gardens..." (Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, 412)

<sup>560</sup> Forsyth, *Remarks on Antiquities*, 255.

<sup>561</sup> José. B. de los Llanos, "La Fortune d'un temple: Sibylle ou Vesta?" In *Tivoli: variations sur un paysage au XVIII siècle*, ed. José de los Llanos, (Paris: Paris Musées Editions, 2010), 67.

Sibyl since this was how it was first conceived in the eighteenth century with the beginnings of the Grand Tour tradition.

While this temple was not discovered, or even rediscovered, during the eighteenth century, its popularity increased significantly during this period. It survived thanks to its conversion into a church, Santa Maria Rotonda, during the medieval period but was largely abandoned following 1400. Antonio Palladio's inclusion of the building in his sixteenth-century publication, *I quattro libri dell'architettura* or Antoine Desgodetz's 1682 study ensured its fame.<sup>562</sup> As tourists became interested in the temple, it also came to the attention of noted authority figures in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. An incident in 1777 when Frederick Hervey, 4<sup>th</sup> Earl of Bristol and Bishop of Derry, wished to remove the temple in its entirety to take back to his estate in Ireland is most indicative of travelers' increasing regard for the temple.<sup>563</sup> Hervey's planned action caused immediate outcry on behalf of the beloved temple and so it remained. In 1777 Pope Pius VI began restorations, in 1803 Pope Pius VII excavated the interior and installed a floor, in 1827 Pope Leo XII installed proper drainage in order to avoid further water damage, and in 1835 Pope Gregory XVI made a support for the foundations of the temple.<sup>564</sup>

The study of the temple encouraged both artists and architects to visit and their renderings of the temple were translated into many media. The temple was especially popular with architects who came from afar to draw and study its famed Corinthian order. Perched on a cliff against a scenic backdrop of mountains and cascades, the temple

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<sup>562</sup> Margaret Richardson, "John Soane and the Temple of Vesta at Tivoli," *Architectural History* 46 (2003): 132.

<sup>563</sup> Keaveney, *Views*, 250.

provided *vedute* that drew flocks of artists to the site and provided an ideal combination of architecture and nature that made the basis for any study.<sup>565</sup> The environs of the temple were immortalized in the mid- seventeenth century by the landscape paintings of Claude Lorrain (Figure 88).<sup>566</sup> Other artists who produced views of Tivoli included many of the same artists interested in painting the landscape views of other Roman monuments.<sup>567</sup> Naturally, the site was also featured in Piranesi’s engraving series (Figure 89).<sup>568</sup> Just as *vedute* drawings and paintings of the temple became exponentially popular during the years of the Grand Tour, this same trend is noted in architectural studies.<sup>569</sup> In addition to drawings, paintings, and engravings the prevalence of the Temple of the Sibyl

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<sup>564</sup> De los Llanos, “La Fortune,” 67.

<sup>565</sup> José. A. de los Llanos, “Tivoli: Un exercise de styles,” in *Tivoli: variations sur un paysage au XVIII siècle*, ed. José de los Llanos, (Paris: Paris Musées Editions, 2010), 20.

<sup>566</sup> Orietta Rossi Pinelli, “Il tempio della Sibilla a Tivoli: poesia delle rovine e sentimento della natura nella consacrazione di una iconografia paesistica,” in *Artisti e scrittori Europei a Roma e nel Lazio: dal Grand Tour ai Romantici*, ed. Angelo D’Alessandro, (Roma: Domograf, 1985), 79. For Claude Lorrain’s images depicting the environs of Tivoli see: *Pastoral Landscape*, 1642 in the British Museum (Marcel Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Paintings. Vol. I: Critical Catalog*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), fig. 133), *Landscape with Tobias and the Angel*, 1642 in the British Museum (Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain*, fig. 136), *Imaginary View from Tivoli*, 1642 in Courtauld Institute Galleries (Prince’s Gate collection), London (Helen Langdon, *Claude Lorrain*, (Oxford: Phaidon, 1989), fig. 57), *Imaginary View from Tivoli*, 1642/3 in the British Museum (Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain*, fig. 139), *Pastoral Landscape*, 1644 in Musée des Beaux-Arts in Grenoble (Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain*, fig. 152), *Pastoral Landscape*, 1644 in De Young Memorial Museum in San Francisco (Röthlisberger, *Claude Lorrain*, fig. 154).

<sup>567</sup> Joseph Vernet, Hendrik Frans van Lint, Louis Ducros, and Caspar van Wittel (Vanvitelli). For Claude Joseph Vernet: *The Tivoli Cascades*, 1740-48 in Musée des Beaux-Arts in Paris; For Lint: *An Imaginary View of Tivoli*, 1734 (Colnaghi, *Pictures from the Grand Tour*, (London: P&D Colnaghi, 1978), no. 13); For Louis Ducros: *View of Tivoli*, 1786 in the Hoare Collection at Stourhead (Wilton and Bignamini, *Grand Tour*, fig. 256); For Caspar van Wittel: *View of the Temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli*, 1720 in Foundation Custodia, Paris.

Oftentimes these paintings of the temple were part of imaginary landscapes, and the imagination carried over to complete missing parts of the temple, such as the roof. See, for example, François Boucher’s *Vue imaginaire de Tivoli* of 1770-77 in Château-Musée in Boulogne-sur-Mer (José. A. de los Llanos, ed. *Tivoli: variations sur un paysage au XVIII siècle*, (Paris: Paris Musées Editions, 2010), fig.13).

<sup>568</sup> Piranesi’s *Vedute di Roma*, published in 1761, featured both the temple and the cascades (Richardson, “John Soane,” 133). The temple was also part of a more scientific study in Piranesi’s engraving series *Tempi Antichi*, which was completed by his son, Francesco (Wilton-Ely, *The Mind and Art*, 61-3).

<sup>569</sup> George Dance the Younger made measured drawings and plans of the temple in the 1760s. Sir John Soane also took to drawing the temple and his interest in its form is played out in future works that he designed, as noted with the façade of the Bank of England.

on souvenir objects, such as fans, demonstrates the temple's popularity (Figure 90).<sup>570</sup>

However, the objects through which the temple was featured most vigorously during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were models (Figure 91 and Figure 92).<sup>571</sup> While cork was preferred for depicting the building in its ruinous state, other materials were also employed in small-scale models.<sup>572</sup> Postcard souvenirs also developed towards the close

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<sup>570</sup> Featured on a fan from the Brighton Museum (*Fans and the Grand Tour*, fig. 1); 1793 fan by Pietro Bartolozzi with the Tivoli temple from the Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna in Rome (Landini, *Ventagli*, no. 59). It is also seen on ceramic, such as an earthenware transfer-print plate manufactured in Italy (Victoria and Albert Museum 4191&A-1901).

<sup>571</sup> Cork model (Christie's South Kensington Ltd, *Souvenirs of the Grand Tour, Wednesday October 16<sup>th</sup>, 1996*, (London: Christie's, 1996), no. 120). Cork model by Antonio Chichi in Landesmuseum in Darmstadt and Kassel (Darmstadt Ko 14) (Büttner, "Korkmodelle," n. 14). Cork model by unknown artist in the British Architectural Library Drawings Collection at the Royal Institute of British Architects (Wilton and Bignamini, *Grand Tour*, fig. 261). Most interesting is a cork model from Drottningholm Palace in Stockholm (NM Drh Sk 262) that is more *vedute* than model. This model showcases the entire acropolis of Tivoli complete with the Temple of the Sibyl, its adjacent Temple of Vesta, and surrounding buildings (Kockel, *Phelloplastica*, tav. I: 1-4). These models were embraced especially because of their use of cork that perfectly captured the porous stone of the temple. While for some, such as Gustave III, the models simply served as souvenirs, other purchasers were interested in models for their scientific capacity. The dealer Thomas Jenkins, for example, was one of the first to have a cork model of Tivoli by the Neapolitan artist Giovanni Altieri; he requested this in 1767 in order to provide a visual record of the temple for the Society of Antiquaries in London (Valentin Kockel, "Plaster Models and Plaster Casts of Classical Architecture and its Decoration," in *Plaster Casts: Making, Collecting, and Displaying from Classical Antiquity to the Present*, eds. Rune Fredericksen and Eckert Marchand, (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2010), 421. Kockel, *Phelloplastica*, 24). The architect Sir John Soane also had a cork model of the temple for his collections (Kockel, *Phelloplastica*, 48). Sir John Soane had a great affinity for the temple as can be seen in the multiplicity of the temple in his model collection (Helen Dorey, "Sir John Soane's Model Room," *Perspecta* 41 (2008): 93). For John Soane, Jas Elsner posits that these miniature models acted both as memorials to his favorite monuments and as a site of desire for buildings not yet made (Jas Elsner, "A Collector's Model of Desire: the House and Museum of Sir John Soane," in *The Cultures of Collecting*, edited by Jas Elsner and Roger Cardinal, eds., (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1994), 171). Soane's model is interesting for its picturesque qualities; an artist well known for his cork models, Antonio Chichi, included a number of blocks scattered around the temple very much in the fashion of Piranesi (Kockel, *Phelloplastica*, 67). Also interesting is a plaster model of the temple in Soane's collection by Jean-Pierre Fouquet since it represents a reconstructed version of the temple, playing out fantasies of completion (Kockel, "Plaster Models," 421-7). This highlights the duality of ruins, as discussed in the previous chapter. Ruins were praised for their incompleteness, and yet often buildings were imagined as whole. The type of reconstruction, of course, was not suitable for cork, which was an admirable medium for its exacting abilities to replicate the picturesque state of ruinous states of buildings.

<sup>572</sup> Other mediums employed in reconstructing the temple included bronze models of the temple, such as nineteenth-century temples from Christie's (Christie's South Kensington Ltd, *Antiquities and Souvenirs of the Grand Tour, Wednesday 27 October 1993*, no. 216; Christie's South Kensington Ltd, *Souvenirs of the Grand Tour, Wednesday October 16<sup>th</sup>, 1996*, no.48; Christie's October 16, 1996, no. 190; Christie's South Kensington Ltd, *Souvenirs of the Grand Tour, Wednesday 23 April 1997*, no. 21).

of the nineteenth century and depicted views of the Temple of the Sibyl (Figure 93).<sup>573</sup>

Further indicative of tourists' interest in the site is its appearance as a backdrop for portraits commissioned while on the Grand Tour.<sup>574</sup>

Travelers praised the temple for both its form and its picturesque qualities and these features are evident in souvenirs. Tourists repeatedly emphasized the impossibility of describing the temple, either with words or pencil. Joseph Forsyth wrote that "Tivoli cannot be described: no true portrait of it exists: all views alter and embellish it: they are poetical translations of the matchless original."<sup>575</sup> Interestingly, other travelers who wrote of their own experiences at Tivoli often quoted this particular passage, in addition to others, from Forsyth.<sup>576</sup> William Boyd also wrote of the predicament he faced: "This spot is so wonderfully beautiful and sublime that it is hardly possible by any description to do justice to it."<sup>577</sup> While this was a fairly common rhetorical trope in travel writing, this vehement insistence on the inability to capture the true beauty of the temple and its surroundings emphasizes the important task that fell to micromosaicists to memorialize this indescribable experience.<sup>578</sup>

Where words might have failed to capture the magnificence of the site, micromosaics, as souvenirs, were a tangible vehicle that unlocked and commemorated

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<sup>573</sup> See de los Llanos, "La Fortune," fig. 2, 3, and 4.

<sup>574</sup> Pompeo Batoni's *Portrait of Sir William Knatchbull-Wyndham*, 1758-9 in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Studio of Pompeo Batoni, *Thomas Peter Giffard*, 1768, BNL, Rome (Wilton and Bignamini, *Grand Tour*, fig. 19). *Portrait of Thomas Taylour, 1<sup>st</sup> Marquess of Headfort* by Pompeo Batoni, 1782 (Museum of Fine Arts in Houston). *Portrait of Robert Udny* by Pompeo Batoni, 1770 (Christie's Lot 39, Sale 7253, July 6, 2006). *Sir Sampson Gideon and an unidentified Companion* by Pompeo Batoni in 1767 (National Gallery of Victoria in Melbourne).

<sup>575</sup> Forsyth, *Remarks on Antiquities*, 257.

<sup>576</sup> See Hare, *Days*, 193.

<sup>577</sup> Boyd, *A Guide through Italy*, 192.

memories. The numerous micromosaics of Tivoli and the variety of their depictions speak to the many modes in which the temple and landscape were experienced.

Micromosaicists utilized specific views of the temple and environs to memorialize the Tivoli landscape and temple experience including the composition of the view, the popularity of depicting the temple towards the east, and its location.

The composition of the Temple of the Sibyl on micromosaics is a programmatic assembly of components based on tourists' expectations. The isolated modes of viewing that I noted in my discussion of monuments in Rome are also attested here; however, in a slightly different manner more reminiscent of Gilpin's characteristics of a picturesque landscape. Instead of a visual and mental focus restricted to only the monument, Tivoli micromosaics employed a more complicated composition including a foreground, middle ground, and background (Figure 94). Regardless of whether the view was taken from the east or west, micromosaics maintain a strict composition. In the foreground there is the river Anio, usually peopled with peasants along its shores occupied with various activities, such as fishing, and framed by trees or shrubbery.<sup>579</sup> In the middle ground the

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<sup>578</sup> Chard discusses how tourists often wrote about how daunting the task of translating artworks into commentaries was (Chloe Chard, *A Critical Reader of the Romantic Grand Tour: tristes plaisirs*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), 160-161).

<sup>579</sup> While most of the time the landscapes are peopled by romanticized peasants there are two unusual exceptions. In only a few instances, contemporary Europeans, most likely tourists, are depicted alongside the river gazing up at the temple (See Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, 76, 151). We see this in the case of other micromosaics, such as in those of the Colosseum and St. Peter's Square that are framed by greenery. It is significant that in both cases tourists are seen viewing the landscapes as if a painting or image. In the case of the Colosseum and St. Peter's micromosaics, the travelers standing on a piazza and looking out at the vistas that are framed for their viewing pleasure. In the instance of the Tivoli mosaics, travelers actually viewed the site in person as though it were a picture, based on their conditioning by earlier images such as those of Rosa or Claude. In the case of one micromosaic there is a most unusual addition to the riverbank. Instead of a contemporary peasant or European, there is a representation of a man dressed in a short tunic holding what appears to be a crown in one arm and a laurel leaf in the other (Walters Art Gallery box with a view of Tivoli by Giacomo Raffaelli, 1804 Inv. 43.20). Here, an ancient person has manifested amidst this landscape that Horace and others once roamed. I would suggest that this most intriguing micromosaic is an excellent example of the powers of souvenirs to encapsulate the past in the

Temple of the Sibyl is perched upon a rocky outcrop with the cascades depicted nearby. Occasionally, a bridge, the Ponte Gregoriano, is added into the middle ground (Figure 95). When viewed towards the west, the background features the vast Roman Campagna with an aqueduct and hills in the background, and when taken towards the east, the background comprises the Sabine hills in the distance (Figure 96 through Figure 99).

Tourists envisioned their experience of Tivoli as a painting, and this is born out in travel accounts, as well as micromosaics. Charlotte Eaton's account of Tivoli encompasses these painterly qualities: "The pencil only can describe Tivoli...It almost seems as if Nature herself had turned painter when she formed this beautiful and perfect composition."<sup>580</sup> This account of the scenery of Tivoli by Denis O'Donovan is extremely poignant: "Its influence is felt- its impression remains for life; but the pen at least is unable to reveal its charms. I paint it to my own imagination in all its richness, its variety, its beauty;- I am lost in admiration of the picture it presents..."<sup>581</sup> First, O'Donovan stressed the impossibility of written description. Like Eaton, he emphasized how he viewed the scene as though a painting, but he also recalled how the scene was imprinted into his imagination. In this way the image painted in his mind functioned in a similar way as a landscape of Tivoli enshrined on a souvenir micromosaic. Both preserved and unleashed memories.

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present as there is a person in antique dress cast into a landscape with the temple in its eighteenth-century form. Curiously, these three rather anomalous instances of peopling the banks of the Anio are all on micromosaics crafted by the same micromosaicist, Giacomo Raffaelli. Perhaps the early dates of these micromosaics suggest that the formulaic composition of later mosaics had not yet been codified. Or, as in the case of other micromosaics, these different modifications may have had some appeal in a market saturated with many of the same compositions.

<sup>580</sup> Eaton, *Rome, in the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. III, 339.

<sup>581</sup> Denis O'Donovan, *Memories of Rome*, (London: Catholic Publishing & Bookselling Company, Ltd., 1859), 237.

The mode of compositional viewing manifested in micromosaics is paralleled in accounts of travelers. For example, Forsyth, who was a fundamental source of information for travelers visiting Italy, wrote that, “the hill of Tivoli is all over picture. The city, the villas, the ruins, the rocks, the cascades, in the foreground: the Sabine hills, the three Monticelle, Soracte, Frascati, the Campagna, and Rome in the distance:- these form a succession of landscapes superior, in the delight produced, to the richest cabinet of Claude’s.”<sup>582</sup> J.D. Sinclair similarly wrote:

The landscape, seen on one of the finest autumnal days that the pure azure sky of Italy displays, embraced the Sabine hills, embosomed in which lies the valley of Rustica, the Ustica of Horace, offering a scene to which only the pencil of a Claude or a Poussin could do justice; which two artists, the former especially, it is worthy of remark, passed annually several months of study here, and from the surrounding scenery many of their finest conceptions are taken.<sup>583</sup>

Noteworthy in these accounts are the ways in which they both construct compositional methods of viewing and defer to the seventeenth-century landscape artists, Claude Lorrain and Nicolas Poussin.<sup>584</sup> These passages reveal the ways that pictorial modes of viewing were employed in travel writing to describe Tivoli, and travelers would, therefore, expect in souvenir depictions.

Claude Lorrain, especially, was a fundamental source for forming tourists’ understanding of the site of Tivoli before visiting. Tivoli provided a visual vocabulary from which he could draw future compositions. The Temple of the Sibyl and the

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<sup>582</sup> Forsyth, *Remarks on Antiquities*, 256-7.

<sup>583</sup> J.D. Sinclair, *An Autumn in Italy: Being a Personal Narrative of a Tour in the Austrian, Tuscan, Roman, and Sardinia States in 1827*, (London: Constable and Co, 1829), 233.

<sup>584</sup> Another traveler wrote in an 1803 letter of Tivoli as the most perfect landscape because of the ways in which color and light harmoniously unified the land and the sky and that he admired these qualities also in landscapes of Claude Lorrain (Quoted in Pinelli, “Il tempio,” 81).

precipice on which it perched were a common motif in his paintings.<sup>585</sup> His drawings and paintings of Tivoli were more concerned with aesthetics, combining imaginary and real landscapes, than with a realistic, topographical approach.<sup>586</sup> In his images the foreground is populated with ruins, rocks, the river; the Temple of the Sibyl is always featured in the middle ground; and the background usually includes mountains or the silhouettes of the buildings of Rome, such as St. Peter's. The influence of Claude Lorrain's compositions was noted in both travel writing and micromosaics. In fact, micromosaicists were already engaged in creating other compositions that were inspired by other pastoral landscapes of Claude and Poussin.<sup>587</sup> This formula of micromosaics parallels the tripartite composition seen in images of Claude, with minor differences. Micromosaicists populated the shores of the Anio with people and did not include Claude's animals fording the river, something that is not mentioned in accounts by Grand Tourists. In this way, we can see how micromosaicists modified the established visual vocabulary of Claude, who drew on painted Roman landscapes, to cater to the expectations of tourists, both by utilizing his established compositions and by eliminating aspects that were no longer valued.<sup>588</sup> Therefore, I would suggest that this sort of compositional viewing of the Temple of the Sibyl in travel accounts stems from Claude's paintings of Tivoli.

As mentioned above, micromosaics often depict the temple from different cardinal directions. However, the most popular vantage point of the temple in

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<sup>585</sup> I.G. Kennedy, "Claude Lorrain and Topography," *Apollo* (October 1969) 90: 304-5.

<sup>586</sup> Kathryn Barron, "'The Most Noble Sight in the World': Claude's *View of the Roman Campagna from Tivoli*," *Apollo* (August 2002) 136: 50.

<sup>587</sup> See, for example Gabriel, *The Gilbert Collection*, cat. 15, 125, 128, 149, 150, and 159.

<sup>588</sup> Claude's visual vocabulary draws on Roman wall painting, with which travelers in Italy would have familiarity. Roman landscape paintings often featured multiple components to the landscape including figures in the foreground and distant buildings in the background. Roman landscapes were, much like

micromosaics is the view of it looking towards the east (Figure 96 through Figure 99).

Micromosaics looking east depict a foreground usually peopled with peasants along the river. Then the temple is in the middle ground on the left part of the composition, privileging the ruinous side of the Temple of the Sibyl. On the right half of the composition, the eastward vantage point affords a full view of the crashing cascades. The background usually includes the rolling Sabine Hills and sometimes also the buildings of the town shown from a distance. The favoring of a view towards the east stems from several different factors. First of all, this was in part a case of ease of access from the Ponte Gregoriano that provided a more convenient viewing platform than anything with a view towards the west. The other reasons why this view was chosen in higher frequency have to do with the aesthetics of both the temple and the landscape.

Travelers valued the ruinous qualities of the temple. In discussing the temple George Evans illustrated the power of the ruins: “and even those [Corinthian columns] that are fallen rather impart to the temple the picturesque character of a ruin, than rather detract from its beauty as a building.”<sup>589</sup> This eastern view privileged the ruinous state of the temple over the view towards the west, which suggested an illusion of an entirely preserved temple. Of note is that this eastward view was taken in micromosaics composed both like a landscape painting as well as those that featured a zoomed in view of the temple only. It was possible to view the temple easily from any side so access was not a motivating factor in this decision, and therefore, we see a clear preference for the ruinous state of the monument on micromosaics.

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those of Claude, distinct because of their inclusion of figures and animals, which were featured in the foreground (Roger Ling, *Roman Painting*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 149).

<sup>589</sup> Evans, *The Classic and Connoisseur*, 15.

As was discussed previously in conjunction with depictions of the Roman Forum and Colosseum on micromosaics, ruins were representative of man's relationship to nature.<sup>590</sup> Ruins were so captivating because they had the ability to suggest historicity since they were visual manifestations of the destructive hand of time.<sup>591</sup> Time crumbled what man built and nature intruded in the guise of vegetation springing up from ruins. Therefore, the decision to choose this vantage point of the temple reflected the ways in which the framed ruin transformed into another aesthetic configuration, a transformation from something manmade to something in communion with nature.<sup>592</sup> Discussing the temple, an anonymous writer captured this return to nature of the temple: "but age has given it a venerable, picturesque beauty, while nature has superadded all the charms of situation."<sup>593</sup> The relationship of the manmade and nature was also emphasized when William Wilson wrote that while the temple, "borrows a charm from the scenery around, it also adds additionally witchery to it."<sup>594</sup>

A curious feature on micromosaics is that the Temple of the Sibyl appears at an enlarged scale at the edge of its cliff (Figure 99). In relation to other elements, such as the cliff, the temple was proportionally too large on micromosaics. The siting of the temple on its cliff edge was an extremely critical component of its captivating power, as can be learned from accounts of travelers. Anna Miller observed this when viewing the temple: "...the Temple of the Sibyl appears much larger, and seems to overlook the whole

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<sup>590</sup> Baridon, "Ruins as Mental Construct," 94.

<sup>591</sup> Stead, "The Value of Ruins," 53.

<sup>592</sup> Roth, Lyons, and Merewether, *Irresistible Decay*, 3.

<sup>593</sup> Anonymous, *Mementoes*, 205.

<sup>594</sup> Wilson, *Records of a Route*, 353.

view...<sup>595</sup> Miller interpreted this illusion of the temple appearing larger than it was because of its high location on the cliff. Denis O'Donovan wrote in reference to the temple: "Italy has few ruins more beautiful and its position whence it seems to complete and embellish the delightful picture into which it has been so happily introduced is really beyond all praise."<sup>596</sup> His emphasis on the positioning of the temple suggests it was an important element in completing the composition.

In addition to the temple's important siting on the cliff, its power also stemmed from its precarious position upon that cliff edge. Castellán wrote that the temple was, "situated, like an eagle's nest, on the pinnacle of hollow rocks, and surrounded by precipices down which the river dashes," and Jane Waldie recounted the, "ancient temples perched on the jutting crags that overhang its roaring cataracts."<sup>597</sup> George Evans' excessive use of adjectives emphasized the temple's perilous positioning: "At the very extremity of that extremity, on the brink of the precipice, stands the Sibyl's temple, the remains of a little rotunda."<sup>598</sup> Charles Fowler wrote concerning the temple's position: "Tivoli is situated on the top of an abrupt precipice on which stands conspicuous the temple of Vesta..."<sup>599</sup> These accounts by travelers all underscored the importance of the positioning of the temple at the dramatic edge of the cliff. This is seen in painting as well; Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun visually accentuated the height of this temple in a portrait of Madame de Staël (Figure 100).<sup>600</sup> Author Madame de Staël is presented in

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<sup>595</sup> Miller, *Letters from Italy*, Vol. III, 127.

<sup>596</sup> O'Donovan, *Memories*, 241.

<sup>597</sup> A.L. Castellán, *Letters on Italy; Illustrated by Engravings*, (London: Sir Richard Phillips and Co, 1820), 32. Waldie, *Sketches Descriptive of Italy*, Vol. III, 295.

<sup>598</sup> Evans, *The Classic and the Connoisseur*, 13.

<sup>599</sup> Fowler, *Travel Diary*, March 19<sup>th</sup> entry.

<sup>600</sup> Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, *Portrait der Madame de Staël als Corinne*, 1808-9 in *Les Musées d'art et d'histoire de Genève*.

the guise of the heroine of her novel, Corinne, who lived adjacent to the Temple of the Sibyl; in the painting the temple is removed from its topographical location and put at the top of a summit that is inaccessible, emphasizing its hazardous location.<sup>601</sup> Therefore, I would suggest that what drove micromosaicists to represent the scale of the temple disproportionately was similar to what drove Vigée-Lebrun to emphasize its height disproportionately: the temple's importance to the landscape depended on its being perched high on a perilous precipice. Thus micromosaicists enlarged the temple in relation to its environment to enhance its power of place.

The cascades were one of the main attractions of the landscape of Tivoli.<sup>602</sup> Furthermore, they were important for completing the painterly view of the temple as demonstrated by a passage from Robert Sears' account: "The contrast of its [the temple's] placid gracefulness with the turbulence and fury of the water immediately beneath it also adds to the exquisite effect it produces."<sup>603</sup> Robert Sears elaborated: "The cascade is produced by the river Anio now called the Teverone, which after winding through the Sabine valley glides smooth and silently through Tivoli till it reaches the brink of a precipice where it throws itself in one mighty mass of waters down a deep and dark chasm in the rocks there it roars..."<sup>604</sup> Jane Waldie wrote that the Anio, "...rush[es] with frightful impetuosity..." Harriet Morton described the view of the cascades from where, "...you see the foam dashing and playing wild music," and Augustus Hare also

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<sup>601</sup> Pinelli, "Il tempio," 86.

<sup>602</sup> Micromosaics also spotlight only the cascades (Stefani, *Ricordi*, 64; Gabriel, *The Gilbert Collection*, 102). The falls were also featured on fans (James MacKay, *Fans*, (Edison: Chartwell Books, 2000), fig. 8).

<sup>603</sup> Sears, *Scenes and Sketches*, 363.

<sup>604</sup> Sears, *Scenes and Sketches*, 362.

emphasized how “the river foams and roars.”<sup>605</sup> What these accounts all highlighted is the way in which these furious falls met the rocks with force.<sup>606</sup> On micromosaics a view towards the east privileged the large cascades of the Anio River so that they were depicted face on, rather than from an angle as depicted to the west (Figure 101). Micromosaicists made full use of the drama of these cascades with a frontal view towards the east with the river crashing and foaming over the rocks (Figure 102).

Another important aspect of the natural elements that drove the popularity of the view towards the east was the Grotto of Neptune (Figure 103).<sup>607</sup> Shown as an opening in the rock of the cliff on which the Temple of the Sibyl sits, the Grotto of Neptune is featured on the left side of micromosaic compositions (Figure 98). The Grotto of Neptune was located below the temple, and General Miollis constructed a path between the two by in 1809. Jane Waldie wrote of the advantages of a view from the Gulf of Sirens: “It combines the view of the highest of the falls and of the half-subterranean one which pours through the Grotto of Neptune, at the point where the waters of the Anio, thus united rush with frightful impetuosity down a steep declivity into the dark and deep abyss...”<sup>608</sup> This passage aptly illustrates why a view towards the east was so valued: it combined both the highest falls and the Grotto of Neptune. Also emphasizing the importance of the Grotto for composition was Charles Fowler’s account where he recalled that the temple “appears as though it were the habitation of the guardian genius

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<sup>605</sup> Waldie, *Sketches Descriptive of Italy*, 295. Morton, *Protestant Vigils*, 142. Hare, *Days*, Vol. I, 194.

<sup>606</sup> The audio effects of water crashing on rocks enhanced the environs of the area. Furthermore, these resonances and echoes provoked from the water were most suggestive of the divine forces, such as the allusive priestess of Apollo, Sibyl, and the goddess Diana, whose woods surrounded the cascades (Pinelli, “Il tempio,” 82). The cascades, with their mist and loud crashing, would contribute to the force of Tivoli.

<sup>607</sup> Like in the case of the cascades, the Grotto of Neptune is sometimes its own feature on micromosaics signaling its importance. See Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 41.

<sup>608</sup> Waldie, *Sketches Descriptive of Italy*, 295.

of the Grotto beneath and which presents a most interesting print for the landscape painter beneath.”<sup>609</sup> Here Fowler spelled out how the vista should be captured by artists from the vantage point of the Grotto. Louis Simond’s account of his visit best sums up why the prospect towards the east was the most desirable: “A complete view of it [the Anio stream’s first fall at Tivoli] is obtained from a bridge thrown across the chasm in front of it: the two celebrated little temples of Vesta and of the Sibyl standing side by side, overlook this fall, as well as another beyond, through a cavern in the tufa-rock, called the Grotto of Neptune.”<sup>610</sup> Here, we can observe how Simond viewed the whole picture from the easy vantage point of the bridge and how it provided a scene of the most valued elements of the site: the temples, the Grotto of Neptune, and the cascades. These elements, including the grotto, are thus commemorated on micromosaics that most popularly depicted the view towards the east.

The last topic to address is the choice to include the Hotel della Sibilla in the composition of micromosaics with eastward facing views of the temple in the later half of the nineteenth century.<sup>611</sup> Not only did its physical building represent the hotel, but micromosaicists often also incorporated a sign identifying the hotel by its name (Figure 104 and Figure 105). Interestingly enough, micromosaics that depict the hotel do not depict peasants, but others, such as a group of Europeans peering beyond the precipice or an artist drawing the temple below in another. This drives home the association between the visitor and the hotel.

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<sup>609</sup> Fowler, *Travel Diary*, March 19<sup>th</sup> entry.

<sup>610</sup> Simond, *A Tour through Italy and Sicily*, 365.

<sup>611</sup> Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 152. Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, 141.

Visitors to Tivoli were presented with two choices of hotel: either La Regina or La Sibilla. Visitors almost always wrote of their preference to stay at La Sibilla, which was located adjacent to the temple.<sup>612</sup> As might be expected, most micromosaic compositions eliminate the presence of the hotel, a common practice of micromosaicists, as seen in the earlier discussion on monuments in Rome. It too, was a wish for some visitors to Tivoli as Jane Waldie expressed: “If a wish for any change should steal over the mind in a scene so charming, we may perhaps be pardoned for desiring to remove the town and inhabitants of Tivoli.”<sup>613</sup> However, there are several micromosaics that not only include the hotel, but also have its name emblazoned on the building. These different approaches on micromosaics are reflective of the many, and often contradictory, opinions of travelers.

The hotel was located adjacent to the ruins of the Temple of the Sibyl, from which it took its name. Harriet Morton explained: “The Sibilla, joining the temple is what, in England, is called a hedge ale-house. But the situation makes amends for every disadvantage, and from its windows the river is still seen rushing amongst the rocks. The little temple, of which we see so many representations in England, is finely situated on a rocky brow, overhanging the foaming Teverone...”<sup>614</sup> Marianne Colston also boasted of the Sibilla’s advantages: “Our windows commanded a view of the principal cascade, and of the elegant, and beautiful temples of Vesta, and the Sybil, immediately adjoining to the

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<sup>612</sup> Marina Cogotti, Rita Fabio, and Laura Ferracci, “Viaggiatori e turisti interpreti del paesaggio.” In *Tivoli: paesaggio del Grand Tour*, ed. Marina Cogotti, (Roma: De Luca Editori d’Arte, 2014), 120. I have only come across one account that mentions La Regina as an excellent inn (Simond, *A Tour in Italy and Sicily*, 365).

<sup>613</sup> Waldie, *Sketches Descriptive of Italy*, 295.

<sup>614</sup> Morton, *Protestant Vigils*, Vol. II, 138.

Albergo.”<sup>615</sup> She even wrote how she would take walks around the temple before dinner. Thus, the location of the Sibilla provided visitors with a close encounter with the antique; living in such proximity to the temple heightened associations with the past. Therefore, micromosaicists who included the hotel did so unabashedly, writing the name of this popular hotel across its side. This souvenir evoked memories of the hotel and its proximity to the temple, and the peopling of these scenes facilitated this. Therefore, the reason for the inclusion and advertisement of the Sibilla on micromosaics is credited to its location that afforded travelers the actual experience of proximity to the antique.

Micromosaics featuring the Temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli demonstrate how these depictions provide an entry point into a discussion of why certain popular viewpoints and aspects of the site were so widely commemorated. The composition of the site was critical for a full picturesque viewing experience; this required the temple, cliff, falls, and Grotto of Neptune. Privileging a viewpoint towards the east that best displayed the ruinous side of the temple emphasized the importance of ruins and favored the dramatic falls and the Grotto of Neptune. The position of the temple also played a significant role in forming memories at Tivoli; this is noted in the enlargement of the scale of the temple to emphasize its precarious position and the adjacent Sibilla hotel. All of these aspects provided a souvenir that helped connect the owner to the time of their visit. More importantly, it took them back to the land whose charm derived from the enigmatic presence of the phantom Sibyl, priestess of Apollo.<sup>616</sup> The romantic charm of Tivoli with

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<sup>615</sup> Marianne Colston, *Journal of a Tour in France, Switzerland, and Italy during the Years 1819, 20, and 21*, Vol. I, (London: F. and W.B. Whittaker, 1823), 202.

<sup>616</sup> Émilie Beck Saiello, “La Grotte de L’Albunée sonore, les cascades de L’Anio, les bois de Tibur: La fortune de Tivoli dans l’oeuvre de Joseph Vernet et de ses suiveurs,” in *Tivoli: variations sur un paysage au XVIII siècle*, ed. José de los Llanos, (Paris: Paris Musées Editions, 2010), 28.

its cascades, rocky outcroppings, and flora contrasted with the more refined program of water, land, and flora of the nearby Villa d'Este, another popular visit on the Grand Tour.<sup>617</sup> Anna Miller's assessment of the picturesque qualities of Tivoli are worthy closing remarks on our discussion of the temple. She wrote: "...there is something so lively and agreeable in the disposition and assemblage of all the objects, as must enliven the dullest imagination."<sup>618</sup> Therefore, micromosaicists capitalized on the power of the composition to enliven imaginative jaunts back to tourists' visits to the site.

### **Hadrian's Villa**

Hadrian's Villa proved a popular source from which to build collections of statuary.<sup>619</sup> The Cardinal Ippolito d'Este charged Pirro Ligorio with excavating the villa with the primary objective of recovering classical sculptures to augment d'Este's collections, which eventually found a home in the Villa d'Este. From Ligorio's excavations came the first measured plan of the entire site. The eighteenth century witnessed many excavations at the villa; Count Fede, Liborio Michilli, and Francesco Antonio Lolli all excavated parts of the villa during the first half of the eighteenth century and the statues they found went to important collectors, such as Pope Benedict XIV or the Cardinal Albani. Cardinal Giuseppe Alessandro Furietti also undertook excavations in the early eighteenth century, and his efforts yielded important finds including the Furietti Centaurs and the Doves of Pliny, as will be discussed in this chapter. Gavin Hamilton

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<sup>617</sup> Tonino Paris, "L'Aniene: tra presenza e storia," in *L'antico come luogo della memoria: tra natura e cultura nella storicità dell'abitare*, ed. Tonino Paris, (Roma: Casa del Libro, 1984), 212.

<sup>618</sup> Miller, *Letters from Italy*, Vol. III, 128.

<sup>619</sup> Marianne Roland-Michel, "Artisti e 'Turisti' a Villa Adriana el XVIII secolo," in *Adriano: architettura e progetto*, ed. Soprintendenza Archeologica per Il Lazio, Milano: Electa, 2000), 104.

and Piranesi also began excavations in 1769 in the bog of the villa; Hamilton, a well-known antiquities dealer, was naturally motivated by the prospect of classical statuary.<sup>620</sup>

Hadrian's Villa, while known since antiquity, did enjoy the increased attentions of antiquarians during the eighteenth century. Not only was the emperor Hadrian well admired and praised during the eighteenth century, but also his villa in Tivoli provided ruins for artists, architects, and tourists to paint, draw, and wander amongst. The fact that the villa consisted of both active excavations and picturesque ruins provided dual attraction to its many visitors.<sup>621</sup> It was through the promulgation of materials from these visitors, publications, plans, and drawings, that the villa became an increasingly popular stop on the Grand Tour. Pirro Ligorio's extensive publication, *Descrizione della superba e magnificentissima Villa Tiburtina Hadriana* was published posthumously in 1723. Antiquarian publications during the Grand Tour years increased with Antonio Nibby's *Descrizione della Villa Adriana* in 1827, the *Viaggio Pittorico* of Agostino Penna in the 1830s, and the *Antichi Edifizi dei Contorni di Roma* of Luigi Canina in 1853.<sup>622</sup>

The influx of artists and architects, and their products from their visits, boosted the site's interest levels. The signed walls of the cryptoporticus and other spaces of the villa served as an illustrious roll call of visitors including Jean-Baptiste Chardin in 1759 and Francesco Piranesi in 1771.<sup>623</sup> Giuseppe Pannini's measured drawings of the South Theater of the villa, published in 1753, were the first available to the general public.

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<sup>620</sup> William L. MacDonald and John A. Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa and its Legacy*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), 290-5.

<sup>621</sup> Roland-Michel, "Artisti e 'Turisti'," 103.

<sup>622</sup> Antonio Nibby, *Descrizione della Villa Adriana*, (Roma: A. Ajani, 1827). Agostino Penna, *Viaggio pittorico della Villa Adriana*, Vol. I-IV, (Roma: Pietro Aureli, 1831-6). Luigi Canina, *Antichi Edifizi dei Contorni di Roma*, Vol. I-VI, (Roma: G.A. Bertinelli, 1848-1856).

<sup>623</sup> Nicole Dacos, "Visiatori a villa Adriana," *Palatino* 9 (1965): 9-10.

Artists frequently came to the site to draw. Among them were Hubert Robert, Jean-Honoré Fragonard, Pier Leone Ghezzi, Robert Adam, Charles-Louis Clérisseau, and many others.<sup>624</sup> The residents of the French Academy and recipients of the Prix de Rome were particularly active in such excursions.<sup>625</sup> Piranesi visited the site often and his publication, *Pianta delle fabbriche esistenti nella Villa Adriana*, is noted as one of the first comprehensive surveys of the villa and was brought to final fruition by his son, Francesco, in 1781. This publication was accompanied by an extensive commentary on the features of the villa, including identifications of structures, find-spots of works of art, and property boundary lines of the many owners of fields in the area. In addition to the plan of the villa, Piranesi published views of some of the individual buildings over the course of his lifetime included in the *Vedute*.<sup>626</sup> It was through prints, such as Piranesi's, that information about the villa was disseminated and cultivated an interest in the site.

Naturally, a visitor to Hadrian's Villa might want to commemorate his or her visit with a souvenir, such as micromosaics that depict the cryptoporticus of the villa.<sup>627</sup> In Rome, there were also other micromosaic souvenirs that would have appealed to a visitor's experience of both the environs of Tivoli and the antique objects that were found there. Tourists often discussed these antiquities in their travel journals under their descriptions of Hadrian's villa and not during their accounts of the museums. While displayed in museums in Rome, the objects on micromosaics that will be addressed in

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<sup>624</sup> MacDonald and Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa*, 231-241.

<sup>625</sup> Claudio D'Amato, "Villa Adriana: la costruzione dell'architettura e la memoria," in *L'antico come luogo della memoria: tra natura e cultura nella storicità dell'abitare*, ed. Tonino Paris, (Roma: Casa del Libro, 1984), 56.

<sup>626</sup> MacDonald and Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa*, fig. 333-334.

<sup>627</sup> Petochi, Alfieri, and Branchetti, *I mosaici minuti*, 152. This particular viewpoint is adopted from Domenico Pronti, *Nuova raccolta di 100 vedutine antiche della città di Roma e sue vicinanze*, (Roma: Il Sud. Incisore, 1800), n. 87.

this chapter are all thematically tied to Hadrian's Villa, regardless of whether they physically originated from there. This is indicative of the power of place that these antiquities had and how they were signifiers of not only the objects, but the experience of the villa as well. I will examine how micromosaicists modified and memorialized aspects of a select few of the renowned antique artifacts from the villa in order to appeal to tourists.

### **Doves of Pliny**

Monsignor, later Cardinal, Giuseppe Alessandro Furietti was an antiquarian and collector of ancient art whose excavations at Hadrian's Villa rewarded him with the discovery of many acclaimed artworks, such as the sculpture of a faun in red marble and the Doves of Pliny mosaic. On April 19, 1737 Monsignor Furietti excavated the so-called Doves of Pliny Mosaic, which was found in the Accademia of the Villa of Hadrian, although the exact findspot has been trickier to identify (Figure 106).<sup>628</sup> The mosaic remained in the residence of Furietti until his death, after which it was sold to Pope Clement XIII in 1765. The mosaic ultimately ended up in the Museo Capitolino after Pope Clement donated his collections to the museum.

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<sup>628</sup> Furietti's own plan does not mention the mosaic by name, but refers to a fine and most excellent mosaic found in area 46 of the Accademia (Marina De Franceschini, *Villa Adriana: Mosaici-Pavimenti-Edifici*, (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1991), 337). In his extensive plan of the villa replete with artifact find spots Piranesi, however, placed the mosaic in area 53 in a room with a large rotunda known as the Temple of Apollo (Michael Donderer, "Il mosaico delle colombe di Sosos e la sua fortuna," in *Adriano: architettura e progetto*, ed. Soprintendenza Archeologica per Il Lazio, (Milano: Electa, 2000), 93). Charles-Louis Clerisseau's plan, however, gives us yet another findspot as he recorded a "finissimo ed eccellente mosaico" in room 15 (Fabrizio Slavazzi, "I mosaici di Monsignor Furietti: nuove notizie sul mosaico delle colombe di Villa Adriana," in *Atti del X colloquio dell'Associazione Italiana per lo studio e la conservazione del mosaico*, ed. Claudia Angelelli, (Tivoli: Scripta manent, 2005), 729).

The discovery of the mosaic garnered great excitement. In 1752, Cardinal Furietti published *De Musivis ad SS Patrem Benedictum XIV*, a book on the history of mosaics, which featured an engraving of the Doves of Pliny mosaic (Figure 107). Tourists were aware of this publication. For example, William Cadell wrote “this Mosaic was once in the possession of Cardinal Furietti, who published a description of it.”<sup>629</sup> Edward Burton also acknowledged Furietti’s publication when he wrote about the Doves of Pliny.<sup>630</sup> Through antiquarian publications and engravings, the news of the Doves of Pliny spread.<sup>631</sup> The mosaic was on display and accessible to guests of Furietti as early as 1739, when the Marchese Scipione Maffei came to Furietti’s residence to look at the finds of the excavation.<sup>632</sup> Archaeologist Carlo Fea’s description of the mosaic mentioned that it could be seen either at the Museo Capitolino or earlier at the house of Furietti, implying that it enjoyed a fair number of visitors while in Furietti’s possession.<sup>633</sup> Naturally, the mosaic found a much wider audience once it was installed at the Museo Capitolino after 1765.

The wealth of information disseminated about the mosaic reflected its popularity that took root in the eighteenth century because of its connection with ancient literature. As was typical during this period, there was a great yearning to connect artworks

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<sup>629</sup> Cadell, *A Journey to Carniola*, 415.

<sup>630</sup> Burton, *A Description of the Antiquities*, 137.

<sup>631</sup> Appearing even earlier than Furietti’s publication was a 1741 engraving in *Roma antica distinta per regioni* (Fausto Amidei, et. al. *Roma antica distinta per ragioni, seconodo l’empio di Sesto Rufo, Vittore, e Nardini*, (Roma: A spese di Gio. Lorenza Barbiellini Libraro a Pasquino, 1741), pl. 63). Many other publications in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries address the find of the Doves of Pliny, such as Piranesi’s plan of the villa in 1781, Bottari and Foggini’s 1782 *Del Museo Capitolino*, Carlo Fea’s 1790 *Miscellanea filologica*, and Nibby’s 1821 *Descrizione della Villa Adriana* (De Franceschini, *Villa Adriana*, 337).

<sup>632</sup> The President de Brosses (Charles de Brosses) and Pope Benedict XIV also visited the mosaic at Furietti’s residence (Slavazzi, “I mosaici,” 730).

discussed by ancient authors to those that survived into the present day or those recently unearthed. This is noted in travelers' accounts of classical sculptures, such as the Nile or the Laocöon in the Museo Pio-Clementino, when they excitedly recalled a connection to a work of art discussed by an ancient author.<sup>634</sup> When Furietti published the Doves of Pliny he connected it to a mosaic that the Roman historian, Pliny the Elder, described in his *Natural History*. Most often the mosaic was referred to as the Doves of Pliny, named after this passage in Pliny.

In this account Pliny discussed the famous Pergamene artist, Sosus, who made a mosaic depicting: "a dove also, greatly admired, in the act of drinking, and throwing the shadow of its head upon the water; while other birds are to be seen sunning and pluming themselves, on the margin of a drinking-bowl."<sup>635</sup> The association of the recently uncovered mosaic from Hadrian's Villa with this passage from Pliny is where it earned its name. The accounts of this mosaic by tourists emphasize the importance of its connection to Pliny as many recounted, in whole, the passage in which Pliny described the mosaic of Sosus.<sup>636</sup> George Head wrote of the undeniable connection of the mosaic to Pliny: "...[the Doves of Pliny mosaic] cannot fail to be recognized in a brief but peculiarly graphic description of Pliny."<sup>637</sup>

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<sup>633</sup> Carlo Fea, *Miscellanea Filologica Critica e Antiquaria dell'avvocato Carlo Fea*, (Rome: Nella Stamperia Pagliarini, 1790), Vol. I, CXXXXV.

<sup>634</sup> For example, Charlotte Eaton both wrote how about the artists whom Pliny attributed to the Laocöon and how Pliny described the statue of the Nile in the Vatican (Eaton, *Rome, in the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. I, 111 and 244).

<sup>635</sup> Plin. *HN*, XXVI.60.

<sup>636</sup> See, for example: Burton, *A Description of the Antiquities*, 137; Evans, *The Classic and the Connoisseur*, Vol. I, 447-8; Gillespie, *Rome: As Seen by a New Yorker*, 42. In addition to travelers who actually cited the passage in full, nearly all tourists at least connected the mosaic explicitly to the mosaic addressed in Pliny.

<sup>637</sup> George Head, *Rome: A Tour of Many Days*, Vol. II, (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1849), 20.

The Doves of Pliny micromosaic also had a powerful impact on the micromosaic industry. With its 150-160 tesserae per square inch, the Doves of Pliny reinvigorated excitement in the level of craftsmanship in ancient mosaic because of its superior quality. Furthermore, the small tesserae enhanced the illusion that the mosaic was like a painting. Tourists praised these aspects of the Doves of Pliny. J. Salmon, upon seeing the Doves of Pliny mosaic, noted that it was: “composed of stones so small as to be scarce discernible, or the whole distinguished from the most delicate painting.”<sup>638</sup> George Head recalled how it was “composed of very small pieces of coloured marble,” and Adelaide Harrington wrote that “the workmanship is so fine that one hundred and fifty stones can be counted in the space of a square inch.”<sup>639</sup> The travelers’ accounts demonstrated that in addition to the high level of skill needed to execute a mosaic with such small tesserae, the painting-like result of the minute tesserae was also praised.<sup>640</sup> Therefore, the small and dense tesserae of the ancient mosaic spurred onto popularity the burgeoning art of the micromosaic, which used tesserae on an even more minute scale than the Doves of Pliny mosaic.

Also interesting in illustrating the connections between the art of micromosaic and the Doves of Pliny is the fate of the outside border of the mosaic. This outer border would have surrounded the Doves of Pliny emblema leaving a white field of tesserae in between the two (Figure 108). When Monsignor Furietti excavated the mosaic, he removed the figural emblema and the border separately, a practice common in the

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<sup>638</sup> Salmon, *A Description of the Works*, 80.

<sup>639</sup> Head, *Rome*, 20. Adelaide L. Harrington, *The Afterglow of European Travel*, (Boston: D. Lothrop and Company, 1882), 180.

eighteenth century as I shall note with the mask mosaics also from Hadrian's Villa. He then proceeded to distribute the outer border amongst noted lovers and collectors of his day as tokens of the excavation.<sup>641</sup> Such reputed owners of fragments of this important relic included Cardinal Alessandro Albani, Winckelmann, and the Comte de Caylus.<sup>642</sup> This practice of distributing the mosaic to renowned antiquarians is indicative of the importance of the discovery. In a letter, Furietti wrote how he preserved some of the many fragmentary mosaics he found during excavations by setting them into a table.<sup>643</sup> Examples of tables with inset mosaics are illustrated in his *De Musivis* (Figure 109). Moreover, there were mosaic tables on display at the Museo Capitolino in the late eighteenth century as noted by the Marchese de Sade in his travel account.<sup>644</sup> A table in Berlin with a large fragment of the Doves of Pliny border incorporated into its top demonstrates how this system was also applied to the outer border of the Doves of Pliny mosaic. This table was a gift from Furietti to the Cardinal Alessandro Albani who later gave it to Frederick Augustus I of Saxony.<sup>645</sup> While we do not know the state of preservation of the Doves of Pliny mosaic upon its initial finding, we might assume that

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<sup>640</sup> Interestingly enough this painting-like mosaic was also displayed like one. Cardinal Furietti mounted it as a picture on the wall at Montecitorio and it is still displayed in this manner today at the Musei Capitolini (Slavazzi, "I mosaici," 730).

<sup>641</sup> Eugenio La Rocca, Claudio Parisi Presicce, and Annalisa Lo Monaco, *L'Età dell'equilibrio*, (Roma: Musei Capitolini, 2012), 302.

<sup>642</sup> Slavazzi, "I mosaici," 731. 9 fragments of the border are identified in museums in Berlin, The Hague, London, Munich, Paris, and Dresden.

<sup>643</sup> Slavazzi, "I mosaici," 731.

<sup>644</sup> Donatien Alphonse François Sade, *Viaggio in Italia*, Trans. Maurice Lever, (Torino: Bollati Boringhieri, 1996), 193). Quoted in Slavazzi, "I mosaici," 731.

<sup>645</sup> La Rocca, *L'Età*, 302.

the outer border, at any rate, was not well preserved since Furietti broke it into parts and set it into tables as he did other fragmentary mosaics.<sup>646</sup>

This practice of setting mosaics into tables finds an analogous practice in contemporary eighteenth-century micromosaic production. A specific example of the outer border of a mosaic that is translated into micromosaic on a table will be discussed when I address the mosaics of masks from Hadrian's Villa. Significantly, tables with inset micromosaic designs were often also given as diplomatic gifts just like Furietti gave the tables with inset ancient mosaics to noted people. Therefore, I would suggest that Furietti's contribution to the popularity of micromosaics went beyond finding the Doves of Pliny mosaic with its minutely sized tesserae since he also provided inspiration for, or bolstered, the fashion of setting mosaics into tabletops.<sup>647</sup>

Souvenirs depicting the Doves of Pliny proliferated in a range of media. The doves were reproduced on cameos,<sup>648</sup> ceramics,<sup>649</sup> pietre dure,<sup>650</sup> fans,<sup>651</sup> and gems.<sup>652</sup>

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<sup>646</sup> Fabrizio Slavazzi suggests that perhaps Albani had the Doves of Pliny mosaic restored by the Fabbrica di San Pietro since Furietti speaks so highly of the studio in his *De Musivis* (Slavazzi, "I mosaici," 731). If this did happen, then this presents interesting exposure of the micromosaicists of the Vatican to the antique mosaic.

<sup>647</sup> Another later nineteenth-century example of an ancient mosaic set into a tabletop comes from the excavation of the Tomb of the Scipios where a mosaic was set into two tables for Signore Pro Campana and displayed in his garden across the street from San Giovanni (Fondazione Antonio Negro, Archivio Raffaelli, Roma).

<sup>648</sup> A dispatch in *The Morning Post* stated that, "Fac-similies of this curious relic [Doves of Pliny] are made on shells, and sold at Rome..." ("Pliny's Doves," *The Morning Post* (London, England), Monday, December 20, 1824.).

<sup>649</sup> A cup produced by the Imperial Manufactory of Vienna in the Museo degli Argenti and Museo delle Porcellane of the Palazzo Pitti in Florence, Inv. Acc. N. 89 (Adreina d'Agliano and Luca Melegati eds., *Ricordi dell'Antico: sculture, porcellane e arredi all'epoca del Grand Tour*, (Milano: Silvana Editoriale, 2008), cat. 123).

<sup>650</sup> Pietre dure tabletop (Christie's South Kensington Ltd, *Antiquities and Souvenirs of the Grand Tour, Tuesday 19 May and Wednesday 20 May 1992*, n. 236). Tourist accounts suggest some confusion between mosaic and pietre dure as some travelers wrote of the pietre dure mosaic of the Doves of Pliny (Boyd, *A Guide*, 135; Mariana Starke, *Travels in Europe for the Use of Travelers on the Continent*, (Paris: A. and W. Gagliani, 1839), 157).

Furthermore, the mosaic was translated into three dimensions, which is attested both through documentary materials and physical objects.<sup>653</sup> The popularity of the Doves of Pliny was high, and this is illustrated nowhere better than micromosaics where the subject appears with great frequency (Figure 110 and Figure 111). The widespread nature of this subject on micromosaics is demonstrated by the tourist William Gillespie, who recalled how “the Mosaic of Pliny’s doves, [is] copied in miniature on half the breast-pins that you see.”<sup>654</sup>

The connection between micromosaics and the antique Doves of Pliny mosaic is also demonstrated by travel accounts. It is under discussions of the original Doves of Pliny mosaic in the Museo Capitolino that travelers most often bring up the topic of micromosaic objects.<sup>655</sup> All accounts discussed below derive from reminiscences on the Doves of Pliny mosaic while visiting the museum. An anonymous tourist wrote how s/he

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<sup>651</sup> 1780 fan from The Fan Museum in Greenwich (Wilton and Bignamini, *Grand Tour*, cat. 263); a fan from the Brighton Museum (*Fans and the Grand Tour*, 18), an eighteenth-century fan from the Metropolitan Museum of Art (38.91.107).

<sup>652</sup> Lucia Pirizio Biroli Stefanelli, *La collezione Paoletti: stampe in vetro per impronte di intagli e cammei*, Vol. II, (Roma: Gangemi Editore, 2012), tomo VIII, n. 215.

<sup>653</sup> Alabaster tazza of the birds (Sotheby’s Lot 419, October 5-7, 2010). James Cobbet wrote: “Among the antique productions of art found at Adrian’s Villa, is the original beautiful mosaic representing four doves perched on the rim of a vase, copies of which, in mosaic and in alabaster, we see in the shops of London” (Cobbett, *Journal of a Tour*, 264). George Head wrote that “people in all countries, from the numerous copies in sculpture which have been dispersed about the world, are quite familiar” with the Doves of Pliny mosaic (Head, *Rome*, Vol. II, 20). In a most interesting account on “Birds of Historical and Legendary Lore” for *Aunt Judy’s Magazine*, S.M. Gidley wrote: “A familiar object on the boards of sellers of plaster casts in our streets, is a vase, or tazza, on the edge of which some *doves* are perched to drink, which usually goes by the name of Pliny’s doves. The original, from which this design has been so incessantly copied in various materials, was mentioned by Pliny in his works; and is still to be seen in Rome, where one is almost disappointed to find it a flat mosaic against a wall, instead of an actual vase” (S.M. Gidley, “Birds of Historical and Legendary Lore,” *Aunt Judy’s Magazine* (London England), 546). This passage is fascinating for two reasons. First, it suggests that copies were actively peddled in London by 1849, as well as in Rome. Second, it highlights how travelers conditioned by the three-dimensional copy found the original two-dimensional mosaic disappointing.

<sup>654</sup> Gillespie, *Rome: As Seen by a New Yorker*, 42.

<sup>655</sup> Micromosaicists, as mentioned in the introduction of the dissertation, were often discussed in conjunction with accounts of St. Peter’s basilica, but tourists rarely discussed micromosaic objects here.

“brought home with me a small modern copy of this very subject [Doves of Pliny], certainly far better executed.”<sup>656</sup> George Hillard recalled how “this graceful composition is still popular, and constantly repeated by the mosaic workers of Rome, in diminished proportions.”<sup>657</sup> Adelaide Harrington wrote: “to think how we used to cherish our little mosaic breast-pins and bracelets! In Italy you walk over pavements of mosaic; entire walls and buildings are of the same costly work, and often passed by the hurrying crowds and glanced at as paintings.”<sup>658</sup> This passage is noteworthy for highlighting how micromosaics of the doves were valued because of the expensive nature of mosaic work.

The mosaic was one of the most popularly reproduced subjects on micromosaics, and micromosaicists were especially in tune with how visitors perceived the mosaic, modifying their compositions to align with this. This included inserting the reflection of the drinking dove to match Pliny’s description, adding illusionistic elements that referred to the unswept-floor mosaic also discussed by Pliny, and enhancing color in order to appeal to a sense of modern superiority.

The dove that bends down drinking is one of the main points made against recognizing the mosaic as the original of Sosus. Pliny stated that this bird “throw[s] the shadow of its head upon the water,” but this shadow is not seen anywhere in the mosaic from Hadrian’s Villa. In travel accounts tourists disputed whether the Doves of Pliny mosaic was the original mosaic that Pliny discussed or just a copy. Joseph Forsyth

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They typically only recalled the micromosaic paintings in the basilica and the actual studio practices of the Vatican workshop.

<sup>656</sup> Anonymous, *Mementoes*, 33. Given that s/he wrote first of the Doves of Pliny mosaic, then of modern micromosaicists and their products, and then of his/her souvenir, it is safe to assume this “small modern copy” referred to a micromosaic.

<sup>657</sup> Hillard, *Six Months in Rome*, Vol. I, 285.

<sup>658</sup> Harrington, *The Afterglow*, 180.

doubted that the mosaic was the original stating that it, “[is] still regarded here as the original of Sosus. If it really is that original...”<sup>659</sup> An anonymous traveler also conceded that “...though this one in question is more probably an antique and valuable copy than the original...”<sup>660</sup> There was no accord on the issue as Edward Burton described it: “This mosaic has excited considerable controversy. Pliny, where he is mentioning the perfection to which the art of mosaic had been carried, describes a specimen of it, as being peculiarly excellent, which bears some resemblance to this. Many, however, do not allow it to be the same; and certainly the resemblance is not sufficient to convince.”<sup>661</sup> Some tourists accepted with no hesitation the idea that this mosaic was the one Pliny wrote about. George Evans recalled, “...this mosaic, which is in excellent preservation, agrees exactly with Pliny’s description of the original of Sosus in the temple of Pergamus.”<sup>662</sup> William Gillespie, for example, wrote “it is beyond doubt the identical work described by Pliny.”<sup>663</sup> Of importance is that the dates of these travelers’ comments do not reflect a specific turning point in time for thinking whether the mosaic was or was not the original of Pliny.

Most early micromosaics, especially those of noted micromosaicist Giacomo Raffaelli, do not depict any sort of shadow, as the original from Hadrian’s Villa, since they tend to be fairly faithful copies from the original mosaic (Figure 110 and Figure 111). Nor does the engraving associated with Furietti’s *De Musivis* have an added shadow. Amidei Fausto’s publication did produce an engraving with an added shadow; however,

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<sup>659</sup> Forsyth, *Remarks on Antiquity*, 117.

<sup>660</sup> Anonymous, *Mementoes*, 33.

<sup>661</sup> Burton, *A Description*, 136-7.

<sup>662</sup> Evans, *The Classic and Connoisseur*, Vol. I, 447.

<sup>663</sup> Gillespie, *Rome: As Seen by a New Yorker*, 42.

the reflection is not in the water below as dictated by Pliny, but is rather reflected behind the bird (Figure 112).<sup>664</sup> As the market evolved changes were introduced to the subject on micromosaics.

Micromosaics dating to the first decades of the 1800s rectified the matter and almost always included a reflection of the bird's head in the water (Figure 113). Why was this done when the mosaic from Hadrian's Villa includes no such shadow or reflection? This addition is not present on other souvenirs or prints and therefore seems to be an innovation specific to micromosaics. This very deliberate act of displaying the bird's shadow in the water on micromosaics was a way of smoothing over the inconsistencies between the account of Pliny and the mosaic found at Hadrian's Villa. In other words, micromosaicists gave tourists a fuller version of antiquity, much in the same way that incomplete ancient statues were enhanced with additions to make them complete, and thus more desirable to viewers and purchasers.<sup>665</sup> Therefore, the tourist was given an idealistic experience of the mosaic that now matched precisely the description given by Pliny. In this way, then, controversy over the identification of the mosaic with Pliny's account was solved, and the tourist, in purchasing such a representation, modified his or her own experience of the mosaic to match the description of the famed ancient mosaic of Sosus. This innovation not only distinguished micromosaics with the reflection from the

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<sup>664</sup> Amidei, *Roma antica*, pl. 63.

<sup>665</sup> An interesting example is the Red Faun found at Hadrian's Villa that was restored by Bartolomeo Cavaceppi and Clemente Bianchi. The sculpture was quite fragmentary when it was found with only the trunk, head, and fruit of the sculpture surviving. Bianchi and Cavaceppi restored it adding additional details, such as a shepherd's pipe, goat, and basket- implements that would be appropriate to a satyr. These were added to create additional appeal (Nancy Ramage, "Restorer and Collector: Notes on Eighteenth-Century Recreations of Roman Statues," in *The Ancient Art of Emulation: Studies in Artistic Originality and Tradition from the Present to Classical Antiquity*, ed. Elaine K. Gazda, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002), 64-5).

sea of micromosaics without it, but also, and more importantly, from other souvenirs, such as gems, that could not depict this as easily.

Another common variation introduced to the Doves of Pliny micromosaic in the mid nineteenth century is an anomaly not included on the original. Below the bird preening itself, there are feathers resting on the pedestal that supports the vessel, presumably having just fallen from the bird (Figure 114). In some instances there are also round seed-like objects in addition to feathers (Figure 115). This attention to realism and illusion is striking. I would suggest that this addition of feathers and seeds related to Sosus' "unswept-floor" mosaic, a famed mosaic also noted by Pliny in the same passage where he described the dove mosaic (Figure 116). Pliny praised the illusionistic qualities of Sosus' unswept-floor mosaic: "the remnants of a banquet lying upon the pavement, and other things which are usually swept away with the broom, they having all the appearance of being left there by accident."<sup>666</sup>

The unswept-floor mosaic was discovered in 1833 in the Vigna Lupi on the Aventine Hill, which was connected with the Horti Serviliani. The mosaic was quite fragmentary and was missing its central emblema due to a later wall that cut through the mosaic.<sup>667</sup> Following its excavation, the mosaic was acquired for the pontifical museums.<sup>668</sup> The discovery provoked great excitement as it was immediately connected to Sosus of Pergamon through Pliny's history. In the initial announcement of this find in the *Bullettino dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* in 1833, Bunsen wrote:

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<sup>666</sup> Plin. *HN*, XXXVI.60.

<sup>667</sup> Wolfgang Helbig, *Guide to the Public Collections of Classical Antiquities in Rome*, Vol. I, trans. James F. and Findlay Muirhead, (Leipsc: Karl Baedeker, 1895), 512.

“...il centro del mosaico per avere la prova materiale che in questo pavimento ci fosse conservata la esatta copia di quell famoso lavoro di Soso; dove allora pur dovrebbero trovarsi le colombe Capitoline, se realmente esse sono la copia fedele tratta dallo stesso originale..”<sup>669</sup> The London *Morning Post* included an announcement of the discovery in 1833 of the unswept-floor mosaic: “Pliny states that two doves on a vase were represented on the mosaic, but this part of the work has been damaged by the construction of a wall near the place where it was deposited.”<sup>670</sup> Both of these accounts insert the Doves of Pliny mosaic into the space of the missing emblema in the unswept-floor mosaic. A tapestry connects the idea that these two mosaics were associated with one another. In 1851 the Ospizio Apostolico di S. Michele requested the design of the mosaic from the Ministry of Commerce in order to make a tapestry that reproduced the mosaic (Figure 117).<sup>671</sup> This tapestry is intriguing because it inserts the Doves of Pliny mosaic into the missing emblema space of the unswept-floor mosaic reconstructing the mosaics as they originally might have appeared together.<sup>672</sup> Thus, there was widespread acknowledgement that the two mosaics of Sosus belonged together.

Micromosaicists themselves also had connections with the unswept-floor mosaic. Nicola Roccheggiani and Francesco Fantuzzi, supervised by Francesco Keck, were involved in the lifting of the mosaic and its conservation. Of significance is that both

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<sup>668</sup> It went to the Lateran museum from 1846 until it was returned to Vatican again in 1963 (Alessandra Uncini, “Il rapporto con I Musei Pontifici,” *Bollettino- Monumenti, musei e gallerie pontificie* 10 (1990): 170-1).

<sup>669</sup> C. Bunsen, “Scoprimento di un mosaico nella Vigna Lupi, incontro il bastione di S. Gallo a Roma,” *Bullettino dell’Istituto di Corrsipondennza Archeologica* (1833): 83.

<sup>670</sup> “Fashionable World.” *The Morning Post* (London, England), Thursday, August 08, 1833.

<sup>671</sup> Anna Maria De Strobel, “L’arazzeria di San Michele tra il settecento e l’ottocento: attraverso le opere delle collezioni vaticane,” in *Arte e artigianato nella Roma di Belli*, ed. Laura Biancini and Franco Onorati, (Roma: Editore Colombo, 1998), 152-3, fig. 14.

Roccheggiani and Fantuzzi were micromosaicists; Roccheggiani worked for the Fabbrica di San Pietro and Fantuzzi with the studio of Signore Marini in Rome. This demonstrates that micromosaicists had access to the mosaic and we can therefore assume that others did as well. This familiarity explains additional illusionistic qualities that appear in micromosaics featuring the Doves of Pliny.

Given this deeply engrained connection between the two mosaics of Sosus, I would propose that the seeds and feathers that appear in Doves of Pliny micromosaics were based on the illusionistic qualities of Sosus's unswept-floor mosaic. The introduction of this modification in mid- to late nineteenth-century micromosaics correlated with the discovery, and ensuing excitement, of the unswept-floor mosaic. The subtle reference of the seeds and feathers to the literary record of Sosus by Pliny is not surprising given how micromosaicists already had presumed tourists' familiarity with this account by including the reflection of the bird's face. In this way, the two mosaics of Sosus were conflated and provided the tourist not only with a more complete experience of Sosus, but also a chance to showcase their learnedness of Pliny's account when showing off their souvenirs back home. Therefore, these micromosaics with illusionistic seeds and feathers were aimed towards pleasing the purchaser.

While the addition of the dove's shadow to the bird was quite common, changes from the original color also proved equally popular on micromosaics. Late eighteenth-century micromosaics were restrained in their coloring, and faithful to the original, such as those by Giacomo Raffaelli. They used browns, beiges, and white to represent the birds. In later nineteenth-century representations, however, the colors of the doves

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<sup>672</sup> The tapestry was displayed at the Floreria Apostolica until 1935 when it entered the Musei Vaticani

drastically differ from one micromosaic to another, as well as other colors in the mosaic, such as the background and hue of the water in the bowl (Figure 118 and Figure 119). In general, the colors chosen are significantly brighter than the original mosaic including the use of blue and purple tones; the ever-increasing number of colors that became available to micromosaicists, in part, inspired this.<sup>673</sup> Additionally, there is no doubt that these different gradations of color appealed to the aesthetics of tourists purchasing these items, especially since they praised the coloring and modeling of the original.<sup>674</sup> William Gillespie wrote that, “the colors are very sober and harmonious.”<sup>675</sup> In a magazine article about birds in art, Julien Armstrong wrote: “The soft coloring and the remarkable skill with which the glancing lights and shadows on the plumage have been depicted by the artist makes this mosaic well worthy of its great reputation.”<sup>676</sup>

Often when discussing the Doves of Pliny mosaic, travelers connected ancient and modern mosaic making. Joseph Forsyth observed that, “I have mentioned that the ancients used Mosaics, but it is to be remembered that they had not the art of making and staining stone; they used only natural marble, &c. which did not furnish them with the same quantity of shades the moderns are possessed of, and, consequently, their colouring was less perfect” and that the “ancients are now excelled in the art of tessellation [by

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(Uncini, “Il rapporto,” 171).

<sup>673</sup> In the mid-eighteenth century Alessio Mattioli discovered how to tint the opaque glass used for making the tesserae, which freed the Vatican from reliance on the shades of color from Venice (Rudoe, “Mosaico in Piccolo,” 28; Branchetti, “L’Arte del mosaico minuto,” 21). The ever increasing number of tints can be witnessed by documents in the Reverenda Fabbrica that record 15,326 tints available in 1816 (Archivio Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro. Sistema allo Studio de Mosaico della Fabbrica...1816 Armadio 98 C33) and this number continues to grow to over 18,000 in 1838 (Archivio Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro. Nuovo Regolamento 15 Maggio 1838 Armadio 12 G14). The growing number of tints is thanks to a new technique, *malmischiato*, which was discussed in the introduction.

<sup>674</sup> Julien Armstrong, “Birds in Art,” *The Selbourne Magazine*, 1890, 73.

<sup>675</sup> Gillespie, *Rome as Seen by a New Yorker*, 42.

<sup>676</sup> Armstrong, “Birds in Art,” 73.

us].”<sup>677</sup> Jane Waldie recalled how, “[mosaic] is probably carried to greater perfection in the modern than in the ancient world... The mosaic pavements that have been discovered there and elsewhere, are some of them extremely beautiful; but the greater part are certainly very inferior to the productions of the present day...”<sup>678</sup> Edward Burton more forwardly stated that, “we might at least learn one fact,- that the moderns excel the ancients in the art of Mosaic.”<sup>679</sup> George Evans wrote similarly that, “if this of the Capitol be really the original mentioned by Pliny, his admiration of the work only shews how greatly the ancients are now excelled in the art of tessellation.”<sup>680</sup> All of these accounts underscore how prevalent the idea of the superiority of modern mosaic making was over ancient mosaic, despite the excellence of antique mosaicists, such as Sosus. I would suggest that micromosaics served as a platform through which contemporary micromosaicists could demonstrate their superior use of color over ancient artists. Therefore, the augmented coloring and modeling in the micromosaics above all appealed to tourists’ perceived superiority of contemporary mosaic making over the ancient practice.

Especially interesting in relation to this idea of modern superiority is the Studio del Mosaico Vaticano’s views on this same subject. The studio saw color as an extremely important component to the success of their mosaic making. In spelling out the most critical qualities of micromosaicists, the Fabbrica dictated that the work of mosaic, “...benefatto obbligare di due parti della intelligente, cio, e della mecanica [their

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<sup>677</sup> Forsyth, *Remarks on Antiquities*, 58; 117.

<sup>678</sup> Waldie, *Sketches Descriptive of Italy*, Vol. II, 263.

<sup>679</sup> Burton, *A Description of Antiquities*, 137.

<sup>680</sup> Evans, *The Classic and Connoisseur*, Vol. I, 447-8.

emphasis]” and that “La parte intelligente comesta del disegnare a colori bene.”<sup>681</sup>

Therefore, the studio saw color as an integral part of the intelligence they expected their mosaicists to exhibit. Most explicit, however, is how they also boasted of their technological advances in color over the ancient Romans:

Lo studio Romano del Mosaico, la calla, e lo sviluppo di quell’arte imitatrice che con le sue opere ha così magnificamente decorato l’augusto Tempio Vaticano, eternando tante produzioni d’immortali Pennelli, quest’arte che esclusivamente possiede la Città di Roma deve tutta la sua celebrità al pontefice. Gli antichi ne gettarono è vero i fondamenti ma non la portarono a quella perfezione a cui li moderni artisti l’hanno condotta creando per fino di nuovi più analoghi materiali, onde elevare questo vanto delle belle arti al punto di formarne l’imitazione la più prossima possibile della Pittura. Li Romani in fatti, se debbarci giudicare dai monumenti, che ci restano limitarono il mosaico agli pavimenti, e le famose colombe così encomiate da Plinio ci provano abbastanza, che quest’arte era ben lungi da quei progressi, che ora vi si ammirano e siccome una delle ragioni di questa limitazione era certamente la ristrettezza quanti la delle tinte, che presentano le pietre colorate, con cui gli antichi eseguivano tali opere, in conseguenza i moderni con l’aiuto della chimica cercarono e felicemente rinvennero nei smalti l’immensa quantità delle diverse degradazioni che abbisognano per imitare più difficil impasti della Pittura.<sup>682</sup>

This passage is fascinating because it parallels the same type of thought that we see in tourists’ accounts. First, the studio equated micromosaic works of art with paintings.

Second, they evoked the Doves of Pliny in their comparison of antique and modern

mosaics, just as travelers did. The studio explained how the mosaic, while admirable for

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<sup>681</sup> L’Archivio Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro. Armadio 52, F319. 1821.

<sup>682</sup> L’Archivio Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro, Armadio 12, G14c, F583. 1758-1817. “The Roman Studio of Mosaic and the development of this imitative art which with its works have so magnificently decorated the august Vatican Temple, by eternalizing productions of such immortal brushes, this art that is exclusively possessed by the City of Rome owes all its celebrity to the pontifex. The ancients had established the fundamentals it is true, but they did not bring it to this perfection to which modern artists have led it having created even some new rather similar materials, from which to elevate this range of fine arts to make the closest most possible imitation of a picture. The Romans, in fact, if we should judge from the monuments that remain, that limited mosaic to pavement floors, and the famous doves so commended by Pliny prove that sufficiently; this art was far from these advances that we now admire, and since one of the reasons for this limitation was certainly the restriction of the number of tints, that were present in colored stones, with which the ancients made such works, as a consequence, the moderns with help of chemicals searched and happily found in the smalti a quantity of diverse grades that are necessary for the imitation of the most difficult paintings of pictures.”

the time, was far removed from the contemporary advances of mosaic making. Lastly, this passage is so significant for illustrating the importance of modern superiority over ancient mosaicists. The studio credited technological advances, all of which importantly related to color, for their ability to create superior compositions. Therefore, color was a platform through which micromosaicists demonstrated this superiority that was expected by tourists.

Charlotte Eaton's account of micromosaicists almost exactly parallels this document from the Studio del Mosaico Vaticano. Eaton wrote how: "Mosaic, though an ancient art, is not merely a revived, but an improved one; for the Romans chiefly used coloured marbles, or natural stones, in their mosaics; and although they appear to have also had the knowledge of some sort of composition, it admitted of comparatively little variety; but the invention of smalts has given it a far wider range, and made the imitation of painting far closer."<sup>683</sup> This accordance of thought between the Fabbrica di San Pietro and tourists suggests that micromosaicists were well attuned to what qualities a tourist looked for in a souvenir. The use of superior coloring in souvenirs demonstrated by the Doves of Pliny micromosaics illustrates Jules-Rosette's work on how souvenirs function as a bridge of cultures. Both tourists visiting Italy, and the Italian producers who made their souvenirs, touted the superiority of modern mosaic making. The micromosaic souvenir of the Doves of Pliny was a symbol of this shared belief.

Micromosaic souvenirs of the Doves of Pliny also had such huge appeal, in part, because of their status as miniatures. This was something that travelers duly noted in their discussions of micromosaics in conjunction with the Doves of Pliny mosaic.

Nineteenth-century papal historian Gaetano Moroni wrote how superior modern craftsmanship was to be able to miniaturize the Doves of Pliny:

Mediante simili ritrovati risulta una superiorità di mezzi per eseguire i mosaici, che furono certamente sconosciuti dagli antichi, per cui si dovrebbe supporre che tale arte sia giunta ora alla sua perfezione, e prova ne sia la tazza detta delle palombe illustrata da Plinio, e più particolarmente dal summentovato cardinal Furietti, dicendo con enfasi che in un pollice quadrato di quel mosaico, ora esistente in Campidoglio, vi si contano 163 pietruzze, *mentre oggi si eseguisce la tazza intieri con i quattro piccioni in meno del detto pollice quadrato...* [my emphasis]<sup>684</sup>

Moroni emphasizes how mosaicists today can fit the entire subject into just a single square inch, unlike the original composition that contained 163 tesserae per square inch.

Tourists also took note of the miniature size of the tesserae. For example, Jane Waldie wrote: “The art [of mosaic] is now practiced much more minutely [than the Doves of Pliny mosaic]; and is so admirably executed, that it frequently requires the best sight to discover the joinings of the pieces.”<sup>685</sup> The souvenir, as Waldie expounded, was a miniature of a miniature. The Doves of Pliny micromosaic miniaturized the already minute tesserae employed in the Doves of Pliny mosaic from Hadrian’s Villa.

Micromosaicists capitalized on a market that saw fascination with the miniature.

The miniature had such appeal because it operated in another world; as Susan Stewart advocates there is no miniature in nature, and it therefore is a cultural product that does not attach itself to a lived historical time. The miniature offered the purchaser

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<sup>683</sup> Eaton, *Rome, in the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. I, 311.

<sup>684</sup> Moroni, “Mosaico,” 78. “Through similar inventions we found results using a superior means to execute the mosaics, which were certainly not known by the ancients, for which one could suppose that such art has now arrived at its state of perfection, and let proof of that be the cup called that of the doves illustrated by Pliny, and more particularly by the above mentioned Cardinal Furietti, who said that in a square inch of the mosaic, now existing in the Campidoglio, there are 163 stones, while today one executes the entire cup with its four pigeons in less than a square inch.”

<sup>685</sup> Waldie, *Sketches Descriptive of Italy*, Vol. II, 263.

an alternative moment in which time and space were skewed into an infinite reverie.<sup>686</sup>

The infinity of the reverie corresponded well with a souvenir that was meant to memorialize and transport to a past time. Anthropologist Katrin Flechsig, in her study on miniature palm weaving in Mexico, summarizes this “other” time: “the reduced scale affords a refuge from the impersonal and menacing vastness of historical, political, and natural cataclysms perceived as being beyond human control.”<sup>687</sup> The miniature Doves of Pliny micromosaics offered purchasers an alternative way to remember their experience of the antique mosaic.

Through her fieldwork, Flechsig concludes that miniature palm weaving originated from the pressures of the tourist market, and this is something that is also noted in the micromosaic industry. Consumers liked the miniature palm figurines because they appeared to require greater skill and patience. Additionally, purchasers believed that miniature palm weaving had evolved from a prehispanic tradition and was therefore part of the national legacy. The craftsmen, thus, needed “consumers to believe in a romantic version of the history and significance of miniatures.”<sup>688</sup> Likewise, tourists, excited by the minute tesserae of the Doves of Pliny, were eager to purchase miniature mosaics from highly skilled, contemporary artists because of this perceived connection with antiquity. For example, Waldie connected contemporary mosaic making to its antique roots when she wrote: “Mosaic is, as I suppose every one knows, a revived

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<sup>686</sup> Stewart, *On Longing*, 55-65.

<sup>687</sup> Katrin S. Flechsig, *Miniature Crafts and their Makers: Palm Weaving in a Mexican Town*, (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2004), 4.

<sup>688</sup> Flechsig, *Miniature Crafts*, 93-101; 176.

art.”<sup>689</sup> Thus, we can observe the ways in which the market drove the popularity of the Doves of Pliny micromosaics.

Micromosaics depicting the Doves of Pliny are especially fruitful objects with which to investigate how micromosaicists modified souvenirs to appeal to tourists. The Doves of Pliny was a subject of great interest to tourists and a platform through which they could discuss micromosaics. This is thanks to the close tie between the small tesserae of the mosaic and the even more minute tesserae of micromosaics. The Doves of Pliny mosaic and micromosaics were intricately related and both helped boost the status of the other. One micromosaic of the Doves of Pliny that most encapsulates the spirit of the souvenir industry copies the original almost exactly except that it includes both the reflection of the bird and more vibrant color variations in the plumage, additions that a tourist would find satisfying (Figure 120). However, the most interesting addition is a plaque with the passage of Pliny where he describes the dove mosaic of Sosus. In the case of this micromosaic, the connection is made explicitly with text and image united. A souvenir such as this appealed to tourists who would walk away with a modified marker of their experience of the ancient mosaic that would align with their sensibilities.

### **Mosaic of Flowers in a Basket**

Another ancient mosaic discovered in the late eighteenth century also generated great excitement, as is reflected in the micromosaic industry. This mosaic depicts a basket of flowers and was found at the Villa dei Quintilii, located on the Via Appia in the area of Rome then known as Roma Vecchia (Figure 121). Ferdinando Lisandroni (1735-

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<sup>689</sup> Waldie, *Sketches Descriptive of Italy*, Vol. II, 263.

1811) uncovered it in 1791 under the excavations of Vincenzo Pezzolli, and the mosaic was almost immediately transferred to the Sala della Croce Greca of the Pio-Clementino Museum in 1792 and then later to the Museo Gregoriano.<sup>690</sup> The mosaic, while not tied to the excavations of Hadrian's Villa, is closely related to the Doves of Pliny since the Villa dei Quintilii mosaic assimilated properties of the Doves of Pliny, as discussed below. The mosaic had a large impact on the subjects of the micromosaic industry as it was translated onto many micromosaic souvenirs, being one of the most popular subjects alongside the Doves of Pliny. It was modified on micromosaics to more closely relate to both Dutch floral still lifes and the Doves of Pliny mosaic.

There is one critical caveat to the discovery of this ancient mosaic that must be addressed before turning to micromosaics; namely, that the mosaic is not actually ancient. However, its authenticity was never actually questioned during the period of the Grand Tour. The exact findspot of the mosaic is unclear in records. While it was traditionally ascribed to the Villa of Quintilii, the provenance listed by Pasquale Massi is vague and comes from Ferdinando Lisandroni.<sup>691</sup> Instead, art historian Klaus Werner proposes that this mosaic was commissioned by Ferdinando Lisandroni using tesserae from a mosaic that he found at the Villa dei Quintilii in June of 1791.<sup>692</sup> He wrote to the Reverenda Camera Apostolica, the papal treasury, about the cost of raising pavements and about the

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<sup>690</sup> Andreina Ricci, *La villa dei Quintili: fonti scritte e fonti figurate*, (Roma: Lithos editrice, 1998), 122.

<sup>691</sup> Christoph Börker, "Zum Blumenkorb-Mosaik im Vatikan," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1978): 448. Pasquale Massi, *Indicazione Antiquaria del Pontificio Museo Pio-Clementino in Vaticano*, (Rome: Presso i Lazzarini, 1792).

<sup>692</sup> The tesserae probably are those of the dark background on the mosaic, which, as Börker demonstrates, were square unlike the tesserae that were associated with the flower and basket and ground which were mostly long and narrow (Börker, "Zum Blumenkorb," 444).

production of tabletops with inlays of mosaic.<sup>693</sup> He then had six tables made that were intended for the collection of Henry Blundell at Ince in Liverpool. Werner suggests that he could have easily had this basket of flowers made at the same time.<sup>694</sup>

Art historians Christoph Börker and Klaus Werner make convincing stylistic arguments for a late eighteenth-century date for the mosaic. They cite the minute and regularly rectangular size of the tesserae, the use of modern colors, and details in the flower types.<sup>695</sup> The coloring of this mosaic is more in keeping with modern coloring, corresponding to bold Dutch flower paintings. Tulips and a lily included in the basket exclude a second-century CE origin of the mosaic since these flowers were not known in Italy until the sixteenth century. Moreover, a comparison of the types of flowers, and their arrangement, betray similarities with Dutch flower paintings. Similar types of flora are often included in Dutch compositions: cabbage roses, hyacinths, and tulips. The cabbage rose, often included in garden landscapes, became especially popular to include in floral compositions beginning in the eighteenth century.<sup>696</sup> Börker asserts that while parallels can be found for the vibrant colors and floating ground, no such floral arrangements were known in antiquity.<sup>697</sup> The arrangement of flowers in an open work, woven basket, as in the Villa dei Quintilii mosaic, was common to Dutch floral still lifes

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<sup>693</sup> This is an interesting parallel to the practice of Furietti who turned mosaic into tables and suggests that it was a widespread practice.

<sup>694</sup> Klaus E. Werner, *Die Sammlung antiker Mosaiken in den Vatikanischen Museen*, (Città del Vaticano: Monumenti Musei e Gallerie Pontificie, 1998), 172-3.

<sup>695</sup> Börker, "Zum Blumenkorb," 444-5. Werner, *Die Sammlung*, 172.

<sup>696</sup> Sam Segal, *A Flowery Past: A Survey of Dutch and Flemish flower Painting from 1600 until the Present*, (Amsterdam: Gallery P. de Boer, 1982), 61. In addition, Marie-Antoinette enjoyed cabbage roses, as evidenced by portraits of the queen holding a cabbage rose (*Marie-Antoinette dit "à la Rose"* by Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun in 1783 in the Palace of Versailles or *Marie-Antoinette en chemise* also by Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun in 1783).

<sup>697</sup> Börker, "Zum Blumenkorb," 445.

(Figure 122 and Figure 123).<sup>698</sup> Like other Dutch paintings of flowers in baskets, the composition of the flowers emphasizes horizontality, rather than the verticality of bouquets in vases. The tulip at the right and the pink cabbage rose in the center of the composition leans downward from the basket in a practice that is typical of Dutch compositions. The mosaic's origin in the late eighteenth century was likely propelled by the popularity of Dutch floral still lifes since the mosaic borrows heavily from the style and format of Dutch flower paintings.<sup>699</sup> Dutch art became increasingly popular during the years of the Grand Tour as noted by art collectors, art critics, and artists. During the late eighteenth century, the atmosphere was prime for the creation of this flower basket mosaic that harnessed the color, detail, and form of Dutch floral paintings.<sup>700</sup>

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<sup>698</sup> See, for example, works of Jan Van Huysum such as *Fruits and Flowers* in the Teylers Museum in Haarlem (Sam Segal, *The Temptations of Flora: Jan Van Huysum, 1682-1749*, (Delft: Waanders Uitgevers Zwolle, 2007), cat. F27) or his 1733 *Roses and Other Flowers in an Open-weave Basket* in the Noortman Master Paintings in Maastricht (Segal, *The Temptations of Flora*, cat. F37), Coenraet Roepel's 1726 painting *A Basket of Flowers on a Stone Pedestal with Fruit and a Mouse* in the Heinz Family Collection in Washington DC (Segal, *The Temptations of Flora*, cat. C5), *Basket of Flowers* by Balthasar van der Ast in the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge (Paul Taylor, *Dutch Flower Painting: 1600-1720*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995), fig. 53), or an eighteenth-century print (Gordon Dunthorne, *Flower & Fruit Prints of the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> Centuries*, (New York: Da Capo Press, 1970), 136).

<sup>699</sup> Börker, "Zum Blumenkorb," 445-6.

<sup>700</sup> Considering many tourists came from Northern Europe or travelled through Northern Europe before arriving in Italy, they were familiar with the iconography. Increasingly travelers were drawn to Holland to visit collections of the Dutch school of painting in the eighteenth century (Hugh Dunthorne, "British Travellers in Eighteenth-Century Holland: Tourism and the Appreciation of Dutch Culture," *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 5 (1982): 79-81). As evidenced by guidebooks that list flower paintings on display in museums outside of Italy, such as in Amsterdam, but also in Italian museums, such as in Turin or Florence, still lifes were amongst the artworks visited by tourists. For example, the Uffizi boasted flower paintings by both Rachel Ruysch and Jan Van Huysum, who were noted Dutch flower painters (Karl Baedeker, *Italy, Handbook for Travellers: First Part, Northern Italy*, Vol. I, (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1899), 433). In a study on the reception of Dutch art in England, art historian Harry Mount demonstrates how there was an upsurge in the collecting of Dutch art beginning in the late eighteenth century because of a reappraisal of Dutch qualities, such as color and minute finish, that were once scorned (Harry Thomas Mount, "The Reception of Dutch Genre Painting in England, 1695-1829," (PhD diss., Corpus Christi College, 1991), 113-172). Art historian Colin Bailey also notes this same trend with French collectors. By the mid-eighteenth century, Dutch and Flemish painting were collectively favored and by the late eighteenth century those paintings sold for extremely high prices (Colin B. Bailey, *Patriotic Taste: Collecting Modern Art in Pre-Revolutionary Paris*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), 18-20). Travelers valued the picturesque qualities they anachronistically noted in Dutch art and praised the technical mastery and extraordinary realism of the paintings (Dunthorne, "British Travellers," 81). Art

Given the Villa dei Quintilli's widespread reproduction on micromosaics, it is interesting that few travelers wrote about it and that it rarely appears on souvenirs other than micromosaics.<sup>701</sup> Travel guides that describe the mosaic state simply that it was found at Roma Vecchia, as the stretch of the Via Appia was once known.<sup>702</sup> Therefore, it is important that we can assume that this mosaic's authenticity was not questioned during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and it was accepted as an antique mosaic. Regardless of this relative silence in travel accounts, the mosaic was reproduced with great vigor on micromosaics, and I posit that this is because of two reasons. First, its popularity stemmed from its reference to Dutch floral images and its adaptability that allowed it to be combined with other motifs. Micromosaicists capitalized on the appeal of the Dutch floral still life in their modifications of the Villa dei Quintilii mosaic; they injected variety into micromosaic compositions by adding naturalistic details and transforming the basket into a vase. Second, I will demonstrate how micromosaicists themselves likely drove the popularity of the motif.

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historian Sam Segal demonstrates how the floral paintings of Jan Van Huysum were extremely popular in the eighteenth century because of his skills in arranging flowers that relayed knowledge of drawing and perspective and his use of color and light that evoked realism and elevated the art of still life (Segal, *The Temptations of Flora*, 75-78). Dutch art also circulated via prints, as noted by Van Huysum's paintings in print circulation (Jan Van Huysum, *Flower Piece*, 1778 printed by Richard Earlom in Dunthorne, *Flower & Fruit*, 164). The increased popularity of Dutch art found expression in collections, such as smaller cabinets or rooms devoted to Dutch paintings often found in the houses of eighteenth-century art collectors. For example, the painting *Sir Lawrence Dundas and his Grandson in the Pillar Room at 19 Arlington Street*, painted by Johan Zoffany in 1769 (Aske Hall, Marquess of Zetland collection) shows Dundas surrounded by Dutch masterpieces that he collected (Gervase Jackson-Stops, ed., *The Treasure Houses of Britain: Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985), cat. 281). Collectors were also interested in floral paintings, as is demonstrated by James West's acquisition of a Rachel Ruysch floral still life in the mid-eighteenth century (Jackson-Stops, *The Treasure Houses*, 369).

<sup>701</sup> One exception is a depiction on a Meissen porcelain snuffbox in the Museo Nazionale della Ceramica Duca di Martina (Inv. N. 2803) (*Galanterie: oggetti di lusso e di piacere in Europa fra Settecento e Ottocento*, (Napoli: Electa Napoli, 1997), 1.16).

<sup>702</sup> Emil Braun, *The Ruins and Museums of Rome: A Guide Book for Travellers, Artists and Lovers of Antiquity*, (Brunswick: Frederick Vieweg and Son, 1854), 271. Massi, *Indicazione*, 124. Helbig, *Guide*, 229.

Most striking with micromosaics depicting the basket of flowers from the Villa dei Quintilii is the lack of exact copying. While many micromosaics were made in the spirit of the original, the arrangement and colors of the flowers differ from example to example. Even in a necklace with several medallions of baskets of flowers, no floral arrangement is quite the same (Figure 124). In much the same way as color was used with the birds of the Doves of Pliny mosaic, micromosaicists appealed to the taste for superior technology and skill of the modern art of mosaic making with this mosaic as well. This was an avenue through which micromosaicists could express artistic creativity. In fact, this artistic skill was praised in the original mosaic as Lucy Culler noted that, “the arrangement of buds, blossoms, and leaves displays rare taste and artistic skill.”<sup>703</sup> Similar observations were made in the guidebooks of the period. For example, Wolfgang Helbig’s *Guide to the Public Collections of Classical Antiquities in Rome*, notes that its “technique is finer than that of the mosaic from Tusculum and the colouring is also finely harmonized.”<sup>704</sup> The myriad ways in which the flowers were arranged, chosen, and colored in the basket strongly appealed to the traveler’s taste for modern mosaic making (Figure 125 through Figure 127).

Micromosaicists made another appeal to Dutch flower paintings through the inclusion of additional elements from Dutch still life paintings to the Villa dei Quintilii mosaic; this included tables, insects and animals, and fruit. For example, several micromosaicists removed the basket of flowers from its resting space on the earth and

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<sup>703</sup> Lucy Yeend Culler, *Europe, through a Woman’s Eye*, (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1883), 71.

<sup>704</sup> Helbig, *Guide*, 229.

grass and placed it on a tabletop, a practice typical in Dutch still lifes (Figure 126).<sup>705</sup>

Micromosaicists also added naturalistic elements into the paintings, taking cue from Dutch floral still lifes. They augmented their flower baskets with lizards, flies, bird's nests, and butterflies (Figure 128 through Figure 129). All of these additions adhered to the standard iconography of Dutch floral still lifes (Figure 130).<sup>706</sup> Lastly, fruits, such as grapes, were sometimes also included in micromosaics that adapted the Villa dei Quintilii mosaic (Figure 131).<sup>707</sup> Best summarizing some of the modifications on the Villa dei Quintilii mosaic is a large micromosaic picture that depicts a basket with flowers on a tabletop on which a snail crawls, and below which two fish swim in water. Surrounding the fruit are flowers through which a butterfly and bird fly (Figure 132). Thus, this micromosaic demonstrates how micromosaicists transformed their compositions of the Villa dei Quintilii mosaic to align with Dutch painting styles that came into vogue in the late eighteenth century.

Micromosaicists capitalized on the appeal of the Dutch floral still life in translations of the Villa dei Quintilii mosaic. Some translations of the original Villa dei

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<sup>705</sup> Micromosaics with baskets on tables include Branchetti 2004, 11, 47. See, for example, paintings of Jan Van Huysum's 1733 *Roses and Other Flowers in an Open-weave Basket* in the Noortman Master Paintings in Maastricht (Segal, *The Temptations of Flora*, cat. F37) and his *Bouquet in a Conical Vase with Tulip and Larkspur at the Top* in Musée Fabre in Montpellier (Segal, *The Temptations of Flora*, cat. F23). Ambrosius Bosschaert I also painted a basket of flowers on a table, which is in a private collection in Germany (Segal, *A Flowery Past*, cat. 35).

<sup>706</sup> Micromosaic with lizard (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 181); micromosaic with a snail (Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, 122); micromosaics with birds and nests (Petoichi, Alfieri, and Branchetti, *I mosaici minuti*, 220; Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 110); micromosaic with butterflies (Gabriel, *The Gilbert Collection*, 187); micromosaic with flies (Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 52). Dutch flower paintings with similar naturalistic elements include: Balthasar van der Ast's *Vase of Flowers by a Window* in the Staatliche Galerie Dessau in Schloss Georgium (Taylor, *Dutch Flower Painting*, fig. 90), Jacob Marrell's 1634 *Flower Piece* (Taylor, *Dutch Flower Painting*, fig. 96), Jan Davidsz de Heem's *Vase of Flowers* in the National Gallery of Art in Washington DC (Taylor, *Dutch Flower Painting*, fig. 104), and Jan Van Huysum's *Flowers in a Vase Before a Park Landscape with Architecture and a Statue of Flora* in the Noortman Master Paintings in Maastricht (Segal, *The Temptations of Flora*, cat. F28).

<sup>707</sup> Micromosaics with grapes (Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 111; Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 179).

Quintilii mosaic abandoned the basket motif of the ancient mosaic altogether and fully embraced the Northern European still life of vases filled with flowers. These micromosaics dropped the horizontal woven baskets of flowers opting for vases and vertically composed bouquets of flowers instead (Figure 133).<sup>708</sup> All of these micromosaic pictures are analogous in size to the canvases of Dutch still life paintings, thus functioning as a painting on a wall, just like any Dutch flower painting a collector displayed. Furthermore, vases with floral arrangements are also noted in gem engraving, which is not surprising given the ties between micromosaic and gem traditions.<sup>709</sup> Whether these specific micromosaics should be viewed as an assimilation of the Villa dei Quintilii mosaic into the Dutch floral landscape or simply as a Dutch floral landscape is difficult to know. However, these micromosaics that fully mimic Dutch floral still lifes demonstrate interest in the genre in Rome and that micromosaicists were looking at Dutch art when adding elements to the Villa dei Quintilii mosaic.

Also adding another level of appeal to the Villa dei Quintilii mosaic is its assimilation with an additional thematic subject of interest, the Doves of Pliny. One of the more popular variations on the Villa dei Quintilii mosaic included doves. These subjects were frequently juxtaposed as separate motifs in adjacent jewelry settings, but they were also conflated into a single scene. Most common is the depiction of a basket of

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<sup>708</sup> Gabriel, *The Gilbert Collection*, 157, 159, 162. Similar Dutch flower paintings include Jan Van Huysum's 1749 *Flower Piece with a Bouquet surmounted by Opium Poppy and Harebell...with the Vase decorated with Putti on a Marble Base in front of a Niche* in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston (Segal, *The Temptations of Flora*, cat. F1) or Georgius Jacobus Johannes van Os's *Still Life with Flowers in a Greek Vase: Allegory of Spring* in the Rijks Museum in Amsterdam (Figure 134).

<sup>709</sup> A gem in the Paoletti collection after a painting by D. Fuligny De Groslier (Stefanelli, *La collezione*, 229).

flowers with two doves billing above, which alludes to love (Figure 135 and Figure 136).<sup>710</sup>

This idea of congenial love corresponded with attitudes towards love in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These numerous micromosaics doubly appealed to the traveler since they combined two common motifs stemming from archaeological discoveries of mosaics in the eighteenth century.

Despite a relative paucity of travelers' commentaries on it in their travel dialogues, the numerous representations of the basket of flowers mosaic, and the ways in which Dutch art and the Doves of Pliny were assimilated into it, demonstrate the popularity of the subject. We can safely assume that the mosaicists of the Studio del Mosaico Vaticano had an active hand in constructing the original Villa dei Quintilii mosaic since Lisandroni wrote to the Reverenda Camera Apostolica for funds to restore the finds of the villa. Presumably, as Werner suggests, this mosaic originated from these transactions.<sup>711</sup> Therefore, micromosaicists were exposed to this motif, inspiring micromosaic versions such as those by Studio del Mosaico Vaticano mosaicists Carlo Salandri (active in the mid nineteenth century) and Federico Campanile (active in the second half of the nineteenth century) in 1856.

The compositions of micromosaicists were recorded in the payment logs of the Reverenda Fabbrica in the late nineteenth century. Interestingly enough, Salandri also worked on a micromosaic depicting a vase of fruit, which is suggestive evidence for the ways in which micromosaicists would have had exposure to other Dutch motifs that were

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<sup>710</sup> Hope B. Werness, *The Continuum Encyclopedia of Animal Symbolism in Art*, (New York: Continuum, 2004), 143. Micromosaics with billing doves: Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 132, 180; Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 7; Gabriel, *The Gilbert Collection*, 133; Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, 126.

<sup>711</sup> Werner, *Die Sammlung*, 172-3.

then later incorporated with the basket of flowers.<sup>712</sup> An 1876 inventory recorded Campanile's work on a micromosaic of a "tazza con palombe," ostensibly the Doves of Pliny mosaic. In 1880, payments recorded that Campanili also worked on flower compositions.<sup>713</sup> Again, we can note how the blending of motifs might have originated. While such records, regrettably, do not exist for earlier decades, what these demonstrate is that mosaicists assumed certain iconographic responsibilities and that these areas of expertise overlapped with other motifs, such as fruit or doves, that facilitated the modifications that we see on micromosaics of the Villa dei Quintilii mosaic. As discussed in the introduction, micromosaicists of the Vatican studio often also sold micromosaics in the Piazza di Spagna to travelers. Therefore, I would suggest that this subject on micromosaics, much like that of the original mosaic, was a product that had its origins in the Studio del Mosaico Vaticano and was propelled to such popularity by their micromosaicists who reproduced it with vigor.

While the basket of flowers mosaic was not "improved" in the same way that the Doves of Pliny mosaic was, its blending with other themes made it even more desirable to travelers who would have been familiar with these subjects. The Villa dei Quintilii mosaic engaged heavily in the iconography of Dutch floral paintings and borrowed the theme of doves, capitalizing on the popularity of these subjects to transform the antique basket mosaic from the Villa dei Quintilii into a marketable souvenir that appealed to tourists.

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<sup>712</sup> For records listing his works on vases of fruit: Archivio della Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro, Armadio 28, D541, F30, F44, F51, F52, F83, F114.

## The Furietti Centaurs and/or the Borghese Centaur

The Furietti Centaurs, a pair of Hadrianic-era centaur statues signed by the artists Aristeeas and Papias, were found during excavations overseen by Monsignor Furietti from 1736-7 at Hadrian's Villa (Figure 137). Furietti uncovered the centaurs from an apsidal room for a monumental atrium in the Accademia of the villa.<sup>714</sup> The pair of statues was made of bigio-morato marble, which is dark gray in color and included one centaur who is aged with a full beard and wrinkles, with his hands behind his back, and his head turned as though in agony. The other centaur is youthful with joyous facial expressions, unlike the distressed older centaur. It is likely that a cupid once accompanied each of the Furietti Centaurs on their backs since other similar centaurs had cupids.<sup>715</sup> The sculptures were almost immediately taken to Rome following their discovery where the artist Carlo Napolioni restored them, as recorded by a January 7, 1737 journal entry of the Marchese Capponi, the director of the Museo Capitolino who visited them in Napolioni's studio.<sup>716</sup> Napolioni practiced typical contemporary restoration practices on the two centaurs, restoring missing or broken elements of the statues to produce a full and complete version of the work of art.<sup>717</sup> The statues were first displayed at the private home of Cardinal Furietti at the Palazzo di Montecitori in Rome. It was only after his death in 1765 that the much-coveted centaurs, along with the Doves of Pliny mosaic he also uncovered at Hadrian's Villa, were sold for 13,000 scudi to Pope Clement XIII for the Museo

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<sup>713</sup> Archivio della Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro, Armadio 84, A2. Archivio della Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro, Armadio 84 A61, F37-39.

<sup>714</sup> La Rocca, Presicce, and Lo Monaco, *L'Età*, 304.

<sup>715</sup> Conservation studies have revealed two flat, circular depressions on the back of the older centaur (LaRocca, Presicce, and Lo Monaco, *L'Età*, 304).

<sup>716</sup> Francesco Paolo Arata, "Carlo Antonio Napolioni (1675-1742) 'celebre restauratore delle cose antiche:.' Uno scultore romano al servizio del Museo Capitolino," *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* 99 (1998): 206.

Capitolino where they became accessible to a wider general public.<sup>718</sup> The sculptures underwent a general restorative cleaning again in 1805 by Francesco Antonio Franzoni (1734-1818), the implications of which will be more fully discussed later.<sup>719</sup>

To explain the popularity of the centaur sculpture series it is necessary to delve into their role in a replica series of centaurs and their iconographic meaning.

Perhaps the most famous of the centaur replica series and very relevant to micromosaic designs was the so-called Borghese Centaur also dating from the second century CE (Figure 138). This sculpture was excavated at the beginning of the seventeenth century from the Caelian hill in the area of the Villa Fonseca, between San Giovanni Laterano and Santa Stefano Rotondo.<sup>720</sup> The centaur entered the collections of Cardinal Scipione Borghese at an uncertain date, perhaps after its restoration in 1608, and it was displayed at his home, the Villa Pinciana. It remained there until it was purchased by Napoleon Bonaparte and taken to Paris in 1808. There, beginning in 1811 the statue was on exhibit in the Musée Napoleon, and many travelers discussed it when touring through Paris.<sup>721</sup> The Borghese centaur is old with a pained expression on his face and has a cupid on his back that irritates him, pulling at his hair. This sculpture, nearly identical to the older Furietti centaur except for the added cupid and its white marble, provided evidence for eighteenth-century scholars on which to base the interpretation of the Furietti Centaurs and their missing cupids. The rare iconography, the complexity of its moral and philosophical meanings, and the intensity of the facial expressions, which

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<sup>717</sup> Arata, "Carlo Antonio Napolioni," 109.

<sup>718</sup> Georg Morawietz, "Die Kentauren des Aristeas und Papias und die Repliken der Beiden Statuentypen," *Antike Plastik* 29 (2005): 47.

<sup>719</sup> Morawietz, "Die Kentauren," 48.

<sup>720</sup> Morawietz, "Die Kentauren," 49.

Winckelmann likened to those of the immensely popular Laocöon statue, all contributed to the popularity of the Borghese Centaur, established as a beloved antique sculpture long before the discovery of the Furietti Centaurs.<sup>722</sup>

Seen as the pendant to the Borghese Centaur was the young, joyful centaur displayed in the Sala degli Animali at the Museo Pio-Clementino (Figure 139).<sup>723</sup> It was found in 1779 in excavations in a garden of the Brotherhood of the Sancta Sanctorum in the Lateran. This sculpture is remarkably similar to that of the younger Furietti Centaur, except for the cupid on his back, the restored rabbit that he holds up in his right arm, and the use of white marble. Art historian Georg Morawietz helpfully catalogs other replicas found also during the nineteenth century, including the Chiaramonti head of the older centaur now in the Vatican, a head of the older centaur in Berlin now at the Antikensammlung, and the Doria Pamphili Centaur of the younger centaur found on the grounds of the Villa of Pompeio.<sup>724</sup> Therefore, we can see how the Furietti centaur pair fits into a larger context of other centaurs found both before and after it.

Explaining the origins and modifications of the older centaur with a cupid on his back, which appears on micromosaics, necessitates a discussion of both the Furietti Centaurs and the Borghese Centaur, because of complications and conflation of the subject in micromosaic art (Figure 140 and Figure 141). The micromosaics' iconography would suggest that the Borghese Centaur is depicted, but the color of the statue would

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<sup>721</sup> Brook and Cruzei, *Roma e l'antico*, 406.

<sup>722</sup> Anna Colivia, *I Borghese e l'antico*, (Milano: Skira, 2011), 406.

<sup>723</sup> The centaur can be seen in its eighteenth-century context in Jacques Sablet's 1786-92 painting, *The Stanza degli Animali with the Tiber still in Situ* in the Vatican Museums (Wilton and Bignamini, *Grand Tour*, fig. 197). For more on the Vatican collections in the eighteenth century see Jeffrey Laird Collins, *Papacy and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Rome: Pius VI and the Arts*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

<sup>724</sup> Morawietz, "Die Kentauren," 51-52.

suggest that the Furietti Centaur is actually shown. Thus, I will fully parse out the iconography of the centaur on micromosaics after introducing the Furietti and Borghese Centaurs, their reproductions, and their popularity. Then I will demonstrate the ways in which micromosaicists conflated the two different versions of the centaur in their micromosaics, which in turn provided dual appeal to customers.

Of the above-discussed centaur sculptures, the most popularly discussed and reproduced were the Borghese Centaur and Furietti Centaurs. In fact, the Borghese Centaur fell out of the spotlight during the beginning of the eighteenth century, as evidenced by diminished reproductions of it, until the discovery of the Furietti Centaurs reinvigorated its discussion.<sup>725</sup> The two older centaurs were often compared; critics generally preferred the Borghese Centaur despite the fact that many scholars thought the Borghese Centaur was a copy derived from the Furietti Centaur, which had known artists.<sup>726</sup> In spite of all this, tourists, who embraced different aspects of the sculptures in their writings, lauded both centaurs.

Iconographic meanings can explain the popularity of the Furietti and Borghese Centaurs. The two sculptures of the younger and older centaurs represented an allegory of love and the different effects of age on love. The young centaur represents the force of young, reinvigorating love and sexual fulfillment, whereas the older centaur stands for suffering that stems from his unattainable desire for love.<sup>727</sup> The visual cues for the allegory of love come from what is missing on the Furietti Centaurs, but present on the Borghese Centaur: a cupid. Furthermore, this theme of love has strong connections with

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<sup>725</sup> Morawietz, "Die Kentauren," 59.

<sup>726</sup> Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 179.

<sup>727</sup> Morawietz, "Die Kentauren," 55. LaRocca, Presicce, and Lo Monaco, *L'Età*, 304.

bacchic themes, as Visconti suggested, since the cupid of the Borghese Centaur wears an ivy crown and therefore might represent the power of intoxication.<sup>728</sup> The message about love and morality that these centaurs communicated would have resonated with eighteenth-century viewers.

The Furietti Centaurs proliferated in print and replicas. As early as 1741 they were published in a book with their findspot recorded as Hadrian's Villa.<sup>729</sup> The sculptures were discussed in antiquarian texts including those of Winckelmann and Visconti.<sup>730</sup> Following their discovery, they were visually made known through engravings (Figure 142 and Figure 143).<sup>731</sup> The centaurs were also replicated in full-scale sculpture, proving particularly popular as pendants for various entranceways in the eighteenth century.<sup>732</sup> In addition to full-scale replicas, the centaurs were extremely

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<sup>728</sup> Colivia, *I Borghese*, 406. Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 179.

<sup>729</sup> Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 178.

<sup>730</sup> Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Alte Denkmäler der Kunst*, (Berlin: Bey Christian Ludewig Stahlbaum, 1780). Ennio Quirino Visconti, *Illustrazioni de' monumenti scelti borghesiani già esistenti nella villa sul Pincio*, (Rome: Stamperia de Romanis, 1821).

<sup>731</sup> A 1739 engraving of the Younger Centaur by Girolamo Frezza was based on a sketch of Pompeo Batoni's that he used for his painting of Achilles and Chiron (Morawietz, "Die Kentauren," 61, abb. 5 for Batoni; Hugh Macandrew, "A Group of Batoni Drawings at Eton College, and Some Eighteenth-Century Italian Copyists of Classical Sculpture," *Master Drawings* 16 (1978): fig. 4 for Frezza). Bartolomeo Cavaceppi included an engraving of them in his *Raccolta* (Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, *Raccolta d'antiche statue busti bassirilievi ed altre sculture restaurate da Bartolomeo Cavaceppi scultore romano*, (Rome: Salomoni, 1768), tomo 1, pl. 27). Nicolò Foggini also included an engraving in his *Musei Capitolini* (Nicolò Foggini, *Musei Capitolini*, (Roma: apud chalcographiam R.C.A., 1748-1782), tomo quartus, pl XXXII).

<sup>732</sup> Cavaceppi was the earliest supplier of casts of the centaurs, such as those acquired by Joseph Nollekens in 1765 that he used to adorn the entrance hall at Shugborough in Staffordshire. Later in 1768 Cavaceppi offered full-scale copies also in marble (Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 178). A smaller sculpture of the younger Furietti Centaur copied in rosso antico marble, but larger than a miniature, is one that the J. Paul Getty Museum suggests may be by the hand of Cavaceppi (J. Paul Getty Museum, 82.AL.78). Popular pendants, for example, include two casts that flanked the entrance hall of the Somerset House in London, two centaurs that flanked a bridge in a park of the Schloßpark von Pawlowsk, and the two centaurs also that decorated another bridge in the park of the Château de Malmaison of the Empress Josephine (Morawietz, "Die Kentauren," 60-61). Pairing is also noted in smaller media souvenirs, such as a gem of Paoletti that shows the two centaurs flanking the Museo Capitolino (Figure 144). They continued to be popular well into the nineteenth century as shown by the pair of statues inspired by the Furietti Centaurs that flank the entrance to the Akademie der Bildenden Künste in Vienna by Edmund Hofmann von Aspernburg in 1892.

popular in conjunction with small-scale copies as souvenirs, especially bronze miniatures (Figure 145 and Figure 146).<sup>733</sup>

The Borghese Centaur also was immensely successful in the reproduction market. While enjoying an initial burst of popularity after discovery, as seen reproduced in a painting of Peter Paul Rubens, the centaur fell out of the public eye.<sup>734</sup> It was only after the discovery of the Furietti Centaurs that the Borghese Centaur came back into vogue in the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>735</sup> Like the Furietti Centaurs, the Borghese centaur was reproduced at full-scale and in prints (Figure 147).<sup>736</sup> Bronze, biscuit, and other media dominated in small-scale reproductions of the centaur (Figure 148 and Figure 149).<sup>737</sup> Reproductions of both the Furietti and Borghese Centaurs loomed large in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as seen on micromosaics and gems.<sup>738</sup>

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<sup>733</sup> As early as 1755, we have evidence that a pair of small-scale centaurs was sent to Lord Charlemont (Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 178). The bronze workers Giacomo and Giovanni Zoffoli were producers of small-scale bronze sculptures who offered the Furietti Centaurs to customers, such as Francis Russell, the Marquess of Tavistock, who bought a set for his home, Woburn Abbey (Teolato, “Artisti imprenditori,” 234). Zoffoli also sold a pair of the centaurs to Gustav III of Sweden during his 1784 visit to Rome (Morawietz, “Die Kentauren,” 61). They were also used as pendants in the home as noted in the painting of Johan Zoffany of Sir Lawrence Dundas with a set of bronzes on the mantle, including the Furietti Centaurs (*Sir Lawrence Dundas and his Grandson in the Pillar Room at 19 Arlington Street*, 1769 Aske Hall, Marquess of Zetland collection; Teolato, “Artisti imprenditori,” 234). Francesco Righetti, another popular bronze worker, also supplied the centaurs to customers at reduced scale (An example of one of his bronze centaurs is in the collections of the Victoria & Albert, Inv. 979-1882). Christie’s auctioned off another example dating to the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century by an unknown artist (Christie’s South Kensington Ltd, *Antiquities and Souvenirs of the Grand Tour*, Wednesday 27 April 1994, fig. 293).

<sup>734</sup> *The Education of Achilles* at the Prado in Madrid.

<sup>735</sup> There was only one full-scale replica made of it in the first half of the eighteenth century (Morawietz, “Die Kentauren,” 60).

<sup>736</sup> For example, Tommaso Solari copied it at full-scale in Carrara marble for the Palace at Caserta (Morawietz, “Die Kentauren,” 62).

<sup>737</sup> For biscuit see: A statuette by Filippo Taglioni from the Real Fabbrica Ferdinanda in the Galleria Nazionale di Capodimonte 1790-1806, Inv. IC 14825 (Caròla-Perrotti, *Le Porcellane*, fig 441b); a statuette by Giovanni Volpato in the collection of Alberto Di Castro (Brook and Cruzei, *Roma e l’antico*, VI.12a-b); biscuit statuette at Hamburger Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe (Morawietz, “Die Kentauren,” 62). In bronze: One purchased in 1723 by Thomas, 1<sup>st</sup> Earl of Macclesfield (Christie’s South Kensington Ltd, *The Macclesfield Sculpture*, (London: Christie’s, 2005), cat. 77); Giovanni Zoffoli (Zoffoli, Giovanni. *Serie di figure fatte, e da farsi in bronzo* 1794-6, “Centauro di Villa Pinciana”) and Francesco Righetti (Righetti, Francesco *Aux amateurs de l’antiquite et des beaux arts* 1794, “Le Centaure de Borghese avec un enfant”)

Now to address the question of iconography: which centaur does the one depicted on micromosaics represent? On micromosaics we see only the older centaur. The older centaur was often singled out for his ability to delight viewers with his baroque facial expression and the appeal of the strong moral warnings of love's affect on old age.<sup>739</sup> On micromosaics the centaur is depicted without either its identifying base or support, distinctive features that are individual to the Furietti Centaurs and Borghese Centaur. A cupid rides on the centaur's back on micromosaics, much in the same position as the Borghese Centaur. It would seem, then, that micromosaics depict the Borghese Centaur. However, color complicates this seemingly obvious attribution. The micromosaicists colored the centaur a dark gray, just like the bigio-morato marble of the Furietti Centaurs and most unlike the white marble of the Borghese Centaur.<sup>740</sup> Thus, we are left with contradictory visual cues about which centaur is represented on micromosaics.

Contemporary gems that depict this subject help, but do not fully unravel, the situation (Figure 150 and Figure 151).<sup>741</sup> Micromosaicists and gem-engravers enjoyed a

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have it listed in their catalogs (See Appendix in Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 179). A potential Wedgwood reproduction also exists (Wolf Mankowitz, "A Transcript of the 1779 Wedgwood and Bentley Catalogue," In *Wedgwood*, by Wolf Mankowitz, (London: Spring Books, 1953), class I, section II, no. 121 "Centaur Nessus led by love" Reilly Vol II p673 n.121).

<sup>738</sup> While not as common, reproductions do exist for some of the other centaurs discovered in the nineteenth century. For example, Volpato included the Vatican centaur in his repertoire from the Pianoteca Capitolina, Inv. Cini 328 (Brook and Cruzei, *Ricordi dell'antico*, cat 102) and one inspired by the Vatican Centaur was also included in a set along with the Borghese Centaur produced by the Real Fabbrica della Porcellana in the Galleria Nazionale di Capodimonte, Inv. OA 5255 (Brook and Cruzei, *Ricordi dell'antico*, cat. 86). Also reproducing the Vatican Centaur are biscuit statuettes at the Museo Correr in Venice and the Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte in Naples (Morawietz, "Die Kentauren," abb. 10, 11).

<sup>739</sup> Facial expression was an aspect of the centaurs that was praised in travel accounts. For example, Robert Finch wrote, "the expression is animated" (Finch, *Journal*, e.15, 127).

<sup>740</sup> In other representations of sculpture on micromosaics, micromosaicists remain faithful to the coloring of the originals. For example, micromosaics that depict the portrait of Zeus Otricoli are true to its original white marble as are the micromosaics that feature the bronze equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius.

<sup>741</sup> Giovanni Pichler, red sulphur wax impression, 1766-1771. (Gabriella Tassinari, *Giovanni Pichler: Raccolta di impronte di intagli e di cammei del Gabinetto Numismatico e Medagliere delle Raccolte Artistiche del Castello Sforzesco di Milano*, (Milano: Edizioni ennerre, 2012), I.36). (Stefanelli, *La collezione*, 322).

close relationship, sharing their shop fronts and customers in the quarter of the Piazza di Spagna.<sup>742</sup> We see this relationship played out in the iconographic similarities of the centaur on both micromosaics and gems. Gems, nearly identical to micromosaics, depict the older centaur with a cupid on his back, also without the identifying bases and supports. However, they remain silent on the issue of color since gems, and their casts, provided no opportunity to distinguish between the white marble and bigio-morato. The identifications given by gem engravers to this subject are interesting in light of the ambiguous micromosaic depictions. Giovanni Pichler (1734-1791), a leader in glyptics, made two gems that depicted the elder centaur. In his 1790 catalog, *Catalogo d'impronti cavati da gemme incise dal Cavaliere Giovanni Pichler*, he described the two gems as follows: “Centauro vinto da Amore. Da un Gruppo in Villa Borghese” and “Detto in altra veduta.”<sup>743</sup> That is, Pichler identified his centaurs as taken from the Borghese Centaur.<sup>744</sup> In his book, *A Descriptive Catalogue of a General Collection of Ancient and Modern Engraved Gems, Cameos and Intaglios, Taken from the Most Celebrated Cabinets in Europe; and Cast in Coloured Pastes, White Enamel, and Sulphur*, James Tassie identified the two gems of Pichler differently. He described one gem of Pichler's as “Cupid mounted on a Centaur” and the other as “Cupid mounted on the back of a

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<sup>742</sup> This relationship is born out in archival evidence, such as a friendly letter of communication from Luigi Pichler to Giacomo Raffaelli in which Pichler writes of his next visit to Italy, the weather, and mutual acquaintances (Fondazione Antonio Negro, Archivio Raffaelli, Roma. 1819 letter from Luigi Pichler).

<sup>743</sup> Giovanni Pichler, *Catalogo d'impronti cavati da gemme incise dal Cavaliere Giovanni Pichler*, (1790), n. 45 and n. 46. Many thanks to Gabriella Tassinari for her generosity in providing me with a copy of Pichler's elusive catalog.

<sup>744</sup> Noteworthy, however, is his use of *gruppo* in describing the centaur. Does this refer to the fact that the centaur and the cupid together comprise a group or is he implying that it came from a pair of statues? Whether this is implying that the Furietti Centaurs were found as a group, and therefore the Borghese Centaur may also have been part of a group, or whether the Borghese and Vatican centaurs should be taken together as a group is not certain.

Centaur, whom he guides. From the famous Centaur in the Villa Borghese, at Rome.”<sup>745</sup>

Tassie remained ambiguous on one gem, although it clearly was associated with the one he named from the Villa Borghese. Therefore, gem engravers very specifically associated their subject with the Borghese Centaur.

In the case of micromosaics, which were clearly associated with, inspired by, or the inspirations for gems and gem impressions with their identical treatment of the older centaur, the identification is not so readily apparent. There is no handy catalog entry to identify the subject and the question of color is a complicating factor. Furthermore, there is no definitive date that we can assign to the micromosaics through a known micromosaicist or goldsmith to clarify whether we are seeing the Furietti or the Borghese Centaur. Based on style alone, the micromosaics are very suggestive of a late eighteenth-century date with their backgrounds composed of the parallel horizontal rows of square tesserae.<sup>746</sup> This late eighteenth-century date would therefore not exclude the Borghese Centaur; in fact, it is quite likely given that the Borghese Centaur left Rome in the early nineteenth century. What I would suggest is that these micromosaics of the older centaur are purposefully ambiguous, a reflection of the general confusion regarding the statues in the late eighteenth century.

Confusion abounded in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries regarding the replica series of centaurs as is noted in travel accounts. Illustrative of this general confusion is the account of John Lemaistre. He recounted his time at Hadrian’s Villa in this way: “Some of the finest specimens of ancient sculpture were recovered from these

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<sup>745</sup> James Tassie, *A Descriptive Catalogue of a General Collection of Ancient and Modern Engraved Gems, Cameos and Intaglios, Taken from the Most Celebrated Cabinets in Europe; and Cast in Coloured Pastes, White Enamel, and Sulphur*, (London: Tassie, 1791), 786, n. 15391; 395, n. 6733.

ruins [Hadrian's Villa],- including...the two Centaurs, formerly in the Vatican, and now at Paris."<sup>747</sup> Here, Lemaistre has mixed up the Furietti Centaurs with the Sala degli Animali Centaur and the Borghese Centaur. He recounted two centaurs from Hadrian's Villa, alluding to the Furietti Centaurs, which were displayed in the Vatican, alluding to the Sala degli Animali Centaur, which then went to Paris, alluding to Napoleon's acquisition of the Borghese Centaur.<sup>748</sup> Thus, this passage is indicative of the easy misunderstandings that surrounded the replicas.<sup>749</sup> Furthermore, in describing the two Furietti Centaurs, travelers often refer to a single centaur, instead of a pair. So, for example, James Wilson wrote of "The centaur of black antique marble" and Mariana Starke referred to "a Centaur, of nero antico, found in Adrian's Villa!"<sup>750</sup> The way in which these travelers reduced the centaurs from two to one would suggest confusion with the unpaired Borghese Centaur.

Therefore, it makes sense that a micromosaicist might appeal to this confusion by creating an ambiguous centaur. This decision to present a conflation of the Furietti and Borghese Centaurs embodied aspects that were valued most in respect to both of the centaur replicas: the inclusion of the cupid from the Borghese Centaur, the lifelike naturalism of both of the centaurs, and the dark coloring of the Furietti Centaurs.

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<sup>746</sup> Rudoe, "Mosaico in Picolo," 32.

<sup>747</sup> John Gustavius Lemaistre, *Travels after the Peace of Amiens through France, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany*, Vol III, (London: J. Johnson, 1806), 118.

<sup>748</sup> Neither the Furietti Centaurs nor the Sala degli Animali Centaur went to France as did some other antiquities because of the terms of the Armistice of Bologna and the Treaty of Tolentino. Therefore, Lemaistre's account about a centaur statue that went to Paris is certainly referring to the Borghese Centaur.

<sup>749</sup> This confusion is not restricted to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Angela Caròla-Perrotti, for example, who published the porcelain of the Real Fabbrica Ferdinanda mistakenly identifies a pair of centaurs that copy the Borghese and Vatican Centaurs as the Furietti Centaurs (Caròla-Perrotti, *Le Porcellane*, 495). Roberto Grieco definitively identifies the centaur on a micromosaic as the elder Furietti Centaur (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 108).

Micromosaics often depict the older centaur with a cupid, referencing the form of the Borghese Centaur. Why portray the Borghese Centaur when the recently discovered Furietti Centaurs were such a key site for excitement? The Furietti Centaurs were missing a crucial component: the cupids. This was an aspect of the sculptural pair that travelers noted that should have been present; perhaps the physical markers on the centaurs where the cupid would have once perched provoked these observations.<sup>751</sup> Robert Finch, for example, noted how there should be a cupid when he wrote of the elder Furietti Centaur who, “is looking backward and which once had a Cupid on his back...”<sup>752</sup> In this instance, though physically removed, Finch mentally furnished the centaur with its cupid by including it in his description. An anonymous traveler wrote about how Winckelmann “observes that they have anciently borne children on their backs which is evident from the holes.”<sup>753</sup> That tourists mentioned this in their accounts is evidence of the general knowledge that the Furietti Centaurs should have had a cupid riding on their backs and their importance to the meaning of the group.

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<sup>750</sup> James Wilson, *A Journal of Two Successive Tours upon the Continent in the Years 1816. 1817 & 1818*, Vol. II, (London: T. Cadwell and W. Davies, 1820), 326. Starke, *Travels in Europe*, 158.

<sup>751</sup> This actually presents an interesting conundrum that came about during conservatorial work done on the statue. Artist Peter Rockwell examines the evidence presented by restoration work carried out by the Centro di Conservazione Archeologica in 2001-2. In the center of the roughed away stone on both of the centaurs’ backs for the cupids were drill holes. The drill hole on the younger centaur contains the remains of an iron pin that is not antique. Rockwell suggests that perhaps Napolioni, who first restored the statues, originally included cupids in his restoration work. Rockwell then suggests that Napolioni must have changed his mind and removed them because of the negative aesthetic repercussions of having visible iron supports. This conforms to Baroque taste that favored sculptural elements that brazenly projected into space unsupported (Peter Rockwell, “The Creative Reuse of Antiquity,” in *History of Restoration of Ancient Stone Sculptures*, eds. Janet Burnett Grossman, Jerry Podany, and Marion True. (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2003), 80-81). This taste for the Baroque in relation to this statue has already been established with the favor for the facial expressions and torsion of the elder centaur. So perhaps this aesthetic desire to look Baroque outweighed the aesthetic desire to complete the statue, as was typically done during restorations of this period.

<sup>752</sup> Finch, *Journal*, e. 15, 127.

<sup>753</sup> Anonymous, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. II, (Edinburgh: James Ballantyne and Company, 1820), 416.

The Borghese Centaur, however, did include a cupid, which was critical because it drove the allegorical meaning and reflected general interest in themes of love in the eighteenth century. This importance of the allegorical meaning is noted by the ways in which tourists wrote about the cupid in relation to the Borghese Centaur. John Moore recounted the allegorical implications of the Borghese sculpture: “The execution of this group, is admired by those who look upon it merely as a jeu d’esprit;- a witty conceit; but it acquires additional merit, when considered as allegorical of men who are hurried on by the violence of their passions, and lament their own weakness while they find themselves unable to resist.”<sup>754</sup> This account highlights the moral implications of the elder centaur, which promoted a cautionary tale about yielding to the temptations of love. Thomas Holcroft wrote of the Count Stolberg’s account of the Borghese Centaur similarly:

An old Centaur, with his hands bound behind him. A Cupid is riding on his back; whom the Centaur endeavours to brush away with his tail as a horse does a fly; but turns at the same time with an entreating look toward Cupid. The thought is fine. The animal part uses its arms often instinctively, when they cannot afford any help. The hands of man are bound by men: his proper limbs are impeded, by their own power, at the very time they entreat to be free. The sympathy of regret and the abuse of power are reciprocal.<sup>755</sup>

In this account, Holcroft underlined how the helpless centaur fell prey to his own passion for love. Therefore, the cupid’s presence was of significance for communicating meaning, and this explains the preference for the Borghese Centaur with its preserved cupid. Moreover, these sorts of messages were popular in eighteenth-century art and cupids appear regularly in history painting and allegorical art.<sup>756</sup>

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<sup>754</sup> Moore, *A View of Society*, Vol. II, 178.

<sup>755</sup> Frederic Leopold Stolberg, *Travels through Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and Sicily*. Trans. Thomas Holcroft, (London: G.G. and J. Robinson, 1797), 289.

<sup>756</sup> Robert Rosenblum coined the term “Neoclassic Erotic” in his discussions of cupids in the late eighteenth century, and this is a concept that fits nicely with the sexual desire represented by cupids in conjunction

Biscuit reproductions reveal a preference to depict centaurs that included the cupids and demonstrate the importance of the inclusion of a cupid for micromosaic compositions. What is most interesting about reproductions of the Borghese Centaur is its frequent pairing with the Sala degli Animali Centaur, to make a complete set with a requisite younger and older centaur just like the Furietti Centaurs (Figure 152).<sup>757</sup> So why not depict the Furietti Centaurs, who were found together as a pair? I would suggest that this was not done because they did not have extant cupids. By including cupids in their representation, micromosaicists ensured that these allegories were communicated through the form of the Borghese Centaur cupid.

A close examination of the torso positioning of the ambiguous centaur on micromosaics suggests that it was more closely modeled after the elder Furietti Centaur than the Borghese Centaur. The elder Furietti Centaur, when looked at directly, as on micromosaics, reveals  $\frac{3}{4}$  of his torso, unlike the Borghese Centaur. This  $\frac{3}{4}$  view of the torso exhibits the musculature of the Furietti Centaur to its fullest extent. The Borghese Centaur, by contrast, does not display his torso to such a full extent, nor is as highly muscled. Noteworthy also for the craftsmanship of the Furietti Centaur are the veins that are prominently featured on the centaur's front right leg, and these are noted on

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with the younger and elder centaurs (Robert Rosenblum, *Transformations in Late Eighteenth-Century Art*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 20-21). The discovery of wall paintings in Pompeii, such as those from the House of the Vetii, drove the popularity of cupids in decorative motifs. Cupids and the theme of love also populated the paintings of the eighteenth century as is demonstrated in works of Boucher and Fragonard. Cupid was featured in paintings and sculpture in relation to his mythology; the narrative of Cupid and Psyche was particularly popular. A Baroque concentration on themes of love continued through the Rococo period and onto the Romantic movement of the nineteenth century (Frederick Hartt, *Love in Baroque Art*, (New York: Institute Fine Arts, 1960), 26-7).

<sup>757</sup> The Borghese and Sala degli Animali centaurs were commonly paired together in small-scale statuary, such as the biscuit centaur pairs by the Real Fabbrica Ferdinanda in the Galleria Nazionale di Capodimonte (OA 5232) and by Giovanni Volpato in the collection of Alberto Di Castro 1786-1803 (Stefani, *Ricordi*, fig. 86; Brook and Cruzei, *Roma e l'antico*, fig. VI.12a-b).

micromosaics as well. This attention to craftsmanship in the visual depictions on micromosaics correlates to travel accounts of the Furietti Centaurs.

The Furietti Centaurs were admired thanks to the ability of Aristeas and Papias to communicate naturalism, and this was celebrated in travelers' accounts of the statues in the museum. Thomas Nugent wrote that they were "most elegantly carved."<sup>758</sup> James Wilson commended the artists: "the workmanship of this abortive monster of imagination is of the first order."<sup>759</sup> An anonymous account of the centaurs praised the artistry of the sculptures writing that they "are most remarkable for the force, and vigour, of the chisel. Every muscle, every vein of both man and horse, seems in full action; I thought them prodigiously fine."<sup>760</sup> Of interest is that accounts of the Borghese Centaur do not focus as much on craftsmanship; this arguably stems from the fact that the Furietti Centaurs were more highly muscled. Therefore, micromosaicists took cues from the elder Furietti Centaur when modeling the musculature of the centaur on micromosaics since the craftsmanship of the Furietti Centaurs was so popular.

Also correlating with naturalism is the fact that micromosaicists, as well as gem engravers, decided to replicate the statue without its base and pedestal. As was discussed in relation to the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, this enhanced the naturalism of the animal. Paolo Alessandro Maffei's early eighteenth-century engraving of the Borghese Centaur also depicts the sculpture off its base and in a natural environment.<sup>761</sup> A pair of bronze statuettes of the Furietti Centaurs and the Borghese Centaur, while inherently having a base because of the medium, is depicted without the characteristic

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<sup>758</sup> Thomas Nugent, *The Grand Tour*, (London: J. Rivington and Sons, 1778), 296.

<sup>759</sup> Wilson, *A Journal of Two*, Vol. II, 326.

<sup>760</sup> Anonymous, *Mementoes*, 28.

supports as well.<sup>762</sup> Therefore, I would propose that this goes beyond creating an ambiguous sculpture and additionally heightens the sense of realism.

Perhaps the most considerable aspect of the ambiguous nature of the identification of the centaur featured on micromosaics is color. Color was an integral part of the Furietti Centaurs and was commented on regularly by tourists. Important to a discussion of color is the 1805 restoration of the sculptures by Francesco Franzoni. His restoration was focused on repatination and cleaning that resulted in a darker and shinier sculpture.<sup>763</sup> The lustrous and shiny marble of the centaur as depicted on micromosaics is certainly suggestive of how the Furietti Centaurs might have appeared in their post-Franzoni state. However, this luster does not exclude Napolioni's earlier restorations that could have yielded similar results. The implications of Franzoni's restoration to our modern understanding of the sculptures are significant, since scholars, both in the eighteenth centuries and today, have often claimed that the employment of the dark marble in antiquity was in imitation of a Hellenistic bronze original.<sup>764</sup>

Artist Peter Rockwell suggests that Franzoni's repatination of the sculpture was to obscure the real, grayer color of the marble to make them look bronze.<sup>765</sup> With the discovery of the Furietti Centaurs, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century antiquarians thought they had found the statue on which the other copies were based, such as the

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<sup>761</sup> Maffei, *Raccolta*, LXXII.

<sup>762</sup> Christie's South Kensington Ltd, *Antiquities and Souvenirs of the Grand Tour, Wednesday 27 April 1994*, fig. 293. Christie's South Kensington Ltd, *The Macclesfield Sculpture*, fig. 77.

<sup>763</sup> La Rocca, Pressice, and Lo Monaco, *L'Età*, 204.

<sup>764</sup> Visconti, Éméric-David, and Winckelmann all agreed that the Borghese Centaur was a copy of the Furietti Centaurs (Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, 178-9). Caution should be exercised, however, in attributing such meanings to the antique artists. There is no evidence that the color of the marble was indicative of an antique desire to mimic bronze (Emily Margaret Cook, "Mimesis and Material(ity): The Use of "Metallic" Stones in Roman Imperial Sculpture," Paper read at the 117<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, 6-9 January 2016, San Francisco).

Borghese Centaur. By the end of the nineteenth century, however, there was a general acceptance that all of the marble centaurs were copies of a lost bronze Hellenistic model.<sup>766</sup> Antiquarians noted the Hellenistic qualities of the sculptures at the time of their discovery, such as connections to Alexandrian poetry that included similar allegories of love. Nineteenth-century antiquarians believed that Aristeas and Papias used dark marble in order to mimic the lost bronze original. I would propose that in employing the dark coloring on micromosaics of the older centaur, micromosaicists were not only referring to the Furietti Centaur, but were also correcting the replica series to be in accordance with the Hellenistic original.

While color was often noted in descriptions of the Furietti Centaurs, it was not a concern in descriptions of the Borghese Centaur. A range of adjectives was used to describe the marble of the Furietti Centaurs with some employing the Italian name of the bigio-morato marble, while others use the word “black” or “nero antico” to describe the marble. Importantly, the term “nero” was used as a descriptor even before the restorations of Franzoni.<sup>767</sup> However, the use of “black” or “nero” proliferated after the restorations as well.<sup>768</sup> Nonetheless, I would caution against reading the post-restoration descriptions of the statues as all black since travelers continued to write about them as gray as well. Robert Finch wrote that in his 1815 visit he saw the “two famous centaurs in marmo biogio, implying black marble with a mixture of grey.”<sup>769</sup> An anonymous

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<sup>765</sup> Rockwell, “The Creative Reuse,” 81.

<sup>766</sup> Helbig, *Guide*, 377.

<sup>767</sup> Amidei et. al, *Roma antica*, 271.

<sup>768</sup> James Wilson wrote, “The centaur of black antique marble...” (Wilson, *A Journal of Two*, Vol. II, 326). Mariana Starke wrote of “a Centaur, of nero antico...” (Starke, *Travels in Europe*, 158).

<sup>769</sup> Finch, *Journal*, e. 15., 127. Denis O’Donovan also wrote of the sculpture being of bigio-morato marble (O’Donovan, *Memories*, 215).

author wrote in letters from 1817-1818 of their “dark grey marble.”<sup>770</sup> I would suggest that regardless of the color changes inflicted by the 1805 restorations of Franzoni, the dark coloring of the centaurs was an important aspect of the centaurs both before and after the darkening of the patina. That micromosaicists chose to color their centaur after the Furietti Centaurs’ coloring is natural given the interest in the sculptures’ coloring by tourists.

We have firmly established that the centaur on micromosaics represented a conflation of the Furietti and Borghese Centaurs. This sort of conflation of the centaurs on micromosaics is not anomalous, and therefore is reflective of prevailing practices of combining motifs in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Georg Morawietz asserts that the reshaping of the Furietti Centaurs, adding figures and combining with other models, was especially popular in the nineteenth century. A model of the Borghese Centaur that was combined with the wall painting of a Bacchante riding a Centaur from the Villa of Cicero in Pompeii is an example of this nineteenth-century penchant for combining centaur motifs.<sup>771</sup> A gem made by Tommaso Cades, for example, also demonstrates this (Figure 153). The gem depicts a centaur with a cupid who appears to be standing on the back of the elder Centaur, pulling on the cords with which he binds the centaur’s hands behind his back.<sup>772</sup> This cupid has interesting resonances with the elder Furietti Centaur, whose back boasted carved away marks that were suggestive of a standing cupid.<sup>773</sup> So does Cades’ centaur represent a modified Borghese Centaur or an

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<sup>770</sup> Anonymous, *Rome in the Nineteenth*, 416.

<sup>771</sup> Morawietz, “Die Kentauren,” 63.

<sup>772</sup> Cades, *Impronti*, Libro 12, classe II, A, no. 533 (Beazley Archive).

<sup>773</sup> Rockwell, “The Creativity of Reuse,” 80.

imaginative reconstruction of the elder Furietti Centaur? It is possible that this gem, like micromosaics, was purposefully ambiguous, thus doubling its appeal.

The blurring of the characteristics of the Furietti and Borghese Centaurs into a single centaur appealed to tourists, who could purchase a souvenir that encapsulated the best parts of each centaur: the cupid of the Borghese Centaur and the naturalism, musculature, and coloring of the Furietti Centaur. In addition, I propose that we see these souvenir micromosaics act as what landscape architect Dean MacCannell calls markers. MacCannell defines markers as something that a sightseer has contact with, but that does not necessarily have to be the sight itself or on the same site as the object. In fact, it is more important for there to be some marker of the sight than necessarily the sight itself.<sup>774</sup> Thus, this representation on micromosaics would serve as a marker for both the Borghese Centaur and the Furietti Centaur, doubling its appeal. Both sculptures were greatly admired by tourists during the Grand Tour, despite antiquarian preference for the Borghese Centaur. One traveler demonstrated this when he wrote: "...but the famous Furietti Centaurs I admire extremely, indeed more I suppose than I ought for Winckelman (and of course all the critics echo him) gives them small praise, though he does not mention in which way they displease him..."<sup>775</sup> This passage aptly illustrates conflicted feelings toward one centaur or the other. Micromosaics depicting the ambiguous centaur provided a solution for this by creating an alternate centaur that conflated the two replicas. Micromosaicists capitalized on the confusion and unsure preferences of tourists for the Borghese and Furietti Centaurs in order to create a souvenir that would have appeal to both admirers of the sculptural groups.

### **Gabinetto delle Maschere Mosaic**

A group of four mosaic panels, three of masks and one pastoral scene, were found in the rooms of the Palazzo Imperiale of Hadrian's Villa during the excavations of Cardinal Mario Marefoschi in 1779-80 (Figure 154). One mask, surrounded by a white field and framed by a vine border, was found in ambiente 47, according to Piranesi.<sup>776</sup> After excavation, the mosaics were housed in the Casino Fede at Hadrian's Villa before Pope Pius VI acquired them for the Vatican collections in June 1781. These mosaics are not interesting so much for their modifications in micromosaic, but rather for the ways in which their constituent parts appeared on micromosaic. The mosaic panels, while restored together into a new composition, were broken apart again in micromosaics. This practice is typical; we will see it again in the next chapter in conjunction with the wall painting of the Herculaneum Dancers.

The years after the discovery of the mask mosaics are revealing for understanding the ways in which the parts of mosaic were used differently in micromosaics. Upon the arrival of the mosaic, Ennio Visconti, who organized the collections of the Museo Pio-Clementino, invited micromosaicists to study the Doves of Pliny mosaic at the Museo Capitolino in comparison, presumably because they were found in the same location and were of a similar date.<sup>777</sup> At the Vatican, the mosaic underwent restorations overseen by Andrea Volpini (1756-1820), a mosaicist at the Studio del Mosaico Vaticano who also

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<sup>774</sup> MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 110-13.

<sup>775</sup> Anonymous, *Rome in the Nineteenth*, 416.

<sup>776</sup> De Franceschini, *Villa Adriana*, 124.

<sup>777</sup> Werner, *Die Sammlung*, 114-5.

had a private micromosaic studio in the Piazza di Spagna.<sup>778</sup> He restored parts of the border, part of the lyre, an area between two draped cloths, and one of the lower masks. Volpini chose to reassemble two other panels of masks and one of a pastoral scene within the blank field of the mask panel with the garland border. He then augmented the white field with ivy, stars, and the personifications of the winds, which were the heraldic symbols of Pope Pius VI, who had purchased the mosaic.<sup>779</sup> Drawings of Agostino Penna in his book on Hadrian's Villa, *Viaggio pittorico della Villa Adriana*, demonstrate that this is not how the mosaics were originally found (Figure 155).<sup>780</sup> Volpini completed the restorations by July 1791.<sup>781</sup>

When we turn to micromosaics of the Gabinetto delle Maschere mosaic, the restoration work of Volpini is undone, featuring the mosaic in its original context. For example, the masks of the mosaic panel are featured on the interior and exterior lid of a snuffbox (Figure 156 and Figure 157).<sup>782</sup> The micromosaic breaks the original composition into two, which are then compressed to fit the small space of the interior and exterior snuffbox lid. This consolidation is a nice example of how miniatures compress an event.

Recall that the original mosaic had only the one mask panel surrounded by a white field and enclosed by a vine border. This frieze was greatly admired; Antonio Canova, for instance, who visited the mosaic in 1780 when it was still in the Casino Fede, described the border as “una meraviglia.”<sup>783</sup> James Smith wrote how the “beautiful

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<sup>778</sup> Alfieri, Branchetti, and Cornini, *Mosaici minuti*, 175.

<sup>779</sup> De Franceschini, *Villa Adriana*, 124-125.

<sup>780</sup> Penna, *Viaggio*, tav. CVI.

<sup>781</sup> Werner, *Die Sammlung*, 115.

<sup>782</sup> Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, 76.

<sup>783</sup> Quoted in MacDonald and Pinto, *Hadrian's Villa*, 298.

border is a festoon of vine-leaves and ribbands.”<sup>784</sup> The border of this mosaic in the Gabinetto delle Maschere was very likely singled out for production into two tables by Vatican micromosaicists. In the records of the Reverenda Fabbrica there is documentation for two tables with a famous vine frieze with two women making sacrificial offerings at the center. This is likely the first secular subject undertaken by the studio.<sup>785</sup> A report from the early nineteenth-century Studio del Mosaico Vaticano recorded:

...fra i sogetti scelti nell’anno 1795 per i nuovi lavori di mosaico in smalti filati che previo il Piano, presentato al Pontefice Pio VI dall’Economo della Fabbrica e l’approvazione riportare dal detto Pontefice fu pensato d’introdurre nello studio de mosaici al Vaticano a beneficio dell’arte medesima e per il maggior profitto che ne avrebbe potuto ritrarre la Fabbrica di San Pietro fu stabilito di copiare in due tavolini simili il celebre fregio di pampani e grappoli d’uve, mosaico antico nel Museo Pio-Clementino, soggetto, che per la varia e vaghezza delle tinte, e per la minuta manifattura potea dare un risalto maggiore lavorato nel moderno mosaico mediante il recente ritrovato dello smalto filato dagli antichi non conosciuto.<sup>786</sup>

Several parts of this account deserve further attention. First of all, this is definitive proof that mosaicists had contact with ancient mosaics acquired for the Vatican collections, as Pope Pius VI thought these interactions benefitted the mosaicists of the studio. Again,

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<sup>784</sup> James Edward Smith, *A Sketch of a Tour on the Continent*, Vol. II, (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, 1807), 204.

<sup>785</sup> Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, 312.

<sup>786</sup> Archivio Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro, Armadio 12 G14a, F152. “Amongst the subjects chosen in the year 1795 for the new works of mosaic in smalti filati, which under the plan presented to Pope Pius VI from the Economo della Fabbrica and getting approval back from said pope; it was thought to introduce the study of mosaics at the Vatican for the benefit of the same art and for the greater benefit which the Fabbrica di San Pietro would draw from that; it was established to copy into two tables the same celebrated frieze of ivy and bunches of grapes, an ancient mosaic in the Museo Pio-Clementino, the subject, which for the variety and vagueness of shades, and for the minute manufacture is able to give a greater prominence worked in modern mosaic with recently discovered *smalto filato* that was not known by the ancients.” The interior decoration is described elsewhere: “Tavolini due detti dei Pampani, lunghi palmi 8, larghi palmi 4 ognuno, contornati da festoni di foglie con uva, stretti da nastri e nel mezzo di ciascuno due figure con altri oggetti allusive a bacchanali, il tutto a colori...” (Archivio della Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro. Armadio 19 B4, Num. 118).

we also observe how the Studio del Mosaico Vaticano professed the superiority of modern mosaic making over the ancients, who were not aware of *smalti filati*.

We can assume that the “celebre fregio” of the document refers to the border that surrounds the mask panel in the Gabinetto delle Maschere because of visual and documentary evidence. Pope Gregory XVI gave one of the tables described by the document as a diplomatic gift to Tsar Nicholas I; it is now at the Hermitage (Figure 158).<sup>787</sup> While the vine border on the table also includes grapes that are not part of the original border, the other similarities are too striking for this account to be associated with any other mosaic. The Studio del Mosaico Vaticano document mentions how Pope Pius VI chose subjects in 1795 for new works in micromosaic and this date correlated with the pope’s purchase of the Gabinetto delle Maschere mosaic. Andrea Volpini’s restoration work on the mosaic provided other mosaicists familiarity with the mosaic. Moreover, Andrea Volpini had a son, Michele Volpini, who also worked at the Reverenda Fabbrica and actually examined the quality of the workmanship of one of the above-mentioned tables.<sup>788</sup>

While this mask mosaic and its border were not modified in any significant ways to cater to the tourist market, they are significant for contributing to our understanding of how micromosaicists worked with and were inspired by antiquities. These associated micromosaics demonstrate how ancient mosaics were broken apart for different uses. Furthermore, they were rehabilitated with different scenes, such as the joining of the vine border and sacrifice scene. This mosaic is also instructive for informing us how different subjects were introduced into the souvenir market. Andrea Volpini enjoyed somewhat

unusual privileges to take smalti from the Studio del Mosaico Vaticano to use in his work outside of the Studio del Mosaico Vaticano at his studio.<sup>789</sup> Volpini, who had intense familiarity with the mosaic from his restoration work, could have then introduced this motif into the souvenir market of the Piazza di Spagna. Thus, we can note how micromosaicists might have translated the mask mosaic, and perhaps others, into the private sector.

## Conclusion

The environs of Tivoli was rife with antiquities, both still standing and those that were excavated from the earth. The artifacts of Tivoli populated the museums of Rome and the minds of Grand Tourists. My discussion of micromosaics depicting objects related to Tivoli has showcased the range of attitudes taken towards ancient objects. The Temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli illustrates the ways in which micromosaicists memorialized standard ways of viewing that were adopted by those visiting the temple. The Doves of Pliny mosaic was modified on micromosaics to align with Pliny's account and with modern notions of superior mosaic making. Here, micromosaicists tailored the mosaic to suit the preferred tastes of their customers. Micromosaics with the basket of flowers reveal how antiquity and modern painting intersected. This mosaic also demonstrates how micromosaicists likely drove the popularity of the basket of flowers motif. The centaur and cupid on micromosaics revealed ways in which a popular ancient replica series was conflated to incorporate significant aspects of multiple statues. The Gabinetto

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<sup>787</sup> Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, 312.

<sup>788</sup> Archivio Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro, Armadio 52, F111; Armadio 12, G14C, F335.

<sup>789</sup> Archivio Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro, Armadio 12, G14C, F417.

delle Maschere mosaic is representative of how micromosaicists used the components of mosaics in different ways. With the examination of these three ancient mosaics, we can note how the use of ancient mosaic in tables translated to the use of micromosaic in tables. With this discussion of monuments and artworks associated with Tivoli, we can note the different relationships that micromosaicists had with the souvenir industry market.

## **Chapter Five: Painting Naples on Micromosaics, the City in which “No language can do justice to its colouring”**

This chapter will address a selection of antiquities found in the Bay of Naples area in southern Italy that appear with frequency on micromosaics. I will examine two wall paintings uncovered in eighteenth-century excavations that were on display at the Museo di Portici that depict women dancing and a woman selling cupids. The micromosaicists' choices to modify their depictions will be examined in light of how travelers wrote about their experiences in the museum and with these ancient paintings. I will demonstrate how a wall painting of dancing women catered to women and served as a marker for other sights of the Grand Tour in Naples. Micromosaics of a painting of a woman selling cupids also promoted other sights in Naples and took cues from contemporary paintings inspired by the wall painting. Then I will turn to architecture and the temples at Paestum, which reinvigorated enthusiasm in Greek architecture and southern Italy. I will show how micromosaicists participated in a common visual vocabulary when producing these, and therefore kept pace with expectations formed by tourists before undertaking the journey to Italy. Moreover, these three subjects on micromosaics demonstrate not only the ways in which micromosaicists memorialized monuments, but also modified them in accordance with travelers' expectations as formed before and during their visits.

### **The Rediscovery of the Ancient Sites on the Bay of Naples**

The discovery of Herculaneum and Pompeii in the eighteenth century had an enormous impact on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century visual culture. Although Pompeii was technically uncovered during construction of a canal in the late sixteenth

century, it did not garner much interest. The situation was very different when, in 1709, a local farmer digging a well in Herculaneum uncovered antiquities. Prince d'Elboeuf, an exiled French aristocrat working as an Austrian commander in Naples, purchased the land where the well was dug and initiated excavations. Systematic excavations of the site of Herculaneum began in 1738 when the Spanish Bourbon kings of Naples appointed military engineer Roque Joaquín de Alcubierre to oversee the excavations and who surveyed and excavated the site for the royal palace in Naples. Alcubierre's engineering training led him to adopt tunneling as a form of excavating the deeply buried antiquities at Herculaneum. Excavations began at Pompeii and nearby Stabiae in 1748 where conditions were easier, prompted by the dangers that tunneling in Herculaneum presented.<sup>790</sup> The excavations of both Pompeii and Herculaneum fell under the strict control of King Charles VII and his son, Ferdinand, both of whom employed a host of regulations in order to maintain a monopoly on the discovery. Visitors had to apply for permits to visit, and if they were successful, they had to be accompanied under supervision with drawing and note taking strictly forbidden.<sup>791</sup> The Bourbons, in their quest to control the excavated objects and information disseminated about them, suppressed attempts at publication, such as the Marchese Venuti's report about the discovery of the Villa of the Papyri.<sup>792</sup> Despite such regulations, information about discoveries leaked to the public, and as interest in the sites grew, so did the pressure to

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<sup>790</sup> Raleigh Trevelyan, "Eighteenth-Century Neapolitan Influences on the Decorative Arts: Herculaneum, Pompeii, and the Etruscan Style," *The Connoisseur* 196 (1977): 105.

<sup>791</sup> Some visitors drew or took notes from memory after their visit; however, others were sneakier. Lady Anna Miller was one such crafty visitor who explains: "Observe I have not dwelt half as long as I might have done upon this cabinet of curiosities for such indeed it is; but my time and memory both fail me, it being with the most utmost difficulty I contrived to take a few notes in my pocket-book, without being observed" (Miller, *Letters from Italy*, Vol. II, 83).

<sup>792</sup> Trevelyan, "Eighteenth-Century Neapolitan," 105.

publish. Two years after excavation began at Pompeii the Royal Publishing House began under Ottavio Antonio Bayardi and some volumes were published on Herculaneum, but they had only fleeting references to the objects and contained very few illustrations. A few years later in 1755 Bernardo Tanucci and King Charles formed the Royal Herculaneum Academy of Archaeology, a group of fifteen scholars in charge of publishing the objects and paintings. It was this committee that was responsible for publishing eight volumes of the *Delle Antichità di Ercolano* from 1757-1792.<sup>793</sup> Although only selectively given out in the beginning, illegal copies of accounts of the site increased, and King Ferdinand IV authorized wider dissemination of the volumes in the 1770s.<sup>794</sup>

The decorative motifs found on objects from the Vesuvian cities had a tremendous impact on the decorative arts. King Ferdinand IV, along with his father, was instrumental in creating a culture of antiquarianism in Naples.<sup>795</sup> It was Ferdinand who appointed Domenico Venuti, son and nephew of archaeologists and friend of antiquarians, to head up the Real Fabbrica Ferdinanda in Naples in 1779. Under his influence they began by producing porcelain with themes of antiquity, especially those

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<sup>793</sup> Carol C. Mattusch, *Letter and Report: on the Discoveries at Herculaneum*, (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2011), 14-15.

<sup>794</sup> Cheaper, smaller editions of this then circulated around Europe (Gabriella Tassinari, *Le pitture delle Antichità di Ercolano nelle gemme del XVIII e XIX secolo*, (Pompei: Associazione Internazionale Amici di Pompei, 2015), 65). The volume was also translated into different languages; for example, John Lettice and Thomas Martyn published an English version in 1773 with illustrations by Grignion (Elisabeth Chevallier, "Peintures d'Herculanum d'après le *Voyage pittoresque* de Saint-Non. Pour une théorie des arabesques," in *Ercolano 1738-1988: 250 anni di ricerca archeologica*, ed. Luisa Franchi dell'Orto, (Roma: "L'Erma" di Bretschneider, 1993), 58). Tommaso Piroli also distributed a less expensive version in 1789 (Tommaso Piroli, *Le Antichità di Ercolano*, Rome, 1789-1794).

<sup>795</sup> For example, King Charles brought part of the Farnese collection of ancient sculpture down to Naples (Giovanna Ceserani, *Italy's Lost Greece: Magna Graecia and the Making of Modern Archaeology*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 43).

inspired by wall paintings from Pompeii.<sup>796</sup> The popularity of the *Antichità* led to a surge in Pompeian influence in the arts beyond Naples, and even Italy, as is seen in the designs of Josiah Wedgwood or Robert Adam. The *Antichità* served, in part, as a pattern and sourcebook for artists. However, its impact went beyond the decorative arts, and Pompeii was romanticized in theater and drama, such as in Edward Bulwer-Lytton's wildly successful novel turned theatrical adaptation, *The Last Days of Pompeii*.<sup>797</sup>

With increasingly relaxed regulations about who could see the collections, Naples became a popular stop on the Grand Tour. Visiting the excavations became a standard part of the itinerary as visitors took up torches and went underground to Herculaneum or engaged a *cicerone* to lead them through Pompeii. Furthermore, beginning in 1750 antiquities from Herculaneum and Pompeii were removed from their location in the Palazzo Caramancio in the royal summer palace in Portici, located at the foot of Mt. Vesuvius.<sup>798</sup> For fear of destruction caused by the eruption of Vesuvius, this collection was transferred to the Real Museo Borbonico in Naples, a museum that would eventually become the Museo Archeologico Nazionale. The antiquities of Herculaneum and Pompeii that were publicly accessible in the museum also added to the lure of Naples on the Grand Tour.

### Wall Painting from the Bay of Naples

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<sup>796</sup> Gina Carla Ascione, "Il 'souvenir' di Pompei. Dalle immagini neoclassiche alla diffusione nell'epoca della riproducibilità tecnica," *Rivista di Studi di Pompeiana* XII-XIII (2001-2002): 49-50.

<sup>797</sup> Göran Blix, *From Paris to Pompeii: French Romanticism and the Cultural Politics of Archaeology*, (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 10.

<sup>798</sup> Renata Cantilena, "*Herculanense Museum*. Un breve viaggio tra memorie del Settecento," in *Herculanense Museum: laboratorio sull'antico nella Reggia di Portici*, ed. Renata Cantilena and Annalisa Porzio, (Napoli: Electa Napoli, 2008), 79.

Frequently described by travel writers as “sawed from the walls” of excavation sites, wall paintings were excised from their original contexts in order that they might reside in the Museo di Portici. Entire walls were not removed in situ, because the Bourbons were not interested in expanses of black, yellow, and red walls, and were instead more struck by decorative motifs, which excavators cut into individual vignettes.<sup>799</sup> Classicist Hérica Valladares argues that this practice of decontextualization stemmed from Enlightenment ideas of “selecting, extracting, and reframing.”<sup>800</sup> Archaeologist Tina Najbjerg attributed this interest in excising and reframing to the Bourbons, as especially seen in the successful porcelain factory, the Real Fabbrica Ferdinanda, where wall paintings were isolated and transformed into framed works of art.<sup>801</sup> In the early years of excavation, nearly everything was removed from the walls, and it was only later that excavators began to practice selection, destroying any paintings they did not chose to include in the museum.<sup>802</sup> Once removed from the walls, the paintings were conserved, a feat that presented a challenge to the Bourbons given that there were no established procedures for such an undertaking. Stefano Moriconi suggested that they apply a solution of varnish on the surface of the paintings in order to preserve their coloring, which deteriorated rapidly as soon as excavation exposed them to

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<sup>799</sup> It was only the Temple of Isis that was removed in its entirety, and therefore the context of its paintings was conserved (Paola D’Alconzo, “Naples and the Birth of a Tradition of Conservation: the Restoration of Wall Paintings from the Vesuvian sites in the Eighteenth Century,” trans. Mark Weir, *Journal of the History of Collections* 19 (2007): 205).

<sup>800</sup> Hérica Valladares, “Four Women from Stabiae: Eighteenth-Century Antiquarian Practice and the History of Ancient Roman Painting,” in *Antiquity Restored: The Legacy of Pompeii and Herculaneum*, eds. Victoria C. Gardner Coates and Jon L. Seydl, (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2007), 76.

<sup>801</sup> Tina Najbjerg, “From Art to Archaeology: Recontextualizing the Images from the Porticus of Herculaneum,” in *Antiquity Restored: The Legacy of Pompeii and Herculaneum*, eds. Victoria C. Gardner Coates and Jon L. Seydl, (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 2007), 59-66.

the air. Camillo Paderni, the director of the Museo di Portici and a painter from Rome, oversaw the entire conservation process of the paintings; they were first cleaned with water, then varnish was applied to the surface, and lastly they were framed and put under glass, ready for display.<sup>803</sup>

Visitors frequently described the Museo di Portici, but a complete understanding of how the museum organized its wall paintings room by room is prohibited by the ever-increasing influx of paintings brought in from excavations.<sup>804</sup> However, thanks to travelers' descriptions, we know that the wall paintings were grouped into thematic displays based on subject matter and were framed in wood that was painted red and placed behind glass.<sup>805</sup> Thomas Rowlandson, in conjunction with his account of the museum included a drawing, which suggests that the wall paintings were hung like a salon, fitting with contemporary practice (Figure 159).<sup>806</sup>

Given the prolific impact of these discoveries and their wide dissemination through the *Antichità*, it is perhaps not surprising that some of the scenes from Pompeian wall paintings found their way onto micromosaics. What may be surprising, however, is the frequency with which these scenes appeared on objects produced by micromosaicists

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<sup>802</sup> D'Alconzo, "Naples," 205. This stems from the Bourbon practice of strict control over the material; if they were not going to keep the wall painting they were not willing to risk someone else being able to acquire such antiquities.

<sup>803</sup> D'Alconzo, "Naples," 206.

<sup>804</sup> Valeria Sampaolo, "Dall'Herculanense Museum al Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli," in *Pompei e L'Europa: 1748-1943*, eds. Massimo Osanna, Maria Teresa Caracciolo, and Luigi Gallo, (Milano: Mondadori Electa S.p.A., 2015), 29.

<sup>805</sup> Cantilena, "Herculanense," 80.

<sup>806</sup> That this was likely the mode of display in the museum is further suggested by studies of the original frames that revealed they were only painted red on the front, visible surfaces and not the sides (Gabriella Prisco, "Restauri per via di mettere, restauri per via di togliere. Alla ricerca di un metodo nelle officine di Portici," in *Herculanense Museum: laboratorio sull'antico nella Reggia di Portici*, eds. Renata Cantilena and Annalisa Porzio, (Napoli: Electa Napoli, 2008), 192).

in Rome.<sup>807</sup> Roman micromosaicists peddled subject matters that travelled beyond the physical boundaries of their city as their clientele often stopped in Rome after their visits to Naples and would, therefore, have fresh memories of their visits to the Vesuvian cities. Micromosaicists learned of these paintings from Pompeii and Herculaneum in much the same ways as tourists: either by in-person visits or through the *Antichità*.<sup>808</sup> In a letter written in the mid-eighteenth century to persuade Bernardo Tanucci to translate the *Antichità* into French and English, Ferdinando Galiani wrote that, “All the goldsmiths, costume-jewelry makers, painters of carriages and ornamental panels need this book. Did Your Excellency know that everything these days is made *à la greque*, which is the same as saying *à Erculanum*?”<sup>809</sup> Additionally, we know that mosaicists even visited the museum in Naples; Vincenzo Raffaelli, son of famed micromosaicist Giacomo Raffaelli, was summoned to work on the restoration of the “Il Gran Musaico,” the Battle of Alexander mosaic, in 1843.<sup>810</sup> Therefore, despite their physical remove, subjects from Southern Italy proved a standard repertoire from which Roman mosaicists drew.

### **Herculaneum Dancers**

Now we turn to a subject that was prolific in the decorative arts, and therefore also makes an appearance on micromosaics where it was modified and memorialized in

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<sup>807</sup> In fact, this is seen in other souvenir arts as well. All signed glyptics of Herculaneum paintings are by known gem-engravers working in Rome (Tassinari, *Le pitture*, 111).

<sup>808</sup> An investigation of the libraries and studios of gem-engravers shows that they had access to copies of the *Antichità* or other similar sources (Tassinari, *Le pitture*, 66-7). Gem-engravers and micromosaicists enjoyed a close relationship with each other, as was demonstrated in the previous chapter.

<sup>809</sup> Quoted in Ferdinando Bologna, “The Rediscovery of Herculaneum and Pompeii in the Artistic Culture of Europe in the Eighteenth Century,” in *Rediscovering Pompeii: Exhibition by IBM-ITALIA*, ed. Ministero per i beni culturali e ambientali and Soprintendenza archeologica di Pompei, (Roma: L’Erma di Bretschneider, 1990), 79.

<sup>810</sup> Letter, Fondazione Antonio Negro, Archivio Raffaelli, Roma, 10 May 1843.

accordance with expectations of tourists. This wall painting is the so-called Herculaneum Dancers, not to be confused with the bronze sculptures from the Villa of the Papyri at Herculaneum also of the same name (Figure 160). The Herculaneum Dancers is a misnomer since the wall paintings actually come from the Villa of Cicero at Pompeii.<sup>811</sup> Various also called *danzatrici*, *ballatrici*, *bacchantes*, or *maenads* they consist of a series of women, seemingly floating against a black background, poised mid-dance with drapery accentuating their movements.<sup>812</sup> Some of the women carry different instruments: a thyrsus, cymbals, a tambourine, a basket, a plate of figs, and a jug. The paintings were first found in Pompeii on January 18, 1749 and, according to the *Antichità*, were found all in the same place on the wall of a room, suggested as either a cubiculum or triclinium.<sup>813</sup> According to this same description, more than twelve paintings were pulled from the wall, implying that, as was typical practice, the paintings were excised from their original environment and transformed into individualized vignettes.<sup>814</sup>

These floating figures were particularly popular in the decorative arts; their popularity spread thanks to the images published in the *Antichità*.<sup>815</sup> What made these figures appeal so wildly to both artists and the public? Jean-Claude Richard de Saint-Non wrote in his *Voyage pittoresque*, a series of volumes published from 1781-1786, that

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<sup>811</sup> Trevelyan suggests that this misnomer derives from the fact that it was published in the *Antichità di Ercolano Eposte* (Trevelyan, "Eighteenth-Century Neapolitan," 105).

<sup>812</sup> The *Antichità* refers to them as *ballatrici* (Tomo I: 94).

<sup>813</sup> Through studies of excavation diaries, the *Antichità*, findspots, and stylistics, however, P. Herrmann proposed that the dancers actually came from two different rooms: 4 from an oecus or cubiculum and 8 from a triclinium (Rosaria Ciardiello, "Le antichità di Ercolano esposte e la scoperta della Villa di Cicerone a Pompei," in *Vesuvio: il Grand Tour dell'Accademia Ercolanese del passato al futuro*, ed. Aniello DeRosa, (Napoli: Arte Tipografica Editrice, 2010), 82).

<sup>814</sup> *Le Antichità*, Tomo I, 93.

<sup>815</sup> Antonio Canova's *Due danzatrici librate sulla punta del piede* (Museo Biblioteca Archivio, Inv. F8 19.1741); Antonio Canova's *Danzatrice con i cembali*, 1798-99 (Museo e Gipsoteca Antonio Canova inv. 121); *Danzatrici*, attributed to Michelangelo Maestri in a private collection in Feltre (Sergio Claut et al., *Il*

these images appealed as arabesques, which he defined as ornamental whims. Indeed, the whimsical fantasy of the dancers who are isolated in thin air would have appealed to the eye, and were appreciated from the time of their discovery, a view shared by art historians and travelers.<sup>816</sup> Their beauty and grace were often cited; in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the Royal Society they are described with “attitudes of which are very genteel, and the drawing pretty...”<sup>817</sup> Johann Joachim Winckelmann echoed these sentiments; he wrote in a letter to the Count Bruhl: “The work of a great master, they are as fleeting as a thought and as beautiful as if they were drawn by the Graces.”<sup>818</sup> Winckelmann even went so far as to say that: “Indeed the best paintings in the Herculaneum museum are from Pompeii, and those are the dancers and the male and female centaurs painted on a black ground that were found at Pompeii.”<sup>819</sup> In travel accounts, writers echoed these same attitudes calling the dancers “exquisitely beautiful,”<sup>820</sup> “very graceful,”<sup>821</sup> and “elegant.”<sup>822</sup> This sort of rhetoric fits well with eighteenth-century ideals, as suggested by art historian Antonella Trotta. In analyzing Lady Anna Miller’s experience at the Portici Museum as recorded in her travel account, Trotta unpacks the similarities between Miller’s descriptions and Hogarth’s *An Analysis of Beauty*. In particular, she equates Miller’s focus on paintings that depict movement,

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*fascino dell’antico: dall’Accademia ercolanese a Gio Ponti passando per Antonio Canova*, (Feltre: Carlo Rizzarda, 2014), 4.a, 5.a, 6.a, 7.a, 8.a, 9.a, 10.a, 11.a).

<sup>816</sup> Chevallier, “Peintures,” 63.

<sup>817</sup> “Extract of a Letter from Naples, concerning Herculaneum, containing an Account and Description of the Place, and What has been found in it, Read April 18, 1751,” *Philosophical Transactions* 47 (1751-2): 157.

<sup>818</sup> English translation of Letter 30 from Winckelmann to Heinrich Count von Brühl, 1762 (Mattusch, *Letter and Report*, 44, 83).

<sup>819</sup> English translation of a letter to Heinrich Fuessi, 1764 (Mattusch, *Letter and Report*, 178).

<sup>820</sup> James Silk Buckingham, *France, Piedmont, Italy, Lombardy, the Tyrol, and Bavaria*, Vol. I, (London: Peter Jackson, Late Fisher, Son, & Co, 1847), 325.

<sup>821</sup> Miller, *Letters from Italy*, Vol. II, 80.

such as those of the dancers whom she cited as graceful and beautiful, with Hogarth's theory on the connection of line and movement.<sup>823</sup> In fact, movement was something also frequently emphasized in travel accounts of the dancers, such as Ann Flaxman's description of the "little flying figures, very graceful."<sup>824</sup>

The acclaimed Herculaneum Dancers infiltrated the decorative arts market with vigor, sometimes being replicated verbatim while other times more loosely derived. They are found decorating interiors on walls, ceilings, and floors;<sup>825</sup> porcelain, especially that produced by the Real Fabbrica Ferdinanda (Figure 167);<sup>826</sup> furniture;<sup>827</sup> and other

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<sup>822</sup> Waldie, *Sketches Descriptive of Italy*, Vol. III, 90.

<sup>823</sup> Antonella Trotta, "Curiosità archeologiche e peripezie del gusto. Il museo di Portici nelle *Letters from Italy* di Lady Anna Miller," in *Herculaneum Museum: laboratorio sull'antico nella Reggia di Portici*, ed. Renata Cantilena and Annalisa Porzio, (Napoli: Electa Napoli, 2008), 96-7. Miller, *Letters from Italy*, Vol. II, 80.

<sup>824</sup> Flaxman, *An Uninteresting Detail*.

<sup>825</sup> Found on the walls of the Pompeian inspired bathroom and in the mosaic floor of the room of Alexander at the Villa Torlonia in Rome, the painted ceiling of an antechamber in the Palazzo Reale in Venice, the dining room of Josephine at Malmaison (Blix, *From Paris to Pompeii*, 17), the Pompeian Room in Ickworth House near Bury St. Edmunds (Nancy H Ramage, "Flying Maenads and Cupids: Pompeii, Herculaneum, and Eighteenth-Century Decorative Arts," in *Rediscovering the Ancient World on the Bay of Naples, 1710-1890*, ed. Carol C. Mattusch, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 169), the Pompeian room in the Schloss Friedenthal in Gotha (Mario Praz, *On Neoclassicism*, (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1969), fig. 22), the Palazzo Altieri in Rome, Pompeian room in hunting lodge at Ludwigsburg Palace in Baden-Württemberg, the Grüne Galerie in the Neuer Schloss of Stuttgart, the Castle of Wörlitz, the Derby House and Syon House in London, and Osterley Park House in Middlesex (Ciardiello, "Le antichità," 68-9).

<sup>826</sup> Plate with a dancing maenad from the Real Fabbrica Ferdinanda in the Galleria Nazionali di Capodimonte, Inv. N. 468 (Caròla-Perrotti, *Le porcellane*, fig. 261); cup and plate with dancing maenads from the Louvre (Caròla-Perrotti 1986, fig. 338t); amphoras with dancing maenads from the Real Fabbrica Ferdinanda in a private collection (Caròla-Perrotti, *Le porcellane*, fig. 359); and an ice bucket (*Civiltà del '700 a Napoli 1734-1799*, Vol. II, (Firenze: Centro Di, 1980), cat. 377). In the style of the Real Fabbrica Ferdinanda are cups and plates from the Collezione d'Arte Villa Cagnola with images of the dancers, Inv. 377A, 377b (Claut, *Il fascino*, fig. 74). Other Neapolitan porcelain factories also participated in production of these themes such as plate from the Fabbrica Michele Giustiniani (Mario Rotili, *La manifattura Giustiniani*, (Benevento: Museo del Sannio, 1967), tav. XXXIV).

<sup>827</sup> An English sideboard with the figures in grisailles (Praz, *On Neoclassicism*, fig. 23), on sofas and chairs from the Museo di Capodimonte in Naples (Massimo Osanna, Maria Teresa Caracciolo, and Luigi Gallo, eds., *Pompei e L'Europa: 1748-1943*, (Milano: Mondadori Electa S.p.A., 2015), 71), one of a Wedgwood pair of girandoles in the Wedgwood Museum (Robin Reilly, *Wedgwood Jasper*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1994), fig. 373), and a pair of Wedgwood sconces from the Birmingham Museum of Art in Birmingham (Ramage, "Flying Maenads," fig. 11).

smaller items, such as gems (Figure 168).<sup>828</sup> In what follows, I will present how the Herculaneum Dancers, as represented on micromosaics, targeted women as potential purchasers, served as markers for other sites of the Neapolitan experience of the Grand Tour, and were modified to agree with tourists' perceptions of sexual sensibilities and color.

Micromosaics with images of the Herculaneum dancers take the form of jewelry: bracelets, pendants, earrings, and pins (Figure 161 through Figure 165). Not all dancers were translated onto micromosaics. In fact, of the 11 dancers, the nude dancer who pulls drapery above her head with one arm and from her side at hip level with the other (G) is replicated the most often. Other dancers featured on micromosaics include the dancer with a basket on her head (B), the dancer carrying a plate with figs (L), and the dancer with a sprig of greenery and thyrsus (F). Like the wall painting and many micromosaics, most are featured against a black background, but also occasionally other colors. The colors of the garments of the dancers on micromosaics vary greatly, and this will be more fully explored later. Occasionally, the figures on micromosaics are reversed, such as the

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<sup>828</sup> A decorative Wedgwood plaque from the Buten Museum of Wedgwood in Pennsylvania (*Pompeii as Source and Inspiration: Reflections in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Art*, (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Museum of Art, 1977), fig. 21) is one example. The image was quite popular on gems, such as in the designs of Giovanni Pichler (Stefanelli, *Giovanni Pichler*, I.26, II.46), as seen in the collections of Paoletti (Stefanelli, *Le collezioni*, tomo quinto: cat. 223, 295, 473; tomo seso: cat. 198, 214), a carnelian intaglio by Antonio Pazzaglia (Tassinari, *Le pitture*, fig. 7), a carnelian intaglio by Charles and William Brown (Tassinari, *Le pitture*, fig. 10-13), an onyx cameo by Giovanni Antonio Santarelli in the collection of Carafa Jacobini (Tassinari, *Le pitture*, fig. 14), a sardonyx intaglio by Luigi Pichler in the State Hermitage Museum in St. Petersburg (Tassinari, *Le pitture*, fig. 15), a carnelian intaglio by William Fraser in the Merz collection at the Antikensammlung Universität in Bern (Tassinari, *Le pitture*, fig. 16), a jasper cameo from the Kunsthistorisches Museum in Vienna (Tassinari, *Le pitture*, fig. 18), an agate cameo from the Musei Capitolini (Tassinari, *Le pitture*, fig. 19), a carnelian intaglio from a private collection in London (Tassinari, *Le pitture*, fig. 20a), a glass paste cameo from the Staaliche Münzsammlung in Munich (Tassinari, *Le pitture*, fig. 23), a tortoiseshell cameo (Tassinari, *Le pitture*, fig. 24), a carnelian intaglio from the Musei Capitolini (Tassinari, *Le pitture*, fig. 25), a shell cameo by Tommaso and Luigi Saulini in the collection of Cecchini Saulini in Rome (Tassinari, *Le pitture*, fig. 27), and an onyx cameo from the Museo Boncompagni Ludovisi in Rome (Tassinari, *Le pitture*, fig. 28).

dancer with the sprig of greenery (F); this is likely the influence of cheaper versions of the *Antichità*, which often reversed the figures.

### *The Relationship between Micromosaics of the Dancers and Women*

Unlike other representations of the dancers, micromosaics featuring the dancers were predominantly marketed towards women. While we cannot know this with absolute certainty since there is no written evidence from the micromosaicists themselves on the matter, the fact that all surviving micromosaics that depict the Herculaneum Dancers are jewelry would certainly suggest a targeted female audience.<sup>829</sup> Moreover, such jewelry would make fine gifts for a tourist to bring back to his wife or daughters.<sup>830</sup> That women were interested in micromosaic jewelry, in general, is obvious from the wealth of extant necklaces, earrings, headpieces, and pins with which they would have adorned themselves, and these are noted in portraits of women from the period.<sup>831</sup> Lady Morgan summed up women's desire for micromosaic jewelry: "At this epoch all business is at a stand...the ingenious Mosaici, who set the Capitol on earrings, hang the Coliseum on the neck of beauty, and clasp the fairest arms with St. Peter in vinculis, may take down their expensive toys and, to the relief of all husbands and fathers, close their windows: the

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<sup>829</sup> The only exception to this that I have been able to find is a scatoletta depicting a single dancer. This dancer is actually from the House of the Naviglio, but is iconographically similar to the Herculaneum dancers (Figure 166). The form of the scatoletta is rare in itself; González-Palacios suggests that perhaps it is a container for tickets or aide-mémoire. Furthermore, the fact that it is of French manufacture may suggest that the micromosaic was not manufactured in Rome by Roman artists for a Grand Tourist market (González-Palacios, *Una raccolta*, fig. 48).

<sup>830</sup> We know that tourists purchased souvenirs for the women in their lives back home. For example, a fan was found in the cargo of Viscount Duncannon on the *Westmorland*. It is likely that this fan with its Italian *vedute* was intended for a future wife (Sánchez-Jáuregui, *The English Prize*, 23-4).

<sup>831</sup> *Ritratto di signora con abito e gioielli d'epoca* from a private collection (Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, fig. 86 and 87). *Coppia di coniugi* by Eusebio Malnate (Museo Mario Praz in Rome, Inv. 267).

curiosity shops no longer tempt the curious.”<sup>832</sup> This passage emphasizes the extent to which micromosaic jewelry appealed to women in particular, and her use of the adjective ingenious to describe the micromosaicists suggests that Lady Morgan acknowledged their prowess in marketing to women. Micromosaicists already knew how popular micromosaic jewelry was with women and so they were wise to market the subject of the Herculaneum dancers to those curious women. While there is no concrete evidence to suggest whether men bought micromosaic jewelry for women or whether women bought it for themselves, I can suggest that it was likely a mix. Micromosaic jewelry with the dancers date to the mid-nineteenth century when women themselves were participants in the tour. Lady Morgan’s account would suggest that even if women were purchasing the micromosaics, it was the men who paid for the souvenirs. In addition, we know from other accounts that men would bring back jewelry and other gifts for women from their time in Italy. Therefore, I would suggest that women might have been participants in purchasing micromosaics with the Herculaneum dancers depicted on them, even if they were not responsible for the payment. Micromosaics with the Herculaneum dancers appealed to women because of their seriality that was well suited for the composition of jewelry and the fact that women modeled themselves after the dancers.

The ideal marriage of the Herculaneum Dancers and micromosaic jewelry stems from practicality; the composition of jewelry lent itself to the depiction of the dancers. As mentioned earlier, paintings were often removed from their original contexts, and the

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<sup>832</sup> Owenson, *Italy*, Vol. II, 295. The micromosaic shops were closed temporarily for the Lenten Holy Week festivities.

Herculaneum Dancers became a popular motif in this newly decontextualized sense.<sup>833</sup>

Therefore, the individual medallions of micromosaic jewelry, such as bracelets, made an ideal canvas on which to display these dancers decontextualized by eighteenth-century cultural ideals. Whether depicted on bracelets or pins, each dancer is presented framed in her own isolated vignette. This is a practice that is also noted on other souvenirs, such as plaster gems or fans where the dancers are presented in isolation.<sup>834</sup> Thus, just as Roman monuments discussed earlier made ideal candidates for the composition of micromosaic jewelry, so did the Herculaneum dancers.

The fact that micromosaics, or any other souvenirs for that matter, never depicted the Herculaneum dancers as they were displayed in the museum demonstrates how they were modified to appeal to their audience. As sometimes happened with paintings of similar subjects, the dancers, though cut individually from the walls, were reassembled together into two frames and displayed in the museum.<sup>835</sup> That micromosaicists chose to separate them from each other yet again speaks to the ways in which they modified the wall painting in order to market it to consumers. While many tourists did indeed visit the wall paintings in person, the *Antichità*, where the images were portrayed individually, conditioned their perceptions otherwise prior to their visit. This mode of viewing is also

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<sup>833</sup> Hérica Valladares, "Pictorial Paratexts: Floating Figures in Roman Wall Painting," in *The Roman Paratext: Frame, Texts, Readers*, ed. Laura Jansen, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 178. For example, the first volume of the *Antichità* shows an image of a pair of dancers extracted from the wall in a single vignette together with an image of panthers that belonged with them. However, these were not displayed together at the museum as the lower panther segment was excised separately and added to a conglomerate painting of 4 other fragments similarly consisting of panthers and cymbals (Paola D'Alconzo, *Picturae Excisae: conservazione e restauro dei dipinti Ercolanesi e Pompeiani tra XVIII e XIX secolo*, (Roma: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 2002), 36).

<sup>834</sup> Jerzy Miziołek, *Muse, Baccanti e Centauri: i capolavori della pittura pompeiana e la loro fortuna in Polonia*, trans. Leszek Kazana, (Varsavia: Istituto di Archeologia dell'Università di Varsavia; Istituto Italiano di Cultura di Varsavia, 2010), 61, fig. 62. Hart, *Fans*, pl. 33.

noted in written accounts when, for instance, Lady Anna Miller singled out the vignette of the two women dancing together in her description of the paintings of the Museo di Portici.<sup>836</sup> Frederick Wrench, in his recollections from the museum, chose just two of the eleven dancers to describe and engrave.<sup>837</sup> This practice of isolated viewing was typical of Grand Tourists, as was demonstrated in earlier discussions of architectural monuments, and therefore, made the subject of the dancers particularly appropriate for women's jewelry.

Further speaking to common practices of assembly and viewing is the fact that a non-Herculaneum dancer was inserted into micromosaics alongside the other dancers. The non-Herculaneum dancer figure is a maenad carrying a cymbal in one hand and a thyrsus in another from the House of the Naviglio in Pompeii, uncovered in November of 1826.<sup>838</sup> Given the instruments that she carries, her association with the maenads, the similar style of her drapery and emphasis on movement it was only natural that micromosaicists would lump her with the Herculaneum dancers. This derives from the tendency to assemble thematic fragments of floating figures, animals, and arabesques together into a single frame.<sup>839</sup> These parallels were not lost on contemporary antiquarians who also made note of the similarities of this figure to the Herculaneum

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<sup>835</sup> D'Alconzo, *Picturae*, 36. See also late nineteenth-/early twentieth-century photographs by Carlo Brogi of the paintings in the museum.

<sup>836</sup> Miller, *Letters from Italy*, Vol. II, 80.

<sup>837</sup> Furthermore, these two dancers are seemingly selected at random as they are not juxtaposed in the reassembled collection in the museum. Frederick Wrench, *Recollections of Naples being a selection from the plates contained in the Il Real Museo Borbonico*, (London: Chapman and Hall, 1839), pl. XXIX.

<sup>838</sup> Osanna, Caracciolo, and Gallo, *Pompei*, 70. The inclusion of this dancer also helpfully affirms a mid-to late-nineteenth-century date for micromosaics that include her with the other Herculaneum dancers.

<sup>839</sup> See, for example, a frame containing images of panthers and cymbals assembled together thematically (D'Alconzo, *Picturae*, fig. 19).

dancers.<sup>840</sup> Thus, despite her occasional presence amongst the Herculaneum dancers, this maenad fits the theme and cultural conditions of viewing.

While the seriality of the excised dancers made the subject suited to jewelry, we must look beyond this for further rationale why they were marketed towards women. Ancient monuments depicted on micromosaics, while enormously popular on micromosaic jewelry, were not solely towards women as they appeared also on plaques, snuffboxes, paperweights, tables, and other objects. Critical to explaining the Herculaneum dancers' connection to women is Emma Hamilton (1765-1815), first mistress, later wife, of the ambassadorial envoy Sir William Hamilton (1730-1803). I will henceforth demonstrate how Emma Hamilton and the Herculaneum dancers were intricately linked, serving as markers for one another, and thus doubling the appeal of the dancer micromosaics to women.

Emma Hart first came to Naples after residing with Charles Greville as his mistress. Charles then wrote to his uncle, the renowned antiquarian Sir William Hamilton, pleading with him to take on Emma. Hamilton agreed and later married Emma Hart, who then became known as Emma, Lady Hamilton. Installed in Naples in the late eighteenth century, Lady Hamilton began performing her so-called Attitudes. These attitudes were akin to pantomime and consisted of a series of fluid poses that mimicked and were inspired by the antique. Lady Hamilton, a woman not known for her social graces, was able to compensate for her lack of genteel upbringing through her widely acclaimed attitudes, which she performed regularly while entertaining for Sir William.<sup>841</sup>

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<sup>840</sup> Osanna, Caracciolo, and Gallo, *Pompei*, 70.

<sup>841</sup> While increasingly mocked in the nineteenth century for her weight gain, Emma's Attitudes were never deemed inappropriate. James Gillray's drawing of the engorged Lady Hamilton dancing is very much in

Despite her uncouth ways, Lady Hamilton's attitudes, a sort of pantomime inspired by the antique, drew the praise of Sir William's elite visitors. Lady Hamilton herself became an international spectacle in Naples; she was as much a part of the Grand Tour as visiting the excavations of Pompeii or climbing Mt. Vesuvius.

The most important aspect of these attitudes of Emma Hamilton was their connection to antiquity. Emma's attitudes took up the subject of the antique by mimicking subjects, statues, and paintings from ancient art. Their generation is most often credited to Sir William Hamilton, collector of Greek vases, excavator, and dealer of antiquities.<sup>842</sup> Sir William recognized that Emma's classical beauty made her ideal for the task of imitating the antique.<sup>843</sup> In fact, observers often remarked that Hamilton considered Emma as part of his collection of antiques; Hamilton himself wrote to his nephew Charles that, "the prospect of possessing so delightfull an object under my roof certainly causes in me some pleasing sensations."<sup>844</sup> Lewis Walpole goes so far as to say

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the attitude of Herculaneum dancer G (James Gillray, *A new edition considerably enlarged, of Attitudes faithfully copied from nature: and humbly dedicated to all admirers of the grand and sublime*, (London: H. Humphrey, 1807), pl. VI).

<sup>842</sup> Quite often, Emma's pantomime-like Attitudes are connected back to Sir Hamilton's interests in antiquity. Lori-Ann Touchette connects ancient pantomime to Emma's performances, as does Ismene Lada-Richards (Lori-Ann Touchette, "Sir William Hamilton's 'Pantomime Mistress': Emma Hamilton and Her Attitudes," in *The Impact of Italy: The Grand Tour and Beyond*, ed. Clare Hornsby, (London: British School of Rome, 2000), 138-40; Ismene Lada-Richards, "'Mobile Statuary': Refractions of Pantomime Dancing from Callistratus to Emma Hamilton and Andrew Ducrow," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 10 (2003): 23-4). Kirsten Holmström, however, suggests that while Hamilton certainly played an important role in developing the attitudes, Lady Hamilton had learned quite a bit about dress and posturing before arriving in Naples through her work with George Romney (Kirsten Gram *Monodrama* Holmström, *Attitudes, Tableaux Vivants: Studies on Some Trends of Theatrical Fashion 1770-1815*, (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1967), 129-37).

<sup>843</sup> Letters written by Emma demonstrate that Hamilton was enamored with Emma's looks; she writes of how he stared at her frequently and was often showing her beauty off to his friends (Holmström, *Attitudes*, 138).

<sup>844</sup> A. Morrison, *Catalogue of the collection of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents formed between 1865 and 1882 by A. Morrison. The Hamilton and Nelson Papers I*: no. 149 (London 1893-4). Quoted in Touchette, "Sir William," 131.

that, “Sir William Hamilton has actually married his gallery of statues.”<sup>845</sup> Therefore, Hamilton’s interest in antiquity is often thought to have been the driving inspiration behind Emma’s attitudes that imitated antique objects.

Before unpacking the connections of Emma Hamilton with micromosaics, it is important to understand the cultural conditions surrounding the rise and development of the attitudes of Lady Hamilton. We can get a fairly good idea of her performance from both written accounts and visual evidence. We know that Emma was naturally suited for the role as she was renowned for her Grecian profile; her beauty was well noted before she ever even left England where she served as a model for many portraits by the artist George Romney. Her dress was a critical part of the performance as attested by the reports of both the Comtesse de Boigne and Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun. Both spoke of how there was a disconnect between the flowing robes of Lady Hamilton as a performer and the ordinary dress of Lady Hamilton who had become, once again, common.<sup>846</sup> In her performances of the Attitudes she often donned a classically inspired robe and sandals and used a shawl to adorn herself in various ways and to transform from one attitude to another. It is important to reinforce that her attitudes were not static poses, but were rather more fluid; accounts of her performances emphasize the play between the instant of immobility of one pose that was then swiftly transformed through a flurry of shawl action into a new pose.<sup>847</sup> The best visual depiction of this idea of movement is William Artaud’s sketch of a performance of Lady Hamilton’s that he saw in Naples (Figure

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<sup>845</sup> W. S. Lewis, ed., *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole’s Correspondence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937-8), XI, 249. Quoted in Chloe Chard, “Comedy, Antiquity, the Feminine and the Foreign: Emma Hamilton and Corinne,” in *The Impact of Italy: The Grand Tour and Beyond*, ed. Clare Hornsby, (London: British School of Rome, 2000), 168.

<sup>846</sup> Holmström, *Attitudes*, 114, 118.

169).<sup>848</sup> So while the performances were by no means static, there were glimpses of stillness as Lady Hamilton transformed from one pose to another.<sup>849</sup> Micromosaic bracelets mirror the movements of Lady Hamilton. The fleetingly frozen moments of Emma's poses mimic the isolated poses of the dancers, while the sequence of these dancers in the bracelets also suggest the continuous, flowing motion of the attitudes.

We can learn from first hand accounts what sorts of antiquities inspired Lady Hamilton's attitudes. According to the Comte della Torre di Rezzonico Lady Hamilton "single-handedly created a living gallery of statues and paintings. I have never seen anything more fluid and graceful, more sublime and heroic...."<sup>850</sup> The comte then later goes on to name specific images: the Medusa Rondanini and the Marys at the sepulcher of Annibale Carracci.<sup>851</sup> The French aristocrat Comtesse de Boigne perhaps best encapsulated the relationship of the attitudes with antiquities as she wrote that Emma "was inspired by ancient statues, and that without slavish imitation, she recalled them to the poetic imagination of the Italians through a type of improvisation in action."<sup>852</sup> Lady

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<sup>847</sup> Holmström, *Attitudes*, 119-20.

<sup>848</sup> *Sketches of Lady Hamilton's Attitudes*, 1796 in the British Museum, Inv. P&D 1973-12-8-85 (6,7) (Ian Jenkins and Kim Sloan, eds., *Vases and Volcanoes: Sir William Hamilton and his Collection*, (London: British Museum Press, 1996), cat. 161).

<sup>849</sup> Most accounts of Lady Hamilton's performances emphasize the rapid nature of the attitudes (Holmström, *Attitudes*, 120). However, the account of Cornelia Knight states that each representation lasted for ten minutes (October 7<sup>th</sup>, 1800 letter to Captain Sir Edward Berry in Tours 1963, 156. Quoted in Holmström, *Attitudes*, 116). This is the only account that emphasizes the stillness of the Attitudes; others highlight the constant movement of Emma.

<sup>850</sup> F. Mocchetti, ed., *Opere del Cavaliere Carlo Gastone, Comte della Torre Rezzonico VII: Giornale del viaggio di Napoli negli anni 1789 e 1790*, (Como, 1819), 247-8. Quoted in Touchette, "Sir William," 127.

<sup>851</sup> Mocchetti, *Opere del Cavaliere Carlo Gastone*, 246-7. Quoted in Touchette, "Sir William," 129.

<sup>852</sup> Charles Nicoullaud, *Mémoires de la Comtesse de Boigne I* (1781-1814), (Paris: Plon-Nourrit, 1907), 114. Quoted in Touchette, "Sir William," 128.

Hamilton tended to favor bacchantic subjects in her attitudes and was, in fact, often painted as a bacchante in portraits (Figure 170).<sup>853</sup>

Most relevant to micromosaics, however, are the connections that were drawn between Lady Hamilton and the Herculaneum Dancers. The dancers were often mentioned in conjunction with her performances. In a letter to Sir William, Mr. Lovel wrote that “It may not strike her Ladyship but others who have seen the originals [the Herculaneum dancers] concur in thinking that they bear a striking likeness to Lady H.”<sup>854</sup> Visual evidence provides a wealth of information on the resonances between the two. An image showing Lady Hamilton dancing the tarantella by Mariano Bovi, after William Lock, parallels the two women dancing together from the Herculaneum dancers wall painting. In Bovi’s drawing, Lady Hamilton and her companion are poised with their hands held above their heads as the women in the wall painting (Figure 171). Other images show Lady Hamilton playing the tambourine, another pose derived from the Herculaneum dancers (Figure 172).<sup>855</sup> A painting by Richard Westall in 1805 shows Emma as a bacchante, strikingly similar to the Herculaneum dancer with cymbals (Figure 173). Like the wall painting Emma has her hair drawn up and crowned by a wreath of ivy, has one breast exposed, and holds two cymbals.

That both Sir William and Lady Hamilton were familiar with the Herculaneum dancers is likely given their residence in Naples and Sir William’s interests in the

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<sup>853</sup> Holmström, *Attitudes*, 187. On paintings of Emma as a bacchante see, for example, *Emma Hart as Bacchante* by George Romney in 1785 in a private collection or *Lady Hamilton as a Bacchante*, 1790 by Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun in the National Museums of Liverpool, Inv. LL3527.

<sup>854</sup> Unpublished letter from Naples, 17 March 1798 in Letters and Memoranda of or relation to Sir William Hamilton from the Palazzo Sessa at Naples in the Houghton library. Quoted in Alicia Craig Faxon, “Preserving the Classical Past: Sir William and Lady Emma Hamilton,” *Visual Resources* XX (2004): 263.

<sup>855</sup> Georg Melchior Kraus’ 1800 acquerello and plate 8 of Thomas Piroli’s engraving, both after Friedrich Rehberg’s drawings.

antiquities of the area. Emma visited Pompeii in July 1786, so it would seem probable that she also saw the Herculaneum dancers in the museum at some point as well.<sup>856</sup>

Hamilton had the volumes of the *Antichità* that covered wall paintings in his possession, including Tomo I that depicted the Herculaneum dancers, so Emma surely saw them in print.<sup>857</sup> Also Emma herself studied ancient figures in order to improve her attitudes.<sup>858</sup>

In addition to these activities that were suggestive of her familiarity, the fact that the Herculaneum dancers decorated the walls of a room in Sir William's house at nearby Caserta would guarantee she saw them.<sup>859</sup>

Perhaps the most interesting connection between Lady Hamilton's attitudes and the wall painting is in an account of her performance by Goethe. After having seen Emma perform in March, Goethe wrote of a May visit with Sir William where he was taken to a gallery in the house to see a box lined in black cloth with a gold frame. He recorded that Sir William had Emma pose in this box inspired by antique paintings from Pompeii.<sup>860</sup> Elisabeth-Louise Vigée-Lebrun also recorded that she saw Emma perform in London in the middle of a room where there was a large frame and a light from behind her.<sup>861</sup> These documented visual images of Emma poised in dance against a black

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<sup>856</sup> Faxon, "Preserving the Classical Past," 263.

<sup>857</sup> Touchette, "Sir William," 138.

<sup>858</sup> Touchette, "Sir William," 143.

<sup>859</sup> Dieter Richter, "Lady Hamilton o l'arte di trasformarsi," in *Lady Hamilton: Eros e attitude*, eds. Dieter Richter and Uwe Quilitzsch, trans. Alida Fliri Piccioni, (Petersberg: Michael Imhoh Verlag, 2015), 35.

<sup>860</sup> May 27 letter. Goethe also recalls that they stopped using the box because it was too cumbersome. Holmström, *Attitudes*, 110.

<sup>861</sup> Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, *Souvenirs*, Vol. II, (Paris: Fournier, 1835), 95ff. Quoted in Holmström, *Attitudes*, 117. Cornelia Knight also records in 1800 that she saw a performance of Emma in Dresden where the room was made dark and a light was placed to her left (October 7<sup>th</sup>, 1800 letter to Captain Sir Edward Berry in Tours 1963, 156. Quoted in Holmström, *Attitudes*, 116). These careful placements of light have strong connections to the ways in which tourists would often see the statues of the Vatican museums by torchlight. The dramatic lights on Emma likely drew associations with this general practice. Additionally, this strong contrast of light and dark also played on black figure vases, which Sir William collected.

background and framed with gold correspond with micromosaic bracelets that depict the Herculaneum dancers against a black field and framed in gold.

The attitudes of Lady Emma Hamilton were wildly successful, as is evidenced by their widespread affect beyond Naples, and even Italy. So much were her attitudes known that Lewis Walpole wrote a critique of Lady Hamilton in 1791 despite having never even seen her performance: “I have not seen her yet, so am no judge, but people are mad about her wonderful expression...”<sup>862</sup> Emma toured internationally during the year of her marriage to Sir Hamilton in 1792 and in later years in London, Paris, Geneva, Dresden, Venice, and Rome.<sup>863</sup> Her performance was recorded for posterity and disseminated through Thomas Piroli’s 1794 engravings after Frederick Rehberg’s drawings of Emma’s attitudes (Figure 174).<sup>864</sup> In fact, the engravings were published in Rome and were dedicated to Sir William Hamilton.<sup>865</sup> These visual records had quite an impact; for example, German actress Madame Hendel-Scutz’s performance took its cue from Emma Hamilton’s attitudes, despite her never having seen Emma perform.<sup>866</sup> As art historian Lori-Ann Touchette has argued, the relationship between Lady Hamilton and the Herculaneum dancers persisted longer than Lady Hamilton herself, and this is noted in novels. In French author Madame de Staël’s novel, *Corinne*, the heroine Corinne performs attitudes, clearly modeled after Emma’s, that de Staël wrote were to call to mind the Herculaneum dancers.<sup>867</sup> Additionally Madame de Krudener’s *Valerie* in 1804

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<sup>862</sup> Horace Walpole to Mary Berry, 23 Aug. 1791 (Lewis, *Yale Edition*, 340). Quoted in Holmström, *Attitudes*, 112.

<sup>863</sup> Jenkins and Sloan, *Vases and Volcanoes*, 261.

<sup>864</sup> Faxon, “Preserving the Classical Past,” 264.

<sup>865</sup> Holmström, *Attitudes*, 119.

<sup>866</sup> Holmström, *Attitudes*, 190.

<sup>867</sup> Touchette, “Sir William,” 136.

has a scene in Venice where a woman is fitted to perform a shawl dance in the manner of Lady Hamilton.<sup>868</sup> Both micromosaicists and tourists were familiar with Lady Hamilton's attitudes whether witnessed in person, read about, or seen in visual documentation. Therefore, we can assume that micromosaicists were able to source and depict the Herculaneum dancers on micromosaics; these compositions would have appealed to tourists.

Women were also so inspired by Lady Hamilton's attitudes as to adopt some of her mannerisms, as can be noted in contemporary portraiture where women took up the dancing poses of the Herculaneum dancers. Women associated themselves with the Herculaneum dancers. Queen Maria Carolina, wife of Ferdinand III and IV, made a gouache self-portrait with her children in 1780 set in Naples with Vesuvius smoking in the background (Figure 175). Significantly, she chose to portray herself with images from the Villa of Cicero on the wall, including the dancers.<sup>869</sup> Somewhat analogous to Pompeo Batoni's Grand Tour portraits of elite men with classical statuary in the background, women took up the poses of the Herculaneum Dancers in portraiture. Women in the pose of Herculaneum dancers in portraiture, like men (and women) who associated with classical sculpture in portraiture, accomplished a connection with antiquity. The poise of these women, in addition to emphasizing their beauty and grace, also associated them with classical learnedness.

In particular, the stance of the dancer who pulled part of her drapery above her head with one hand and with her other away from her body at hip level (G) proved a

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<sup>868</sup> Holmström, *Attitudes*, 140.

<sup>869</sup> Interestingly enough Queen Maria Carolina was a close friend with Emma Hamilton, though this friendship happened well after she produced her self-portrait (Mattusch, *Letter and Report*, 11).

popular position to mimic. Perhaps the best example of this is a portrait of Louisa Hope by Henry Bone that was commissioned by her husband Thomas Hope in 1813, a designer who had been on a Grand Tour in his youth during the late 1780s (Figure 176).<sup>870</sup> Louisa Hope holds a shawl behind her in a mirror image of the Herculaneum dancer's arms with her feet poised as though caught in movement, just as in the wall painting. An earlier portrait of Louisa Hope in 1807 by Sir Martin Archer Shee also shows Louisa with a shawl, although she only grasps one side of it and lets the other side flutter away (Figure 177).<sup>871</sup> Other paintings also exist that depict women striking this same pose (Figure 178).

That women also assumed the poses of the other dancers is demonstrated by a portrait of

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<sup>870</sup> Maria Teresa Caracciolo, "Una svolta nel gusto e nell'arte europei: l'Antico nel secolo dei Lumi," in *Pompei e L'Europa: 1748-1943*, ed. Massimo Osanna, Maria Teresa Caracciolo, and Luigi Gallo, eds., (Milano: Mondadori Electa S.p.A., 2015), 38. Curiously enough, Thomas Hope himself owned two micromosaic tables. While one of them may have been inherited from his father, one late eighteenth-century tabletop depicting an Etruscan vase is from Rome and was probably made by Giacomo Raffaelli (David Watkin and Philip Hewat-Jaboor, eds., *Thomas Hope: Regency Designer*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 396).

In commissioning this portrait of his wife, Hope's influence is seen through the attention to her pose that is modeled after the Herculaneum dancer. Hope was fascinated by antique costume and this is manifested in his work, *Costumes of the Ancients*, which was published in 1809 (Watkin and Hewat-Jaboor, *Thomas Hope*, 79). We know for a fact that Thomas Hope was well acquainted with the dancers as he included one in his publication on ancient costume holding a vase and plate and is labeled, "From a painting at Herculaneum" (Thomas Hope, *The Costume of the Ancients*, Vol. II, (London: Chatto and Windus, 1875), 163). Furthermore, he copies other dancers, although he does not acknowledge they are from the painting. His figures modeled after the dancers included: the one whom Louisa Hope is modeled after dancer (G) (Labeled "dancing gods." Hope, *The Costume*, Vol. II, 209) and another modeled after G with nearly identical pose as Louisa's portrait ("Grecian female from a fictile vase" Hope, *The Costume*, 155), another figure also after G ("Grecian female," Hope, *The Costume*, 170), an imitation of the dancer with cymbals (E) ("Bacchante dancing," Hope, *The Costume*, 180), and other images of women in ancient dress that he labeled "Greek females from fictile vases" (Hope, *The Costume*, 170). Louisa herself served as a model for Hope's 1812 publication, *Designs of Modern Costume* (Watkin and Hewat-Jaboor 2008, 270). Additionally, this fashion for Grecian shawl was noted in fashion plates of *Lady's Magazine* from March 1807, where a woman in classical dress pulls a shawl away from her shoulder in the mode of a Herculaneum dancer ("London Fashionable Full Dresses" from the Museum of London in Watkin and Hewat-Jaboor, *Thomas Hope*, fig. 5-6). Therefore, Hope's interest in the Herculaneum dancers is undoubtedly noted in the portrait of his wife by Henry Bone. We can draw a parallel between the influence of both Sir William and Thomas Hope on their wives. Just as Sir William's interests in antiquity drove the attitudes of Emma, Hope's interests in antique costume drove the poses of Louisa.

<sup>871</sup> This 1807 portrait is very much in the mode of the Grand Tour portraiture as it casts Louisa Hope on a stage with red-figure Greek vases, a marble statue, and a marble vase. She is dressed in Grecian inspired clothing (*Louisa Hope* by Sir Martin Archer Shee, 1807, in the collection of the Hon. Mrs. Everard de Lisle (Watkin and Hewat-Jaboor, *Thomas Hope*, cat. 3).

Maria Mirska painted by Jan Rustem in 1808 in the guise of the Herculaneum dancer with the cymbals (Figure 179). In this portrait she holds a cymbal in each hand, with her hand positions mimicking the pose of the dancer that Louisa Hope assumes making this portrait a hybrid of the two dancers.<sup>872</sup> Sir John Leicester, who went on a tour of Italy in the 1780s with Sir Richard Colt Hoare, commissioned a portrait of his mistress by John Hoppner also in the guise of a Herculaneum dancer (Figure 180). Emily St. Clare holds the tambourine over her head, drapery flowing behind her in movement, and her feet poised in mid step in the same way of the Herculaneum dancer with a tambourine. Her pose recalls the Herculaneum dancer who holds a tambourine above her head (J). Since women envisioned themselves as the dancers, or that the men in their life did, suggests how women clearly associated themselves, or were associated by men, with the Herculaneum dancers. Therefore I would suggest that the marketing of micromosaics of the dancers to women is part of a larger tradition of associating women with the Herculaneum dancers.<sup>873</sup>

While these portraits were obviously inspired by the Herculaneum Dancers, perhaps we can now also note how the popularity of Emma Hamilton would have fueled such depictions in imitation of the antique, especially those relating to the dance.<sup>874</sup> The

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<sup>872</sup> This portrait was inspired by an acquerello of Antoni Brodowski, which was in turn taken from the Herculaneum dancers paintings (Miziołek, *Muse*, 57-8, fig. 56, 57). The different positioning of the arms and cymbals is not unusual in representations of the dancer with cymbals. Antonio Canova's oil painting of *Danzatrice con i cembali* of 1798-99 also repositions the hands (Museo e Gipsoteca Antonio Canova, Inv. 121 Claut et al., *Il Fascino*, 28).

<sup>873</sup> Regardless of whether either men or women first saw themselves in the guise of the Herculaneum dancers, micromosaics were purchased by both men as presents for their loved ones and by women for their own pleasure.

<sup>874</sup> Especially indicative of the influences of both the Herculaneum Dancers and Emma Hamilton is a portrait of Princess Karoline of Liechtenstein in 1793 by Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun (Figure 181). In this portrait the Princess is flying in the air with her feet and body positioned much in the likeness of

large shawl that Louisa Hope uses as her drapery to imitate the Herculaneum dancer resonates with the renowned shawl of Lady Emma Hamilton (Figure 174).<sup>875</sup> The positioning of the hands and tambourine of Emily St. Clare, for example, more closely aligns with the hand positions of Lady Hamilton than the Herculaneum dancer (Figure 182). Additionally, we might note the clothing in which these ladies are adorned. Art historian Amelia Rauser makes a convincing argument that the popularity of the high-waisted white muslin gown grew out of Naples in conjunction with Lady Hamilton's performances in which she donned a white chemise-style gown. Rauser suggests that neoclassical dress became so popular because women wished to become living statues, just as Emma Hamilton had excited the imaginative effects of a living statue through her reminiscences of antiquity in her attitudes. Lady Charlotte Campbell, Rauser asserts, was one of the first women to adopt this style of clothing, in the tradition of Lady Hamilton.<sup>876</sup> In her portrait, Louisa Hope wears a high-waisted dress, though not of white muslin. Maria Mirska and Emily St. Clare also wear dresses that are high-waisted, though not as high as Hope's. Their dresses, however, are white and gauzy, falling more in tradition of the chemise and would certainly qualify as *robes à la grecque*.

This close association between the Herculaneum dancers and the attitudes of Lady Hamilton are seen in other instances as well. The French writer Duchess d'Abrantes wrote how the Parisian socialite Juliette Recamier, in her Salon de Paris, "dansait aussi

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Herculaneum dancer A. However, the shawl, which billows behind her, is more reminiscent of Emma Hamilton.

<sup>875</sup> This is the shawl with which the theater critic Carl August Böttiger said Lady Hamilton "kann mit ihrem langen Schleier oder Shawl wirklich zaubern" (Karl August Böttiger, *Literarische Zustände und Zeitgenossen: Begegnungen und Gespräche im Klassischen Weimar*, (Berlin: Aufbau-Verlag, 1998), 340f, diary entry 18 September 1794. Quoted in Lada-Richards, "Mobile Statuary," 28).

<sup>876</sup> Amelia Rauser, "Living Statues and Neoclassical Dress in Late Eighteenth-Century Naples," *Art History* 38 (2015): 480.

un pas avec le tambour de basque dans lequel ele etait semblable aux Herres d’Herculanum.”<sup>877</sup> Recamier’s dance with tambourine would have evoked not only the Herculaneum dancer, but also Emma. The duchess also recorded an appearance of the Princess Borghese, Paolina Bonaparte, dressed in the guise of a bacchante during a ball.<sup>878</sup> This of course, is not only closely aligned with the imagery of Emma Hamilton who often appeared as a bacchante, but also with the Herculaneum dancers, whom the *Antichità* recognized as bacchantes or maenads (Figure 183).<sup>879</sup> The tie to Lady Hamilton’s attitudes and the Herculaneum dancers was engrained even in the language of the descriptions of wall paintings that described them also as “attitudes.”<sup>880</sup> The Herculaneum Dancers and Emma Hamilton, and the reception of them both, are intricately linked in text, image, and memory. They seemed to have enjoyed a rise to popularity together, bolstering each other along the way.

### *Modification of Clothing*

A widespread modification on micromosaics is the addition of clothing, as seen on dancer G. In the wall painting, the dancer is depicted semi-nude with her body shown naked from the waist up. It was a deliberate choice to clothe her fully in a tunic on micromosaics; this is particularly striking in comparison to other souvenirs that choose to depict her faithfully from the original, such as gems and other smaller items produced by

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<sup>877</sup> Laure Junot d’Abrantès, *Salons de Paris*, Vol. 6, (Paris: Ladvocat, 1838), 346. Quoted in Caracciolo, “Una svolta,” 38.

<sup>878</sup> Caracciolo, “Una svolta,” 38.

<sup>879</sup> *Le Antichità*, Tomo I, 112.

<sup>880</sup> Anna Miller described the Herculaneum dancers at Portici as “pictures representing dancing girls in very graceful attitudes” (Miller, *Letters from Italy*, Vol. II, 80) and a guide to the museum noted them as having “graceful attitudes” (A. Reusch, *Naples National Museum: Excerpt of the Guide*, (Naples: Richter, 1871), 205).

Wedgwood that depict the dancer in her semi-nude state.<sup>881</sup> In the decorative arts she is also shown faithful to the original wall painting.<sup>882</sup>

What prompted this deviation from the original? Recall, yet again, the portrait of Louisa Hope in the guise of this very same Herculaneum dancer. This was a popular way to depict women pictorially and women themselves were recorded as often having struck up the stance of the *contraddanza* in salons, inspired by the Herculaneum dancers, thus recreating the warm Mediterranean atmosphere and colors in the cooler regions to the north.<sup>883</sup> The implications of these practices carry over to micromosaics. While it was acceptable to depict the Herculaneum dancer as blatantly nude on gems and decorations for the home, it became more complicated when the object decorated a living woman. While perhaps, and as some other depictions of Herculaneum dancers on micromosaics show, tasteful nudity worn on the arm or lapel of a woman might not have been a high concern, the blatant semi-nudity of this particular Herculaneum dancer might have caused concerns.<sup>884</sup> This is because she was the dancer whom women chose to model themselves after, and they would certainly not have ever chosen to depict themselves

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<sup>881</sup> A gem of Giovanni Pichler (Tassinari, *Giovanni Pichler*, I.26, II.46), a gem in the collections of Paoletti (Stefanelli, *Le Collezioni*, tomo quinto: cat. 223, 295, 473; tomo seso: cat. 198, 214), and a seal of Wedgwood (Ramage, "Flying Maenads," fig. 12).

<sup>882</sup> See, for example the amphora featuring the dancer (Caròla-Perrotti, *Le porcellane*, 430).

<sup>883</sup> Caracciolo, "Una svolta," 38.

<sup>884</sup> I would be remiss if I did not point out that the nudity of the dancers on micromosaics is a choice of contradictions since just as these two dancers are clothed from a semi-naked state, others are partially denuded, such as a dancer who carries a plate of figs who has one breast exposed. My only suggestion for an explanation for this contradiction is that the level of nudity revealed in these modifications is much more demure and not quite as blatant. Further illustrative of the multiplicity of perspectives that proliferated in Grand Tour souvenirs is the fact that there are a few engraved gems that serve as either a pin or pendant that would have similarly adorned the body; however, these gems remained faithful to the original wall painting's semi-nude state. Perhaps, despite the close iconographic relationship of gems and micromosaics, micromosaicists saw an opportunity to engage in a different representation of the dancer in order to appeal to tourists and consequently increase their revenue.

semi-nude in portraits like the dancer.<sup>885</sup> Furthermore, perhaps removing the dancers from their context in the warm south, where nakedness was deemed more acceptable, and placing them on the arms of ladies in the north also created discomfort.<sup>886</sup> The similarly semi-nude tambourine-playing dancer from the wall painting was also covered up with clothing in micromosaics. The portrait of Maria Mirska by Jan Rustem further demonstrates this practice of being fully clothed while in the guise of the dancers. Maria Mirska assumes a pose inspired by the Herculaneum dancer with the cymbals, and while the dancer in the painting is shown with a breast exposed, Mirska is shown fully clothed. Thus, the standards of the ways in which a woman would choose to depict herself, or think of herself, in the guise of the dancer were carried over to micromosaics, which, importantly, were worn and displayed on the body. In turn, the popularity of fully clothed women adopting the pose of the Herculaneum dancers also likely drove micromosaicists to cloth the dancers on micromosaics. I would suggest, therefore, that this is another instance in which we can see that micromosaics were catered specifically to women.

Attitudes towards nudity during the Grand Tour can be gleaned from examining the nude in art and are telling. French antiquarian Quatremère de Quincy justified nudity

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<sup>885</sup> Think, for example, of the potential problems caused when Antonio Canova sculpted Paolina Bonaparte in the guise of a nude Venus Venetrix and Napoleon himself in the guise of the nude Mars (Christopher M.S. Johns, "Portrait Mythology: Antonio Canova's Portraits of the Bonapartes," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 28 (1994): 125-6). James Galiffe recounted how people were astonished by the nudity of Paolina Bonaparte in his account of Italy where he spoke of how the Prince locked the statue up so no one could see it (Galiffe, *Italy*, Vol. I, 255).

Interestingly, the *Antichità* identifies this dancer (G) as Venus (*Le Antichità* Vol. I, 97, n. 2). Women, while often shown in the guise of goddesses in portraiture, do not chose to represent themselves nude suggesting that perhaps something similar is happening here also with micromosaics.

<sup>886</sup> Winckelmann was in part responsible for establishing this topography of nude statues in the warm south, as he argued that this climate allowed the nude to be studied so freely (Chloe Chard, "Nakedness and

in ancient art by claiming that the ancients were more accustomed to nudity and that heroic nudity was acceptable so long as the body was idealized.<sup>887</sup> The literary scholar Chloe Chard eloquently demonstrates how rhetorical strategies were used to isolate nakedness in statues and to place them in a different topography, essentially distancing contemporary culture from these naked antique statues.<sup>888</sup> Therefore, I would suggest that if there were strategies for distancing oneself from nakedness in antique artifacts, it might not have been permissible to wear these blatantly nude antiquities on the body.

We can note a swing towards modesty in other aspects of women's reactions to the Grand Tour. Naples, and southern Italy in general, was well noted as a sensuous place known for loose morals. Antiquarians were quick to extend this licentiousness back to antiquity as the Pompeian excavations unearthed erotic wall paintings and sculptures that, to the eighteenth-century eye, suggested that ancient Romans lacked decorum. As literary scholar Rosemary Sweet notes, there was a heightened disapproval of the city of Naples' reputation for lax morals approaching the turn of the nineteenth century. She attributes this change in the perception of the city with the increase of women as travelers, especially younger women. The flux of women into the topography of the Grand Tour heightened awareness of propriety and contributed to an atmosphere of restraint.<sup>889</sup> Thus, the clothing of the semi-nude dancer on micromosaic would not be

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Tourism: Classical Sculpture and the Imaginative Geography of the Grand Tour," *Oxford Art Journal* 18 (1995): 21).

<sup>887</sup> Quatremère de Quincy, *Essai sur la nature, le but et les moyens de l'imitation dans les beaux-arts*, Vol. III, (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1823), xvi-xvii. 1823. Quoted in H.W. Janson, "Observations on Nudity in Neoclassical Art," in *16 Studies* by H.W. Janson, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1970), 191.

<sup>888</sup> Chard does this by examining travel accounts where she notes that tourists employ tactics like focusing on the surface of the body, emphasizing that there is something holding back bodily organs, balancing any pleasure they might express related to the naked body with a need to condemn the foreignness of Rome, or using methods of isolation to view the statues, such as by torchlight (Chard, "Nakedness," 22-5).

<sup>889</sup> Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 195-7.

surprising given how it was marketed to women in a climate of changing attitudes to morality.

### *Bacchic Modification*

Another interesting modification from the original wall painting on micromosaics reveals connections to the popularity of Emma as a bacchante. This is the addition of an ivy wreath on the dancer G, which is not featured on either the original wall painting or engraving from the *Le Antichità*. However, these ivy wreaths, or hints of them, are present on the heads of other Herculaneum dancers. So why is this added? For uniformity's sake? Perhaps. I would also suggest that the ivy wreath reinforces the status of the dancers as bacchantes, as they were commonly referred to in travel journals. Frederick Wrench singled out the ivy wreath as an item that qualified the scene as a Bacchanal when noting the “emblematic ivy wreath” of the dancer carrying the plate of plums.<sup>890</sup>

Categorizing these dancers as bacchantes also, of course, brings the discourse back to Emma Hamilton who frequently donned the attributes of a bacchante. Danish author Friederikke Munter Brun recorded Lady Hamilton taking the form of the most perfect bacchante, drawing a parallel to a bacchante represented on a sarcophagus in the Belvedere courtyard.<sup>891</sup> Other accounts record the use of a crown of roses by Emma, a

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<sup>890</sup> Wrench, *Recollections*, pl. xxix.

<sup>891</sup> Lucio Fino, *Donne del Grand Tour a Napoli e dintorni tra XVIII e il XIX secolo*, (Napoli: Grimaldi & C. Editori, 2014), 75.

wreath that when worn would bear striking resemblance to a bacchante.<sup>892</sup> The image by Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun of *Emma Hamilton as a Bacchante* particularly speaks to Lady Hamilton's associations with the bacchante (Figure 183). The painting shows Emma wearing classically inspired clothing, an ivy wreath on her head, and a tambourine above her head; this pose resonates with the Herculaneum dancer who also holds a tambourine above her head (J). Moreover, Emma is depicted against the backdrop of Mt. Vesuvius making explicit the connection between her actions and physical environment.

Interesting is a portrait of Princess Sapiena also by Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun that demonstrates women's desires to be portrayed as a bacchante like Emma (Figure 184).<sup>893</sup> The princess is in the guise of a bacchante with ivy in her hair and holds a shawl with both hands that flutters in the wind behind her. The portrait is, not surprisingly, very similar to Vigée-Lebrun's portraits of Emma Hamilton as a bacchante and her attributes evoke both the Herculaneum dancers and Emma Hamilton. Thus, the role of Emma as a bacchante was intertwined with the dancers and would have encouraged additions, such as the ivy wreath, on these micromosaics that were marketed toward women.

### *The Herculaneum Dancers and Neapolitan Dance*

Another curious ornament added to the head of the Herculaneum dancers is seen in a micromosaic that depicts a Herculaneum dancer with a white headscarf (Figure 164). The head covering more closely resembles those worn by local peasants, as noted in images of dance, than the red band wrapped around the dancer's hair in the original

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<sup>892</sup> Ulrike Ittershagen, "La attitude come, vivente. Storia dell'arte: una ricostruzione," in *Lady Hamilton: Eros e attitude*, ed. Dieter Richter and Uwe Quilitzsch, trans. Alida Fliri Piccioni, (Petersberg: Michael Imhoh Verlag, 2015), 88.

painting (Figure 185 and Figure 187). Peasant dancers often wore such headscarves and attention to dance was especially a concern in Naples where tourists first began to take an interest in the appearance and activities of the local peasantry.<sup>894</sup> Curiosity to dress and dance can be seen in the images of Bartolomeo Pinelli and Pietro Fabris who both illustrated local dances performed in the costumes of Naples (Figure 185 and Figure 186). Giorgio Somner, in his *Costume di Napoli* series of photographs that was marketed for tourists, included locals dancing the tarantella.<sup>895</sup> Domenico Venuti, the new director of the Real Fabbrica della Porcellana in Naples, was also very interested in portraying the regional costumes of Naples.<sup>896</sup> This interest in local dance is also born out in fans and micromosaics that depict peasants dancing the tarantella (Figure 188 and Figure 189). Tourists were infatuated with local dancing, even stopping strangers on the street to ask them to perform for them.<sup>897</sup> Interestingly enough, Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun recorded when she, Sir William, and Lady Hamilton stopped and observed locals dancing the tarantella after mass using tambourines and thyrsi.<sup>898</sup> Therefore, the addition of the white headscarf on micromosaics is representative of Neapolitan dancing that captivated tourists.

Furthermore, this fascination with Italian dance was intricately tied with the Herculaneum Dancers wall painting and Emma Hamilton's attitudes. Emma herself

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<sup>893</sup> *Princess Sapiena, nee Potocka, or Dancing with Shawl*, 1794 in the Royal Castle in Warsaw.

<sup>894</sup> Sweet, *Cities and the Grand Tour*, 191.

<sup>895</sup> Maggia, *Souvenir*, 73.

<sup>896</sup> Maria Teresa Caracciolo, "Danser pour se sentir ancien: la mode de la tarentelle vers 1790," in *La peinture de genre au temps du Cardinal Fesch*, ed. Philippe Costamagna and Olivier Bonfait, (Paris: Éditions Gourcuff Gradenigo, 2008), 34-5.

<sup>897</sup> Mary Berry, *Extracts of the Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry from the years 1783-1852*, (London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1865), 337.

<sup>898</sup> Fino, *Donne*, 64.

danced Italian dances, such as the tarantella, as can be seen in the visual depictions of William Lock or accounts of travelers.<sup>899</sup> Emma's use of her shawl parallels the movement created with an apron by women dancing the tarantella, who used the apron to accent their movement (Figure 189). It seems that even though the tarantella dance was not strictly a part of the attitudes, it was a common component of Lady Hamilton's performances.<sup>900</sup> The boundary between the tarantella and the attitudes was blurry and they were often interchangeable in accounts. The heroine Corinne in Madame de Staël's novel, who is modeled after Lady Hamilton, dances the tarantella in the passage where she is said to resemble the Herculaneum dancers.<sup>901</sup> This connection between the contemporary tarantella dance and wall painting was something that was also noted in travel accounts, such as when Anna Miller connected the painting to contemporary dancing describing one vignette "where two young girls seem dancing an Allemande..."<sup>902</sup> Henry Swinburne recalled that local peasants, "perform the Tarantella to the beating of a kind of tambourine, which was in use among their ancestors, as appears by the pictures of Herculaneum..."<sup>903</sup> Mariana Starke wrote that in the wall

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<sup>899</sup> However, this depiction does not exactly replicate the tarantella as that dance involved three persons (Touchette, "Sir William," 136). Despite this, the tarantella was frequently depicted as happening between only two people. Additionally, Duchess Anna Amalia of Weimar recorded Lady Hamilton dancing the tarantella with Georg Hackert and on another occasion with her husband Sir William Hamilton (Dieter Richter, "Una visita da Weimar. La duchessa Anna Amalia a casa Hamilton," in *Lady Hamilton: Eros e attitude*, ed. Dieter Richter and Uwe Quilitzsch, trans. Alida Fliri Piccioni, (Petersberg: Michael Imhoh Verlag, 2015), 50).

<sup>900</sup> Holmström, *Attitudes*, 126

<sup>901</sup> The tarantella dance in this passage is described as going beyond the tarantella (Holmström, *Attitudes*, 142-3). This, Chloe Chard argues, allows Corinne to develop beyond a resemblance to the wall painting (Chard, "Comedy," 159).

<sup>902</sup> Miller, *Letters from Italy*, Vol. II, 80.

<sup>903</sup> Henry Swinburne, *Travels in the Two Sicilies*, Vol. II, (London: P. Elmsly, 1783), 60. Additionally, the museum had in its collections a pair of ancient cymbals found in Pompeii at the House of Giulia Felice (Miziołek, *Muse*, 41).

painting one dancer “holds a musical instrument used by the Neapolitans to this day.”<sup>904</sup>

Whether Starke referred to either the castagnettes or the tambourine held by two Herculaneum dancers makes no difference as both were connected to modern Neapolitan dances, especially the tarantella.<sup>905</sup> Images of Italian dance with the tambourine bear striking resemblances to both Emma Hamilton’s poses and those of the Herculaneum dancers, as illustrated by the woman holding a tambourine above her head in a drawing by Charles Grignion (Figure 190). Furthermore, the tarantella dance actually had its origins in antiquity, as was recognized by contemporary antiquarians.<sup>906</sup> Thus, we see how local Neapolitan dancing that had roots in antiquity enjoyed a close relationship with both the Herculaneum dancers wall painting and Emma Hamilton herself; these closely interrelated sights of the Grand Tour in Naples referenced and evoked the other.

Perhaps most indicative of the way in which the sights of Emma Hamilton, dancing, and the Herculaneum dancers were interconnected is a passage from the memoirs of Nathaniel Wraxall which is worth quoting at length. He begins by reminiscing on how Lady Hamilton “undertook to dance the ‘tarentella’” and then in attempting to describe the dance, which he admitted was a difficult task, transitioned to discuss the novel *Corinne*:

Madame de Staël has likewise attempted to describe it [the tarantella], and has made ‘Corinna’ perform it at a ball in Rome, with the prince of Amalfi, a Neapolitan, for her partner: but she has softened down the

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<sup>904</sup> Starke, *Letters from Italy*, Vol. II, 119.

<sup>905</sup> Caracciolo, “Danser,” 33.

<sup>906</sup> In Sir William Hamilton’s second publication of his collection of vases he links the attitude of a faun on a vase with the modern tarantella dance. Perhaps of note here is the way in which Sir William Hamilton’s collection of vases, much as they served as a genesis for Emma Hamilton’s successful attitudes, are also credited with a connection between antiquity and dance. Andrea de Jorio made this connection in his 1832 book, *La mimica degli Antichi investigata nel gestire napoletano: questo graziosissimo ballo* (Caracciolo, “Danser,” 34-6, fig. 7).

voluptuous features that render it too powerful over the imagination and the senses. Yet she admits the ‘Melange de pudeur et de volupté,’ inherent in the exhibition, which conveyed an idea of the Bayadères or Indian dancing girls. Madame de Staël’s ‘Corinna’ could not be more familiar with the attitudes of the antique statues, *than was lady Hamilton; nor more capable of transporting the spectators to Herculaneum, by her accurate and picturesque imitation of the models there left us, with which she seemed at times to identify herself.*<sup>907</sup> (my emphasis)

Here, in this passage, we see how Wraxall’s train of thought, which begins with Lady Hamilton, transitions to the tarantella and then to Herculaneum, adequately demonstrating how micromosaics that depicted just one of these subjects would also be equally capable of facilitating such mental journeys. Particularly pertinent in his passage is how he demonstrates the power of attitudes, such as those of Corinne or Lady Hamilton, to transport the spectator back in time thus connecting the distant past with the present.

After noting specific modifications that we can connect with Emma Hamilton and local Neapolitan dancing, how did micromosaics build networks more generally on the sights of Naples? Commonly featured in travel accounts to Naples is an idea of closeness to the past. This is something that was especially noted by visitors to Pompeii or the museum where they would see petrified food or plaster casts of bodies that facilitated such a transport to the past.<sup>908</sup> Emma’s attitudes and local Neapolitan dances would

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<sup>907</sup> Nathaniel William Wraxall, *Historical Memoirs of My Own Time, Part the First*, (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, and Blanchard, 1837), 99.

<sup>908</sup> Literary historian Charlotte Roberts writes how these events seemingly froze time, allowing the past to be preserved in the present (Charlotte Roberts, “Living with the Ancient Romans: Past and Present in Eighteenth-Century Encounters with Herculaneum and Pompeii,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* (2015) 78: 64). For example, Anne Elwood on her visit to Pompeii wrote: “The illusion at the moment was so strong that we forgot the many centuries that had elapsed since the poor master attempted to flee from destruction, with the keys of his house, and a purse of gold in his hand and when the unfortunate females sought for refuge in the subterranean apartments where seventeen skeletons were subsequently discovered” (Elwood, *Narrative of a Journey*, 73). This account emphasizes how imaginative jaunts to the past were facilitated by visits to Pompeii.

likewise facilitate such a remembrance of the past through their connection to the antique, as was born out by the Herculaneum dancers most especially. What I would suggest is that the presence of the Herculaneum Dancers on these micromosaics had the power to conjure up images not only of Emma Hamilton and peasants dancing, but also to summon up past antiquity.

In addition I propose that we see these souvenir micromosaics act as what landscape architect Dean MacCannell calls markers, as discussed in the previous chapter. So, for example, a tourist who examined the Herculaneum Dancers in the museum might have thought about the tarantella or someone watching a performance of Lady Hamilton might have conjured up images of Pompeian wall paintings. Thus, the Herculaneum Dancers served as markers for these other related touristic sights. Micromosaics facilitated the stimulation of memories as they depict the physical, pictorial marker of the Herculaneum Dancers that summoned up the mental sight, or the mental marker, of Lady Hamilton and/or other Neapolitan dance performances.<sup>909</sup> These three sights were all connected in that they allowed the spectator to engage with the past from the present. The memories of these micromosaic souvenirs facilitated the remembrance of the past, which was revalued as part of the individual souvenir owners' present.<sup>910</sup>

The fact that some travelers may not have had the experience of seeing Lady Hamilton, the paintings, or dancing in the picturesque streets of Naples is irrelevant. As MacCannell states the actual interaction between the tourist and the sight is less important than the mental image that is generated by the collected act of visitors.<sup>911</sup>

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<sup>909</sup> MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 131.

<sup>910</sup> Assman, "Re-framing Memory," 39.

<sup>911</sup> MacCannell, *The Tourist*, 14.

Clearly, the collected documents and documentation of the Grand Tour indicated the widespread knowledge of Lady Hamilton, the Herculaneum dancers, and Neapolitan dancing. Enough so, that I would suggest that experiencing just one would be enough to conjure up associations with the others.

### *Herculaneum Dancers and Color*

The largest, and perhaps most striking, modifications to the Herculaneum dancer micromosaics have to do with color. Micromosaics of the Herculaneum dancers have vibrant colors, but these colors do not always accord with the original wall painting. The most popularly depicted dancer (G), the one whom women modeled themselves after, wears a yellow dress trimmed in turquoise, according to the *Antichità*.<sup>912</sup> However, micromosaicists chose to depict her fully clothed in either a green or an off-white tunic with the billowing scarf of the original dancer in blue trimmed with red or red trimmed with blue. Thus the yellow vestment trimmed with turquoise was replaced with red and blue colors. Another example is the dancer with the plate of the figs (L) who is shown in the wall painting with a blue dress trimmed at the bottom in red. In micromosaics she is instead shown in a light purple dress trimmed at the top in green. It is significant that this change in color is not something unique to micromosaics, as other objects and souvenirs boasting these dancers also are not consistently faithful to the original.<sup>913</sup>

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<sup>912</sup> *Le Antichità*, tomo I, 98.

<sup>913</sup> See, for example, the set of amphoras from the Real Fabbrica Ferdinanda in the Museo di Capodimonte (Inv. 6495, 6496, 6497, 6498) that variously change the colors of the dancers (Osanna, Caracciolo, and Gallo, *Pompei*, 1.33A-H). Another set of vases also show altered coloring of the vestments and were produced by the Fabbrica di Gaetano del Vecchio and are now in the Museo di Capodimonte (Inv. De Ciccio 502-503) (*Civiltà dell'ottocento*, 3.8).

Grand Tourists' comments on the coloring of the wall paintings are important for understanding the changes in coloring in micromosaics. There are several themes that run throughout the comments on color in travel accounts and each of these will be addressed in turn: the freshness and vividness of the coloring, the circumstances the colors underwent, and the failings of coloring. Tourists, in their accounts of both Pompeii and Portici, remarked upon the vivacity of coloring in the wall paintings. John Gustavius Lemaistre, opting not to write on the paintings because they had been so often described, said only that, "the coloring of them is fresh, and the execution admirable."<sup>914</sup> Lamenting that not more selection had been made when deciding which paintings to bring back to the museum James Wilson speculated: "If only those had been taken which were valuable for the brilliancy of the coloring, the subject, or the excellence of art, we might understand why the ancient dwellings were deprived of the best part of what remains of them, because they are still liable to the effects of another eruption, and especially to the injurious influence of air and humidity."<sup>915</sup> Marguerite Blessington also expressed surprise at how the paintings were "still fresh and glowing on the wall" on a visit to Pompeii in 1822.<sup>916</sup> All of these accounts of travelers focus on how the paintings retained color and freshness.

The idea of the brilliancy of colors was connected to time, as attested by travelers who emphasized how the paintings seemed as though just painted. When first discovered, Camillo Paderni, the artist in charge of the conservation of the paintings,

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<sup>914</sup> Lemaistre, *Travels*, 25.

<sup>915</sup> Wilson, *A Journal of Two*, 185.

<sup>916</sup> Marguerite Blessington, *The Idler in Italy*, Vol. II, (Paris: Baudry's European Library, 1839), 279.

described the paintings, “as fresh as if they had been done a month ago.”<sup>917</sup> Along similar lines, Anne Katharine Curteis Elwood, upon visiting the museum, emphasized how, “the colours and designs [are] perfectly fresh, as if but just finished.”<sup>918</sup> However, Lewis Engelbach recalled the enhancement of the coloring that was necessary because of the way the coloring of the paintings deteriorated once exposed to the air: “To shew the brilliancy of the paintings, our veteran guide threw over one of the walls of an apartment a pailful of water, which spread a temporary luster over the colours, deadened by the dust and flying sand. They certainly looked as if they had been laid on but a month ago...”<sup>919</sup> This quality of freshness emphasized the way in which wall paintings connected the Grand Tourist to the ancient past through their arresting colors that looked as if they were just painted. Thus, travelers were able to recall the past in the present through the wall paintings.

In conjunction with noting how the paintings looked as if just completed, visitors often expressed their surprise on how well the coloring held up considering the trauma they endured in their burial. Lady Morgan eloquently explained this phenomenon: “Though buried for eighteen hundred years, the colours of these antique paintings are wonderfully fresh.”<sup>920</sup> Another traveler recounted that, “The vividness of some of the colours proves the superiority of the ancients in thus compounding what has resisted so

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<sup>917</sup> Quoted in Roberts, “Living with Ancient Romans,” 66.

<sup>918</sup> Elwood, *Narrative of a Journey*, 71.

<sup>919</sup> Lewis Engelbach, *Naples and the Campagna Felice in a Series of Letters*, (London: R. Ackerman, 1815), 114.

<sup>920</sup> Owenson, *Italy*, Vol. II, 288.

unparalleled an ordeal...<sup>921</sup> Therefore, there was a certain amount of wonder of survival that accompanied the experience of the coloring of the wall paintings.<sup>922</sup>

Juxtaposed with the praise of the preservation of ancient coloring was the disappointment in modern preservation. After all, these wall paintings had survived the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius only to be impaired by conservation techniques; the varnish was particularly cited as harmful. Anna Miller elaborated on this disappointment:

The glow of the colouring, which had been preserved for more than 1600 years, suffered much upon being exposed to the air, and a kind of whitish powder formed itself upon them: as a remedy for this accident, a Sicilian, named Moricondi, undertook to varnish them; this succeeded in some respects, but a new misfortune followed; for the varnish fretting the colours, which had been laid on with some kind of gum, great pieces shell'd off; so that many of the pictures have been much damaged, others quite spoiled.<sup>923</sup>

In describing the pictures in the museum Lewis Engelbach wrote that the paintings:

“...have, to my sorrow, been richly covered with a modern varnish.”<sup>924</sup> Perhaps most explicitly citing the injury done to the color is John Nightingale’s account of Queen Caroline’s visit to the museum: “Besides the injury they have sustained by having been exposed to the heat of burning cinders, they have been impaired by the modern varnish, which was intended to protect them: it would, therefore, not be right to subject their colouring to the rigid rules of art...”<sup>925</sup> Therefore, tourists often cited varnish for impeding the prized coloring of these wall paintings that had already survived so much.

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<sup>921</sup> Anonymous, *Mementoes*, 178.

<sup>922</sup> In fact, it seems that superiority of the coloring stemmed from its durability as Selina Martin stated that, “The colouring in durability exceeded any which modern ages can produce (Martin, *Narrative*, 90).

<sup>923</sup> Miller, *Letters from Italy*, Vol. II, 78.

<sup>924</sup> Engelbach, *Naples*, 166.

<sup>925</sup> John Nightingale, *Memoirs of Her Late Majesty Queen Caroline: Consort of King George the Fourth*, Vol. I, (London: J. Robins and Co., 1821), 535-6.

The use of the varnish was a much-contested issue in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as Pompeii and Herculaneum were being excavated. Initially, those in charge of the wall paintings, such as Camillo Paderni, thought to coat the paintings with varnish because of how the coloring of the wall paintings began to deteriorate immediately upon exposure to the air.<sup>926</sup> The original formula of varnish was thought to have made the paintings more vivid with easier legibility, qualities that made the paintings easier to decipher for engraving the *Antichità*.<sup>927</sup> Watercolor paintings of a fresco found in the House of Sallust in Pompeii document the painting's condition before and after treatment in the early-nineteenth century; they show just how much the varnish improved the tone of the color, making it brighter.<sup>928</sup> However, the varnish yellowed the paintings and caused the paint to chip off.<sup>929</sup> In the early-nineteenth century, problems with the original varnish of Stefano Moriconi were increasingly noted and new varnishes were suggested.<sup>930</sup> Regardless of the impacts of the different varnishes used, what remains clear is that the color of the paintings and their vivacity was a key concern to both conservators and viewers.

Another impediment to the paintings that was cited by visitors was glass. The Marchese de Sade wrote that he did not appreciate the paintings being put under glass.<sup>931</sup> Winckelmann noted that for larger paintings, the glass was hinged onto the paintings allowing for a visitor to view the painting without the glass, which would allow viewers

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<sup>926</sup> D'Alconzo, "Naples," 206.

<sup>927</sup> D'Alconzo, *Picturae*, 30-2.

<sup>928</sup> D'Alconzo, *Picturae*, 81.

<sup>929</sup> D'Alconzo, *Picturae*, 206.

<sup>930</sup> Cesare Coppola, in consultation with Camillo Paderni, proposed a new varnish that would conserve the vividness of color and not blacken, like the one of Vedova (D'Alconzo, *Picturae*, 61-2).

<sup>931</sup> Quoted in Cantilena, *Herculanense*, 88.

to avoid reflections that impaired viewing.<sup>932</sup> Therefore, these types of accounts suggested that the visitor was concerned with not only the coloring of the paintings, but their general readability. A host of factors including freshness, vivacity, durability, and readability contributed to the ways in which visitors viewed wall paintings, which then colored the ways micromosaicists addressed production of their souvenirs.

What micromosaicists may, or may not, have known about the coloring of the wall paintings is important. Perhaps they were ignorant of coloring, working, as they most probably did, from engravings.<sup>933</sup> However, while the engravings were in shades of gray, the accompanying text was vibrantly full of color, describing the tone of each item the dancers wore. It is worth noting that Robert Adam, whose designs are abundant with references from Pompeii and Herculaneum and who was familiar with the *Antichità*, made a request of his brother on tour in Italy: “I should be glad to know if you picked up any sketches of any painted ceilings at Herculaneum, or had any paintings by Zucchi...we are at a loss for their colorings...”<sup>934</sup> Sometimes copies of the *Antichità* were abridged and therefore may not have had the accompanying text, or the extent of it, which might explain this comment of Adam. Nonetheless, color renditions of the dancers were in circulation. For example, Prince Stanisław Poniatowski owned a watercolor sketchbook of paintings from Herculaneum and Pompeii, including the dancers, which most likely came from Rome.<sup>935</sup> There was a gouache album, *Peintures d’Herculanum*,

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<sup>932</sup> D’Alconzo, *Picturae*, 34.

<sup>933</sup> For example, a letter to micromosaicist Vincenzo Raffaelli from Stefano Piale demonstrates this when Piale offers to acquire “la collezione delle 12 ballerine,” calling them “tutte figure delle pitture antiche di Ercolano.” At the end of the letter Piale lists “le tavole di Vallardi,” a family of publishers. This suggests that micromosaicists had access to representations of the dancers through print engravings (Fondazione Antonio Negro, Archivio Raffaelli, Roma, 27 July 1803 letter).

<sup>934</sup> *Pompeii as Source and Inspiration*, 6.

<sup>935</sup> Miziołek, *Muse*, 38.

which was printed in Rome in 1784.<sup>936</sup> Michelangelo Maestri produced color reproductions of the dancers as well (Figure 191). It seems to me that we can assume that micromosaicists had some base-level knowledge of the true colors of the dancers between text and images in circulation. Moreover, tourists would presumably have also had access to color images of the paintings. An oil on silk copy of a bacchante and centaur, also from the Villa of Cicero, was found in the crate of Francis Basset on the *Westmorland*, a ship carrying the purchased goods of tourists back to England from Italy.<sup>937</sup> While not the Herculaneum Dancers, it was a similarly popular motif from the same house and demonstrates that tourists had access to color copies of the wall paintings. Therefore, we can reasonably assume that both micromosaicists and tourists had some knowledge of the colors of the wall painting.

We have established that tourists and those in charge of the wall paintings were very much interested in the freshness and vivacity of the color of ancient wall paintings. The color choices of the micromosaicists, while not always adhering to those of the original wall paintings, were bright and vibrant. Looking at micromosaics, the best example of this is a dancer whose colors were not changed drastically, but were enhanced instead. The dancer with a basket on her head (B) is wearing a yellow dress with a salmon colored mantle on top. In micromosaics, micromosaicists instead colored her with a white dress and vivid pink mantle or a bright yellow dress with blue and pink mantle. The vivacity of the colors the micromosaicists chose instead of the originals appealed to those travelers who reveled in the freshness of the colors, and this was what

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<sup>936</sup> Tassinari, *Le pitture*, 65.

<sup>937</sup> Sánchez-Jáuregui, *The English Prize*, 197.

allowed visitors to embark upon a mental journey that connected them with the antique past, memorializing the experience of seeing wall paintings as if just completed.

Furthermore, the bright colors used by micromosaicists highlighted the drapery, and hence the movement of the dancers, which was also valued greatly. While micromosaicists were skilled in working minutely, working on jewelry presented more difficulties because of the small size of the “canvas” on which they worked. Tourist Mariana Starke asserted that the figures were “said to be so exquisite, that were an artist to study for years he could not change one fold in the drapery to any advantage...”<sup>938</sup>

Neville Rolfe, who wrote a handbook to the museum, spoke of “the grace of the movements” of the dancers and how the “garments of another [dancer], remarkable for vivacity and beauty, seem almost to wave, so light and airy is her pose...”<sup>939</sup>

The most single important task of micromosaics of the Herculaneum dancers was to conjure up the essence of the dancers. It would not matter that their representation was not exactly faithful to the original, because these deviations could add further value as a

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<sup>938</sup> Starke, *Letters from Italy*, 118.

<sup>939</sup> Neville Rolfe, *A Complete Handbook to the National Museum in Naples*, (London: Printed by William Clowes and Sons, 1883), 15.

This praise and wonder of the dancers is thrown into stark contrast with the disapproval of tourists, generally, of the wall paintings. The sights of the Grand Tour, as we have seen already, often bear the intersections of contradictory thoughts. For example, one of the other commonly remarked comments by tourists regarding wall paintings was their provincial nature. Marianna Starke, despite praising the dancers’ drapery, said that their “execution is said to be so bad that more than an hour could not have been employed upon each figure” (Starke, *Letters from Italy*, 118). James Wilson wrote: “Concerning the paintings of Pompeii, we should always carry in our minds, that they ornamented the walls of a small provincial city, inhabited by that worst of all people, a bastard race, half Greek, half Roman” (Wilson, *A Journal of Two*, 190). Andre Vieusseux, after commenting on how “...the design is bold, the colours still vivid...” stated that they “they do not give, however, any very great idea of ancient painting, but we ought to consider that they belonged to provincial towns...and we may suppose them to have been very inferior to the masterpieces of the arts in Rome or Athens” (Andre Vieusseux, *Italy and the Italians in the Nineteenth Century*, Vol I, (London: Charles Knight, 1824), 116). Even in the case of the dancers, travelers did not always have kind assessments. These travelers’ valuations of Pompeian painting reflected an eighteenth-century judgment that antique sculpture was the crowning pinnacle of ancient art as Henry Swinburne expounded: “but no pictures yet found are masterly enough to prove that the Greeks carried the art of painting to as great a height of perfection as they did that of statuary” (Swinburne, *Travels*, 96).

souvenir.<sup>940</sup> The ideas that the dancers evoked, however, were critical. The dancing figures, with their vibrant colors, shawls, and emphasis on movement worked to recreate a set of interconnected memories of the Neapolitan south: Emma Hamilton, wall paintings of dancers and seeing paintings in person, and local Neapolitan dances. The modifications of the dancers on the micromosaics suited the tastes of the women to whom they were marketed and facilitated their participation in a dialogue that connected the past with the present.

### **The Seller of Cupids**

Another popular wall painting coming from the Bay of Naples area that is featured on micromosaics is the so-called Seller of Cupids painting (Figure 192). This wall painting comes from Stabiae, located further south along the coast from Herculaneum and Pompeii. Despite this, it quickly became assimilated into the Pompeian legacy.<sup>941</sup> The painting was found June 13, 1759 at the Villa Arianna during the 1757-1759 excavations that took place under Carl Weber, a Swiss military engineer who worked for

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<sup>940</sup> The image of these dancers was skillfully retouched in other visual representations as well demonstrating that the micromosaicists' refinements were not anomalous. The engravers of the *Antichità*, for example, despite having been ordered by the King to reproduce faithfully the original paintings, took liberties, especially in filling out the figures of the dancers making them more sinuous and more like sculpture. This practice is noted by Hérica Valladares in the Flora paintings from Stabiae, which were retouched in the *Antichità* to present crisper drapery lines (Valladares, "Four Women," 78). Sculpture was of special importance in regard to wall paintings as tourists were often commenting on whether ancient painting had reached the height of ancient sculpture. For example, Mary Berry writes of ancient paintings that, "They interested me very much, and I left them with the conviction that the ancients were not less proficient in painting than in sculpture..." (Berry, *Extracts*, 335).

<sup>941</sup> Agnes Allroggen-Bedel, "Gli Affreschi delle ville di Stabiae," in *Stabiae: dai Borbone alle ultime scoperte*, ed. Domenico Camardo and Antonio Ferrara, (Castellammare di Stabia: Nicola Longobardi Editore, 2001), 51.

Alcubierre.<sup>942</sup> The painting was found in a possible cubiculum, a suggestion deriving from the furnishings found in the room.<sup>943</sup> The Seller of Cupids depicts three women: a seated woman offers a cupid she has just plucked from a cage to a woman seated on a chair across from her and another woman stands behind the seated woman.

This vignette was wildly popular in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century visual culture, which was made possible by its dissemination through the *Antichità* (Figure 193).<sup>944</sup> Also propelling its popularity were the mixed meanings behind the painting. The *Antichità* offers several suggestions of the meaning behind the image, but ultimately concludes that its significance is mysterious.<sup>945</sup> However, it does identify the figures in the wall painting as Venus assisted by Peitho and Indigenza.<sup>946</sup> The most frequent interpretations of the painting following its eighteenth-century discovery were suggestive of morality and sexuality derived from the iconography that depicted a woman selling love, in the form of a cupid, to another woman.

The painting was much studied by artists and was translated into a range of artistic media. Its most popularly known interpretation was by the French artist Joseph Marie Vien (1761-1809) in 1763, *La marchande d'amours*, and this in turn spurred further interest in the subject (Figure 194). In fact, Vien's painting appeared at the Salon

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<sup>942</sup> Domenico Camardo, "La Villa di Arianna a Stabiae," In *Stabiae: dai Borbone alle ultime scoperte*, ed. Domenico Camardo and Antonio Ferrara, (Castellammare di Stabia: Nicola Longobardi Editore, 2001), 75. Micheli 1992, 2.

<sup>943</sup> Allroggen-Bedel, "Gli Affreschi," 55.

<sup>944</sup> In fact, we know that there was a need for the *Antichità* because of a letter Ferdinando Galiani wrote to Bernardo Tanucci complaining of misinterpretations caused by not having a proper copy of the *Antichità*: "I have seen that painting of a woman selling cherubs as chickens at least ten times. So Your Excellency can see the importance of a reprint of Ercolano as, without the whole book, the poor artists have to cope with just bits and pieces" (Quoted in Bologna, "The Rediscovery," 79). Tanucci demonstrated that authenticated copies of the *Antichità* were needed to stop the dissemination of incorrect information, such as a seller of chickens instead of cupids.

<sup>945</sup> *Le Antichità*, tomo III, 40.

de Paris only a year after the plate was published in the *Antichità*.<sup>947</sup> The renowned antiquarian Comte de Caylus suggested the composition of this painting to the artist and also likely provided access to the *Antichità*.<sup>948</sup> Vien's painting subtly reinterprets the wall painting and adds allusions to antiquity, such as the posture of the woman holding the cupid whom he modeled after a Hellenistic bronze statue in the Comte de Caylus's collection or the antique table whose design mimicked one found in Herculaneum. Above all, Vien took this ancient depiction and placed it within the context of an eighteenth-century boudoir, inserting subtle erotic allusions.<sup>949</sup> Many praised Vien's painting, such as Diderot who was struck by its delicacy, grace, and simplicity.<sup>950</sup> Jacques Firmin Beauvarlet engraved the painting and this print was displayed at the Salon of 1779, which facilitated its circulation in the late-eighteenth century.<sup>951</sup> Vien's painting, while perhaps the most widely noted, was not alone in taking inspiration from the wall painting. Other noted artists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries also produced two-dimensional works of art that took cues from the wall painting (Figure 195).<sup>952</sup> The

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<sup>946</sup> This assertion of subject matters is made explicit in a gem of Alessandro Cades, where an old woman is offering a nude Venus a cupid (Stefanelli, *La collezione*, tomo ottavano cat. 366).

<sup>947</sup> Gina Carla Ascione, "Wer Kauft Liebesgötter?" in *In Stabiano: Exploring the Ancient Seaside Villas of the Roman Elite*, trans. Angela Pesce, (Napoli: Nicola Longobardi Editore, 2005), 81.

<sup>948</sup> Caylus hoped Vien might experiment with encaustic painting techniques that Pliny described (Micheli 1992, 3). There was a great debate in the eighteenth century about the painting techniques of the ancients. This figured into many conversations on conservation of the paintings and on wall painting in travel accounts.

<sup>949</sup> In fact, its original title was *La marchande a la toilette*.

<sup>950</sup> Jean Seznec and Jean Adhémar, *Diderot Salons (1759, 1761, 1763)*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), 201. Quoted in Maria Elisa Micheli, "Eroti in gabbia. Storia di un motivo iconografico," *Prospettiva: Rivista di storia dell'arte antica e moderna* 65 (1992): 3.

<sup>951</sup> Victoria Gardner Coates and Kenneth D.S. Lapatin, eds., *The Last Days of Pompeii: Decadence, Apocalypse, Resurrection*, (Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum, 2012), 94.

<sup>952</sup> Bertel Thorvaldsen's *Ages of Love* places the Seller of Cupids into a narrative frieze depicting love, in the form of cupids, being offered to people of all ages (1824; Inv. A524). Other artists sketched this same scene, such as Henry Fuseli's interpretation with an extremely aged Seller of Cupids (*Selling of Cupids*, Henry Fuseli, ca. 1775 in the collection of Robert Halsband in New York, Rosenblum, *Transformations*, fig. 4), Jacques-Louis David's line drawing (*Drawing after Selling of Cupids*, Jacques-Louis David, ca. 1776, Rosenblum, *Transformations*, fig. 5), or the similar line drawing done for the Real Museo Borbonico

motif was interpreted through souvenirs as well, such as biscuit (Figure 196),<sup>953</sup> porcelain (Figure 197),<sup>954</sup> fans (Figure 198),<sup>955</sup> and gems (Figure 199).<sup>956</sup> The subject was clearly successful in the visual record and this carried over to micromosaics (Figure 200 through Figure 202).<sup>957</sup>

The micromosaics that depict the Seller of Cupids are all curiously similar, important because of their shared modification, and this is an indication that they might derive from a single source given their strikingly uniform compositions and coloring that diverges from the original. All include an identical outdoor location that replaces the indoor setting of the wall painting, modifying it for reasons that will be discussed later.

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guide ('La venditrice di Amori' (Real Museo Borbonico, I, tav. III, reproduced in Micheli, "Eroti," fig. 8). Antonio Canova presented a subject of caged cupids on canvas that was inspired by the fresco (*Mercato degli Amorini* in the Bassano del Grappa, Musei Biblioteca Archivio, Inv. M5, Osanna, Caricciolo, and Gallo, *Pompei*, fig. 1.25). Wilhelm Tischbein contributed to drawings inspired by the motif, as did Francesco Bartolozzi (*Market of Love* by Francesco Bartolozzi, James Thomas Herbert Baily, *Francesco Bartolozzi, RA*, (London: Otto Ltd., 1907), pl. 4). Gouache paintings also mimic the subject, such as the one attributed to Vanni in a private collection (Caròla-Perrotti, *Le porcellane*, fig. 360a) or an anonymous artist at the Yale Center for British Art (B1983.23.2).

<sup>953</sup> Biscuit statuettes included more literal translations such as that of Christian Gottfried Jüchter by the Meissen Manufactory in the Staatliche Porzellan-Manufaktur, Inv. 19940 (Osanna, Caricciolo, and Gallo, *Pompei*, cat. 1.26) or the more loosely inspired translation of Elias Hütter produced at the Imperial Manufactory at Vienna in the MAK-Austrian Museum of Applied Arts/Contemporary Art in Vienna, Inv. Ke 7080 (Osanna, Caricciolo, and Gallo, *Pompei*, cat. 1.27).

<sup>954</sup> A tray with the Seller of Cupids manufactured by the Real Fabbrica Ferdinanda from a private collection (Caròla-Perrotti, *Le porcellane*, tav. LXXII); a plate manufactured by the Real Fabbrica di Napoli in the Collezione Catello in Napoli (*Civiltà del '700 a Napoli*, cat. 370); another plate manufactured by the Real Fabbrica Ferdinanda in the Museo Nazionale di San Martino (Ascione, "Wer Kauft," 83).

<sup>955</sup> A fan leaf of Italian manufacture (MacKay, *Fans*, 86); a fan of French manufacture in the Museo Nazionale di San Martino (Ascione, "Wer Kauft," 83); a fan from the Badisches Landesmuseum in Germany (Hart and Taylor, *Fans*, 66).

<sup>956</sup> A panel by Wedgwood 1790-1800 in a private collection (Ramage, "Flying Maenads," fig. 19), an intaglio in rock crystal in the British Museum (Micheli, "Eroti," fig. 4), a steatite relief in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum in Munich (Micheli, "Eroti," fig. 5), an intaglio designed by Alessandro Cades (Stefanelli, *La collezione*, tomo ottavo, cat. 366), a plaster cameo by James Tassie (*Pompeii as Source and Inspiration*, fig. 1), a sardonyx cameo in the Musei Civici d'Arte e Storia in Brescia (Tassinari, *Le pitture*, fig. 41), a shell cameo from the Daum collection (Tassinari, *Le pitture*, fig. 42 and fig. 45), and a lava cameo in a private collection (Tassinari, *Le pitture*, fig. 43).

<sup>957</sup> Despite this immense popularity in the arts, there is a surprising lack of discussion on this particular fresco in private journal accounts, at least in comparison with other Pompeian paintings. However, more official types of disseminated information, such as guides to the museum, always mention the painting.

There are only very minor differences in the posture of the women, such as in the position of the head of the standing cupid or the placement of the hand resting on the shoulder of the seated woman. There are slight differences in tonality of colors as well; the band in the hair of the seated woman receiving a cupid is white in two compositions and blue in another and the tips of the wings of the cupid the woman hands over are red in one composition. These differences amongst the micromosaics are very subtle and only detectable upon careful examination. While these subtle deviations may suggest that there were different hands at work in creating the micromosaics, there likely was only a single common source from the micromosaicist Clemente Ciuli (active during the first half of the nineteenth century) who signed one composition.<sup>958</sup> An examination of the Seller of Cupids as depicted on these micromosaics will reveal how modifications of color reflected contemporary interpretations of the subject in circulation and how the insertion of an outdoors background appealed to tourists.

One modification on these micromosaics, as we saw with the Herculaneum dancers, is color. The original wall painting is brightly colored. The seated woman wears a yellow vestment with a white mantle wrapped around her waist and with green sleeves and offers a cupid to two women, one wearing a dress of the same green and

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The popularity of this motif was not restricted to the arts. It infiltrated the literary arts as well, such as the poem *Wer kauft Liebersgötter?* by Goethe or the sonnet *Il Nido* by G.G. de Rossi (Micheli, "Eroti," 4).<sup>958</sup> The only signed micromosaic is by the Roman artist Clemente Ciuli, who worked in the Piazza di Spagna and conspicuously placed his name on the seat of the women receiving a cupid. That Clemente Ciuli signed this particular micromosaic is significant, because perhaps the other unsigned, but similar micromosaics, are copies of the Ciuli micromosaic since I have not been able to pinpoint any one common source from which the micromosaics derived their colors and composition. Given the way that the micromosaic industry often ran in families and the close proximity in which artists worked near each other in the Piazza di Spagna, it would not be surprising that the design circulated. In fact, Ciuli was well admired during his own time, noted as one of the major micromosaic artists (Petochi, Alfieri, and Branchetti, *I mosaici minuti*, 52). Therefore, I would suggest that other micromosaics all draw from Ciuli's design.

another wearing a light blue dress with a dark brownish-purple mantle, which was described as green in the *Antichità*. Behind the woman offering the cupid is a yellow cloth draped above an open door and behind the other two women is an opening closed with a draped green cloth. Like the Herculaneum dancers, most interpretations of the Seller of Cupids took the opportunity to modify colors to the artist's liking. Vien, for example, does not follow the original coloring and adopts a pastel tone instead, and copies of his painting do not even adhere to his pastel color palette (Figure 203).<sup>959</sup> In fact, a host of other objects also do not take their lead in coloring from the original wall painting, including a gouache of the Yale Center for British Art (Figure 204), a Meissen porcelain group (Figure 205), and a plate from the Real Fabbrica (Figure 197). What is important to note is that in no interpretation of the vignette do the colors deviate consistently from the Stabian wall painting. It is only in the instance of the micromosaics that the colors are consistently inconsistent. In the micromosaics the seated woman offering the cupid wears a white tunic with a blue mantle wrapped around her waist and legs. The other seated woman also wears a white tunic and has a pink mantle draped around one shoulder. The woman standing behind her wears a purplish-blue mantle over an earth toned tunic.

An investigation of the *Antichità's* interpretation of the garment colors is merited. The colors described in the text, with one exception, align with the actual colors in the original wall painting. This one exception is the green dress of the woman standing behind the seated woman on the left side of the composition that the *Antichità* described

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<sup>959</sup> Vien's modification of color corresponded to the ways in which he updated and improved the painting to align with Parisian sensibilities in the eighteenth century (Coates and Lapatin, *Vases and Volcanoes*, 90).

as purple. It is possible that the once purplish-blue pigment made of copper and sand oxidized, leaving the garment green. But then why did the sky blue color of her seated companion also not oxidize? In micromosaics her garment tends to be more of a purplish-blue color, which corresponds to the *Antichità's* description of the woman's dress as purple. Whether this coloring is due to oxidation or not is unclear. The gouache of Michelangelo Maestri (1741-1812) is interesting to consider in light of this anomaly in coloring (Figure 206). He clearly followed the coloring of the fresco as it was, or as was set out in the explanatory text of the *Antichità*, which is evidenced by his employment of the color purple for the garment of the standing woman with all other colors in the image faithful to the original.<sup>960</sup> If we assume that the purple garment oxidized to green, then this did not take place during the lifetime of Maestri, who died in 1812.

We are still left with the question of how to explain the coloring deviations. We know from travel accounts that vivacity of color was a primary concern in evaluating wall paintings. However, this is not necessarily the case in the instance of the Seller of Cupids since the colors are more subdued than the original palette. I would suggest that micromosaicists instead adopted the pastel colors and outdoors setting made popular by Rococo painting in the eighteenth century. This likely stemmed from the widespread popularity of Vien's painting that also noticeably softened the bright colors of the original painting adopting a more pastel palette.

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For example, an 1820 gold enamel snuff box in a November 2010 auction at Christie's copies the composition of Vien's painting but alters the coloring of the women's clothing (Christie's 2851, Lot 5).

<sup>960</sup> An image attributed to Michelangelo Maestri, *Venditrice di Amorini*, in a private collection (Claut et al., *Il fascino*, 36.a). Another gouache of his, however, does not follow the painting of the original fresco (Figure 207).

Other modifications to the micromosaics are easier to explain, such as the choice of background. The majority of images and objects that were inspired by the wall painting show similar, if not identical, interior scenes as depicted in the original. Those that do differ usually also depict some sort of interior, such as Vien's scene with carpeting or a gem with just a hint of a sash behind it (Figure 208). Unlike such representations, micromosaics depict the Seller of Cupids and the two buyers against an outdoor backdrop consisting of a body of water and a jutting promontory of land with three mountains of diminishing size behind it. However, this outdoors setting on micromosaics is not anomalous; the outdoor environment is used on other souvenirs, such as a steatite gem from the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum with a tree curving above the seated woman offering the cupid (Figure 209). Additionally, there is just a hint of landscape depicted by a mountain etched behind the same, seated woman. This same motif of the curving tree is also noted in James Tassie's plaster cast gem of the Seller of Cupids and a lava cameo (Figure 210). A plate from the Real Fabbrica Ferdinanda and a fan both depict landscapes placed behind the women and cupids consisting of a curving tree with shrubbery and trees that fill in the recessed spaces (Figure 197 and Figure 211). The series of micromosaics depicting the Seller of Cupids have one common factor with these other outdoor backdrops: the tree. The tree on micromosaics, while similar in type, is different in that it lacks the distinctive curve characteristic of the other outdoor scenes. This is easily explained by the ovular composition of the gems and plate that the rectangular micromosaics lack. Instead, on micromosaics the tree takes on an angular form to fit the square corner of the boxes.

Unlike any other depiction of the Seller of Cupids is the detailed landscape in the background of the micromosaics, which bears a striking resemblance to the Bay of Naples. An aquarello by A. Vianelli, *Napoli da Capodichino*, dating to 1828 and a plate from the *Campi Phlegraei* depict the Bay of Naples in a similar manner to the landscape on the micromosaics (Figure 212 and Figure 213). Both show three mountains, diminishing in size, with a promontory of land jutting between the bay and the mountains. Therefore, I would suggest that we are looking at some sort of vista of the Bay of Naples behind the women.

Naturally, one of the main attractions of Naples during the Grand Tour was the landscape, which was responsible for both the destruction and survival of the ancient cities. Mt. Vesuvius dominated the landscape of Naples and demanded immediate attention, which came in the form of tourists who climbed the volcano to its summit. This activity is described in great detail in travel accounts and depicted in visual arts.<sup>961</sup> An element of daring often accompanied such ascents, such as Charles Augustus Fowler who climbed the volcano just after its 1839 eruption, fighting his way through lava and stone.<sup>962</sup> Common souvenirs from Naples included views of the volcano as well as geological materials from its slopes. Ann Flaxman wrote that she took a piece of sulphur stone from her climb to the summit of Vesuvius despite it being nearly too hot to handle.<sup>963</sup> Sir John Soane took a piece of cinder from his encounter with Mt. Vesuvius.<sup>964</sup> Lava samples from Vesuvius were present in the crate of Penn Assheton Curzon on the

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<sup>961</sup> For an example see, *La salita e la discesa dal Vesuvio* by Nappa, ca. 1830 (in a private collection) see Fino, *Donne*, fig. 99.

<sup>962</sup> Fowler, *Travel Diary*, January 1<sup>st</sup> entry.

<sup>963</sup> Flaxman, *An Uninteresting*, 71.

*Westmorland*, with a label “Lava dell’anno 1776.”<sup>965</sup> The volcano stirred interest in vulcanology and consequently, Naples, when it erupted twice in the eighteenth century in 1737 and 1767 and also in 1839.

Sir William Hamilton was at the forefront of Mt. Vesuvius studies. Immediately upon his arrival as envoy in Naples, he undertook an intensive study of the volcano, observing its character every day and taking many samples. By 1794 he had ascended Mt. Vesuvius 64 times.<sup>966</sup> Hamilton wrote descriptive letters, tailored to a general audience, that he sent back to the Royal Society in London, which were often later published in the *Philosophical Transactions* of the society.<sup>967</sup> Hamilton bridged the past and present in his recollections of the volcano; while engaging with sources such as Pliny somewhat differently than most of his contemporaries, his findings emphasized the equivalencies of both ancient and modern descriptions of eruptions.<sup>968</sup> Ultimately, Hamilton published his findings on the volcano in a luxury edition book, *Campi Phlegraei*, filled with images that allowed readers to follow along with the adventures of Hamilton.<sup>969</sup> The book was widely known, because of the numerous reviews of it in contemporary journals, although its distribution was limited.<sup>970</sup> Despite that the book, and in turn its illustrations, were not widely circulated, the images were disseminated in

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<sup>964</sup> Karen Wood, “Making and Circulating Knowledge through Sir William Hamilton’s ‘Campi Phlegraei,’” *The British Journal for the History of Science* (2006) 39: 94.

<sup>965</sup> Sánchez-Jáuregui, *The English Prize*, 229.

<sup>966</sup> Roberts, “Living with the Ancient Romans,” 79.

<sup>967</sup> Wood, “Making and Circulating,” 77-84.

<sup>968</sup> Roberts, “Living with the Ancient Romans,” 80-3.

<sup>969</sup> What made this book so expensive and, consequently, a luxury were its illustrations. Hamilton commissioned Peter Fabris to make the illustrations, and Hamilton had a significant hand in shaping those images. They embody the tourist’s experience with the volcano: plates depict stone specimens collected from the volcano, views of the Bay of Naples, and tourists, including himself, at the summit. For stone specimens see William Hamilton, *Campi Phlegraei: Observations on the Volcanos of the Two Sicilies*,

other ways. For example, Hamilton had some of Peter Fabris's images painted on glass slides that he sent back to the Royal Society for viewing. Furthermore, the book had a more affordable counterpart with lower quality monochrome engravings called *Observations on Mount Vesuvius, Mount Etna, and Other Volcanoes* that saw a wider distribution outside of Italy.<sup>971</sup>

The scientific interest in Mt. Vesuvius that Hamilton helped to create spilled over into popular culture. The 79 CE eruption and ensuing destruction figured largely in the imagination of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century enthusiasts. There are countless portrayals of the eruption of the mountain, such as the many paintings of Joseph Wright of Derby and Pierre-Jacques Volaire. The mania for all things Vesuvian also invaded the literary arts, as attested by the popular book, *The Last Days of Pompeii*, by Edward Bulwer-Lytton in 1834 that was later translated into a theatrical production. Other popular literature included Edwin Atherstone's epic poem, the *Last Days of Herculaneum*, Thomas Gray's novel, *A Tale of Pompeii*, or Sumner Lincoln's poem, *The Last Night of Pompei*.<sup>972</sup> Other admired productions included the extremely successful opera by Giovanni Pacini, *L'Ultimo Giorno di Pompei* that first debuted in Naples and then a few years later in London.<sup>973</sup> Mock eruptions also proved popular, such as a 1785

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(Naples, 1776), pl. LIV, XLVIII; for views of the bay: pl. III, XXXI; for tourists at the summit: pl. IX, XXV.

<sup>970</sup> Wood, "Making and Circulating," 92.

<sup>971</sup> Richard Hambly, "Private Cabinets and Popular Geology: The British Audiences for Volcanoes in the Eighteenth Century," in *Transports: Travel, Pleasure, and Imaginative Geography, 1600-1830*, eds. Chloe Chard and Helen Langdon, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996), 182.

<sup>972</sup> Nicholas Daly, "The Volcanic Disaster Narrative: From Pleasure Garden to Canvas, Page, and Stage," *Victorian Studies* (2011) 53: 264-8.

<sup>973</sup> Daly, "The Volcanic Disaster," 264.

show of Richard Dubourg where a cork model of the city was destroyed by the volcano, or pyrotheatrics in the late nineteenth century.<sup>974</sup>

Less bombastic representations of the mountain are noted in more commercial aspects of the Grand Tour. This is seen most obviously in portraiture. William Hamilton is naturally featured in portraits with the backdrop of Mt. Vesuvius smoking behind him, as in a portrait by Joshua Reynolds.<sup>975</sup> Portraits commissioned by travelers while on the Grand Tour also placed Vesuvius in the background. A portrait of Goethe by Wilhelm Tischbein shows him standing with Mt. Vesuvius in the background.<sup>976</sup> Angelica Kauffmann painted a portrait of Henry Temple, 2<sup>nd</sup> Viscount of Palmerston with Vesuvius in the background.<sup>977</sup> Women too were also portrayed with Mt. Vesuvius in the background, such as George Hayer's 1828 *Portrait of a Lady* or Robert Fagan's late eighteenth-century portrait of the travel writer Lady Elizabeth Holland (formerly Webster). Perhaps most interesting is the portrait of *Lady Hamilton as a Bacchante* by Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, which depicts Emma performing against a backdrop of the Bay of Naples instead of in an interior space as she would normally.<sup>978</sup> Micromosaics of the Seller of Cupids similarly remove the scene from its standard interior and place it against an outdoor background.

What were the motivations behind micromosaicists setting the scene against the backdrop of the Bay of Naples? It was likely two-fold. First of all, the addition of the

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<sup>974</sup> Daly, "The Volcanic Disaster," 261, 276.

<sup>975</sup> *Sir William Hamilton* by Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1777 in the National Portrait Gallery (NPG 680). David Nolta suggests that these portraits with both Vesuvius and vases, as in the Reynolds portrait, demonstrate that Hamilton approached the study of both in similar ways (David. D. Nolta, "The Body of the Collector and the Collected Body in William Hamilton's Naples," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* (1997) 31: 110-11).

<sup>976</sup> *Ritratto di Goethe a Napoli* by Wilhelm Tischbein in the Museo di San Martino (Pagano, *C'era una volta*, 79).

<sup>977</sup> At the Broadlands house in Hampshire. Private collection. Bignamini and Hornsby 2010, 314.

Bay of Naples scenery would have been a purposeful appeal to Grand Tourists who were well versed in the landscape of the area. This was an aspect of travelers' trips to Naples that they wished to bring back with them, and a souvenir that was suggestive of this would have had great demand. Souvenirs, such as fans, memorialize Vesuvius as both static and in eruption.<sup>979</sup> In fact, eruption scenes of Mt. Vesuvius were common on micromosaics, just as they were in oil paintings. Accordingly, the inclusion of this scenery would have facilitated memories from the trip. An interesting passage from Ann Flaxman's travel journal demonstrates the power of the view to facilitate the transportation of the mind. As she looked out on the view afforded to her by her ascent of Vesuvius, being able to see two miles to the towns of Portici, she wrote: "...to our sight we recall'd to our minds what we had seen in our visits to all these places and were much delighted..."<sup>980</sup> Therefore, I would suggest that such views of the Bay of Naples would not only recall memories of Mt. Vesuvius and all that it entailed, but also memories of the surrounding places they visited, such as Portici, Herculaneum, and Pompeii. The blending of the wall painting from Stabiae with the Bay of Naples made an excellent marriage of subjects that worked together to facilitate these memories of experiencing the past in the present.

Second, I would suggest that this removing of the scene from the interior to the exterior had to do with the more suggestive connotations of the subject matter. Vien's painting effectively nuanced the sexual meanings of the subject, spotlighting this aspect

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<sup>978</sup> Coates and Lapatin, *Vases and Volcanoes*, 96.

<sup>979</sup> Hart and Taylor, *Fans*, pl. 34. MacKay, *Fans*, 63, 87.

<sup>980</sup> Flaxman, *An Uninteresting*, 71.

of the scene. By removing this scene of an offering of love from the enclosed interior space to the public exterior, micromosaicists distanced the erotic aspects of the subject.

There are other deviations from the original painting that also deserve discussion in relation to travel accounts. The first is the outstretched arm of the standing woman, which does not appear in the original composition. In micromosaics, the woman standing with her hand on the shoulder of the seated woman reaches out with her other hand. This is an addition that commonly shows up in other souvenirs, such as in the work of Michelangelo Maestri, the gouache of Vanni, the gem of James Tassie, the rock crystal intaglio of the British Museum, and the steatite relief from the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum. Surprisingly, however, it does not stem from Vien's famed interpretation of the scene, and cannot be traced to any one particular widely circulated image. Rather, like the outdoor setting, this seems to be an organic change that grows from many artists adopting the motif. What little exists in travel accounts discussing the Seller of Cupids explains the outstretched arm. Henry Matthews described the standing woman as "in the attitude of advice and caution,"<sup>981</sup> Frederic Stoleberg wrote of her as "an old female, who appears to be giving her advice," and George Evans similarly noted her as "another aged female, in the attitude of advice and caution."<sup>982</sup> In all of these descriptions of the standing woman, the travelers highlight how she appeared to be administering advice or offering caution. The extended arm with open palm facing upwards suggests a gesture of concern, indicative of advice to heed the gift. This again would put a damper on the erotic nature of the scene. The slightly cocked head of the standing woman in Ciuli's micromosaic also contributes to this cautious atmosphere.

This is clearly a quality that travelers expected in the standing woman and it was emphasized by micromosaicists.

Lastly, there is the curious detail of the youthful appearance of the woman offering a cupid to the other two women in the micromosaic. This woman appears in varying stages of life in different interpretations of the subject. There is, for any of the three women, no particular standard in the visual record. In travel accounts; however, the standing woman and seated woman offering cupids are noted as old while the seated woman receiving the cupid is always described as young.<sup>983</sup> So why the youthful depiction of the woman selling cupids in the micromosaics? The answer remains somewhat obscure, but what I would suggest is that it derives from Vien's influence. In Vien's painting all three women are depicted as quite young, as they are in micromosaics. That tourists were familiar with this interpretation of the painting is made clear by Frederic Stolberg when he discussed the painting and stated that, "From this piece a French artist has no doubt taken the well known idea of his Cupid-Seller."<sup>984</sup> Perhaps the inspiration for making the seller more youthful stems from Vien's similarly younger figures in the scene, just as his palette may have also influenced color choices on micromosaics.

A close examination of the Seller of Cupids micromosaics has born fruitful evidence of how micromosaicists specifically catered to tourists in order to sell their wares. They not only capitalized on a popular subject, but also modified it to make it more profitable. The addition of the landscape of the Bay of Naples not only garnered

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<sup>981</sup> Henry Matthews, *Diary of an Invalid*, (France: A. and W. Galignani, 1825), 215.

<sup>982</sup> Stoleberg, *Travels*, 115. Evans, *The Classic and Connoisseur*, 157.

<sup>983</sup> Matthews, *Diary*, 215. Stolberg, *Travels*, 115. Evans, *The Classic and the Connoisseur*, 157.

interest from purchasers, but also reminded them of their own trips to the summit of Vesuvius and areas around the bay where this wall painting originated. This sort of transportation of the mind was exactly the kind of thing that travelers expected their souvenirs, as tokens of an experience, to conjure up. Furthermore, modified gestures and coloring on the micromosaics aligned with other popular representations of the subject. Therefore, the fresco as depicted on the micromosaic would support the visitor's memories, which were determined by engravings and other images that they encountered prior to their visit.

### **Doric Temples at Paestum**

Paestum figured prominently in late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century discourse. The three Doric temples that stand proudly amidst their surrounding landscape were rediscovered in the late eighteenth century igniting great excitement. The area, however, had been known since the 1600s and there was a plan by Constantino Gatta that mapped the temples as early as 1732.<sup>985</sup> Perhaps the most widely noted occurrence before the formal rediscovery of the temples involved the Neapolitan court architect under the Bourbons, Ferdinando Sanfelice (1675-1748). Sanfelice suggested to the king that they use the columns of the temples to ornament the Palazzo di Capodimonte in Naples in 1740.<sup>986</sup> Likely this suggestion was motivated by financial factors, but the stone proved

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<sup>984</sup> Stolberg, *Travels*, 115.

<sup>985</sup> Angela Pontradolfo, "La conoscenza di Paestum nella storia dell'archeologia," in *La fortuna di Paestum e la memoria moderna del dorico 1750-1830*, ed. Joselita Raspi Serra, (Firenze: Centro Di della Edifirmi, 1986), 51.

<sup>986</sup> Elvira Chiosi, Laura Mascoli, Georges Vallet. "La scoperta di Paestum," in *La fortuna di Paestum e la memoria moderna del dorico 1750-1830*, ed. Joselita Raspi Serra, (Firenze: Centro Di della Edifirmi, 1986), 41-3.

difficult to transport over the notoriously bad roads from Paestum to Naples. The fact that this proposal did not provoke any outcry underlines the fact that tourists and Neapolitans had not yet engendered admiration for the temples.<sup>987</sup>

The formal rediscovery of the temples at Paestum in the mid-eighteenth century contributed to the growing interest in the Bay of Naples area. While Mario Gioffredi claimed discovery of the temples in 1746, Count Felice Gazzola (1698-1780) was actually the key player as he completely documented the temples and surrounding ruins from 1745-1750 and encouraged visitors to come to the site.<sup>988</sup> Gazzola ordered a more passable road be made to Paestum, thus enabling easier traveling.<sup>989</sup> However, there was a long delay in the publication that followed his study as the engravings he commissioned were not published until 1784 by Paolantonio Paoli under the title *Rovine della città di Pesto detta ancora Posidonia*. Gazzola's commissioned engravings were instrumental in disseminating pictorial information about the temples and were enormously influential in subsequent engravings and *vedute* of the temples.<sup>990</sup> This publication also likely included drawings done by or derived from the French architect, Jacques-Germain Soufflot, who visited and studied the site with Count Gazzola.<sup>991</sup> Soufflot's drawings were not published immediately following his visit, but circulated and inspired other publications.<sup>992</sup>

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<sup>987</sup> Pontradolfo, "La conoscenza," 52.

<sup>988</sup> Dana Arnold, "Count Gazola and the temples at Paestum. An Influential Grand Tour guide," *Apollo* 366 (1992): 95. Pontradolfo, "La conoscenza," 52.

<sup>989</sup> Ceserani, *Italy's Lost*, 61.

<sup>990</sup> Arnold, "Count Gazola," 95-99.

<sup>991</sup> Dieter Mertens, "The Paestum Temples and the Evolution of the Historiography of Architecture," in *Paestum and the temples and the Evolution of the Historiography of Architecture 1750-1830*, ed. Joselita Raspi Serra, (Firenze: Centro Di della Edifirmi, 1986), 64.

<sup>992</sup> Pinto, *Speaking Ruins*, 203.

Several publications were important in shaping knowledge of the site. The first publication of the site was Dumont's *Les Ruines de Paestum* in 1764.<sup>993</sup> Other early publications include the 1768 engraving of Robert Wood, *The Ruins of Paestum, Otherwise Posidonia in Magna Graecia* with text by Thomas Major.<sup>994</sup> Winckelmann's trip to Paestum in 1762 resulted in their inclusion in his *Anmerkungen über die Baukunst der Alten* in which he pronounced the temples at Paestum to be the archetypal model for ancient architecture.<sup>995</sup> Winckelmann was instrumental in the Greek Revival movement and consequently in reshaping the face of the classical world.<sup>996</sup> Also important in disseminating information, especially to a more general audience and potential tourists, was the trip that Piranesi took with his son to Paestum in 1777 that resulted in a series of prints documenting all angles of the temples (Figure 214).<sup>997</sup>

The excitement that arose from the rediscovery of Paestum was not restricted to academic circles interested in Greek architecture, but also spread to a more general audience, such as tourists. The discovery of Paestum's importance to the itinerary of the Grand Tour cannot be overstated. It was these temples that, for the first time, gave travelers incentive to go further south than Naples on their tours.<sup>998</sup> Using Naples as a base, tourists would embark on the often-treacherous journey to Paestum.

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<sup>993</sup> Arnold, "Count Gazola," 96.

<sup>994</sup> Major had never been to Paestum. However, he had worked on other archaeological publications before, such as Robert Wood's on Palmyra or Baalbek, and therefore was quite experienced despite never having visited Paestum himself (Pinto, *Speaking Ruins*, 205).

<sup>995</sup> Pinto, *Speaking Ruins*, 207.

<sup>996</sup> Ceserani, *Italy's Lost*, 2.

<sup>997</sup> Finished by Piranesi's son, Francesco, after his 1778 death (John Wilton-Ely, *Piranesi, Paestum, & Soane*, (New York: Prestel, 2013), 20).

<sup>998</sup> Ugo Di Pace, *Paestum, Salerno, Amalfi nella visione dei viaggiatori stranieri*, (Napoli: Electa Napoli, 2002), 16.

The rediscovery of Paestum elicited varied responses from academics and travelers. Both its beauty and inelegance struck viewers of the temples equally. Having been long enamored of Greek sculpture, the reception of these truly Greek temples, the oldest ones discovered, was more mixed. The squat columns of the temples were particularly offensive to eighteenth-century eyes that were used to more slender proportions. The “primitive” character of the buildings with their lack of ornamental decoration characteristic of Roman temples was an aspect that was both praised and decried. The temples at Paestum challenged conventions as their simpler character was at odds with traditionally defined classical architecture and contradicted the standards set by Vitruvius.<sup>999</sup> However, towards the end of the eighteenth century antiquarians and travelers came to see this primitive character as contributing to a purer, superior simplicity.<sup>1000</sup>

The three temples at the site cause some confusion with their evolving names, which changed as scholars discovered more information about each temple. The largest temple, now known as Hera II, was called the Temple of Neptune in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries after the city, Posidonia. The oldest temple, today called Hera I, was known as the Basilica in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries because the building, without its pediments and an odd number of columns along its front, did not fit the accepted classification of a temple. The Temple of Athena, as it is known today, was referenced as both a temple to Ceres because of terracotta figures found nearby and to

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<sup>999</sup> Mertens, “The Paestum Temples,” 64.

<sup>1000</sup> Sigrid de Jong, *Rediscovering Architecture: Paestum in Eighteenth-Century Architectural Experience and Theory*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2014), 187.

Juno.<sup>1001</sup> For the sake of simplicity, I will refer to the temples as they were called in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

The temples were a common site to visit while in Naples and both academic and more general audiences were interested in their material manifestations that proliferated. Not only did prints and paintings of the temples abound, but models were also particularly popular. The images of Paestum by Antonio Joli, Philip Hackert, and Giovanni Battista Piranesi were especially formative (Figure 215 and Figure 216).<sup>1002</sup> Models provide us with a different type of souvenir since they were often couched in more scientific quests, aiming to produce a scale study of the building in question.<sup>1003</sup> Cork models proved a most popular souvenir from Paestum and this is likely due to the very specific correspondence between the porous local stone of the temples and the cork materials of these models, which tourists often noted in their narratives of the temples (Figure 217).<sup>1004</sup> In addition to cork,<sup>1005</sup> Paestum made appearances in other mediums of

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<sup>1001</sup> De Jong, *Rediscovering Architecture*, 7. Wilton-Ely, *Piranesi, Paestum*, 25.

<sup>1002</sup> Prints include Piranesi's *Différents vues de Pesto*, prints of Antonio Joli, Robert Wood in *Ruins of Paestum*, Fillippo Morghen's *Sei vedute delle rovine di Pesto*, and Gabriel-Pierre-Martin Dumon's *Les ruins de Paestum*. Paintings and drawings proliferated: Antonio Joli's paintings: *The Temples of Paestum* after 1776 in Kulturstiftung Dessau-Wörlitz and *Three Temples from the West*, 1759 at the Norton Simon Art Foundation in Pasadena (DeJong, *Rediscovering Architecture*, fig. 7, 88), John Robert Cozens' drawings done in 1782 at the Whitworth Art Gallery in Manchester and watercolor, *The Two Great Temples at Paestum*, 1782 in the Victoria and Albert (DeJong, *Rediscovering Architecture*, fig 57-60), Philip Hackert: *View of the Basilica and Poseidon Temple of Paestum*, 1777, Klassik Stiftung Weimar, Graphische Sammlungen.

<sup>1003</sup> Büttner, "Korkmodelle," 16. Charles Townley, famed collector of ancient sculpture, commissioned a model of these temples (Kockel, "Plaster Models," 421). In fact, one such model made by Augusto Rosa, who is often credited as the inventor of cork models, stemmed from a visit to Paestum that he undertook with Piranesi and John Soane (Pinto, *Speaking Ruins*, fig. 146-7). Valentin Kockel, however, suggests that it is equally plausible that Giovanni Altieri may have been the inventor of this genre (Kockel, *Phelloplastica*, 12). John Soane then acquired Rosa's model of the temple for his cork model collection at his house at Lincoln's Inn Field (Büttner, "Korkmodelle," 14). While both tourists and architects collected these models, there were also models of the temples available in the museum at Naples to educate tourists and visitors often mention this in their accounts. The museum in Naples had both models of Paestum and Pompeii (Elwood, *Narrative of a Journey*, 69; Waldie, *Sketches Descriptive of Italy*, Vol. III, 100).

<sup>1004</sup> Marguerite Blessington wrote that, "the temple of Neptune...is built of a porous stone, which resembles cork..." (Blessington, *The Idler*, 307) and speaking of the stone temples George Evans writes,

souvenirs, such as models made of various other materials (Figure 218),<sup>1006</sup> fans,<sup>1007</sup> and ceramics (Figure 219).<sup>1008</sup>

Micromosaics of the temples of Paestum include several different types. Most common is a view that shows all three of the temples strung along the landscape, and another popular view depicts the interior of the Temple of Neptune. The temples of Paestum, as seen on micromosaics, echo the importance of several themes already addressed in relation to architectural viewing on micromosaics. There are two themes in particular that play large roles in formulating the formatting of the temples in the memory of visitors on micromosaics: framing the view and solitude. By including these dimensions of travelers' visits to the site of Paestum, micromosaicists facilitated the memorializing of the monuments in memory.

Most micromosaics depict all three of the temples of Paestum in a single view (Figure 220). Since the temples were not all one next to the other, this necessitated including much of the landscape of Paestum. Often the temples were depicted small against the looming landscape that surrounded them. Most micromosaics depict the temples from a slight angle in order to include them all. Clearly it was more important to

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“though in fact as durable as granite, is in appearance as porous as cork” (Evans, *The Classic and Connoisseur*, Vol. II, 187).

<sup>1005</sup> Cork model of Temple of Neptune (Christie's South Kensington Ltd, *Antiquities and Souvenirs of the Grand Tour, Wednesday 19 October 1994*, fig 256), Cork model of all three temples at the Museo Archeologico Nazionale in Naples (De Jong, *Rediscovering Architecture*, fig. 170-172), Temple of Neptune in the Drottningholm Palace National Museum in Stockholm (NM Drh SK 260) (Kockel, *Phelloplastica*, cat. 7), Temple of Neptune at Sir John Soane's Museum in London (Michael McCarthy, “Documents on the Greek Revival in Architecture,” *The Burlington Magazine* 114 (1972): fig 39-40), Temple of Neptune by Augusto Rosa at the Musée Archeologie Nationale, Saint-Germain-en-Laye (Pinto, *Speaking Ruins*, fig 146).

<sup>1006</sup> Rosso antico marble temple of Neptune at the Museo di Capodimonte, Inv. OA 160(d'Agliano and Melegati, *Ricordi*, cat. 53), silver model of Temple of Neptune (Christie's South Kensington Ltd, *Antiquities and Souvenirs of the Grand Tour, Wednesday 19 October 1994*, fig 268),

<sup>1007</sup> Fan depicting one of the temples in the Brighton Museum (*Fans and the Grand Tour*, n. 31).

capture the three temples together than the individual architectural details since micromosaics that capture the exterior elevation of a single temple are rare.<sup>1009</sup> However, we do not see this same concern in prints of the temples, which instead focus on close-ups of the individual temples and their elements. What was the driving force behind these views of the temple from a distance on micromosaics? The answer to this is found in an examination of the tourist's experience of arrival at Paestum.

As I have noted in my discussion with Rome and the Grand Tour, the entrance to the city and the first view were crucial and were often highlighted in tourists' accounts of the city. The journey from Naples was often harrowing and travelers complained of its length, the conditions of the roads, the lack of hotels, and the accompanying dangers of bandits.<sup>1010</sup> All of this made the arrival at Paestum all the more rewarding and exciting. Tourists consistently spoke of distance in relation to the first viewing of the temples. Jane Waldie wrote: "At a considerable distance...and still further off, the faint outline of the temples of Paestum was dimly discernible on the plain..."<sup>1011</sup> Rae Wilson also recounted a first view from a distance stating, "Fortunately, the appearance of the temples in the distance reassured us..."<sup>1012</sup> Mariana Starke, after documenting the rough passage to Paestum wrote, "when, turning toward the sea, we beheld, about a mile distant from its

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<sup>1008</sup> The temples are pictured on a plate and coffeepot in the Raccolta D'Amodio in Naples (Caròla-Perrotti, *Le porcellane*, n. 327).

<sup>1009</sup> The only micromosaic depicting the front elevation of a single temple is one from the Vatican by Giacinto Cola that shows the Temple of Ceres by itself. However, this was part of a pair with another micromosaic that depicted the Temple of Neptune and the Basilica (Cornini, "La collezione," fig. 14, 14a).

<sup>1010</sup> Jane Waldie, in particular, extensively wrote about the poor conditions (Waldie, *Sketches Descriptive of Italy*, Vol. III, 171).

<sup>1011</sup> Waldie, *Sketches Descriptive of Italy*, Vol. III, 185.

<sup>1012</sup> Wilson, *Records of a Route*, 241.

margin, and encompassed with silence and solitude three stately edifices...<sup>1013</sup> Thus, that the temples were first seen from afar was a significant component in what shaped the experience of visiting Paestum. The account of James Wilson best sums up the discussion of the importance of this first glimpse: “Of the various remains of antiquity, which are scattered over Italy, I know of none so striking as the first view of Paestum.”<sup>1014</sup>

Furthermore, tourists, who in their accounts of Paestum discussed how the temples could be observed with a glass from across the bay, emphasized this preoccupation with distance. Lady Elizabeth Holland wrote of this viewing from afar: “with a glass from hence one may discern the temples of Paestum on the opposite coast.”<sup>1015</sup> Joseph Forsyth recalled all the views, including by glass, of the temples that can be noted from a distance: “They can be described with a glass from Salerno, the high road of Calabria commands a distant view, the city of Capaccio looks down upon them.”<sup>1016</sup> The idea of looking through a glass at the temples also highlights the practice of framed viewing. Therefore, the practice of micromosaicists depicting the three temples small against the expanse of Paestum landscape reinforced travelers’ expectations of the first view of the temples from afar. Having this memorialized on the micromosaic enabled the viewer to call to mind this first sight of the temples.

A component that contributed to the dangerous nature of the journey to the temples of Paestum was the thick forest landscape through which they had to travel.

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<sup>1013</sup> Mariana Starke, *Information and Direction for Travellers on the Continent*, (Paris: A. and W. Gagliani, 1826), 280.

<sup>1014</sup> Wilson, *A Journal of Two*, Vol. III, 132.

<sup>1015</sup> Elizabeth Holland, *The Journal of Elizabeth Lady Holland 1791-1811*, Vol. I, (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1908), 17.

Many tourists, in their writings, hinted at the sudden appearance of the temples from amidst a thicket, such as this account by Patrick Brydone in 1770: “Some of these forests are of vast extent and absolutely impenetrable, and no doubt conceal in their thickets many valuable monuments of its ancient magnificence. Of this indeed we have a very recent proof in the discovery of Pestum, a Grecian city, that had not been heard of for many ages, till of late, some of its lofty temples were seen, peeping over the tops of the woods...”<sup>1017</sup> This account not only emphasizes how difficult the terrain was to navigate, but also underlines the importance of rediscovery in combination with the first glimpse of the temples, viewed from afar. Mariana Starke also contributed to this idea that Paestum was enveloped by a wild landscape: “the face of the country became wild, melancholy, and the soil loose and swampy...vainly seeking for Paestum which from its peculiar situation, is so difficult to find that I no longer wonder at its having, when abandoned by its citizens, remained for ages undiscovered.”<sup>1018</sup> Again, this account links the terrain with the idea of rediscovery. Jane Waldie explained how, “There is a wildness in the very richness of the whole surrounding country that prepares the mind for the sight of these striking ruins...”<sup>1019</sup> In her account, we can note how this difficult passage was critical for creating the effect of finally seeing the temples- a personal rediscovery if you will. Italian studies scholar Giuseppe Massara likens this sudden appearance of the temples from the wild forests to a rebirth.<sup>1020</sup> This liminal moment of arrival was

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<sup>1016</sup> Forsyth, *Remarks on Antiquities*, 423.

<sup>1017</sup> Patrick Brydone, *A Tour through Sicily and Malta*, Vol. I, (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1774), 46. Quoted in Giuseppe Massara, “L’immagine letteraria di Paestum,” In *La fortuna di Paestum e la memoria moderna del dorico 1750-1830*, ed. Joselita Raspi Serra, (Firenze: Centro Di della Edifirmi, 1986), 160.

<sup>1018</sup> Starke, *Information*, 280.

<sup>1019</sup> Waldie, *Sketches Descriptive of Italy*, Vol. III, 190.

<sup>1020</sup> Massara, “L’immagine,” 157.

therefore emphasized by a marked contrast between the disorderly and chaotic landscape and the orderly temples laid out on the plain. Thus, this idea of distance was not only emphasized by the physical expanse at which the temples were first viewed, but also by the immersive experience of emergence from the thick landscape that prevented a gradual approach on the temples. Given the importance of this framing from a distance it is natural that it is this aspect of the temples that is commemorated most often on micromosaics. The souvenir of the micromosaic depicting the temples at a distance allowed the purchaser to access those memories of the “rediscovery” of the temples as they caught glimpses of the temples as they emerged from the woods.

In these distanced views of the three temples on micromosaics, the temples are often shown from the north looking south against the backdrop of the Apennines (Figure 224 through Figure 226). This is curious since if the micromosaicist were to capture the initial moment of viewing, it would be taken from the south looking north, in accordance with the road on which tourists would have entered from Naples that presented an initial view of the temples from the south looking north (Figure 221 and Figure 222).<sup>1021</sup> However, most micromosaics are the reversal of this showing the temples from the north looking south. This is not the angle from which tourists would have actually first viewed the temples, but it was the angle from which the temples were most advantageously viewed. Therefore, I would suggest that micromosaicists rewrote visitors’ initial viewings of the temples to make it more aesthetically pleasing and dramatic. This modified viewpoint makes sense as it provided for a better panorama of all three temples at once, as can be demonstrated by viewing one micromosaic that attempted the topographically correct

first viewpoint (Figure 221).<sup>1022</sup> To include all three temples with this true first viewpoint, a strong angular perspective must be taken that results in an awkward composition. I would suggest that the viewpoint was slightly modified to accommodate for an improved vista of the three temples together that privileged the dramatic over a topographically correct view.

Another aspect of the importance of viewpoint is made in conjunction with the Apennine Mountains. In micromosaic compositions, the mountains figure prominently behind the temples, looming in the distance and serving as a compositional frame. It is significant that the temples are never once depicted from their western facades, which would have excluded the mountains from view. Visitors made frequent mention of these mountains, struck and awed by their beauty. Lady Elizabeth Holland wrote that, “the boldness of the scraggy rocks behind make a lovely picture and fill the mind with pleasing sensations at the sight of comfort and tranquility.”<sup>1023</sup> Marguerite Blessington also emphasized the compositional nature of the viewing of the temples: “The blue sea in the distance, and the chain of mountains as blue, bounding the horizon, complete the picture.”<sup>1024</sup> These tourists’ accounts highlighted the importance of the mountains as a framing device as well as their role in completing a composition analogous to a painting. In the case of the temples at Paestum, we have already noted the importance of the view from a distance that encompassed all three temples. Therefore, including the mountains

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<sup>1021</sup> In fact, in 1822 the King of Naples had a new road constructed into Paestum that ran parallel to the temples, actually cutting through the amphitheater (Pontradolfo, “La conoscenza,” 53).

<sup>1022</sup> For the view from the north looking south see Figure 227.

<sup>1023</sup> Holland, *The Journal*, 17.

<sup>1024</sup> Blessington, *The Idler*, 306.

in the background of the temples as a frame was an important aspect of memorializing the visitor's experience and completing their picture of Paestum.

While the temples are primarily depicted from afar on micromosaics, the Temple of Neptune is sometimes featured closer up and from the interior (Figure 228 through Figure 230). The angle that micromosaicists chose to depict the interior was an imposing one that made the viewer feel as though he or she were physically standing in the building. This inclusion of the viewer would help make tourists a more active agent in remembering the experience through their souvenir. Micromosaicists enhanced the interior's picturesque character by adding tufts of vegetation atop the interior entablature blocks. Furthermore, stray marbles and picturesque patches of grass populated the floor of the interior. Significantly, this additional interior view is something that is not noted to the same extent with other Roman monuments depicted on micromosaics that usually did not depict the interior. This multi-faceted approach to depicting the temple by micromosaicists stemmed from several incentives. First of all, tourists were meant to walk around and experience the temples in full so it is not surprising to see multiple views. However, these multiple views do not show up for other Roman monuments so there are additional factors at work. This viewpoint does closely align with the print tradition which commonly depicted the Temple of Neptune's interior, as is seen in Piranesi's prints (Figure 231 and Figure 232). A closer investigation of the interior view of the Temple of Neptune will demonstrate how micromosaicists were motivated by aesthetic trends to depict these multiple views.

The Temple of Neptune was the most widely acclaimed of the temples and therefore its interior was featured on micromosaics. Furthermore, its interior aligned with

the mode of picturesque viewing more than any of the other temples. William Wilson wrote of the interior that the, "...walls of the cella little now remains yet, perhaps, the picturesque appearance of the edifice has been favoured in some degree by this dilapidation, since the two interior ranges of columns, which divided it into three aisles are now exposed to view."<sup>1025</sup> The columns, of the cherished Doric order, appear in their stately picturesque glory in the interior of this temple, making it a spot ripe for remembrance through words and images. This particular viewpoint was not innovative, but rather followed precedents set by early views of the temple, such as Robert Wood's engraving in *The Ruins of Paestum, Otherwise Posidonia in Magna Graecia*, and bore a striking resemblance to those of Piranesi's views of the Temple of Neptune.<sup>1026</sup> Piranesi's influence is noted in other souvenirs of Paestum as well. For example, a cork model by Augusto Rosa, who travelled with John Soane and Piranesi to Paestum, depicts the Temple of Neptune with added marble blocks clustered in front of the temple in a way that enhances the temple's picturesque character.<sup>1027</sup>

Multiple viewpoints followed a tradition of other paintings and prints. Art historian Sigrid de Jong suggests that we should read these multiple views in conjunction with theater; she posits that travel accounts read like a series of sequences and this mimics the visual record, especially that of Piranesi. The landscape in this case serves as

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<sup>1025</sup> Wilson, *Records of a Route*, 242.

<sup>1026</sup> For example, Dumont's 1764 drawing of the interior of the Temple of Neptune taken from a view as if one is standing inside it is thought to have derived from Soufflot's drawings from his 1750 visit (Pinto, *Speaking Ruins*, 203). Piranesi was also inspired by Gazzola's engravings. Gazzola's engraving of the interior of the Temple of Neptune set the precedent for a long line of similar views (Arnold, "Count Gazzola," 98).

<sup>1027</sup> The blocks he uses actually derived from buildings in Rome and Tivoli (Kockel, *Phelloplastica*, 15, 91).

the backdrop and the temples themselves are the stages.<sup>1028</sup> This idea of theatricality is something that is most vividly represented in Piranesi's engravings of the temples, which reflected his training in stage design.<sup>1029</sup> Thus micromosaics depicting this interior as Piranesi did, also replete with figures, participated in this idea of experiencing the temples as a space. It is through views such as these that a purchaser of micromosaics would be able to remember such a visit, feeling as though they were a part of the architecture. Moreover, this view of the Temple of Neptune accorded with expectations that tourists would have formulated through print media prior to their visit.

These observations are not something that are necessarily unique to micromosaics and are actually part of a popular mode of viewing the temples of Paestum across all media. Many paintings, engravings, and other souvenirs also take up similar distant vantage points from the north looking south at the three temples seen in succession. The interior view of the Temple of Neptune continued to be a popular choice after the close of the nineteenth century. By adhering to these modes of viewing the temples, micromosaics allowed the tourist to relive the experience they had expected to have. Lady Elizabeth Holland wrote that, "their appearance was majestic, but precisely what I had conceived them to be from the drawings I had seen."<sup>1030</sup> Most tourists found that their experience of the temples aligned with what they expected from prior knowledge of the temples.

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<sup>1028</sup> De Jong, *Rediscovering Architecture*, 138-68.

<sup>1029</sup> Wilton-Ely, *Piranesi, Paestum*, 34.

<sup>1030</sup> Holland, *A Journal*, 19. Thomas Hogg complained that Joseph Forsyth's account of the temples exaggerated the beauty of the temples and he found his experience to be most unsatisfactory because of these false pretenses (Hogg, *Two Hundred*, Vol. II, 101).

The one exception to this adherence to modes of viewing of the temples comes with models. Models, by their nature, do not allow for viewing from afar, especially because they do not depict all three temples in a single model. In 1777 Charles Parker wrote to Sir Roger Newdigate about acquiring a cork model of the temples of Paestum: “I have a doubt myself whether these great columns will not lose their effect in miniature and tho the proportions may be very exact, yet the magnificence of the building will not be seen in the Model.”<sup>1031</sup> What does Parker mean by losing its magnificence? I would suggest that the magnificence of the temples at Paestum stems from the first view of the temples, looming in size and presence on the wide open plain. The models, by their nature, do not communicate this important relationship with nature. Susan Stewart writes that the “fantastic qualities [of the miniature] are related to what lies outside it in such a way as to transform the total context.”<sup>1032</sup> However, in the instance of cork models they fail to communicate the grandiosity of the temples’ original context precisely because they are missing that context. In some respects this is due to the ways in which the cork models often functioned more scientifically than as an aide-mémoire. In any case, this highlights the importance of the context of the temples for fixing their meaning.

Lastly, I will turn to the theme of solitude in relation to the temples at Paestum. Micromosaics are peopled with small groups of locals and animals cast against a looming landscape. This is something that travelers also observed when visiting the site. Lady Blessington recollected that, “I could not help smiling at the little groups moving round their base, who looked like pigmies near these gigantic monuments.”<sup>1033</sup> Picturesque

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<sup>1031</sup> McCarthy, “Documents,” 766.

<sup>1032</sup> Stewart, *On Longing*, 46.

<sup>1033</sup> Blessington, *The Idler*, 307.

compositions often included these peasant-types who were, rather than interfering with nature, a part of it.<sup>1034</sup> In fact, art historian John Pinto suggests that the peasants in the prints of Piranesi, along with the columns of the temples, reflect the primitiveness of the site.<sup>1035</sup> Nature itself was also shown as encroaching on the temples to emphasize their melancholy state. In one micromosaic the interior of the Temple of Neptune is shown almost as though buried in the ground, making the temple seem small against the forces of nature. The building is in ruins, which again indicates the way nature controls man and consequently suggests solitude and melancholy.<sup>1036</sup> Therefore, solitude and grandeur are depicted on micromosaics by making everything in diminution to nature so that the idea of solitude is enhanced; man's presence is made secondary.

The solitude seen on micromosaics is echoed by travelers most in their accounts. James Wilson recalled that the temples' solitude enabled communication: "No human being interrupted our solitude except one goatherd, clad in his sheepskin jacket... We stood alone conversing with the mournful genius of the temple."<sup>1037</sup> Nathaniel Carter also emphasized this idea of solitude: "The three temples range along the solitary plain..."<sup>1038</sup> Marguerite Blessington used phrases like "the solitude and desolation of the country around" and "the silent grandeur of the scene" to describe the plain on which the temples rest.<sup>1039</sup> This vast solitude that travelers sought aligns with the favored mode of isolated viewing. This concept of solitude and grandeur, of course, also connects to the picturesque mode of viewing.

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<sup>1034</sup> Andrews, *The Search*, 25.

<sup>1035</sup> Pinto, *Speaking Ruins*, 210.

<sup>1036</sup> Baridon, "Ruins as Mental," 94.

<sup>1037</sup> Wilson, *A Journal*, Vol. III, 138.

<sup>1038</sup> Carter, *Letters from Europe*, 284.

The ways in which the temples are scattered along the picture plane parallel the scattered animals and people that populate the plain. Furthermore, the small scale of the temples set against the vast landscape also mirrors the diminutive scale of the people and animals to both the temples and landscape alike. Jane Waldie wrote that, “the three Temples alone rear their majestic forms in solitary magnificence.”<sup>1040</sup> William Wilson recalled: “Rearing aloft their shattered forms amidst silence and solitude, they are, perhaps, or without a perhaps, far more impressive as ruins than they would be as perfect structures.”<sup>1041</sup> These accounts reveal a tendency of travelers to anthropomorphize the temples. The use of the word “rear” in both travelers’ accounts brings to mind the rearing head of the animals, such as the water buffalo, that populated the fields surrounding the temples.<sup>1042</sup> It is almost as though these temples were cast as a part of nature, while at the same time enveloped by nature and set apart. Therefore, the anthropomorphized temples that were made diminutive by nature evoked the idea of solitude.

The temples of Paestum as depicted on micromosaics used a standard vocabulary of visual imagery to appeal to customers. This was a vocabulary steeped in the picturesque and shared with other artists who depicted these same temples. Interestingly, the heavy reliance of the picturesque connects well with the micromosaic’s role as souvenir. Contemporaries envisioned the picturesque as an imaginative construct; it was only when the mind bridged the connection between the object and the emotion that the

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<sup>1039</sup> Blessington, *The Idler*, 306.

<sup>1040</sup> Waldie, *Sketches Descriptive of Italy*, Vol. III, 189.

<sup>1041</sup> Wilson, *Records of a Route*, 241.

<sup>1042</sup> The buffalo that roamed the site were praised by tourists and pictured on micromosaics.

picturesque was created.<sup>1043</sup> This is an analogous role that the souvenir also took on. It is only through the mind that the owner of a souvenir connects the object to the experience of the monument. Therefore, I would suggest that by employing the picturesque on micromosaics of the temples of Paestum, micromosaicists were not only subscribing to modes of viewing popular with the temples, framing from a distance and employing diminution to suggest solitude, but they also enabled a purchaser to bridge connections between the temples and their emotions.

## **Conclusion**

The Bay of Naples provided a lively atmosphere for Grand Tourists. There was, of course, the lure of leisure and warmth with the added allure of the sensuality of the southern city. Furthermore, there was the excitement of recent excavations and all that those entailed: visits to the sites, to current excavations, to the museums where the objects recovered were stored. Micromosaicists in Rome capitalized on the opportunities that this area of Italy offered them. By depicting wall paintings from the Museo di Portici and the temples of Paestum on micromosaics, micromosaicists responded to the increased popularity of the Bay of Naples area, as demanded by tourists who increasingly flocked to the south. Furthermore, a closer investigation of micromosaics from southern Italy is indicative of the ways in which micromosaicists responded to the market. We saw how the Herculaneum dancer micromosaics were marketed towards women and memorialized experiences of dancing that Naples offered. In the case of the Seller of Cupids, I showed how micromosaicists engaged in the ways that this painting was

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<sup>1043</sup> De Jong, *Rediscovering Architecture*, 95.

received outside of Italy, adopting aspects of Vien's painting into their own compositions. Micromosaicists, by including the topography of the Bay of Naples on the Seller of Cupids micromosaics, produced a richer souvenir that could not only summon up the experience of the wall painting, but also that of the powerful landscape surrounding its original context. Lastly, the temples of Paestum demonstrate how micromosaicists fell in line with established modes of viewing, especially when these modes of viewing paralleled what visitors anticipated when visiting the site: viewing the temples from a distance framed by mountains and in the solitude of their own grandeur. These micromosaic souvenirs appealed to tourists and enabled them to participate in a remembrance of their experience that memorialized, idealized, and rewrote their encounters with antiquity.

## **Chapter Six: The Micromosaicist and His Client**

This dissertation has examined how micromosaicists both modified and memorialized the classical subjects depicted on micromosaics in accordance with the expectations and experiences of the Grand Tourist, as determined by travelers' own writings. What I would like to address last is a discussion on the relationship between the micromosaicists and their clientele and how we might surmise that micromosaicists were in touch with their clientele's wishes. Admittedly, this is a difficult task to accomplish. Archival sources are rare for micromosaicists working outside of the Studio del Mosaico Vaticano, and the archival materials in the Vatican Studio of the Reverenda Fabbrica are largely administrative. However, we can get a sense of this relationship from both travelers' own remarks and clients who wrote to micromosaicists, preserved in the archive of late eighteenth-century micromosaicist Giacomo Raffaelli. I will discuss how we can determine the type of relationship that existed between micromosaicists and the market by examining these two primary sources before turning to more general concluding remarks.

Tourists themselves often write about souvenirs in their journals recounting their visit to cities of Italy, but especially of Rome. Sometimes they even recount presents they have purchased for loved ones, such as the artist Thomas Cole, who wrote: "Last evening I had a present made me for you—a cameo—Raphael's Madonna del Sisto. It is

such a one as you perhaps have never seen; so I have something for you when I come back.”<sup>1044</sup> In this case Cole is purchasing a unique memento for his wife.

Readers reinforce that the material culture of the Grand Tour was intended for tourists, suggesting their primary status as souvenirs. Peter Beckford stated frankly: “Artists are chiefly supported by English travellers who usually follow Mr. Gray’s advice, and buy every thing which is to be bought...”<sup>1045</sup> Joseph Forsyth also underscores this when he wrote, “Here an inferior class of artists who work chiefly for the traveller. Of the thousands who visit Rome few can purchase statues or pictures, yet all wish to take home some evidence of their visit, some portable remembrance of Roman art; as a mosaic snuff-box, an assortment of marbles, impressions of gems, or even a few antiques.”<sup>1046</sup> Forsyth’s account is interesting on several levels. His use of the word “inferior” reinforces the idea that even in their own time, mosaicists, while highly admired, were not classified as fine artists. Second, Forsyth highlights the definition of a souvenir, as crafted by Graburn, by pinpointing that the object must be affordable and portable. Especially noteworthy is that he reiterates how not all tourists could afford these more expensive mementoes, such as sculptures or paintings. Lastly, he identified the clientele of the micromosaic as “chiefly... the traveler.” Charlotte Eaton also wrote that the English were the clientele to whom micromosaicists marketed: “...there are hundreds of artists, or artisans, who carry on the manufactory of mosaics on a small scale. Snuff-boxes, rings, necklaces, broaches, earrings, &c, are made in immense quantity; and since the English flocked in such numbers to Rome, all the streets leading to the Piazza di

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<sup>1044</sup> Louis Noble, *The Life and Works of Thomas Cole*, (New York: Sheldon, Blakeman and Company, 1856), 313.

<sup>1045</sup> Beckford, *Familiar Letters*, 317.

Spagna, are lined with the shops of these Musaicists, &c.”<sup>1047</sup> Here, Eaton pinpointed the specific tie between the location of the shops and their clientele, conveniently in the Piazza di Spagna where many tourists took up lodgings. Henry Matthews recalled the industry of Rome thus: “In many particulars the modern Romans evince no want of ingenuity or industry. In the delicate and laborious workmanship of mosaic; in engraving in all its branches; and in the elegant manufactures of cameos out of oriental shell; they are very industrious. The demand for articles of this kind is constant, and as foreigners are the principal customers...”<sup>1048</sup> Matthews emphasized the cleverness of Roman industries who aimed to sell their goods to visitors to the city, namely the Grand Tourist. In Rome, George Hillard wrote about the tempting store fronts: “Here is a window full of bewitching bronzes, all of which we wish straightway to buy; and near to it, another, rich in mosaics and cameos, equally tempting to our fair friends.”<sup>1049</sup> Hillard emphasized the ways in which artists in Rome chose to display their goods alongside one another, enhancing the desire to purchase mementoes. All of these accounts stressed how the primary target of these material objects was the traveler on the Grand Tour.

Travel accounts also document how tourists regarded these purchased souvenirs as remembrances of their trips, fulfilling the function of a souvenir. For example, an anonymous author wrote in 1824 about their purchase of souvenirs: “After examining the process, I purchased some articles as presents, and mementoes of Rome. I afterwards bought for the same purpose, some cameo shells, and mosaics of the finest workmanship, but which, though so well known, and so frequently seen in England, still keep up at

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<sup>1046</sup> Forsyth, *Remarks on Antiquities*, 239.

<sup>1047</sup> Eaton, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, Vol. III, 323.

<sup>1048</sup> Matthews, *Diary*, 117.

Rome a very high price.”<sup>1050</sup> Not only did this author purchase a souvenir as a way in which to remember his or her journey, but s/he highlighted the importance of place. Despite that these mosaics and cameo shells were readily available in England, the market price in Rome was still high. This suggests the power of physical place when purchasing a souvenir; the souvenir’s magic was activated by location when bought during the trip, not after or before.

Another interesting account of souvenirs purchased is that by J.D. Sinclair. He recorded the objects he purchased to remember his trip to Rome by: “Recollecting the old adage, ‘When you are at Rome,’ &c., I followed the general example of patronising modern artists, and selected a few memorials of the city of the Caesars (although little skilled in numismatics), such as a few medals, covered with the rust of ages; a mosaic cross, blessed by his Holiness, and some other trifles; availing myself of the opportunity the purchase of them afforded me, to take a review of the different branches of industry, which flourish in a great measure owing to foreign encouragement, or, more properly speaking, gullibility.”<sup>1051</sup> Sinclair’s account is interesting on several counts beyond that he saw the purchase of objects as a way to remember the city. First, it is notable for the way in which he viewed the purchase of these objects as an opportunity to reflect on the industries of Rome, suggesting that souvenir purchase was a way to recount the history of the city. This correlates, for example, with micromosaics of the Doves of Pliny. Recall how the Doves of Pliny in the Museo Capitolino served as a touchstone to discuss the industry of micromosaics, in general, in travel accounts. Second, he credited these

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<sup>1049</sup> Hillard, *Six Months in Italy*, Vol. I, 17.

<sup>1050</sup> Anonymous, *Mementoes*, 208-9.

<sup>1051</sup> Sinclair, *An Autumn*, 249.

industries to foreign travelers and their gullibility. Here, he referred to tourists who were frequently duped into believing that they had purchased a genuine antique artifact, a practice that continues still today. Travel accounts are filled with advice and warnings regarding the many false antiquities available in Italy for purchase.

Thus we can learn from tourists that, at least from their perspective, souvenir objects, like micromosaics, were primarily targeted towards tourists. We can observe how tourists' interests in the souvenirs are largely propelled by their overwhelming, concentrated presences in pockets of the city, especially the Piazza di Spagna, where travelers frequently congregated. Throughout this dissertation I have asserted that micromosaicists marketed their objects towards these tourists, and these sources reflect that tourists also felt that souvenir objects were especially targeting tourists like themselves.

The other way to get at the question of micromosaicist-tourist interactions is through archival evidence. While very little archival evidence survives from those who produced micromosaics outside of the Studio del Mosaico Vaticano, there is a collection of letters received by the well-known micromosaicist Giacomo Raffaelli preserved by the Fondazione Antonio Negro in Rome. Much of the archive deals with Raffaelli's move to Milan to set up a new micromosaic studio. However, there are letters that give us an idea of interactions between the micromosaicist and his clientele.

A slightly different picture emerges from the archival evidence than from travelers' own observations. The archival letters show correspondence between Giacomo Raffaelli and Italians interested in purchasing micromosaics. This tells us several things. First, there seem to be Italians writing as intermediaries to Raffaelli to acquire goods for

other noble and royal personages. For example, a man named Bocchini wrote from Paris in 1808 to Raffaelli stating that he had received a brooch and asked Raffaelli to send the remaining mosaics for the empress; the empress in this case was Joséphine, first wife of Napoleon.<sup>1052</sup> This implies that there was a network in place to get mosaics to important patrons, such as the Empress Joséphine. Carlo Comporelli wrote on behalf of the Duke of Modena who had charged Comporelli to visit Raffaelli to see the mosaics.<sup>1053</sup> Another instance of imperial patronage comes from the office of Prince Eugenio Napoleone who requested three mosaics- two boxes, one with the head of Jove, and a snuffbox.<sup>1054</sup> Thus, Raffaelli provided micromosaics to important royal and noble figures. Second, this archival evidence of Italians writing to Raffaelli for micromosaics suggests that while micromosaics for sale in the Piazza di Spagna might have been made primarily for tourists who could afford such a class of objects, there was also interest in them from local noble populations and for important foreign dignitaries who could have purchased the more expensive mementoes of Italy, such as paintings or sculpture.

Turning to more specific examples of patronage, I want first to examine several letters written to Raffaelli concerning the Doves of Pliny on micromosaics. Marcello Inghirami Fei, an alabaster producer in Volterra, wrote to Raffaelli on April 30, 1796. He requested: “Ecco si una commissione, che vorrei, che eseguisse con la massima sollecitudine, con tutta perfezione e mi avesse qualche riguardo il prezzo: Vorrei un tondo da coperchio di Scatola compagno al modello annesso, ove in mosaico fossero

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<sup>1052</sup> Fondazione Antonio Negro, Archivio Raffaelli, Roma, Bocchini to Raffaelli, 29 February 1808.

<sup>1053</sup> Fondazione Antonio Negro, Archivio Raffaelli, Roma, Comporelli to Raffaelli, 3 February 1816.

<sup>1054</sup> Fondazione Antonio Negro, Archivio Raffaelli, Roma, Il Conte dell'Impero e del Regno to Raffaelli, 20 December 1814.

esprese le colombe del Foretti. Fatti mi il piacere di sollecitarsi nell'esecuzione..."<sup>1055</sup>

This request by Fei that asks for the Doves of Pliny in micromosaic on the cover of a small box demonstrates the demand of this subject. It is unclear whether Fei requested the mosaic on behalf of another, but from a later letter in June he spoke of how "mo non mi parlano del Mosaico: suppongo altro che vi sarà e siccome lo riceverò in quest'altra settimana..."<sup>1056</sup> This suggests that he regularly requested micromosaics for either himself or for distribution to others. Gaetano Ghigiotti, secretary of Italian affairs to Polish King Stanisław August Poniatowski, wrote a letter from Warsaw requesting, "una Tabacchiera di Porfido colle Colombe del Campidoglio descritto da Plinio in Mosaico" for King Stanisław who had met Raffaelli.<sup>1057</sup> Again here is evidence of royal patronage, and in this case King Stanisław was also a prolific collector of gems and a Grand Tourist, having made a journey to Italy in the 1780s. His acquisition of micromosaic, in addition to that of Empress Joséphine, is reflective of the renown of the art. Furthermore, that royalty acquired such mosaics suggests a much wider popularity of the objects, which those substantially less wealthy than royalty could also afford. The request for the subject of the Doves of Pliny by such a noted figure as the Polish king is indicative of the high level of interest in the micromosaic by other lesser known tourists in Italy.

A most interesting correspondence is that between Giacomo Raffaelli in Rome and the Duchess of Bracciano in Albano in 1789. On October 7, the duchess wrote:

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<sup>1055</sup> Fondazione Antonio Negro, Archivio Raffaelli, Roma, Fei to Raffaelli, 30 April 1796,. "Here is a commission that I would like, that you should perform with the most and all perfection, and I should like to know something regarding the price: I would like a round cover of a small box, along with the requested attached model, with a mosaic of the doves of Furietti. Do me the favor to hasten this execution."

<sup>1056</sup> Fondazione Antonio Negro, Archivio Raffaelli, Roma, Fei to Raffaelli, 6 June 1796. "Now do not speak about Mosaic to me: I suppose that there shall be another and I will receive it in another week."

<sup>1057</sup> Fondazione Antonio Negro, Archivio Raffaelli, Roma, Ghigiotti to Raffaelli, 9 February 1788. "A porphyry snuffbox of the Doves of the Campidoglio as described by Pliny in mosaic."

L'annessa cartuccia deve servire di norma per la figura o sia contorno ottangolare di un Talisman in Musaico. La grandezza del fondo si vuole ne piu ne meno della stessa cartuccia; compresa però la legatura. Vi si potrebbe rappresentare con un lavoro minutissimo un Leoncello cavato dall'antico se ve n'è alcuno, o pure dal moderno che si vede nel Museo Vaticano. Quest'idea per altro non è prescritta assolutamente, e se a lei piace di sostituirne un'altra, gradirò che me la comunichi o mediante un disegnetto o anche solo a parole. Prima di mettere mano al Lavoro, desidero che mi faccia sapere quanto ne sarà l'importo, tanto nel caso del Leoncello, quanto nella sostituzione di altra sua fantasia.<sup>1058</sup>

At the bottom of this letter there is an outline of an octagon that the duchess requested for the shape of the mosaic. This letter is extremely significant in shedding light on micromosaic-client relations. First of all, the noblewoman requested two different micromosaics and dictated the size, shape, and subject. She next asked that Raffaelli make her a mosaic with the representation of a small lion taken from an antique subject. She requested that in the event that there is no small, antique lion from which he can model her mosaic that he may use a more modern one from the Vatican. She wrote that this idea was not absolute and that if Raffaelli should wish to choose another design, she would like for him to either explain it verbally or draw a design for her. This is significant because it demonstrates that patrons had an active hand in deciding and requesting what subjects were represented on their micromosaics. In a letter written to Raffaelli, presumably after he had responded to the duchess, she accepted his alternative proposal for a composition of doves:

Le due piccole palombe che bevono in una tazza prese dal cameo antico che saprò poi volentieri qual sia, sono il partito migliore che io approvo e scelgo e le

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<sup>1058</sup> Fondazione Antonio Negro, Archivio Raffaelli, Roma, Duchessa di Bracciano to Raffaelli, 7 October 1789. "The attached image should serve as a the guide for the figure or as an octagonal outline for an object in mosaic. The size of the bottom should be more or less the same as the drawing; however including the fastening. On this represent a minute work of a little lion taken from the antique or if there is not any, use a modern one that you can see in the Vatican Museum. This idea for another is not absolutely set, and if you should like to substitute another, I would appreciate that you would communicate it to me through a design or by word. Before beginning the work, I would like to know how much it will cost, as in the case of the little lion, or in the substitution of an image of your suggestion."

commetto espressamente per talismano. Il tentativo che ella propone di fare cioè il musaico dentro l'oro istesso, potrà riservarsi ad altra occasione; ora desidero che il lavoro sia eseguito nella maniera solita, e senza che ella pensi alla legatura. Non ho difficoltà circa il prezzo de dodici zecchini....<sup>1059</sup>

Here Raffaelli had suggested instead that she use the doves, also importantly from an antique artifact, for her object implying that he was unable to find a small lion or would simply rather produce the doves. Perhaps this came from his knowledge of the popularity of the doves or it could have stemmed from his own desires to push the subject.<sup>1060</sup> In any case, the duchess happily accepted this new motif. These documented correspondences with the duchess suggest that Raffaelli was willing to entertain his patron's requests, but that he also pushed his own agenda.

Another interesting case is a letter written by Vincenzo Mora in 1802 from Naples. He wrote that:

...sicché vi ritornerò al mio arrivo le vostre carta che mi destra a questo effetto, come anche il piccolo mosaico del Cane, giacché neppure questo si è possuto esistere, mentre la disgrazia ha voluto che quando lo feci vedere, il Cane vivente stava ammalato e vicino a morira, per cui non piu interessava l'aver in mosaico la figura di questa piccola bestidina.<sup>1061</sup>

It would appear that Mora sent a micromosaic with a representation of a dog on it back to Raffaelli because the dog was not depicted realistically enough. Perhaps here we can

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<sup>1059</sup> Fondazione Antonio Negro, Archivio Raffaelli, Roma, Duchessa di Bracciano to Raffaelli, 13 October 1789. "The two small doves which drink on a cup cut from an antique cameo which I should gladly wish to know what it is, they are the best and I approve and choose them expressly for an object in mosaic. The attempt to make the mosaic in gold that you propose would be better reserved for another occasion; now I desire that the work should be made in the usual manner, and without thought to the fastening. I do not have difficulty concerning the price of 12 zecchini..."

<sup>1060</sup> Raffaelli was clearly interested in the subject of the doves as it is well represented in micromosaics with his signature and it appears on several drawings in his archival letters- on a table and on a vase.

<sup>1061</sup> Fondazione Antonio Negro, Archivio Raffaelli, Roma, Mora to Raffaelli, 15 September 1802. "Thus I shall return, close to my arrival, your papers which are at my disposal, as also the small mosaic of the dog, since this could not thought to be alive as long as misfortune would have it that when I had it looked at it the living dog appeared sick and close to death, for which reason most did not have much interest in the mosaic figure of this small little beast."

assume that the subject was not produced at a high enough quality to meet customers' satisfaction. Here an unpopular subject is actually returned, demonstrating how receptive patrons were to subject types.

A later instance of correspondence, once Raffaelli had moved his studio to Milan, documents another case of an Italian middleman. A man named Mirri wrote to Raffaelli to request the following:

Sono pregato da uno amico, al quale non posso niente rifiutaza, di farti fare un cimiero in mosaico della misura, che qui ti unisco questo sar  fatto a tuo genio come tu credi, ma al piu presto dovendo lo spedira a Torino, essendo cola l'amico; fatto il cimiero lo farai aveva, insieme all'importo, all'amico Delmati in casa Verri al pianterreno.<sup>1062</sup>

Mirri requested that he make a mosaic of a crest and specifies that Raffaelli should make it in any way that he would like. The micromosaic was probably for someone in the illustrious Verri family, given that it he requested it delivered to their villa. Here Mirri requested the subject, but left the particulars to the artist.

These letters between Raffaelli and his patrons emphasize several points. Most importantly, patrons wrote to Raffaelli with requests, establishing a precedent for feedback between producer and consumer. While the evidence for this is restricted to Italian nobles and foreign dignitaries, we might assume that feedback was potentially considered at the level of tourists also. A micromosaicist would certainly respond to a perceived demand for certain subjects. The other important conclusion that can be drawn from these letters is that micromosaics were not simply restricted to tourists or as

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<sup>1062</sup> Fondazione Antonio Negro, Archivio Raffaelli, Roma, Mirri to Raffaelli, 25 May 1816. "I am asked by a friend, to whom I am not able to refuse anything, to have you make a crest in mosaic, that will be done with your genius as you believe, but at great haste have it sent to Torino, where I am with a friend, having made out the finished crest, together with the amount, to my friend Delmati in the Verri house on the ground floor."

diplomatic gifts. The correspondence demonstrates that the aristocracy was interested in micromosaics, and in some cases, helped facilitate and spread micromosaics beyond Italy. Significant also is the fact that the subjects discussed in these letters are not only unique commissions, such as the family crest and dog, but also ones that routinely appear on micromosaics sold in the Piazza di Spagna to tourists, such as the Doves of Pliny. While dogs were certainly popular micromosaics, it is difficult to know whether this was a custom designed dog. However, the family crest was a unique commission not seen on micromosaics.

In this exploration of micromosaics, I have demonstrated how the iconographical choices of micromosaicists aligned with how travelers discussed the art and architecture of Italy. While direct evidence of this is not possible from the archives, there is at least formal written feedback and requests from patrons. Furthermore, there is evidence of Grand Tourists commissioning micromosaics and other souvenirs. For example, the 13<sup>th</sup> Duke of Norfolk, Henry Howard, and his wife, Lady Charlotte Leveson-Gower, commissioned mosaicist Michelangelo Barberi to make them a micromosaic tabletop with their coat-of-arms at the center surrounded by a fruit and floral wreath.<sup>1063</sup> Peter Beckford commissioned gem engravers to make reproductions of his favorite antiquities during his tour in 1786.<sup>1064</sup> Art historian Luca Melegati reports that Giovanni Volpato and his small-scale porcelain factory did receive commissions.<sup>1065</sup> Lucia Stefanelli, in her studies on gem impressions, asserts that the choices of subjects on gems are attributed to

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<sup>1063</sup> Gabriel, *The Gilbert Collection*, 21.

<sup>1064</sup> Beckford, *Familiar Letters*, 110.

<sup>1065</sup> Melegati, "Giovanni Volpati," 107.

various personal motives, by both the engraver and the clients.<sup>1066</sup> Certainly we see evidence of this in Raffaelli's letters; patrons requested certain subjects and Raffaelli also pushed his own favored subjects. Therefore, I would suggest that micromosaicists were likely receptive also to commissions and in tune with the market demands of Grand Tourists. Nelson Graburn advocated that one quality of a souvenir is this idea that the market meets the popular notions of the clientele.<sup>1067</sup>

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<sup>1066</sup> Stefanelli, "Monumenti," 58.

<sup>1067</sup> Graburn, *Ethnic and Tourist Arts*, 6

## **Chapter Seven: Conclusion**

In these concluding pages, I would like to address several aspects of this dissertation. First, I will discuss the advantages of the approach I have taken in analyzing micromosaics as souvenirs. Second, I will address the appeal and impact of micromosaics as souvenirs.

This study of micromosaics was drawn from a dialogue between travel accounts of Grand Tourists and other visual media. I have used travelers' own narratives to inform the depictions of antiquities on micromosaics and the alterations of these antiquities on micromosaics to explain the narratives written by travelers. For example, the temples of Paestum are consistently depicted north looking south on micromosaics and other media, instead of south looking north as they would have been seen first in actuality. Travelogues tell us that tourists placed immense value on the initial viewing of the temples. However, this first glimpse of the three temples would have been awkward and impossible in a single view. While the travelogues do not tell us that tourists might have wished to see all three temples in a single, comprehensible glance, I have suggested that souvenirs and other visual media alter the view of the temples based on the importance placed on this initial view in narratives. That neither the text nor image alone communicates the entirety of the situation is important and highlights why looking at both written and visual narratives is critical. By doing this I have been able to suggest a useful way of looking at souvenirs during the Grand Tour that contributes to our understanding of both tourists' desires and their actual experiences understanding the monuments.

In addition to these interlocking relationships between print and visual narratives, I have noted other correspondences also. For example, my study has negotiated the expectations of the tourists, their actual experiences, and their reimagined experiences. Travelers came to the Grand Tour with very specific intentions and expectations, and they made known their disappointments and wishes for a better experience. We can see how the material transformation of those expectations and desires, negotiated by both the visitor and the micromosaicist, culminated in the souvenir. Therefore, this study on micromosaic souvenirs has examined the relationships that existed amongst expectations set by print and visual narratives, in person experiences, and reworked memories captured by souvenirs.

I have pinpointed four primary roles that micromosaics have played as souvenirs. First, micromosaics memorialize certain aspects of Grand Tour antiquities and experiences of antiquities. This was accomplished most often by celebrating a particular view or approach of a monument on micromosaics. Also frequent in the memorialization of monuments was the celebration of picturesque components. Second, micromosaicists erased certain aspects of Roman antiquities that tourists found displeasing. This often led to the minimalization and exclusion of the contemporary buildings and crowds that surrounded the monuments. Also associated with this aversion to the contemporary aspects of the city of Rome was the erasure of markets associated with filth. Third, I have addressed micromosaics that altered existing components of antiquities. For example, this often came in the form of altered coloring. Other examples included changing figural gestures or adopting an impossible vantage point. Lastly, micromosaicists added new components into Roman artworks as depicted on

micromosaics. Examples of this included the added shadow and seeds on the Doves of Pliny or the new outdoor backdrop on the Seller of Cupids. These four modes of inquiry demonstrate what micromosaics, in their role as a souvenir, can tell us about the actual and desired experiences of the traveler.

As has become evident throughout this discussion on micromosaics, some aspects of these souvenirs are also noted on other objects as well and are, therefore, not solely unique to micromosaics. For the most part, these similarities stem from the role of memorialization I discussed above. Prints and paintings of monuments commonly also memorialize these same viewpoints and siting of antique buildings, for example. Regardless of this similarity across different media, these qualities have not been examined for what they can tell us about the touristic experience and highlight the necessity for a detailed study of the way that antiquity is depicted in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Furthermore, micromosaics themselves offer different perspectives that cannot be gleaned from other Grand Tour souvenirs. First, micromosaics present a unique souvenir type that spans both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Few other souvenirs carry through the entirety of the nineteenth century. What is so significant about this is that micromosaics serve as a testament to the subjective experience of ancient Rome. Therefore, they bear witness to additions like the shadow of the dove in the Doves of Pliny when this is not seen in other souvenirs, such as fans or prints. Micromosaics, unlike some other souvenirs, bear the roles of erasure, alteration, and addition that we do not necessarily see in other media. For example, micromosaics offer changes in color that their counterpart, plaster gems, cannot offer or that other colored souvenirs, like fans,

choose not to alter. The micromosaic of the centaur tells a more complicated story than the plaster gem of the centaur whose colorless appearance and identification erase all ambiguity of the micromosaic. Prints turn the filthy markets into picturesque scenes, while other souvenir types, like micromosaics, completely erase all hints that such markets existed. Therefore, while micromosaics do overlap with some other souvenir types and artistic media in their memorialization and modifications, they do not do so uniformly or consistently.

Finally, I should stress that no one type of Grand Tour souvenir embodies all possible memorializations, erasures, alterations, and additions of any ancient monument or artwork in Rome. Some souvenir types are more likely to represent certain subjects, while others do not. For example, plaster gems do not tend to depict monuments very frequently while other souvenirs, such as architectural models, fans, and micromosaics do. On the other hand, gems depict ancient sculpture with much higher frequency than other souvenirs. While some modifications, such as the removal of the campanili from depictions of the Pantheon, are seen across multiple souvenir media, others do not. For example, we see gems that alter the background of the Sellers of Cupids to an outdoor scene, suggesting how the scene's sexual connotations were minimized by removing the indoor setting. However, it is only with micromosaics that we see a specific outdoor location, and this demonstrates the importance of the Bay of Naples to tourists. This is why micromosaics are just one part of the picture and a fuller investigation of all souvenir types is merited. Examination of these Grand Tour objects as souvenirs can tell us something about how tourists interacted with antiquities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

However, despite all that a study of micromosaics as souvenirs can offer, the examination of this class of materials has been limited in scope. This is primarily because of two factors. First, the class of materials that micromosaics fall into, the souvenir, is a field that has been dominated by anthropology, sociology, and marketing. Furthermore, the discourse of the souvenir is frequently couched in colonialism. For these reasons, there has been no clear method for how to address souvenirs geared toward western purchasers produced also in the west. Second, micromosaics and other Grand Tour souvenirs have not garnered much intensive study because these objects are not readily identifiable in the hierarchy of art. They are not defined as fine art objects and do not represent the genius of the artist typically associated with such a class of artwork. However, they also do not embody all of the characteristics ascribed to mass-produced objects. The reluctance of art historians to engage with these souvenir objects, then, also stems from the uneasy classification of micromosaics. I would suggest instead that we describe micromosaics as the material culture of the Grand Tour. After all, micromosaics are the material souvenirs of the immaterial experience of the emotions of antiquity. In addition, a classification as material culture addresses some of the issues I noted above. For example, material culture bridges the divide between mass-produced and fine art objects, as all manner of objects are considered. Furthermore, material culture is interdisciplinary and encompasses many of the fields in which souvenir studies are conducted.

I would like to turn now to the appeal of micromosaics. Throughout this dissertation I have provided primary sources from Grand Tourists explaining some of the allure of micromosaics- their craftsmanship, their small size, and their ability to

miniaturize the sights of Italy. Perhaps the greatest appeals of these souvenirs for tourists relates to their small size and their seriality. As discussed in the introduction, the miniaturization of micromosaics is on two levels; the actual physical size of the object as well as the materials from which they were composed classify them miniatures. The small size of the object makes it easily portable and thus easily acquirable for the tourist. However, there is more to the allure of the small than its easy portability. John Mack suggests that the miniature detaches the viewer from their surroundings and “gives the sense of a privileged and personalized perspective” since others cannot view the small souvenir at the same time.<sup>1068</sup> The micromosaic in this way, as I have discussed throughout this dissertation, provides the purchaser with a personalized experience that detaches them from regular time. It envelops the purchaser in his or her own reflective memories of the topography of the Grand Tour.

The seriality of micromosaics serves also as an affirmation. I would like to suggest that we not think about micromosaics in isolation, but rather amongst other contemporary souvenirs. The subjects depicted on micromosaics are often echoed on other types of souvenirs, as well as other micromosaics. We need only to think of *vedute*, say of the temples of Paestum, which were featured on micromosaics, fans, and porcelain. Consumers were presented with the same sights of the Grand Tour on souvenirs over and over. Anthropologist Christopher Steiner, in a discussion on Walter Benjamin and authenticity, argues that tourist arts need to be addressed within the scope of mass production, such as the printing press. Steiner suggests that souvenirs that replicate, copy, and provide a series should not be seen as inauthentic. Rather he asserts

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<sup>1068</sup> Mack, *The Art*, 186.

that the copy becomes associated with the truth since it commands authority through repetition, much in the same way that printed text gained authority through repetition.<sup>1069</sup> In this vein, then, souvenirs, like micromosaics, championed a role of authority in their seriality. The multiplicity of antique subjects represented on micromosaics reinforced the ways in which tourists engaged with the monuments. In this way, MacCannell's collective ritual of sightseeing comes to life. The repetition of souvenir subjects boasting many of the same iconographies reinforce collective beliefs generated by Grand Tourists. Steiner's parallel between text and souvenir is echoed in the era of the Grand Tour: travel narratives provided a textual authority reinforced by repetition just as micromosaics with their serial reproduction of the sights of the Grand Tour visually reinforced the collective way of experiencing the Grand Tour. Sarah Benson also echoes these same sentiments in her article on Grand Tour souvenirs where she advocates that repeatability created a standard of authenticity.<sup>1070</sup>

This way of experiencing Italy through serial souvenirs continues today. Tour books, produced in mass, continue to set the norms for travel in the country. Beginning with Rodolfo's Lanciani's 1897 *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, that continued to be reprinted throughout the twentieth century, we see the rich tradition of guided journeys through the city continued. A more modern version of this might be Amanda Claridge's *Rome: an Oxford Archaeological Guide to Rome* published in 1998. While perhaps these narratives lack the personal commentary of our Grand Tourists, their

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<sup>1069</sup> Christopher B. Steiner, "Authenticity, Repetition, and the Aesthetics of Seriality: The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Unpacking Culture: Art and Commodity in Colonial and Postcolonial Worlds*, eds. Ruth B. Phillips and Christopher B. Steiner, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 90-5.

<sup>1070</sup> Benson, "Reproduction," 33.

efforts remain the same- to provide an archaeologically accurate account of the monuments of the Eternal City. Today, we see also the rise of the blog with highly personalized accounts of the best places to eat, stay, and visit while travelling in the city; these blogs shape the journey of the traveler much in the same way as the subjective accounts of the nineteenth century.

Souvenirs also continue to speak to travelers who visit Italy. What is perhaps the most striking are the ways in which things have changed very little since the Grand Tour. A visit to Paestum will yield small models of the temples for sale, much like the cork and marble models available in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In Rome, many of the exact same types of souvenirs are for sale. For example, fans with *vedute* or capriccios of the monuments of the city are available at stands surrounding different monuments. At a store on the via dei Coronari called the Grand Tour Collection, intaglio-style cast gems are set into various jewelry settings available for purchase. Like plaster cast gems, these gems are also reproductions and boast classical subjects, including, for example, the Doves of Pliny. Micromosaics themselves are also still produced and peddled, though these are now concentrated in the shops surrounding St. Peter's Basilica. Micromosaics mimic eighteenth and nineteenth-century subjects, distinguishable mostly from their often notably inferior technique. Even the Doves of Pliny in micromosaic popularly lives on for travelers to purchase. Micromosaics are still produced by the Vatican; however, these are of a high quality, unlike those around the square. In fact, the tradition of giving micromosaics as diplomatic gifts by popes continues in modern practice, as is illustrated by a micromosaic of the Colosseum and

one of a map of the United States that Pope John Paul II presented to U.S. President Bill Clinton and First Lady Hillary Clinton.<sup>1071</sup>

Souvenirs remain today a very important part of the way travelers experience the landscape of their journeys. The rich number of publications that study modern and contemporary souvenir practices reflects this. Turning to past souvenir collections is an integral part of the process of understanding modern and contemporary practices. The Grand Tour, as one of the first episodes of mass tourism, provides an excellent starting point towards understanding souvenirs in Western culture and tradition. I have demonstrated how the study of micromosaics as souvenirs can impart valuable information about the experience of the tourist in relation to the sights of Italy and have provided a methodology for looking at other souvenirs collected during the time of the Grand Tour.

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<sup>1071</sup> For an image of this see Pascarelli, *Mosaic*, fig. 83.

## Appendix One: Travel Writer Biographies<sup>1072</sup>

Beckford, Peter. (1740-1811) *Familiar Letters from Italy*.

Beckford was an English man who travelled to Italy once in 1766. He returned again in 1783 because of his wife's poor health. He remained in Italy until 1799.

Berry, Mary. (1763-1852) *Extracts of the Journals and Correspondence of Miss Berry from the years 1783-1852*

Berry was an English woman who travelled to Italy from 1783-1786 with her father and sister. She and her sister both maintained a close relationship with Horace Walpole.

Blessington, Marguerite. (1789-?) *The Idler in Italy*.

Marguerite Gardiner, Countess of Blessington, was an Irish novelist. She went on a lengthy Grand Tour with her second husband and her sister from 1822-1828.

Boswell, James. (1740-1795) *Boswell on the Grand Tour: Italy, Corsica, and France 1765-1766*.

James Boswell was a Scottish writer who travelled the Continent from 1765-1766.

Boyd, William. *A Guide Through Italy*.

William Boyd was a Scottish physician.

Brydone, Patrick. (1736- 1818) *A Tour through Sicily and Malta*.

Brydone was a Scottish writer who left for a tour of Sicily and Malta in 1770.

Buckingham, James Silk. (1786-1855) *France, Piedmont, Italy, Lombardy, the Tyrol, and Bavaria*.

Silk was an English writer who published many travels and lived for a long time in India where he ran a periodical. He travelled in Europe in 1847 and 1848.

Burton, Edward. (1794-1836) *A Description of the Antiquities and Other Curiosities of Rome: From Personal Observation during a Visit to Italy in the Years 1818-19*.

Burton was an English theologian and Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford who went to Italy from 1818-1819.

Cadell, William Archibald. (1775-1855) *A Journey in Carniola, Italy, and France in the Years 1817, 1818*.

Cadell was a Scottish man who traveled the Continent from 1817-1818. He was taken prisoner while travelling at an earlier date during the Napoleonic Wars.

Carter, Nathaniel Hazeltine. (1788-1830) *Letters from Europe*.

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<sup>1072</sup> Some travelers proved difficult to find much, or any, information on. Travellers whose identities could not be pinpointed are identified by a question mark.

Carter was an American lawyer and writer who travelled to Europe from 1825-1827 and wrote letters home for the *Statesmen*.

Cobbett, James Paul. (1803-1881) *Journal of a Tour in Italy and also in part of France and Switzerland*.

Cobbett traveled from 1828-1829.

Cole, Thomas. (1801-1848) *The Life and Works of Thomas Cole*.

Cole was an American landscape painter who spent time in Italy from 1829-1832 and 1841-1842.

Colston, Marianne. (1751-1837) *Journal of a Tour in France, Switzerland, and Italy during the Years 1819, 20, and 21*.

Marianne Jenkins Colston was an English woman who went on a tour of the Continent with her husband, Edward Colston immediately after their marriage in 1819 and returned in 1821.

Cooper, James Fenimore. (1789-1851) *Gleanings in Europe: Italy*.

Cooper was an American writer who traveled in Italy from 1828-1830. Italy was just one stop of a longer seven-year residence abroad.

Coxe, Henry. *Picture of Italy; a Guide to the Antiquities and Curiosities of that Classical and Interesting Country*.

Henry Coxe was the pseudonym for John Millard.

Culler, Lucy Yeend. *Europe, through a Woman's Eye*.

Lucy Culler was an American author who left in 1882 to go to Europe.

Eaton, Charlotte, Anne. (1788-1859) *Rome, in the nineteenth century; containing a complete account of the ruins of the ancient city, the remains of the middle ages, and the monuments of modern times*.

Charlotte Eaton was an English woman who wrote about her stay in Rome from 1817-1818.

Elwood, Anne Katharine Curteis. (1796-1873) *Narrative of a Journey Overland from England by the Continent of Europe, Egypt, and the Red Sea to India*.

Anne Elwood was an English woman who travelled the Continent from 1825-1828 with her father and published a collection of letters from this time that she had written to her sister.

Engelbach, Lewis. *Naples and the Campagna Felice in a Series of Letters*.

Engelbach traveled in Italy during 1802.

Eustace, John, Chetwode. (1762-1815) *A Classical Tour through Italy*.

Chetwode was a priest who was born in Ireland and lived in England. In 1802 he took several of his pupils on a tour through Italy.

Evans, George William. *The Classic and Connoisseur in Italy and Sicily*.  
Reverend George William David Evans traveled in Italy from 1826-?.

Finch, Robert. (1783-1830) MSS. Finch e. 14-17. Weston Library (Bodleian, Oxford)  
Robert Finch was an ordained English clergyman and antiquarian. He travelled the continent and the Holy Land in 1814. He was in Italy for most of 1815.

Flaxman, Ann. (1760-1820) "An Uninteresting Detail of a Journey to Rome."  
Ann Flaxman was the wife of English artist John Flaxman. She accompanied her husband on a Grand Tour and they spent nearly seven years in Italy. The journal covers the years 1787-1788.

Forsyth, Joseph. (1763-1815) *Remarks on Antiquities, Arts, and Letters during an excursion in Italy in the years 1802 and 1803*.  
Joseph Forsyth was a Scottish man who spent much of his life in England. He chronicled his time in Italy from 1802-1803. He was captured during the Napoleonic Wars and wrote his manuscript during his imprisonment.

Fowler, Charles Augustus. *Travel Diary 1838-1839*.  
Fowler was an Oxford undergraduate travelling mostly in Rome from 1838-1839.

Franklin, William. *The Connoisseur in Italy and Sicily*.  
William Franklin began his travels in Italy in 1826.

Galiffe, James, A. 1820. *Italy and its Inhabitants: an Account of a Tour in the Country in 1816 and 1817*.  
James Galiffe was from Geneva and took a tour of Italy from 1816-1817.

Gillespie, William Mitchell. (1816-1868) *Rome: As Seen by a New-Yorker*.  
William Gillespie was an American engineer who spent ten years abroad travelling in Europe after college graduation and spent from 1843-1844 in Rome.

Greenwood, Grace. (1823-1904) *Stories and Sights of France and Italy*.  
Grace Greenwood was an American poet and reporter who went to Europe in 1852 acting as a correspondent for the *New York Times*.

Hare, Augustus J.C. (1834-1903) *Walks in Rome*.  
Hare, Augustus John Cuthbert. *Days Near Rome*.  
Augustus Hare was an English writer who was actually born in Rome. He wrote a travel book about Rome for John Murray, a series that begun in 1836 and would eventually become the *Blue Guide*.

Harrington, Adelaide L. (1843-1916) *The Afterglow of European Travel*.  
Adelaide Harrington was an American woman who traveled to Europe in 1879.

Head, George. (1782-1855) *Rome: A Tour of Many Days*.

Sir George Head was an English man who worked as a commissary in the British Army.

Hillard, George Stillman. (1808-1879) *Six Months in Italy*.

George Hillard was an American lawyer who went to Italy in 1847.

Hogg, Thomas Jefferson. (1792-1862) *Two Hundred and Nine Days. (or The Journal of a Traveller on the Continent)*

Thomas Hogg was an English barrister. From 1825 to 1826 he went on a tour of the Continent with his brother.

Holcroft, Thomas, translated from Frederic Leopold Count Stolberg. (1750-1819) *Travels through Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and Sicily*.

Count Stolberg was a German poet who travelled on the Continent with his wife, Countess Sophie, following their marriage in 1789.

Holland, Elizabeth. (1771-1845) *The Journal of Elizabeth Lady Holland 1791-1811*.

Lady Elizabeth Holland, wife of Whig politician Henry Vassal-Fox, was an English woman who travelled the Continent in the 1790s as Lady Webster when she was still married to her first husband.

Howells, William Dean. (1837-1920) *Italian Journeys*.

Howells was an American writer who lived abroad from 1860-1865. He had a consulship in Venice.

Jameson, Anna. (1794-1860) *Diary of an Ennuyée*.

Anna Brownell Jameson was an English writer who worked as a governess. She travelled to Italy with one of her pupils following the breaking of an engagement in 1821. The book was first written and published anonymously as a fictitious young lady who traveled to Italy.

Jarves, James Jackson. (1818-1888) *Italian Sights and Papal Principles seen through American Spectacles*.

Jarves was an American newspaperman and art collector. He moved to Florence in 1851 as a vice-consul. Following his relocation to Italy, he primarily lived abroad, dying in Switzerland.

Johnson, James. (1777-1845) *Change of Air or the Pursuit of Health and Recreation through France, Switzerland, Italy*.

James Johnson was an English physician who embarked to Italy in both 1823 and 1829 to prove the benefits of the Italian pure air to the body.

Lemaistre, John Gustavius. (?-1840) *Travels after the Peace of Amiens through France, Switzerland, Italy, and Germany*.

Lemaistre visited the Continent beginning in 1802 through 1803.

Martin, Selina. *Narrative of a Three Years' Residence in Italy 1819-1822*.

Selina Martin was an Irish invalid who sought travel in Italy from 1819-1822 in order to recover from illness. Her narrative focused largely on recording the religion and society of Italy.

Martyn, Thomas. (1735-1825) *A Tour Through Italy*.

Thomas Martyn was an English deacon who travelled the continent beginning in 1778 with a pupil.

Matthews, Henry. (1789-1828) *Diary of an Invalid*.

Matthews Henry was an English judge who sought a trip to the continent in pursuit of improved health from 1817 to 1819.

Miller, Anna. (1741-1781) *Letters from Italy, describing the manners, customs, antiquities, paintings, &c of the country*.

Lady Miller was an Irish woman who travelled the continent from 1770-1771 on her way to move to France with her husband.

Moore, John. (1729-1802) *A View of Society and Manners in Italy*.

John Moore was a Scottish physician and man of letters.

Morton, Harriet. *Protestant Vigils or Evening Records of a Journey in Italy in the Years 1826 and 1827*.

Morton traveled from 1826-1827.

Napier, C.J. (1782-1853) "Journal of Sir C. J. Napier of his journey from France to Corfu: 1819."

General Sir Charles James Napier was an English man involved in the British Army. He travelled on the continent in 1819 and was in Italy for about three months.

Nightingale, John. *Memoirs of Her Late Majesty Queen Caroline: Consort of King George the Fourth*. (1768-1821)

John Nightingale chronicles the life of Queen Caroline of England. She moved to Italy in 1814 following her separation from George IV.

North, Charlotte. (1770-1849) Journal 29.i.1815 to 23.v.1815.

Charlotte North (after marriage, Charlotte Lindsay) was an English woman who was well connected with the royal family. She toured Italy with her brother Frederick in 1815.

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John Northall was a captain in the Royal Artillery. He visited Italy in the early 1750s.

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Thomas Nugent was an Irish historian. It is not known whether he actually undertook a Grand Tour himself, but his account was one of the first guidebooks for travelers.

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Sydney Owenson was an Irish author who wrote *Italy* after the success of a similar chronicle of France. Lady Morgan resided in Italy from 1819 to 1820.

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Hester Piozzi, as she was known by her second marriage, was a British patron of the arts who travelled the continent beginning in 1784.

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Thomas Roscoe was an English writer and translator. He mostly wrote travel books.

Sade, Donatien Alphonse François. (1740-1821) *Viaggio in Italia*.  
The Marquis de Sade was a French writer and philosopher who fled to Italy in 1772 following initial sodomy charges that forced him to leave France.

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J. Salmon was an antiquarian.

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J.D. Sinclair travelled in the year 1827.

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Sir James Edward Smith was an English botanist who went on a Grand Tour of the continent between 1786 and 1788.

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Tobias Smollett was a Scottish writer. After his daughter died in 1762, Smollett and his wife went on a tour of the continent from 1763-1765.

Starke, Mariana. (1761/2-1838) *Letters from Italy*.

Mariana Starke was an English writer who lived in Italy from 1792-1798 in order to take care of an ill relative.

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Frederic Leopold Stolberg was a German poet and translator. Following his second marriage to the Countess Sophie von Redern in 1789 they took up a Grand Tour.

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Russell Sturgis was an American merchant who took a tour of Europe from 1828 to 1829. He spent most of his life living abroad in China.

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Henry Swinburne was an English writer who travelled in Italy from 1777 through the beginning of 1779.

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Samuel Topliff was an American journalist who travelled in Europe from 1828-1829.

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Priscilla Wakefield was an English writer who wrote an imaginary account of a tour of the Continent.

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Jane Waldie was an Irish woman who traveled with her sister, Charlotte Eaton, in Italy from 1816-1817.

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Hugh Williams was a Scottish painter who took a Grand Tour from 1816 until 1818.

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James Wilson was a Scottish zoologist who visited the Continent several times from 1816 to 1818.

Wilson, William Rae. (1772-1849) *Records of a Route through France and Italy*.

William Wilson was a Scottish solicitor who traveled through Egypt and the Continent.

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Nathaniel Wraxall was an English writer. He travelled to Italy in both 1777 and 1778.

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Wright, Edward. *Some Observations Made in Travelling through France, Italy, &C in the Years 1720, 1721, and 1722.*

An antiquarian, Edward Wright accompanied George Parker to Italy where they travelled together. Wright travelled on the Continent from 1720 to 1722.

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## Images

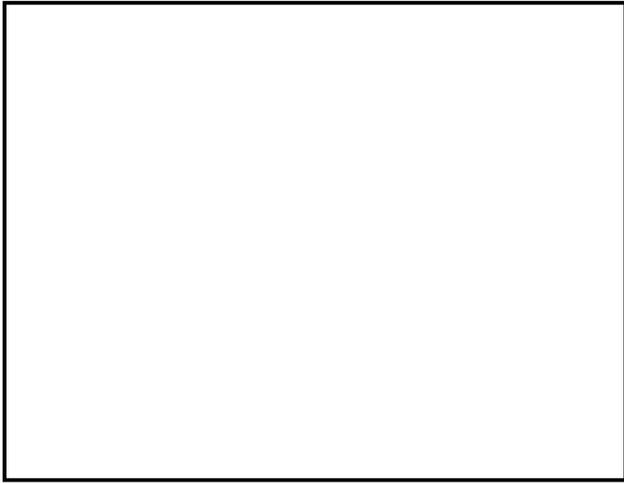


Figure 1. In the manner of Tommoso Bigatti, fan with a view of the Roman Forum, end of the eighteenth century. Galleria d'Arte Moderna, Rome, Inv. Andito su vicolo dei Soldati n.204B. (Landini, *Ventagli*, no 64).

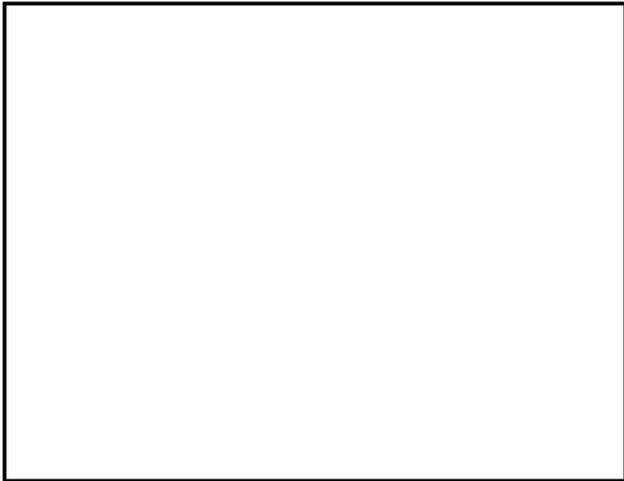


Figure 2. Photograph of the Roman Forum from the Campidoglio, ca. 1857. Collection of Gianfarani, Rome. (Thornton, *Rome*, no. 34).

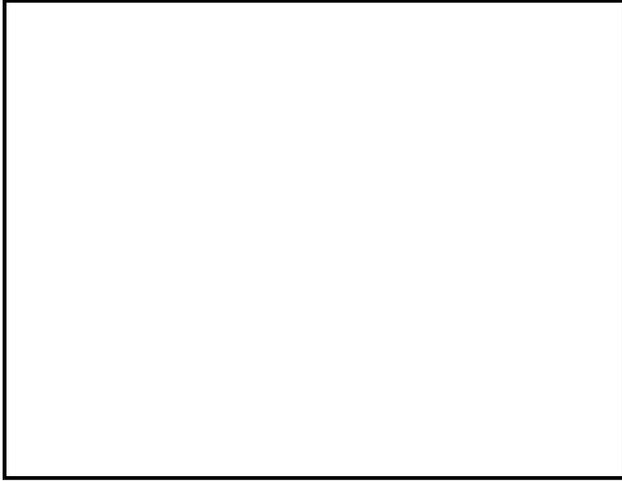


Figure 3. Micromosaic picture of the Roman Forum, view from the Capitoline Hill, second quarter of the nineteenth century, 25.5x40 cm. Savelli Collection, Rome, Inv. Ve.R. a. 23/139. (Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 114).

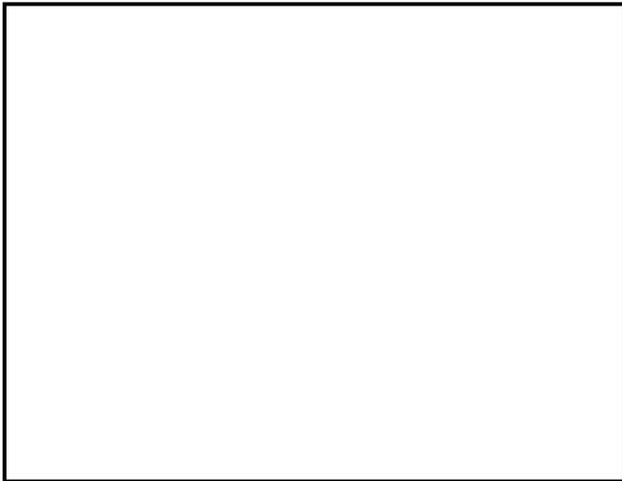


Figure 4. Micromosaic plaque of the Roman Forum, view from the Senator's Palace, early nineteenth century, 7x5 cm. Private Collection, Rome. (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 114).

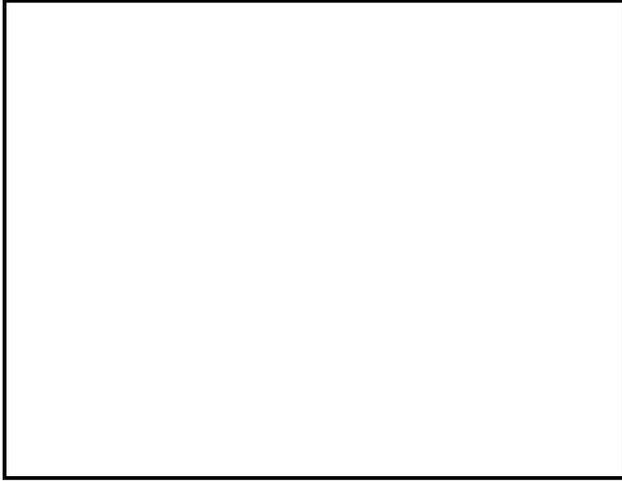


Figure 5. Giuseppe Vasi, print, *Le Rovine delle antiche Magnificenze di Roma che si veggono nel Campo Vaccino* from *Le Basiliche Patriarcali*, 1765. (Tice and Harper, *Giuseppe Vasi's Rome*, fig. 6).

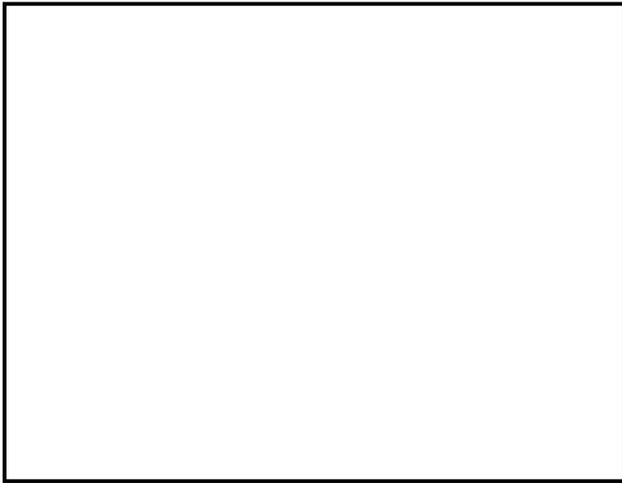


Figure 6. Gianbattista Piranesi, print, *Veduta di Campo Vaccino* from *Vedute di Roma*, 1748-78. (Artstor).

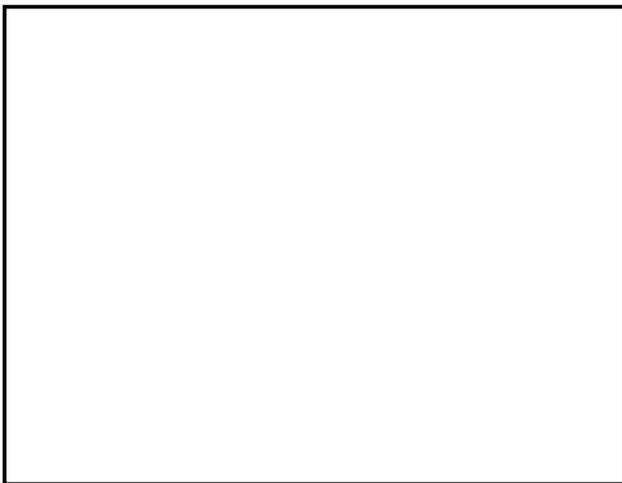


Figure 7. Gianbattista Piranesi, print, *Veduta di Campo Vaccino* from *Vedute di Roma*, 1748-78. (Artstor).

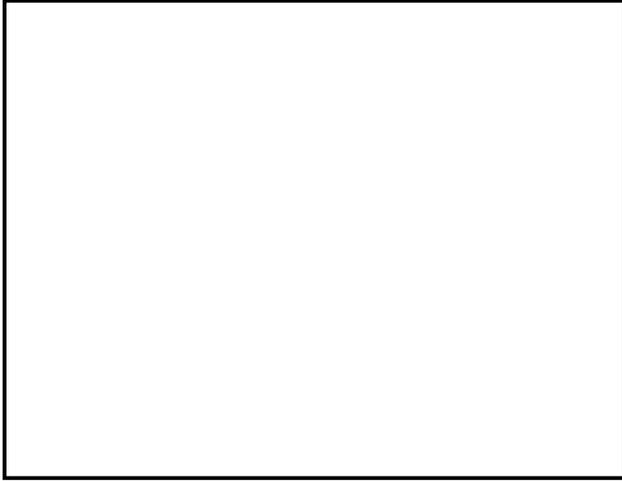


Figure 8. Giacomo Raffaelli, micromosaic snuffbox of the Temple of Vespasian, 1798, 6.8 cm. diam. Private collection, Rome. (Alfieri, Branchetti, and Cornini, *Mosaici minuti*, fig. 96).

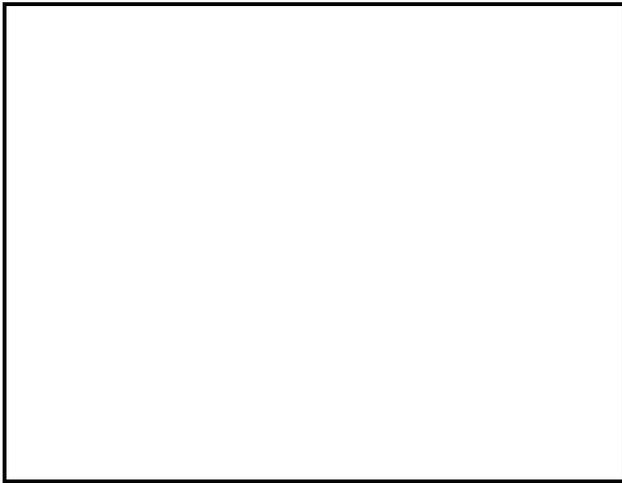


Figure 9. Micromosaic box of the Temple of Vespasian, 6.9x3.5 cm. Private Collection, Rome. (Alfieri, Branchetti, and Cornini, *Mosaici Minuti*, fig. 166).

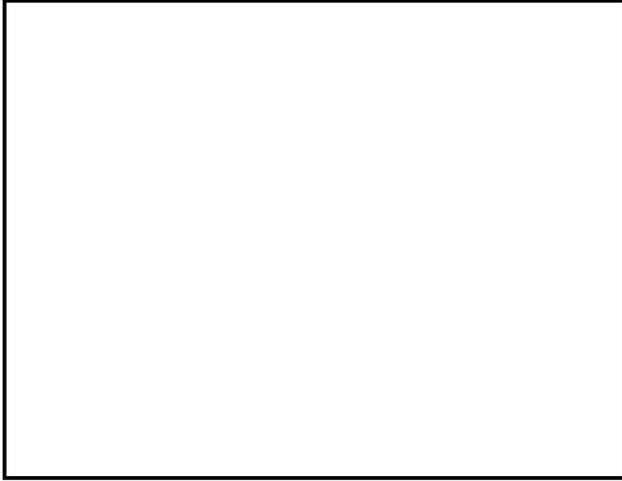


Figure 10. Micromosaic plaque of the Temple of Vespasian, first half of the nineteenth century (I would suggest it is late eighteenth century), 5.5 cm. diam. (González- Palacios, *Fasto romano*, Cat. 223).

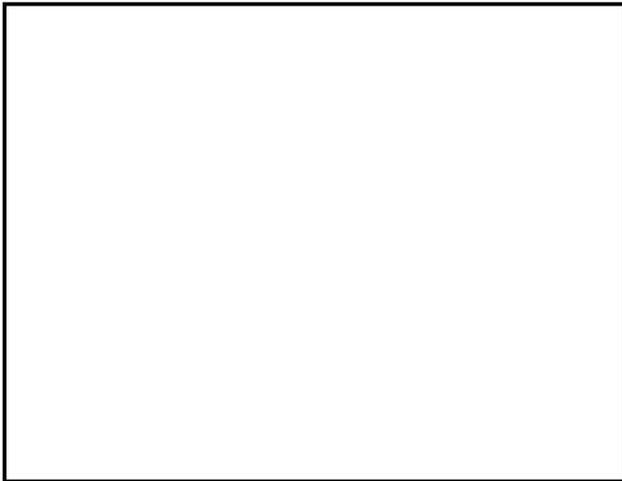


Figure 11. Gianbattista Piranesi, print *Veduta del Tempio di Giove Tonante* from *Vedute di Roma*, 1748-78. (Bevilacqua, "The Rome of Piranesi," 179).

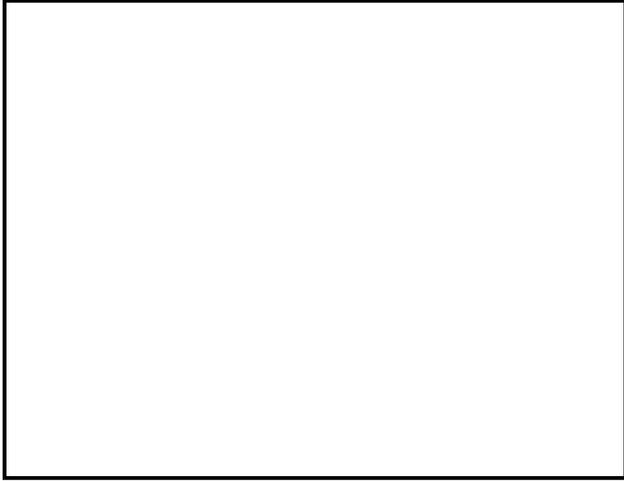


Figure 12. Micromosaic tondo of the Roman Forum, view from the Senator's Palace, mid-nineteenth century, 15 cm. diam. Private Collection, Rome. (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 142).

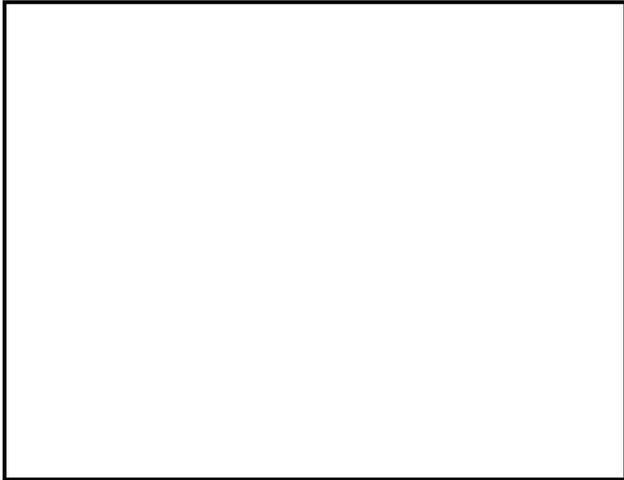


Figure 13. Micromosaic picture of the Roman Forum, view from the Capitoline Hill, mid-nineteenth century, 45.7x85 cm. Savelli collection, Rome, Inv. R. a 19/135. (Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 125).

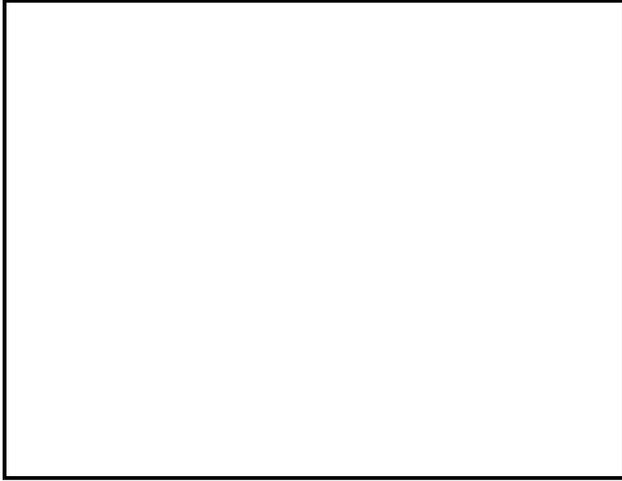


Figure 14. Luigi Rossini, print, General View of the Center of Rome Near the Capitoline Tower from *Cinquanta principali vedute* and *Le Antichità romane*, 1817. (Fabio Fiorani, *Luigi Rossini, Vedute di Roma nell'800*, (Roma: Dino Audino Editore, 1996), 32).



Figure 15. Luigi A. Gallandt, micromosaic picture of the Roman Forum, view from the Capitoline Hill, 1850-1875, 86.3x165 cm. Gilbert Collection, London, Inv. 1996.289 (MMI46). (Gabriel, *The Gilbert Collection*, cat. 57).

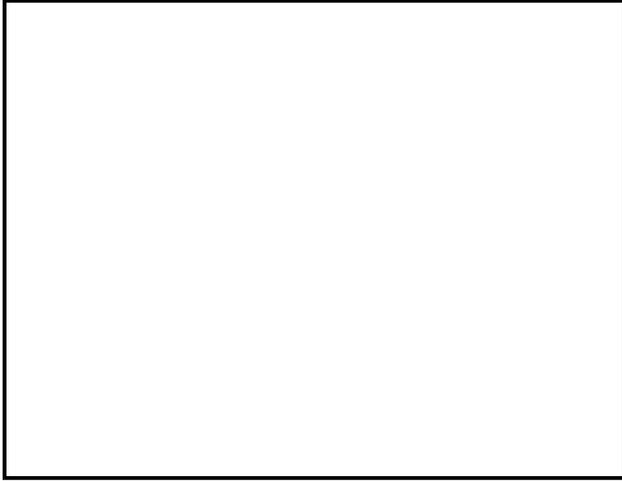


Figure 16. Luigi Rossini, print, *Veduta Presa all Angolo del Tabularo sul Clivo Capitolino* from *Cinquanta principali vedute* and *Le Antichità romane*, 1817. (Fiorani, *Luigi Rossini*, 73).

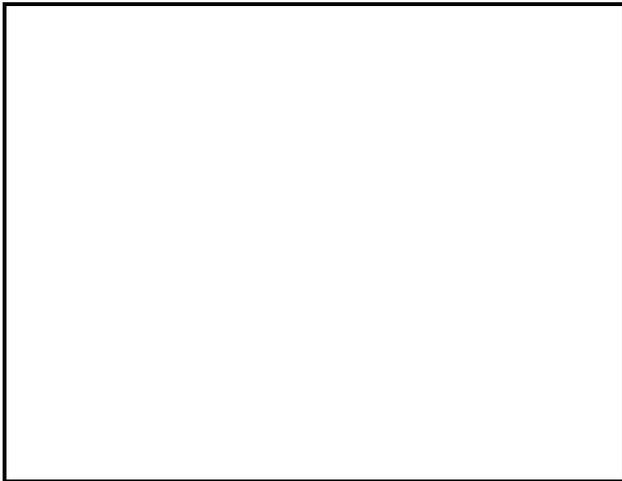


Figure 17. Micromosaic brooch of the Roman Forum, view from Senator's Palace, mid-nineteenth century, 6x4 cm. Private Collection, Rome. (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 58).

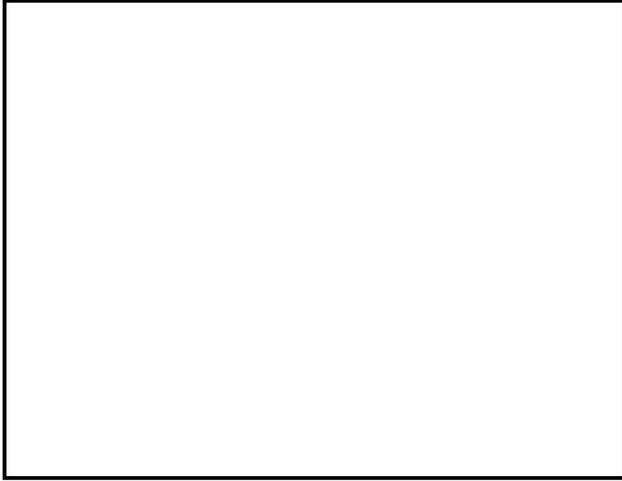


Figure 18. G. Cooke engraved after J.M.W. Turner, print of *The Roman Forum from the Tower of the Capitol*, 1818. Tate Britain, Inv. T06016. (Tate, accessed January 30, 2017, <http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/turner-the-roman-forum-from-the-tower-of-the-capitol-engraved-by-g-cooke-t06016>).

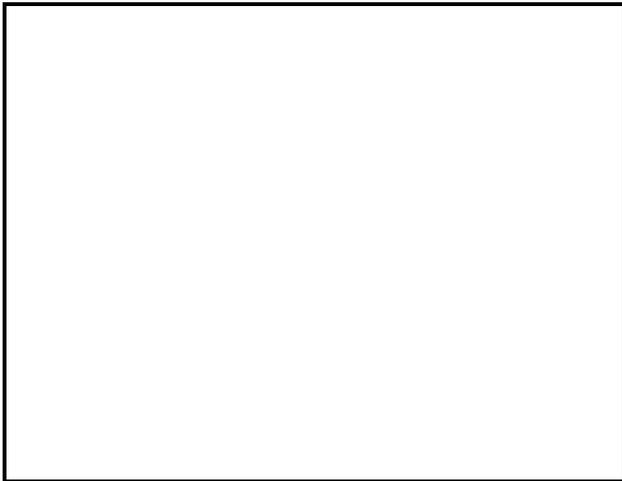


Figure 19. Micromosaic box of the Roman Forum, view from the Senator's Palace, late nineteenth century, 6 cm. diam. Private collection, Rome (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 83).



Figure 20. Carlo Fontana, engraving of the Colosseum from *L'anfiteatro Flavio descritto e delineato*, 1725. (Fontana, *L'anfiteatro*, 47).

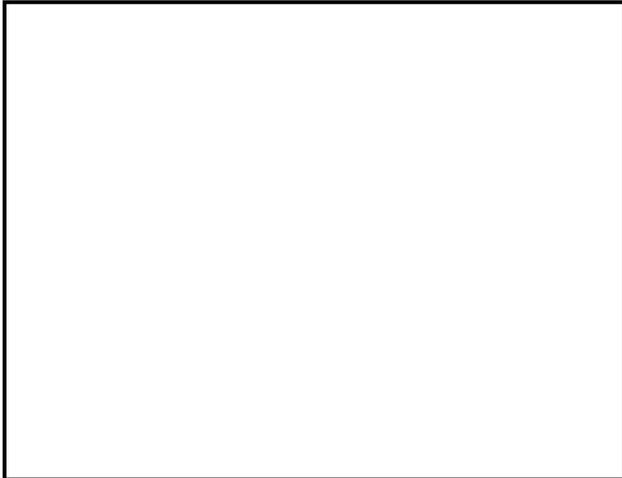


Figure 21. Alessandro Specchi, print, *Prospetto attuale e opotesi restitutiva del Colosseo*, 1703. (Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, accessed January 30, 2017, [http://www.kunstgeschichte.uni-muenchen.de/ifk/graph\\_sammlung/linienspiele/format/specchi.html](http://www.kunstgeschichte.uni-muenchen.de/ifk/graph_sammlung/linienspiele/format/specchi.html)).

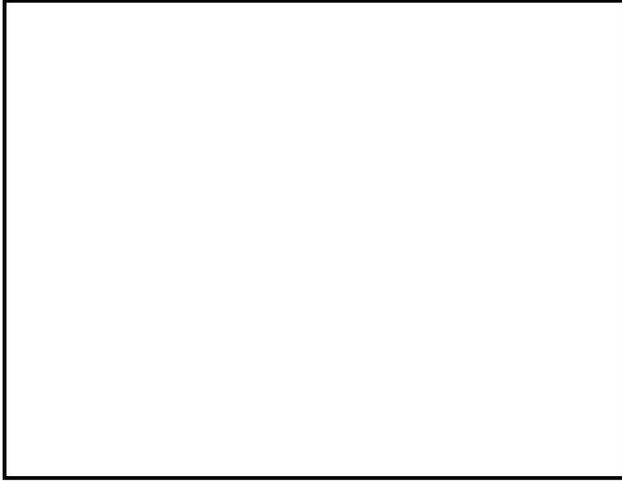


Figure 22. Gianbattista Piranesi, print, *Veduta dell'Arco di Costantino e dell'Anfiteatro Flavio detto il Colosseo* from *Vedute di Roma*, 1748-78. (Wilton-Ely, *The Mind and Art*, 19).

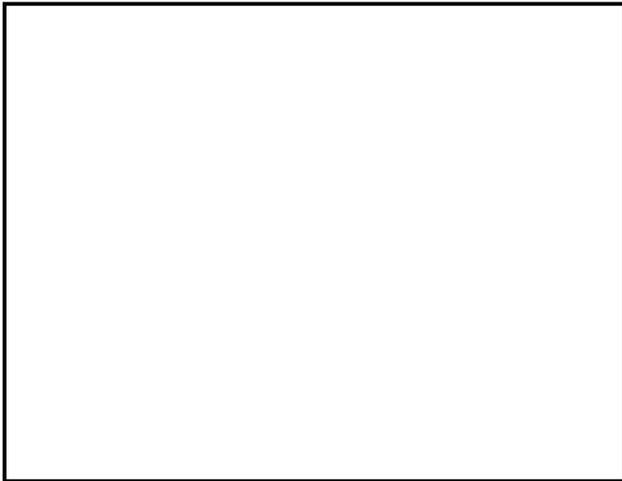


Figure 23. Gianbattista Piranesi, print, the Colosseum from *Vedute di Roma*, 1748-78. (Wikimedia Commons, accessed January 30, 2017, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Giovanni\\_Battista\\_Piranesi,\\_The\\_Colosseum.png](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Giovanni_Battista_Piranesi,_The_Colosseum.png)).

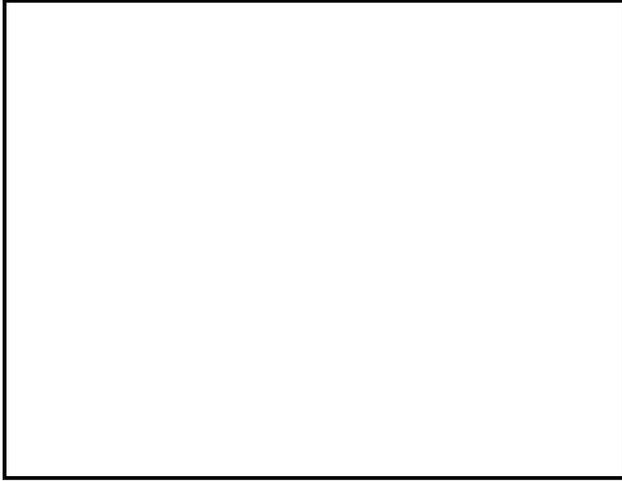


Figure 24. Luigi Rossini, print, the Colosseum from *Le Antichità Romane*, 1829. (Rossini, *Le Antichità*, pl. 76).

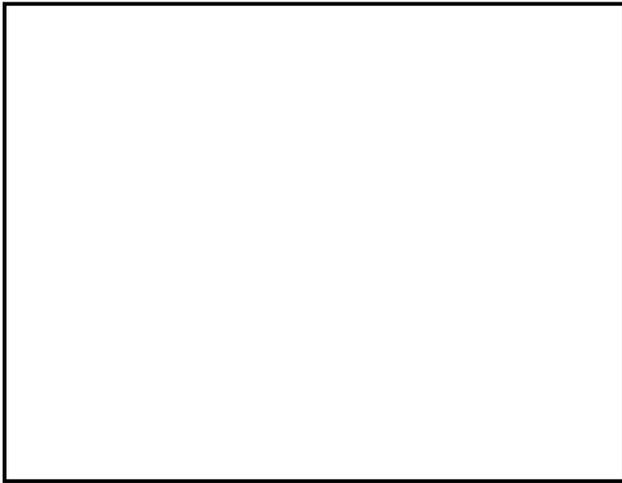


Figure 25. Eugene Constant, photograph of the Colosseum, 1848. The Royal Library in Copenhagen. (Thornton, *Rome*, no. 46).

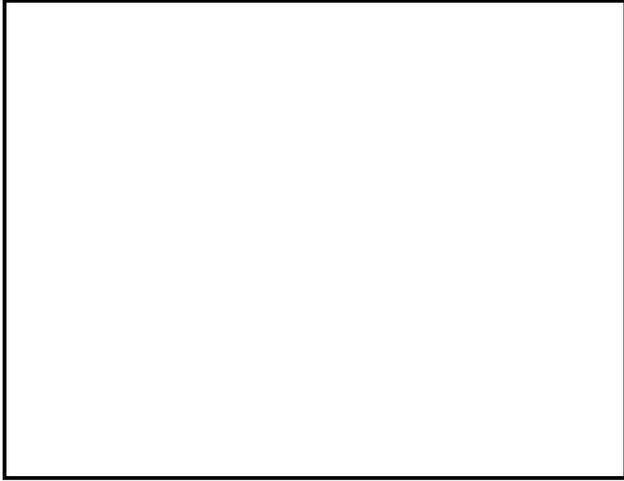


Figure 26. Fan with the Colosseum, 1805. (Alexander, *Fans*, fig. 34).

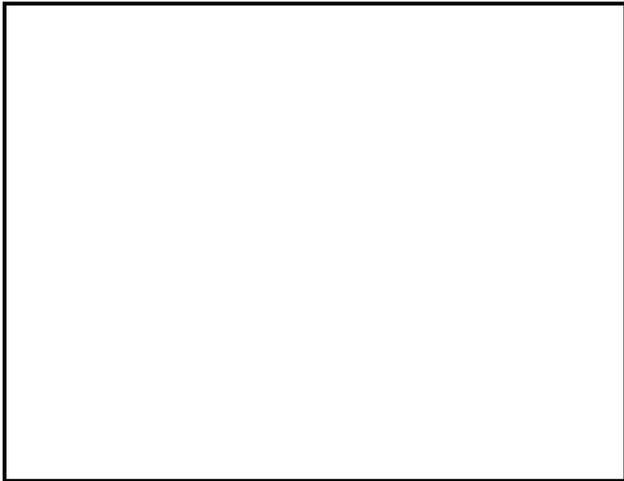


Figure 27. Antonio Chichi, Colosseum cork model. Landesmussen in Darmstadt. (Büttner, "Korkmodelle," fig. 18).

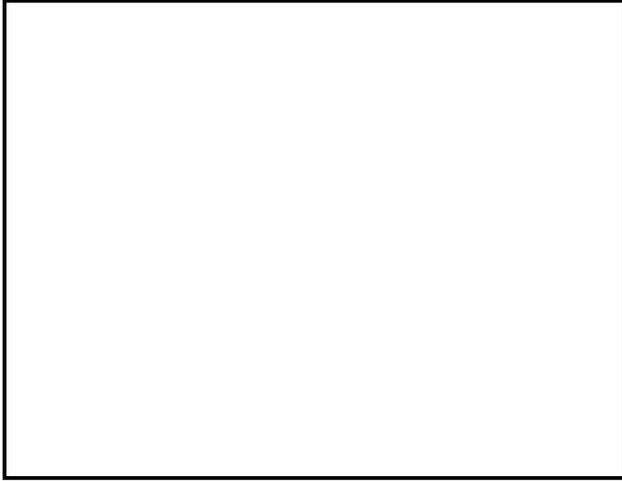


Figure 28. Carlo Lucangeli, Colosseum cork model with vegetation. Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris. (Gabucci, *The Colosseum*, 217).

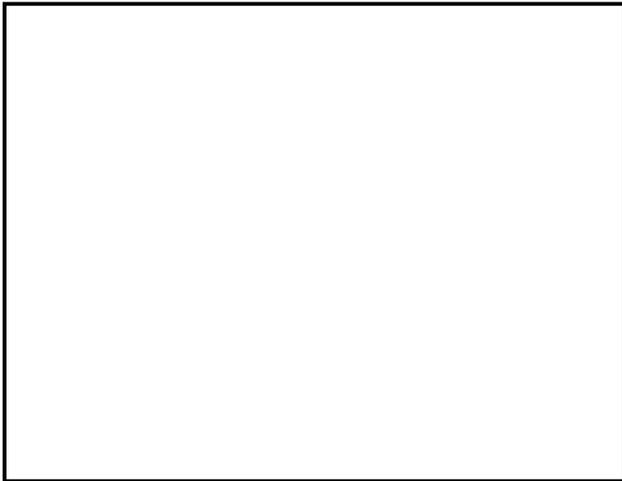


Figure 29. Micromosaic picture of the Colosseum, southern view, 32.5x43 cm. Private collection, Rome. (Stefani, *Ricordi*, cat. 1).

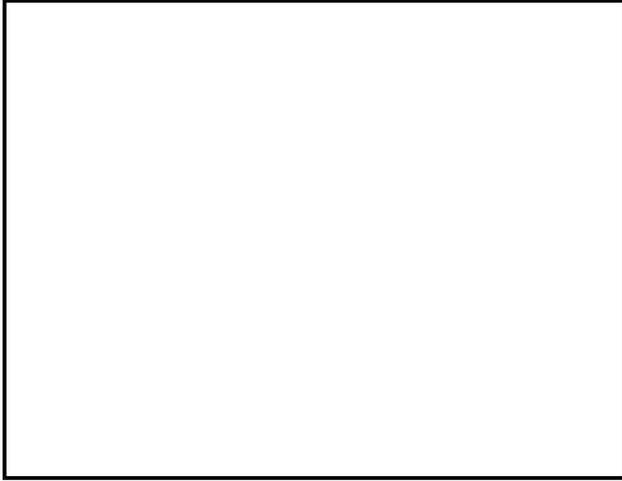


Figure 30. Micromosaic plaque of the Colosseum, western view prior to restorations, beginning of the nineteenth century, 8x5.5 cm. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 83).

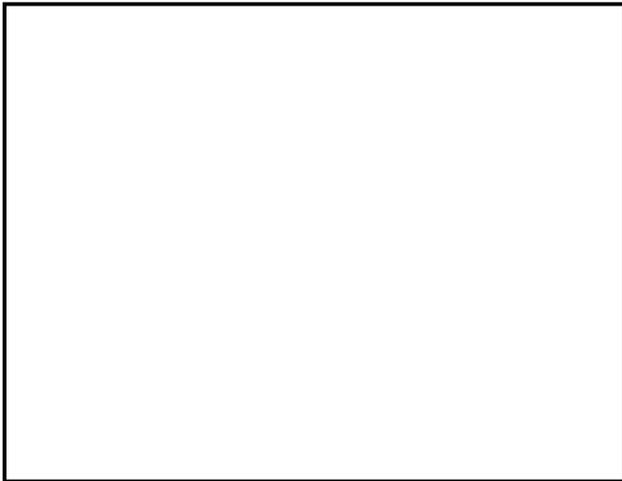


Figure 31. Micromosaic locket of the Colosseum, western view post restorations, ca. 1825, 8.2x5.1 cm. Gilbert Collection, London, Inv. 1996.649 (MM308). (Victoria & Albert Museum, accessed January 31, 2017, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O157878/plaque/>).

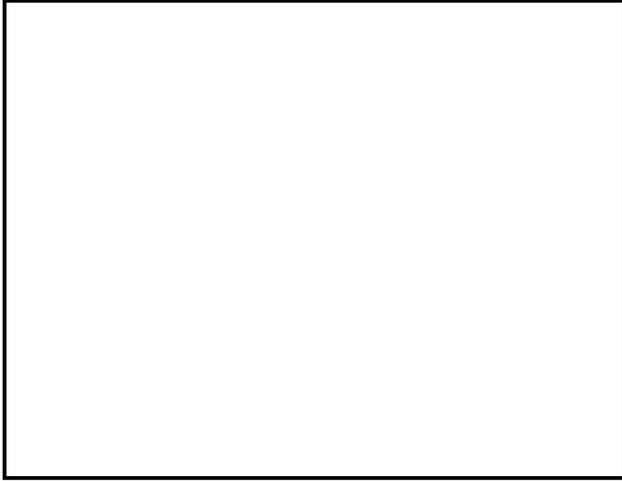


Figure 32. Micromosaic box of the Colosseum featuring the Via Sacra, late nineteenth century, 6 cm. diam. Private Collection, Rome. (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 86).

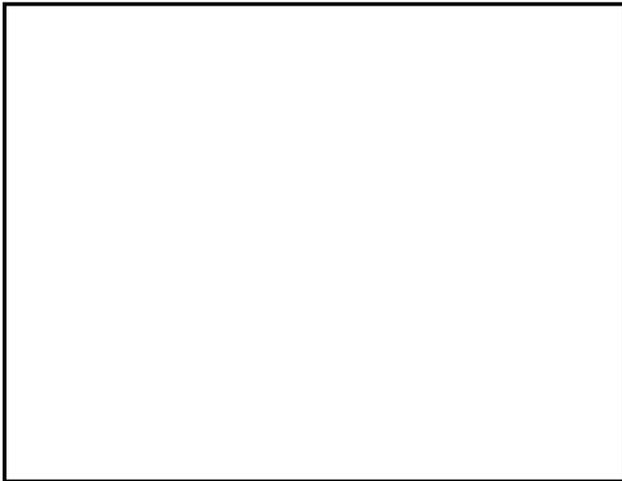


Figure 33. Constantino Rinaldo, micromosaic picture of the Colosseum, northwestern view, mid nineteenth century, 80x60 cm. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 158).

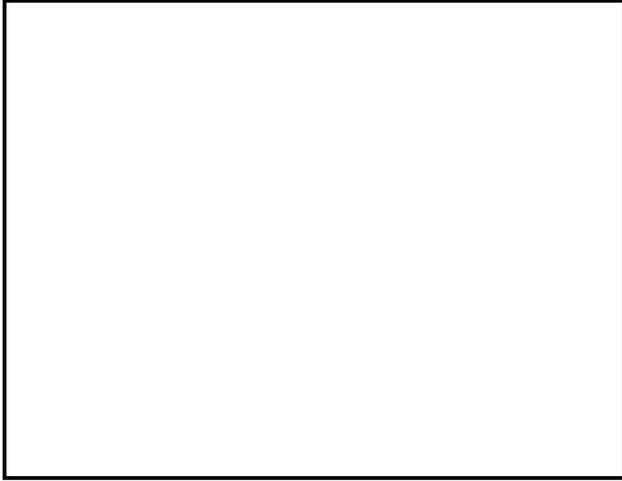


Figure 34. Giacomo Raffaelli, micromosaic plaque of the Colosseum, southern view, 1780, 7 cm. diam. Private collection, Rome. (Alfieri, Branchetti, and Cornini, *Mosaici minuti*, fig. 118).

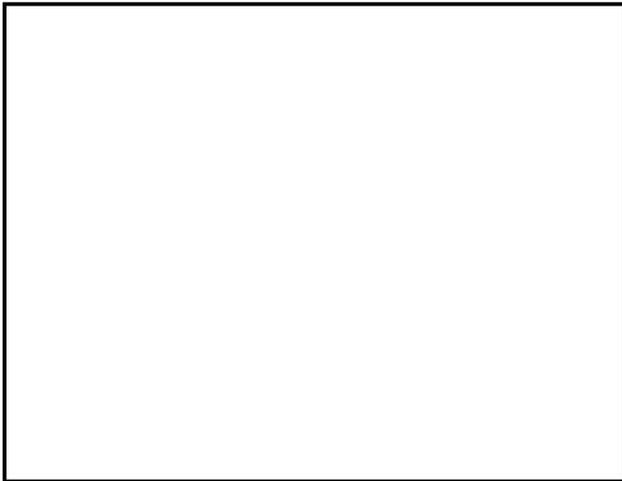


Figure 35. Micromosaic plaque of the Colosseum, interior view, last quarter of the eighteenth century/beginning of the nineteenth century, 7 cm. diam. Savelli Collection, Rome, Inv. Ve. R. a. 4/120. (Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 66).

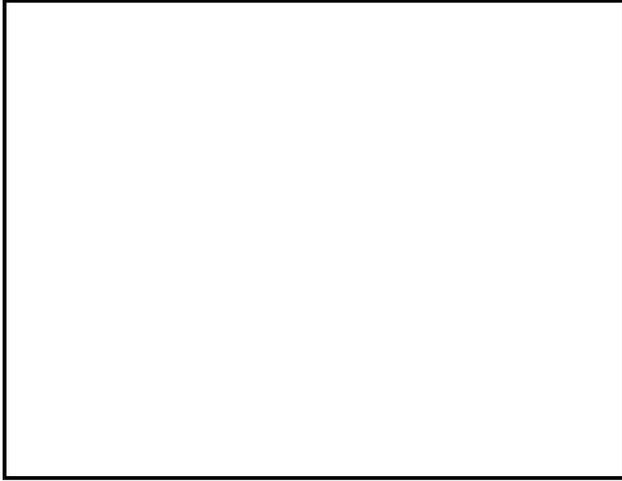


Figure 36. Micromosaic tondo of the Colosseum, 13.6 cm. diam. Private collection, Rome. (Petochi, Alfieri, and Branchetti, *I mosaici minuti*, 195, Scheda 3, n.12).

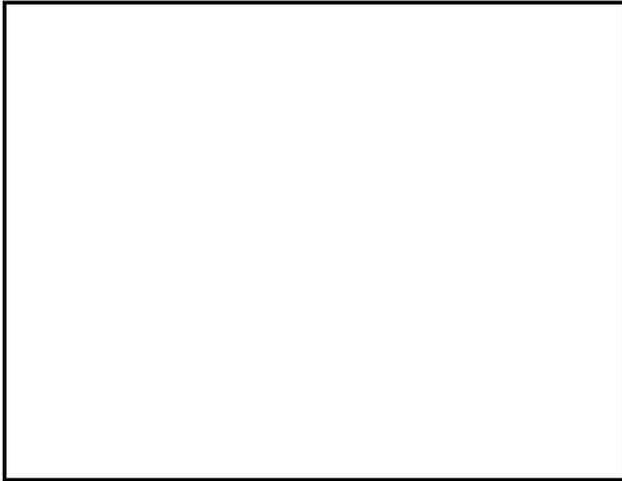


Figure 37. Micromosaic picture of the Colosseum, first phase of vegetation, 20.7x16.8 cm. Private collection, Rome. (Petochi, Alfieri, and Branchetti, *I mosaici minuti*, 192, scheda 3, n. 2).

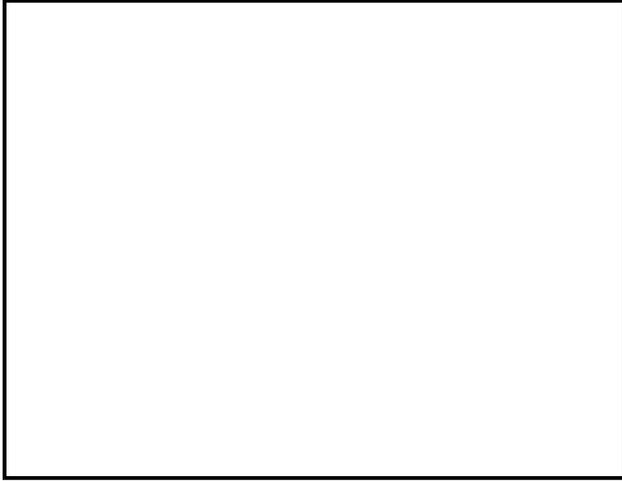


Figure 38. Micromosaic brooch of the Colosseum, first phase of vegetation, 1810, 6.3 cm. diam. Private collection. (Christie's, Christie's Sale 5377 Lot 31, accessed February 19, 2017, <http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot/a-gilt-metal-brooch-set-with-an-italian-5564961-details.aspx?from=salesummery&intobjectid=5564961&sid=325708a9-76d1-4554-8a7d-961633669c8f>).

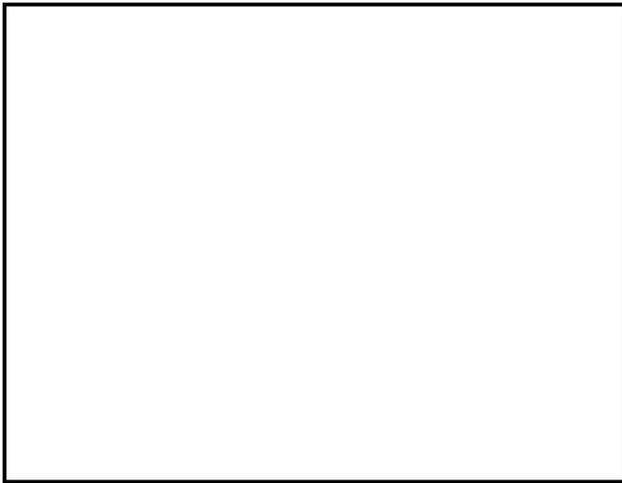


Figure 39. Domenico Moglia, micromosaic picture of the Colosseum, second phase of vegetation post restoration, 1850, 46.7x65.7 cm. Gilbert collection, London, Inv. 1996.312 (MM208). (Victoria & Albert Museum, accessed January 31, 2017, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O157753/picture-unknown/#>).

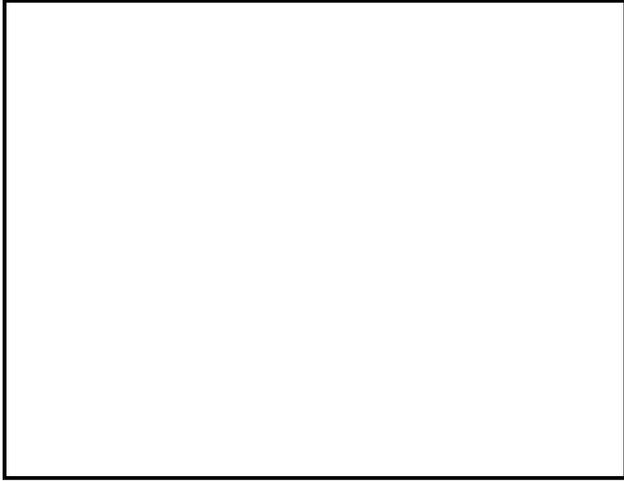


Figure 40. Micromosaic plaque of the Colosseum, second phase of vegetation post restoration, mid nineteenth century, 4.5 cm. diam. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 93).

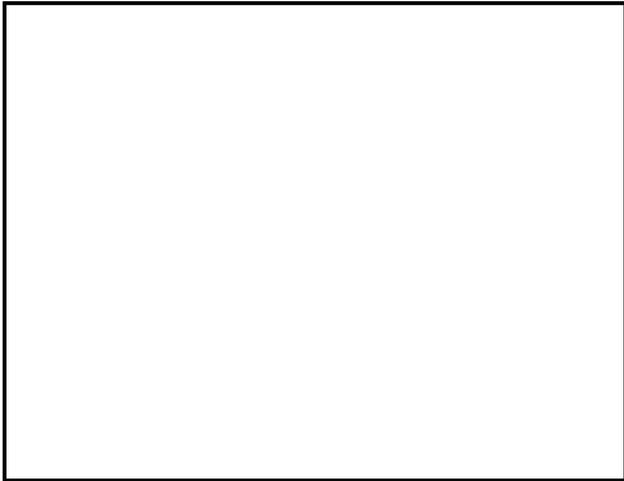


Figure 41. Micromosaic box of the Colosseum with framing shrubbery, early nineteenth century, 7 cm. diam. Private collection. (Finarte, *Gioielli*, fig. 341).

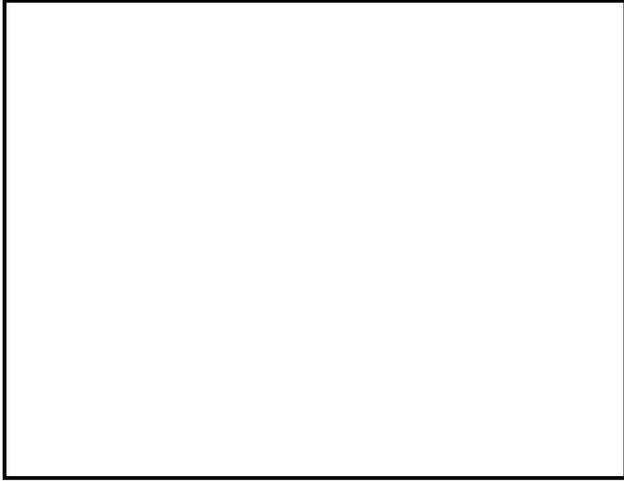


Figure 42. Micromosaic brooch of the Colosseum with framing shrubbery, early nineteenth century, 4.5 cm. diam. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, fig. 81).

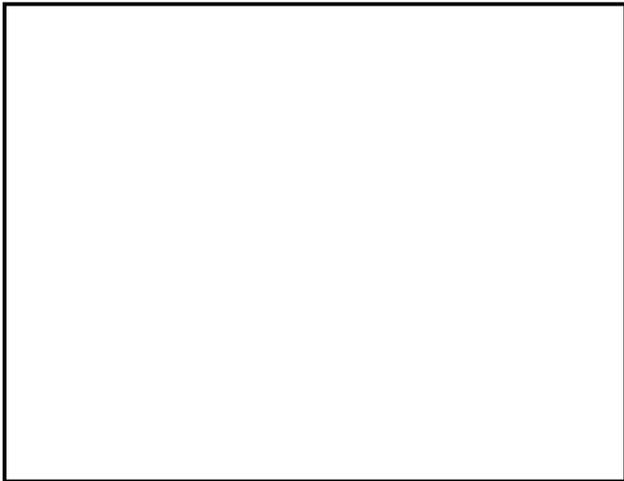


Figure 43. Micromosaic plaque of the Colosseum with framing shrubbery, 9.7 cm. diam. (Petochi, Alfieri, and Branchetti, *I mosaici minuti*, 194, scheda 3 n. 11).

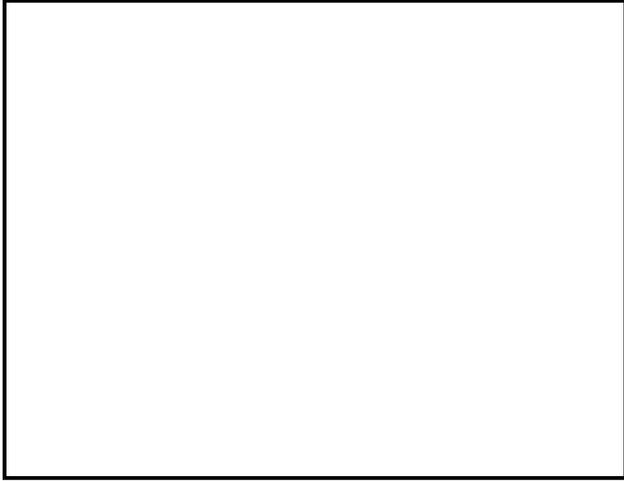


Figure 44. Micromosaic box of the Colosseum with framing tree, first quarter of the nineteenth century, 4x7 cm. Savelli collection, Rome, Inv. Ve. R. a. 05/121. (Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 39).

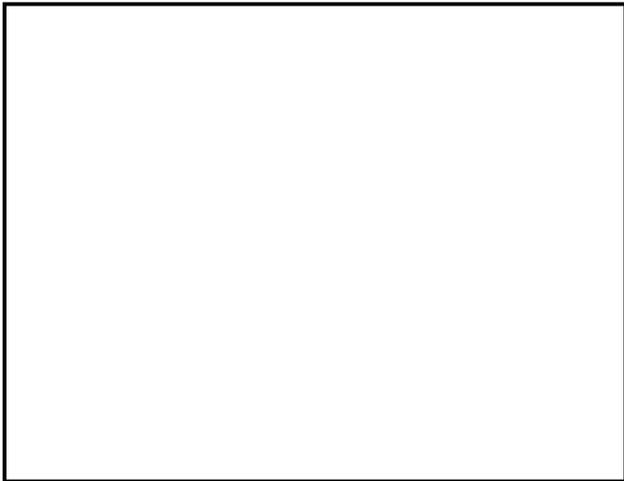


Figure 45. Micromosaic plaque of the Colosseum with picturesque marbles, early nineteenth century, 5.5x7.5 cm. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, fig. 219).

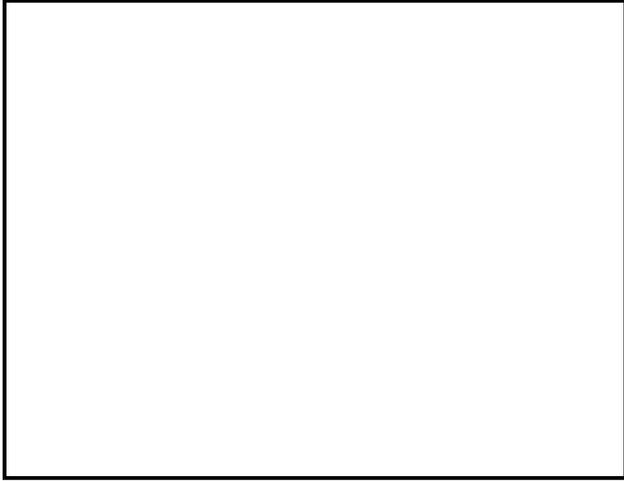


Figure 46. Micromosaic plaque of the Colosseum with picturesque marble, mid-nineteenth century, 11.5x14.5 cm. Private collection, Rome. (González- Palacios, *Una raccolta*, fig 51).

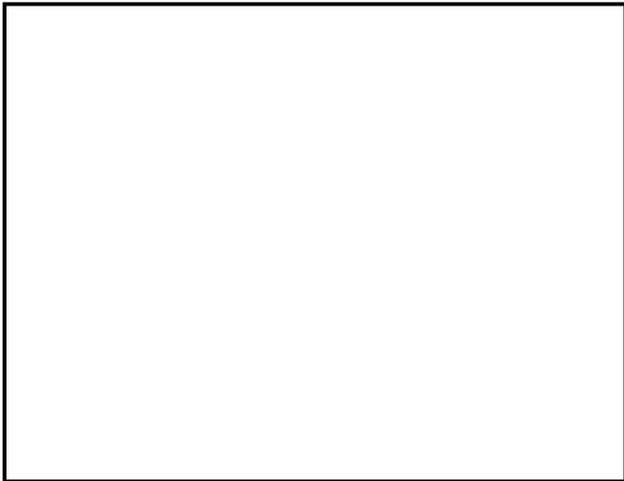


Figure 47. Giacomo Raffaelli, micromosaic picture of the Colosseum with the city marginalized, late eighteenth century, 33x28 cm. Private collection, Rome. (Stefani, *Ricordi*, 43, cat. 2).

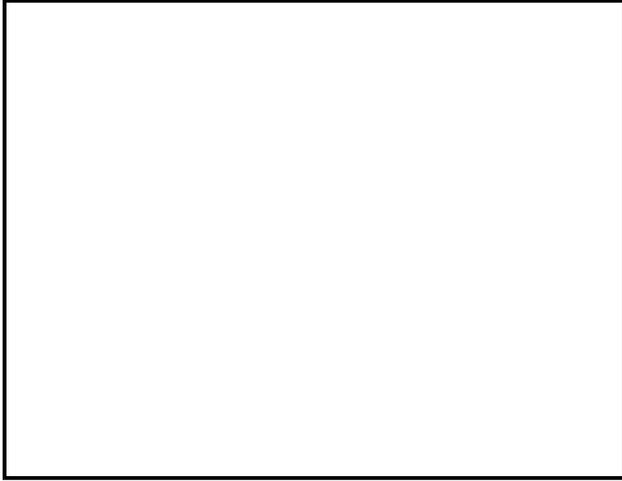


Figure 48. Micromosaic picture of the Colosseum taking up majority of sky, second half of the nineteenth century, 35x50 cm. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 137).

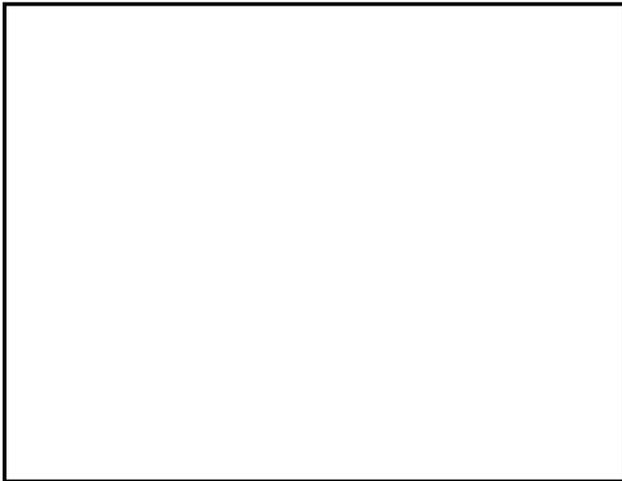


Figure 49. Micromosaic plaque of the Colosseum with peasant figure, early nineteenth century, 10x8 cm. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 112).

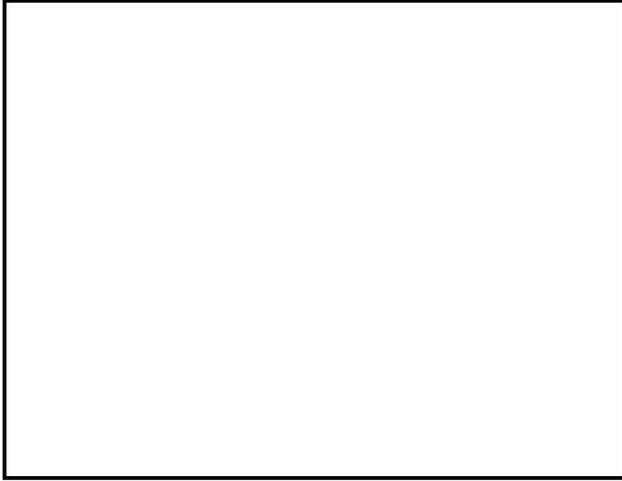


Figure 50. Micromosaic picture of the Colosseum with people pushed towards the frame, early nineteenth century, 22x32 cm. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 154).

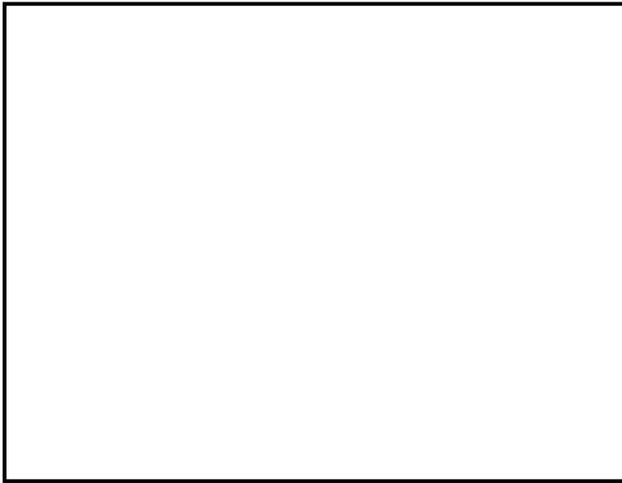


Figure 51. Micromosaic picture of the Colosseum and St. Peter's, second half of the nineteenth century, 12.2x19 cm. Savelli collection, Rome, Inv. R. s. 03.189. (Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 134).

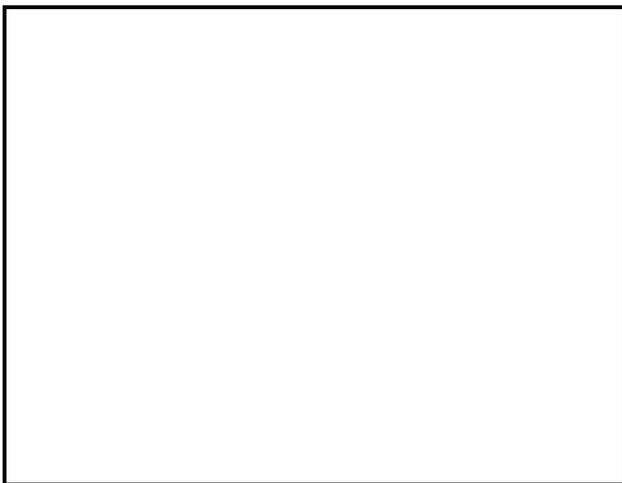


Figure 52. Micromosaic table of the Colosseum and St. Peter's, mid nineteenth century, 75.5 cm. diam. Private collection, Rome. (González- Palacios, *Fasto romano*, Cat. 79).

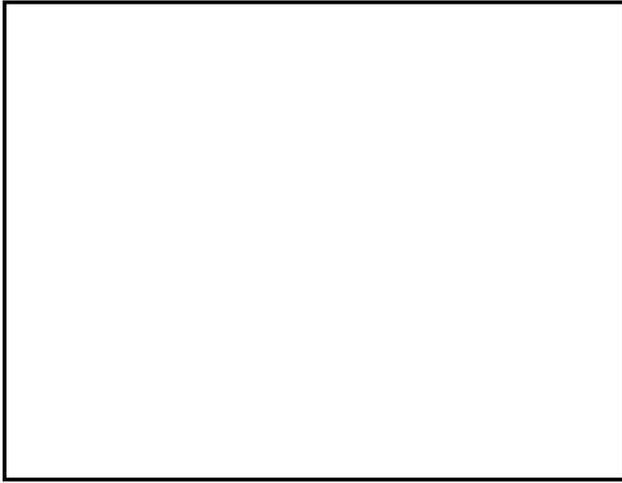


Figure 53. Micromosaic box of the Colosseum and St. Peter's, late nineteenth century, 14x10 cm. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, 109).

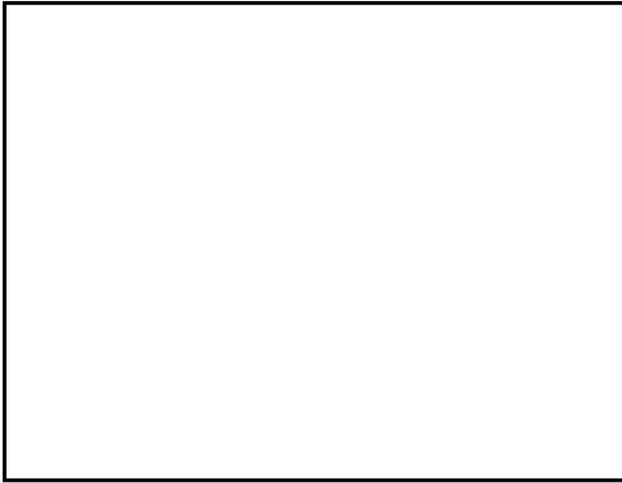


Figure 54. Micromosaic brooch of the Colosseum in the moonlight with clouds and torchlight, mid-nineteenth, 5x4 cm. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 55).

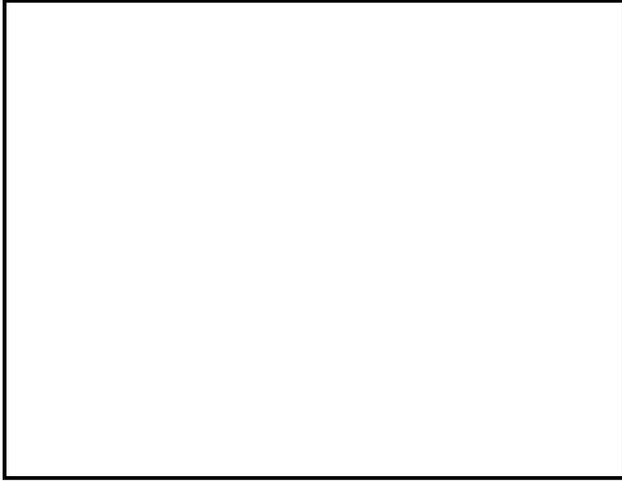


Figure 55. Micromosaic picture of the Colosseum in the moonlight with clouds and torchlight, second half of the nineteenth century, 20x28 cm. Savelli collection, Rome, Inv. R. a. 11/127. (Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 128).

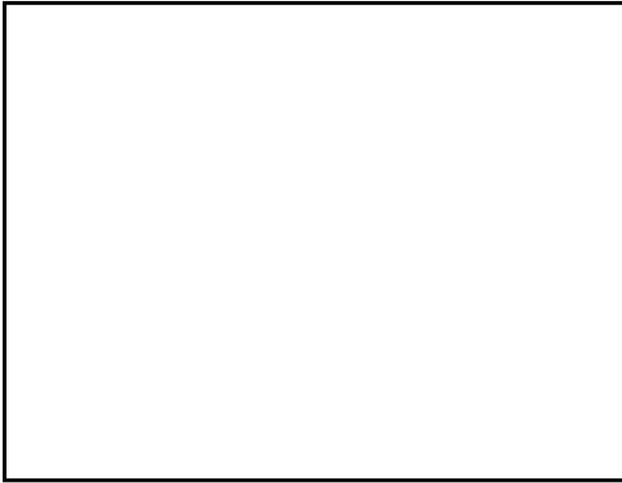


Figure 56. Micromosaic brooch of the Colosseum in the moonlight with clouds and torchlight, second half of the nineteenth century, 5x4 cm. Private collection. Rome. (Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, fig. 69).

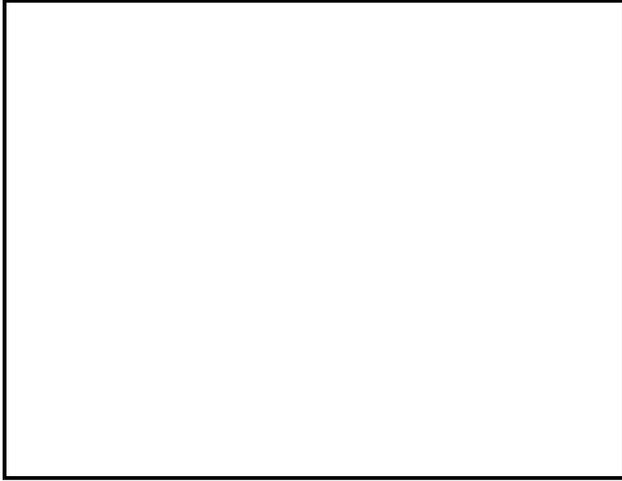


Figure 57. Small picture micromosaic of the Colosseum in moonlight with moonbeam light shining in, late nineteenth century, 13x18 cm. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 149).

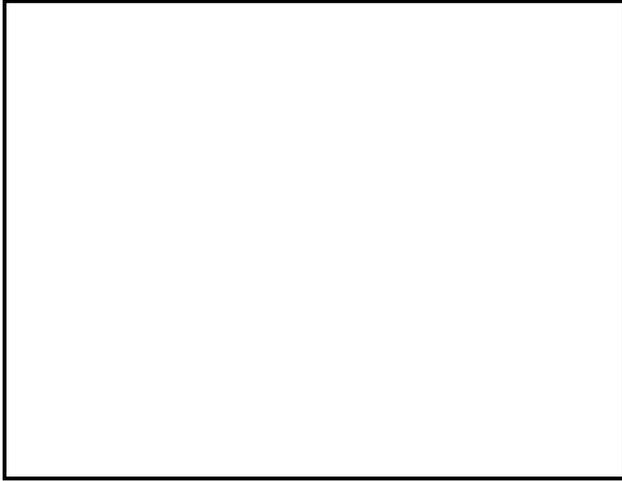


Figure 58. Giuseppe Vasi, print, the Pantheon in *Delle Magnificenze di Roma antica e moderna*, eighteenth century. (Tice and Harper, *Giuseppe Vasi's Rome*, 118 no. 25).



Figure 59. Gianbattista Piranesi, print, the Pantheon in *Della magnificenza e architettura de Romani*, 1760. (Wikimedia Commons, January 30, 2017, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Piranesi-6023.jpg>).

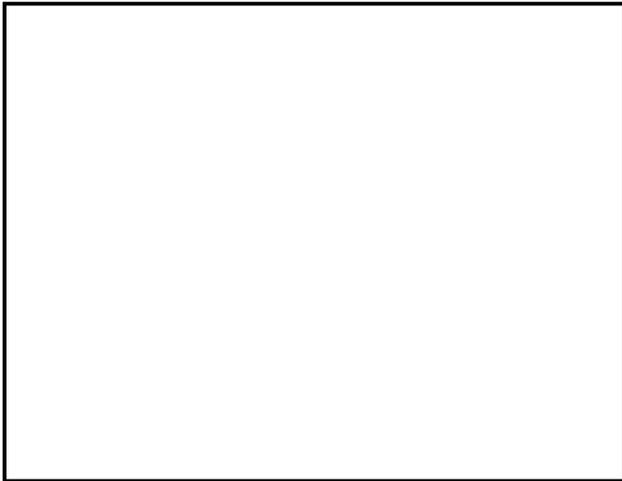


Figure 60. Ridolphino Venuti, print, the Pantheon in *Accurata, e succinta descrizione topografica delle antichità di Roma*, 1763. (Ridolphino Venuti, *Accurata, e succinta descrizione topografica delle antichità di Roma*, (Roma: Giovanni Battista Beruabò e Giuseppe Lazzarini, 1763), pl. 86).

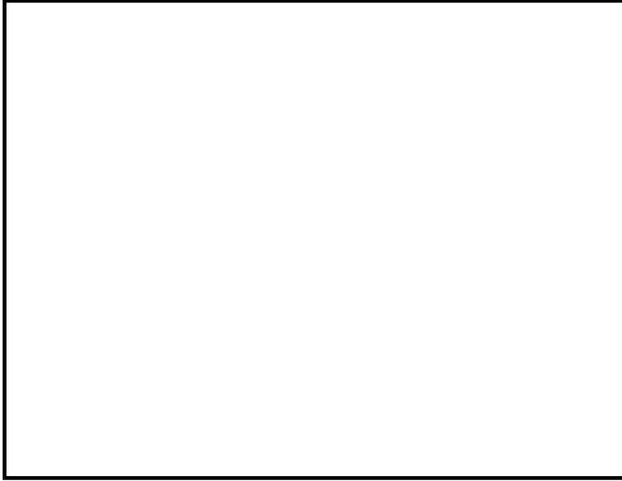


Figure 61. Luigi Rossini, print, the Pantheon in *Le Antichità romane*, 1829. (Rossini, *Le Antichità*, 4).

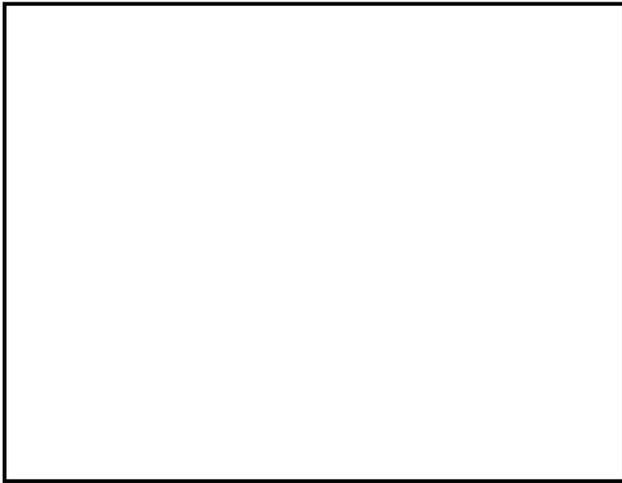


Figure 62. Fan with the Pantheon in the middle flanked by the Doves of Pliny, late eighteenth-century. The Fan Museum in Greenwich. (Wilton and Bignamini, *Grand Tour*, no. 263).

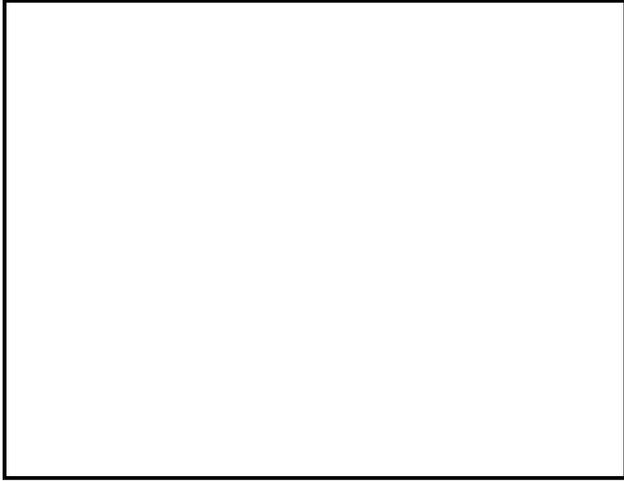


Figure 63. Antonio Chichi, cork model of Pantheon that opens to display inside as well, late eighteenth-century. Landesmussen in Darmstadt. (Büttner, "Korkmodelle," no. 12).

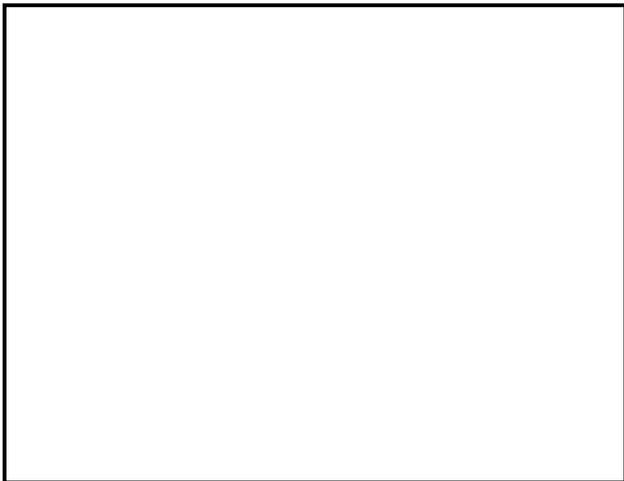


Figure 64. Micromosaic snuffbox of the Pantheon with view from northwest, 1804-1825, 3.5 cm. diam. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, 97, no. 265).

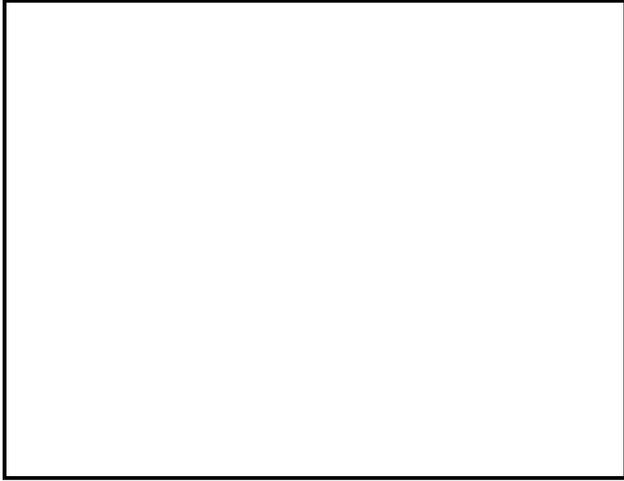


Figure 65. Philippe and Felix Benoist, print, the Pantheon in a capriccio with St. Peter's Basilica as the frontispiece for Champagny's *Rome dans sa grandeur*, 1870. (Williams, "A Nineteenth-Century Monument," 12.1).

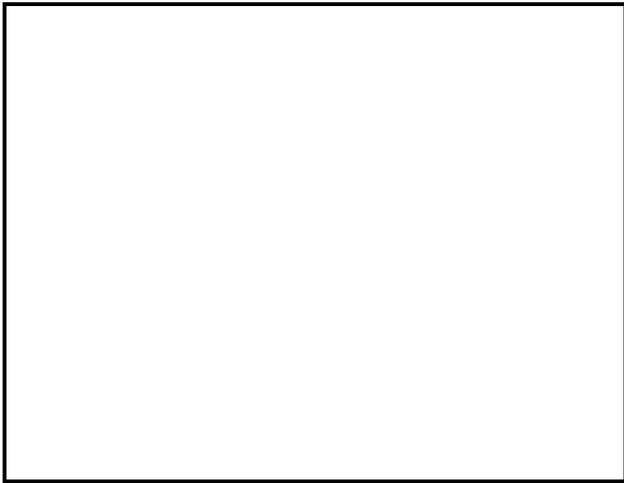


Figure 66. Micromosaic snuffbox of the Pantheon with view from the northwest, 8.9x6.4 cm. (Petochi, Alfieri, and Branchetti, *I mosaici minuti*, n. 59, 203).

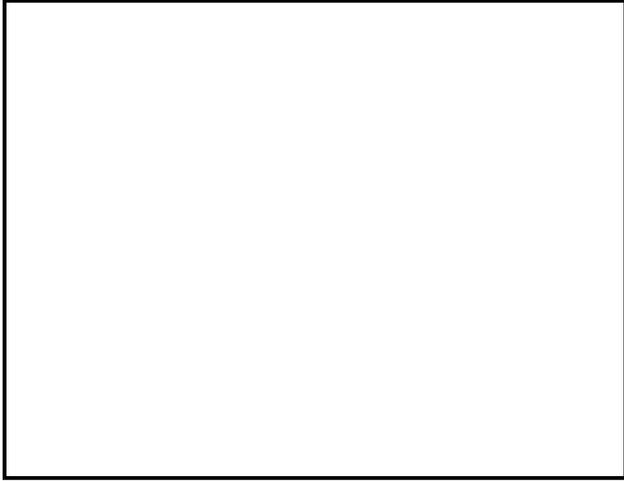


Figure 67. Micromosaic paperweight of the Pantheon with view from northwest, late nineteenth century, 4x3.5 cm. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 124).

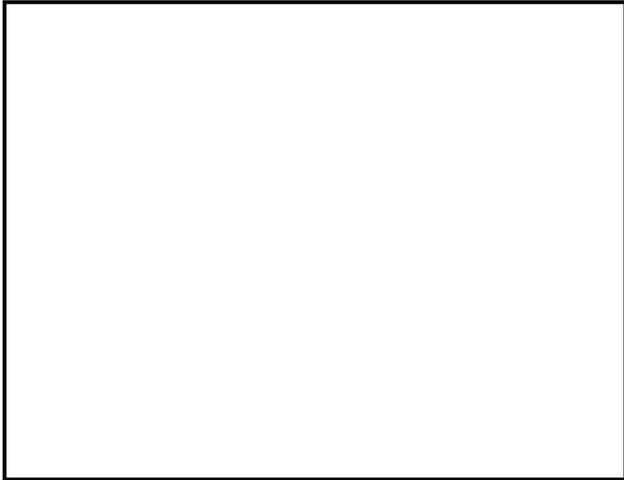


Figure 68. Micromosaic snuffbox of the Pantheon represented in isolation in a rural landscape with peasants, first half of the nineteenth century, 5 cm. diam. Private collection, Rome. (Finarte, *Gioielli*, n. 307).

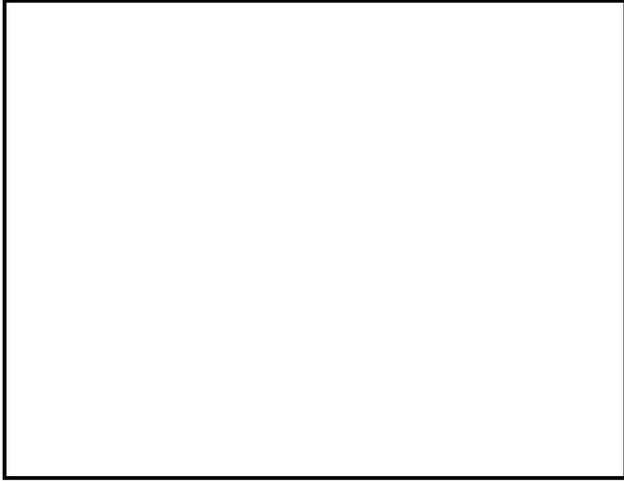


Figure 69. Micromosaic plaque of the Pantheon represented in isolation in a rural landscape with peasants, early nineteenth century, 7 cm. diam. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, n. 241).

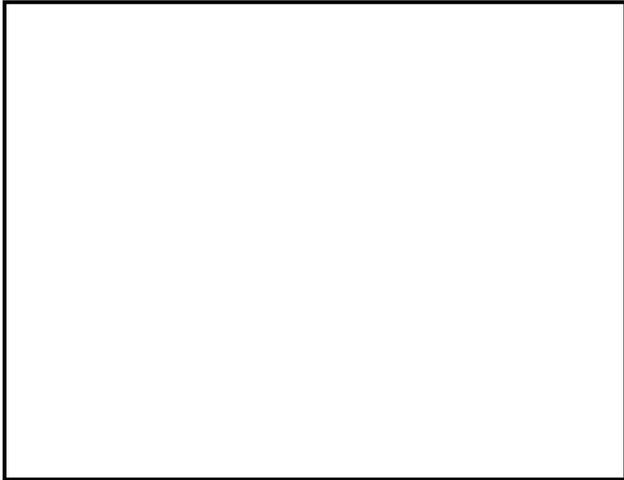


Figure 70. Micromosaic plaque of the Pantheon shown with only a few people, third quarter of the nineteenth century, 13x16 cm. Private collection, Rome. (González-Palacios, *Una raccolta*, no. 14).

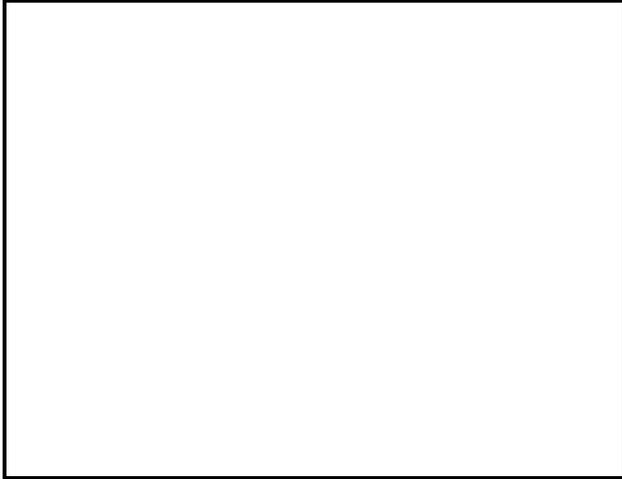


Figure 71. Micromosaic plaque of the Pantheon shown in isolation with only one person, first half of the nineteenth century, 7x5 cm. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 115).

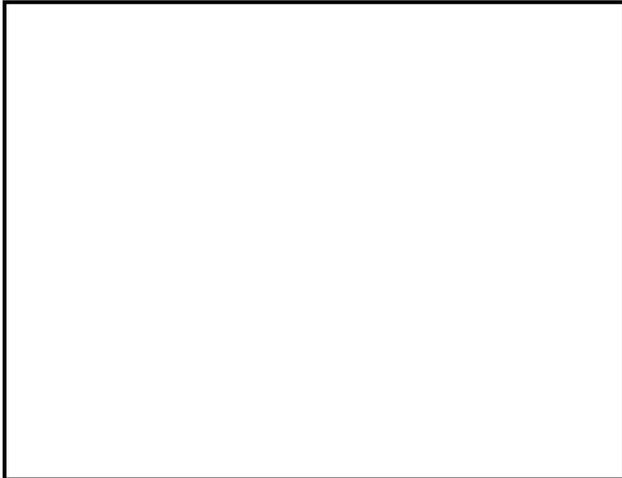


Figure 72. Micromosaic picture of the Pantheon shown with no people, mid-nineteenth century, 40x50 cm. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 151).

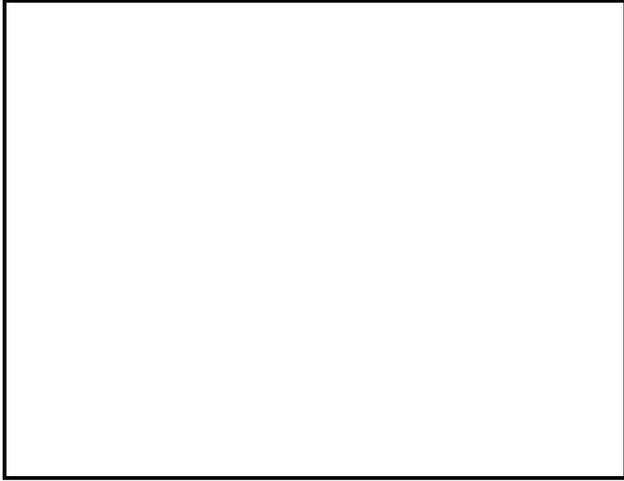


Figure 73. Gianbattista Piranesi, print, the *Veduta della Piazza della Rotunda*, eighteenth century. (Artstor).

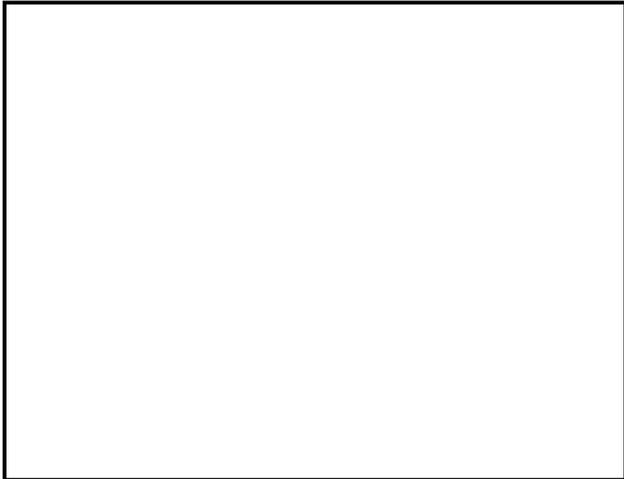


Figure 74. In the manner of Tommaso Bigatti, fan showing the Pantheon, eighteenth century. Museo Mario Praz, Rome, Inv. 204. (Photo by author).

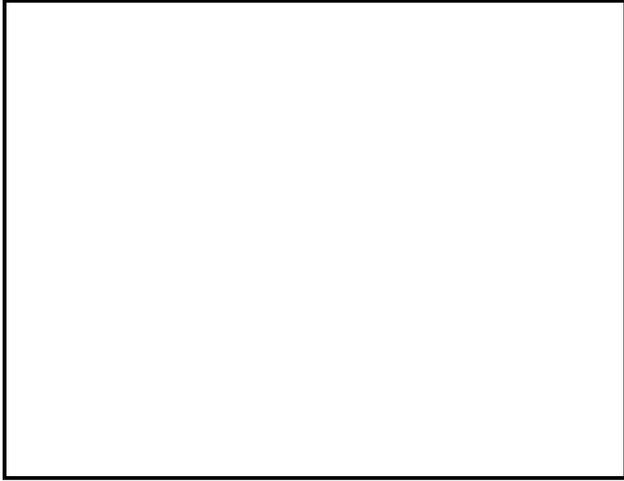


Figure 75. Micromosaic snuffbox of the Pantheon without belfries, end of eighteenth/beginning of the nineteenth century. 36x55 cm. Savelli Collection, Rome, Inv. Ve.R.a. 33/149. (Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 39).

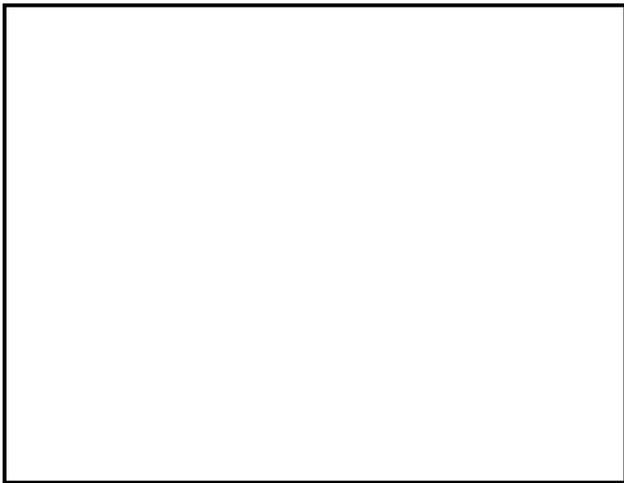


Figure 76. Micromosaic plaque of the Pantheon without belfries, late eighteenth century, 4x6.5 cm. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, fig 264).

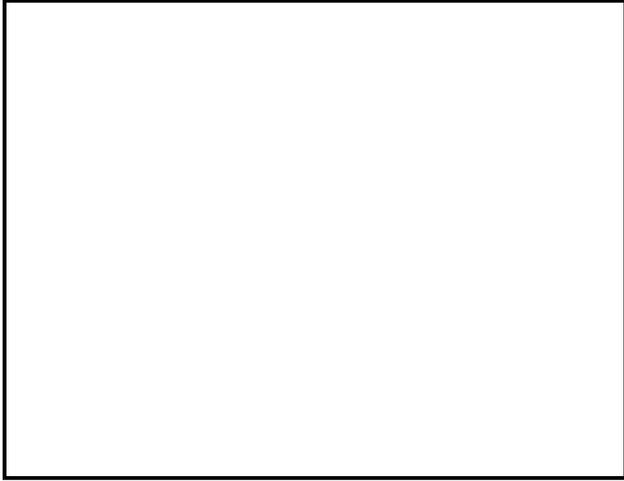


Figure 77. Micromosaic snuffbox of the Pantheon without belfries, 1815-1820, 3.7x5.5 cm. Private collection, Rome. (González-Palacios, *Una raccolta*, 38, n. 73).

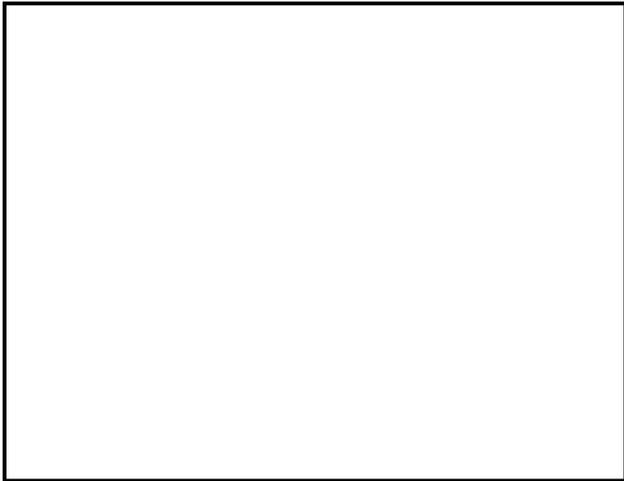


Figure 78. Micromosaic plaque of the Pantheon without belfries given to Sir William Drummond in 1827, 5x7.5 cm. Private collection, Rome. (González-Palacios, *Una raccolta*, 38, n.40).

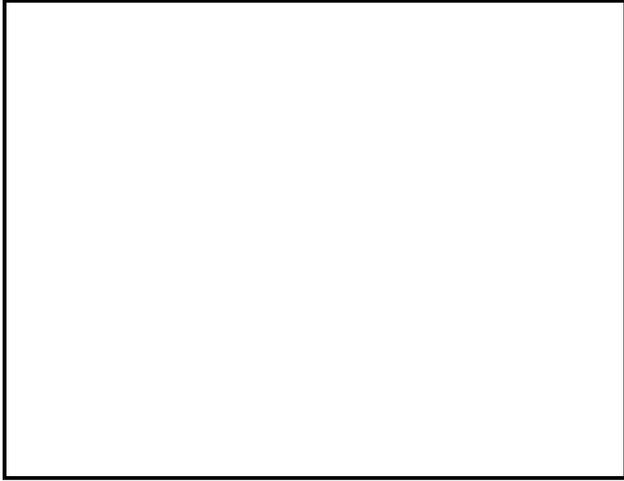


Figure 79. Gianbattista Piranesi, print, the Pantheon from *Il Campo Marzio*, 1762. (Fagiolo, “Roma quanta,” fig. 7).

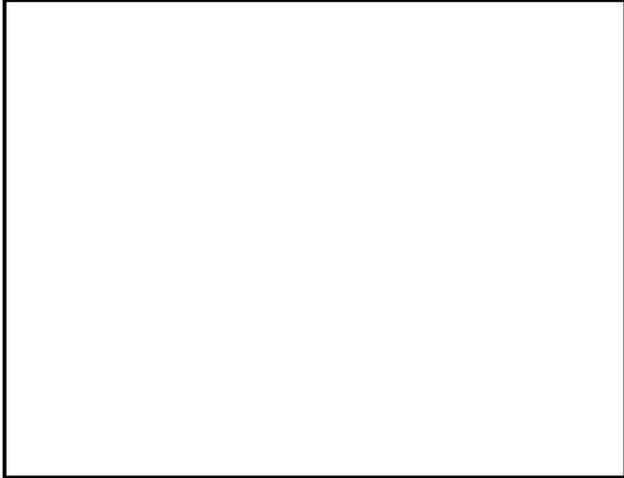


Figure 80. Domenico De Rossi, print, Marcus Aurelius equestrian statue, eighteenth century. (Maffei, *Raccolta*, pl. XIV).

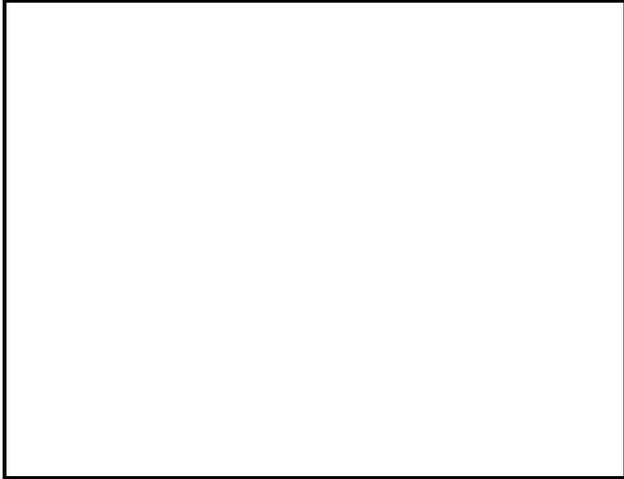


Figure 81. Bronze statuette of Marcus Aurelius, nineteenth century. (Christie's South Kensington Ltd, *Antiquities and Souvenirs of the Grand Tour*, Wednesday 27 October 1993, no. 271).

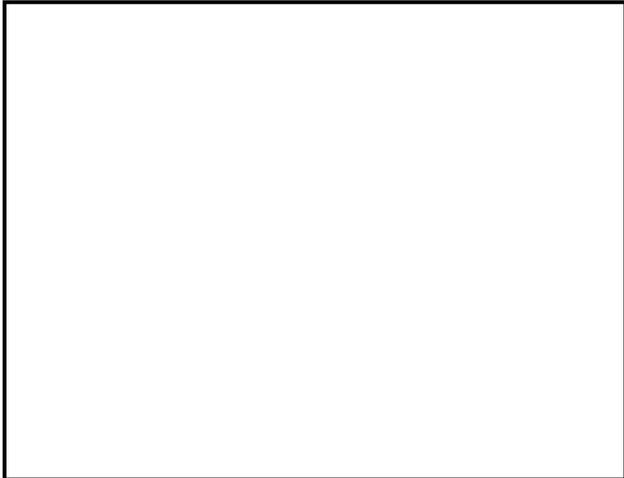


Figure 82. Gem with Marcus Aurelius equestrian statue. (Stefanelli, *La collezione*, tomo ottavo, no. 75).

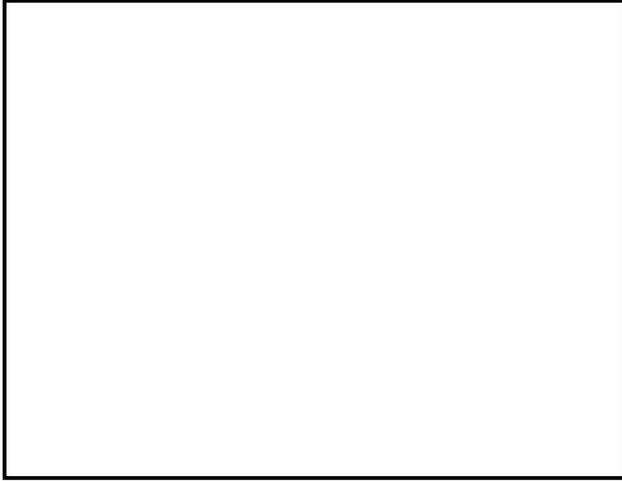


Figure 83. Tommaso Cuccioni, photograph of the Marcus Aurelius equestrian statue, 1850s. J. Paul Getty Museum, Inv. 84.XM.636.2. (The J. Paul Getty Museum, accessed January 30, 2017, <http://www.getty.edu/art/collection/objects/59719/tommaso-cuccioni-equestrian-statue-of-marcus-aurelius-rome-italian-1850-1859/>).

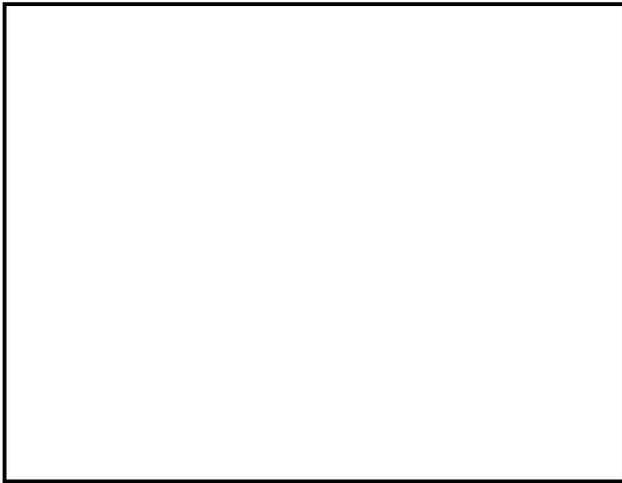


Figure 84. Real Fabbrica Ferdinanda, cup with Marcus Aurelius equestrian statue, 1784-1788. Raccolta Mario Carignani di Novli, Napoli. (Caròla-Perrotti, *Le porcellane*, no. 316).



Figure 85. Micromosaic plaque of the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, 6.1x4.3 cm. Private Collection, Rome. (Alfieri, Branchetti, and Cornini, *Mosaici minuti*, 117, fig. 94).

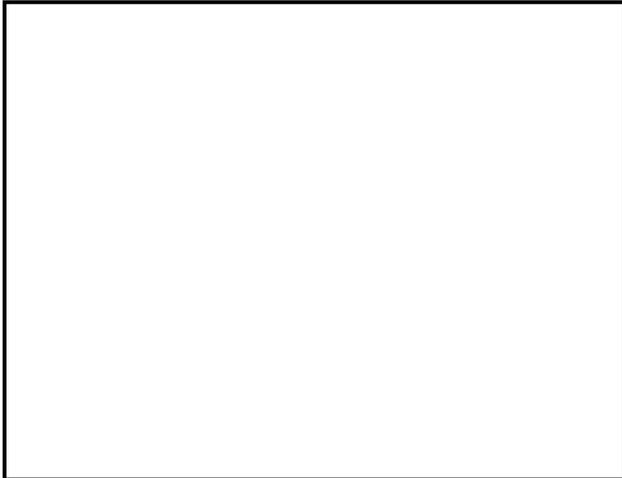


Figure 86. Micromosaic pendant of the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, 1810, 5 cm. wide. Christie's, Sale 7969, Lot 234, accessed February 19, 2017, <http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot/an-italian-micromosaic-plaque-rome-circa-1810-5440248-details.aspx?from=searchresults&intObjectID=5440248&sid=11f2d08a-c8b7-47c1-8c16-1eed36522023>).



Figure 87. Micromosaic plaque of the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, late eighteenth/early nineteenth century, 6x4 cm. (González-Palacios, *Fasto romano*, LXXVI. Fig. 209).

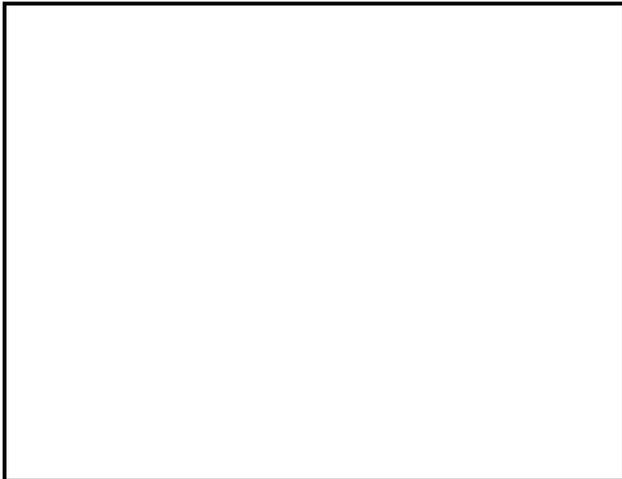


Figure 88. Claude Lorrain, *Ideal View of Tivoli*, 1644. New Orleans Museum of Art. (Wikimedia Commons, accessed January 31, 2017, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:NOMA-Ideal-View-of-Tivoli.jpg>).

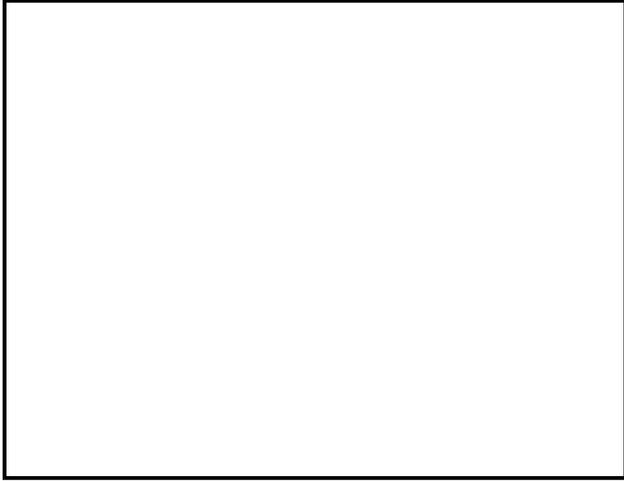


Figure 89. Gianbattista Piranesi, print, *Altra Veduta del Tempio della Sibilla in Tivoli* from *Vedute di Roma*, eighteenth century. (Wikimedia Commons, accessed January 31, 2017, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Piranesi-17056.jpg>).

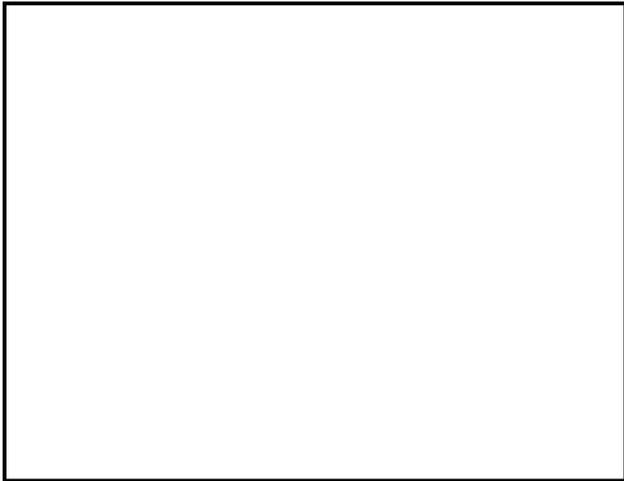


Figure 90. Pietro Bartolozzi, fan depicting the Temple of the Sibyl, 1793. Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome, Inv. Praz Sala Biblioteche n. 445/B. (Landini, *Ventagli*, no. 59).

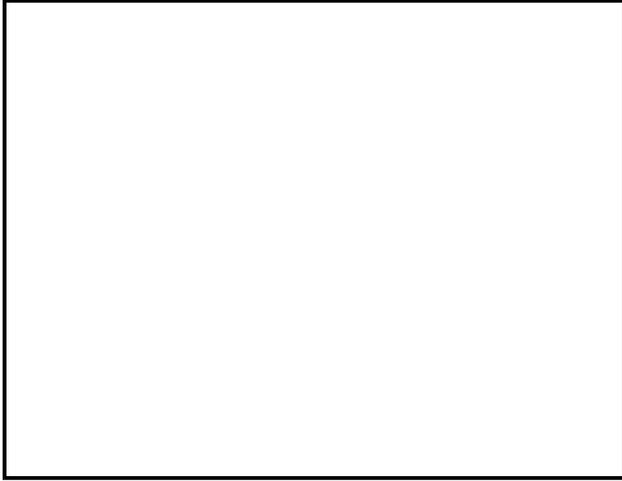


Figure 91. Antonio Chichi, cork model of the Temple of the Sibyl, eighteenth century. Landesmuseum in Darmstadt and Kassel. (Büttner, "Korkmodelle," n. 14).

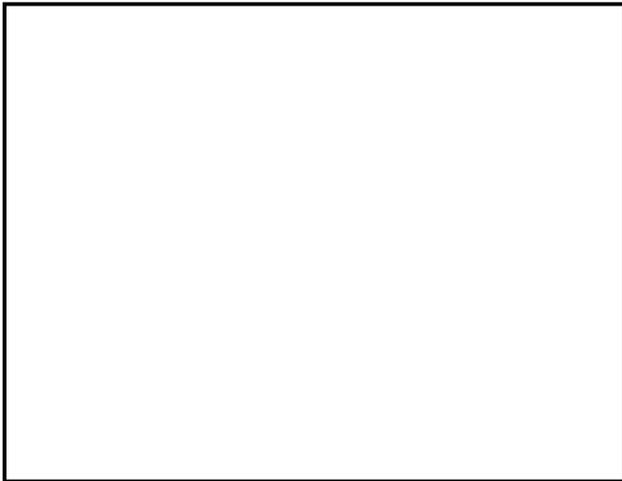


Figure 92. G. Altieri, cork model of the entire acropolis of Tivoli complete with the Temple of the Sibyl, its adjacent Temple of Vesta, and surrounding buildings, late eighteenth century. Drottningholm Palace in Stockholm, NM Drh Sk 262. (Kockel, *Phelloplastica*, Tav. I: 3).

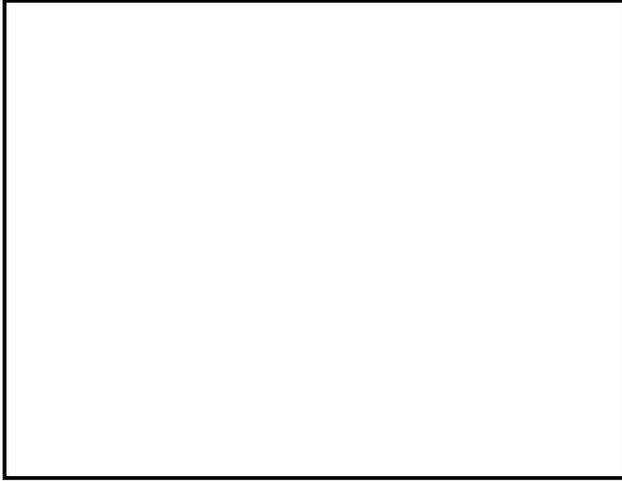


Figure 93. Postcard of the Temple of Sibyl, 1880. (de los Llanos, "La fortune," fig. 2).

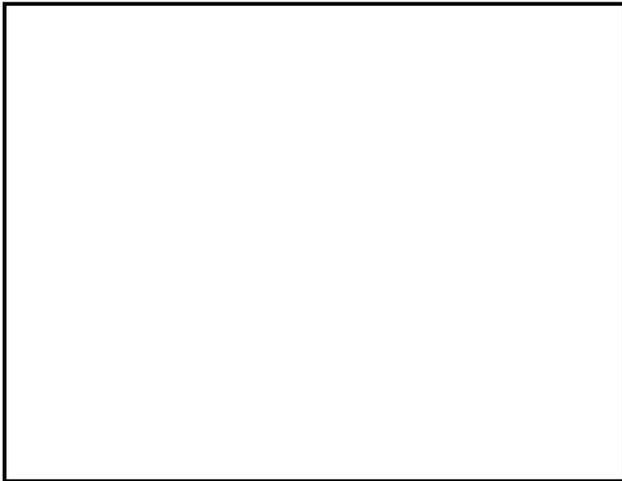


Figure 94. Micromosaic plaque of Temple of the Sibyl, beginning of the nineteenth century, 6.5x4.4 cm. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 87).



Figure 95. Micromosaic snuffbox of the Temple of Sibyl, 180-1815, 11.4x9.6 cm. Gilbert collection, London, Inv. 1996.357. (Gabriel, *Micromosaics*, fig. 130).

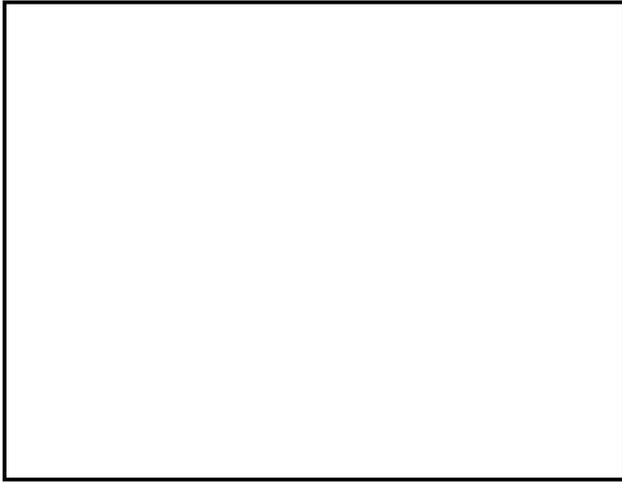


Figure 96. Micromosaic snuffbox of the Temple of Sibyl, beginning of the nineteenth century, 4.6x7.2 cm. Savelli collection, Rome, Inv. Ve. T 03.204. (Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 47).

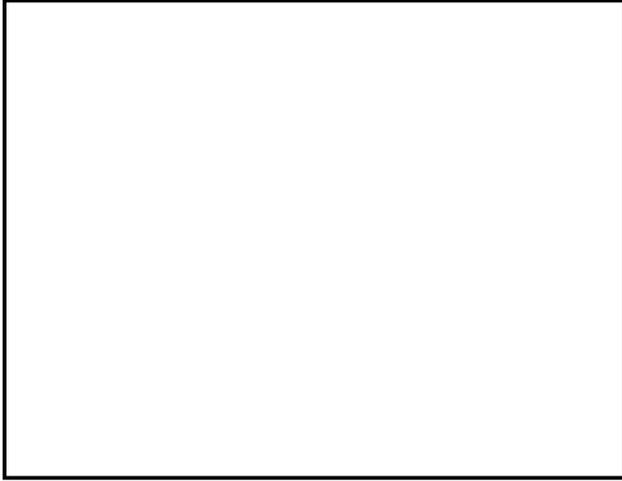


Figure 97. Antonio Aguatti, micromosaic plaque (later mounted as a brooch) of Temple of Sibyl, early nineteenth century, 5.8 cm. wide. Private collection, Rome. (Christie's South Kensington Ltd, *Centuries of Style*, 104).

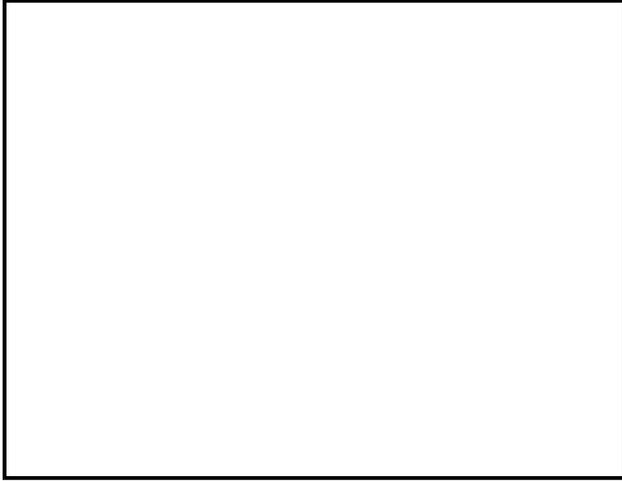


Figure 98. Micromosaic small picture of Temple of the Sibyl, 1800-1825, 17.8x24.5 cm. Gilbert Collection, London, Inv. 1996.320. (Victoria & Albert, accessed January 31, 2017, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O157760/picture-unknown/>).

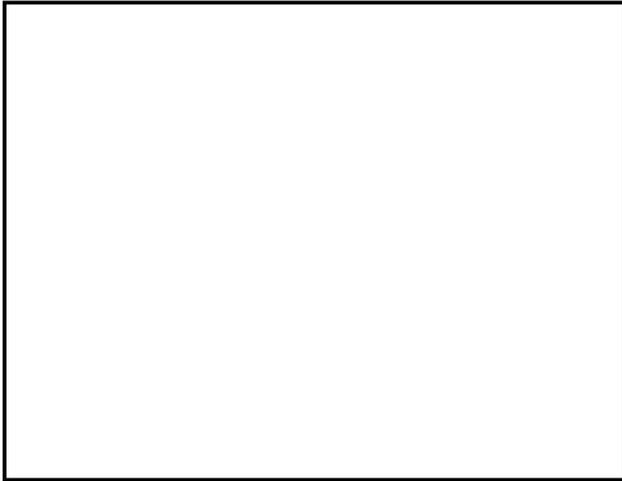


Figure 99. Micromosaic box of Temple of the Sibyl, early nineteenth century, 4x6.5 cm. Private Collection, Rome. (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 98).

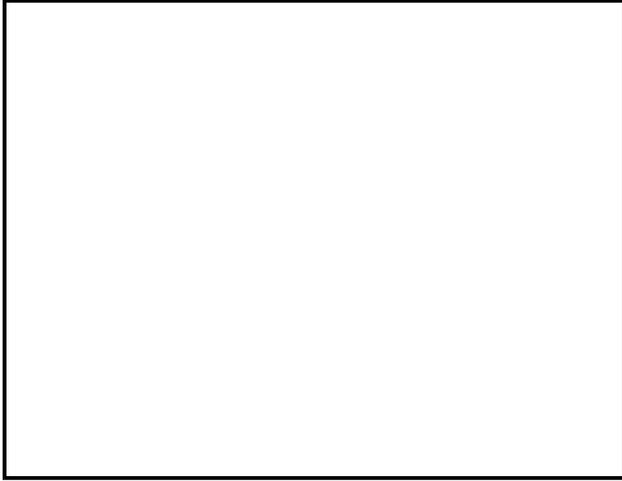


Figure 100. Elisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, *Portrait der Madame de Staël als Corinne*, 1808-9. Les Musées d'art et d'histoire de Genève. (Artstor).

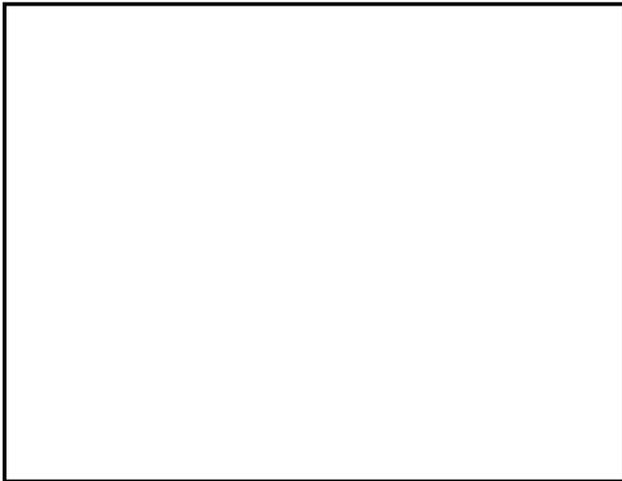


Figure 101. Micromosaic plaque of the Temple of Sibyl with a view towards the west with only partial view of the cascades, early nineteenth century, 7 cm. diam. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 118).

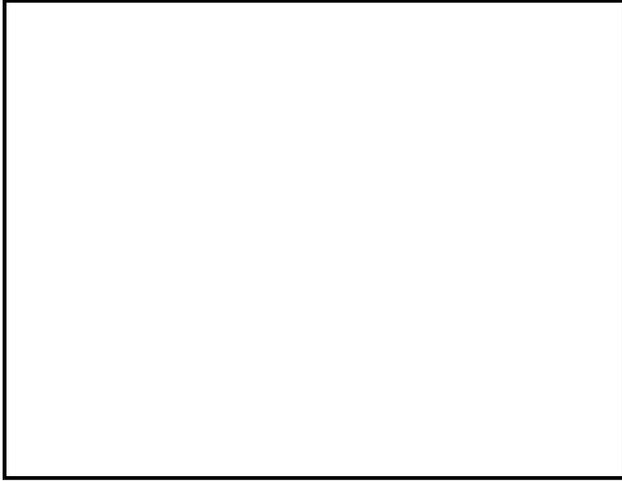


Figure 102. Giacomo Raffaelli, micromosaic picture of Temple of the Sibyl with cascades crashing down, late eighteenth century, 50x48 cm. Hermitage Museum. (Alfieri, Branchetti, and Cornini, *Mosaici minuti*, fig. 8).

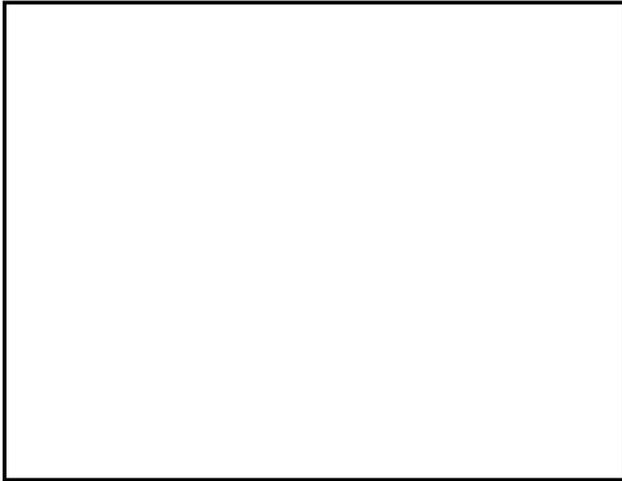


Figure 103. Micromosaic snuffbox of the Grotto of Neptune in Tivoli, last quarter of the eighteenth century, 8 cm. Savelli Collection, Rome, Inv. Ve. T. 08/209. (Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 41).

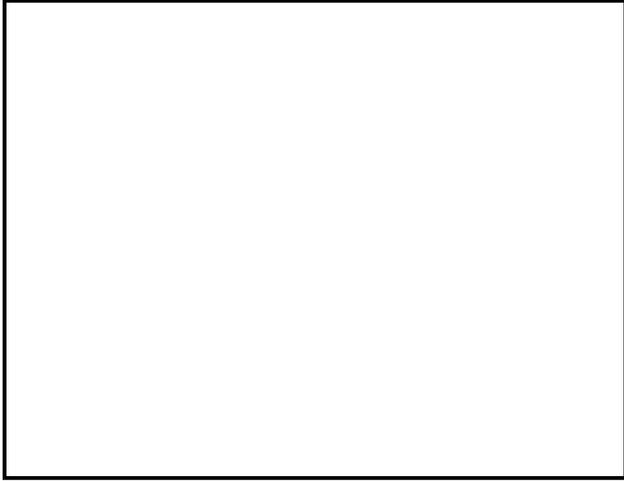


Figure 104. Micromosaic picture of the Temple of the Sibyl, second half of the nineteenth century, 26x19 cm. Private Collection, Rome. (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 152).

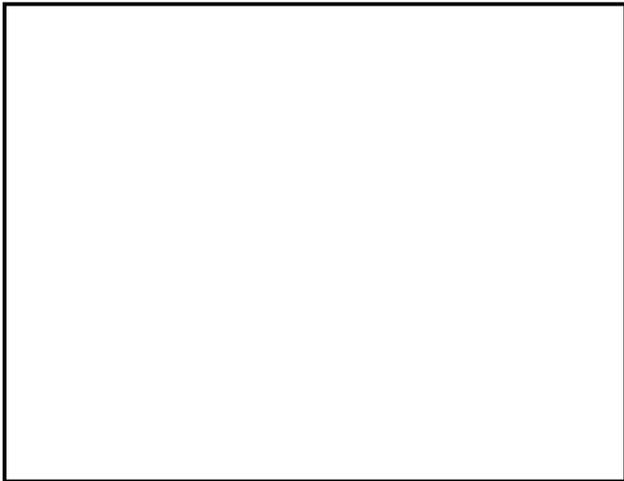


Figure 105. Biago Barzotti, micromosaic picture of the Temple of the Sibyl, end of the nineteenth century, 25x33 cm. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, fig. 353).

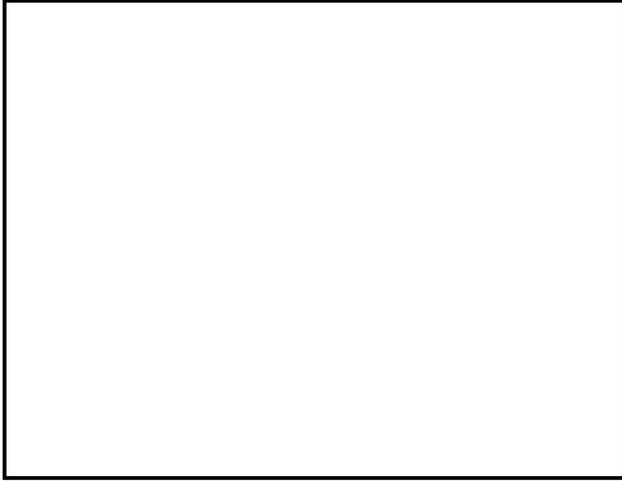


Figure 106. Doves of Pliny Mosaic from Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli, second century CE mosaic after second century BCE mosaic by Sosus of Pergamon. Capitoline Museum, MC0402. (Musei Capitolini, "Hall of the Doves," accessed October 8, 2015 [http://en.museicapitolini.org/collezioni/percorsi\\_per\\_sale/palazzo\\_nuovo/sala\\_delle\\_colombe/mosaico\\_delle\\_colombe](http://en.museicapitolini.org/collezioni/percorsi_per_sale/palazzo_nuovo/sala_delle_colombe/mosaico_delle_colombe)).

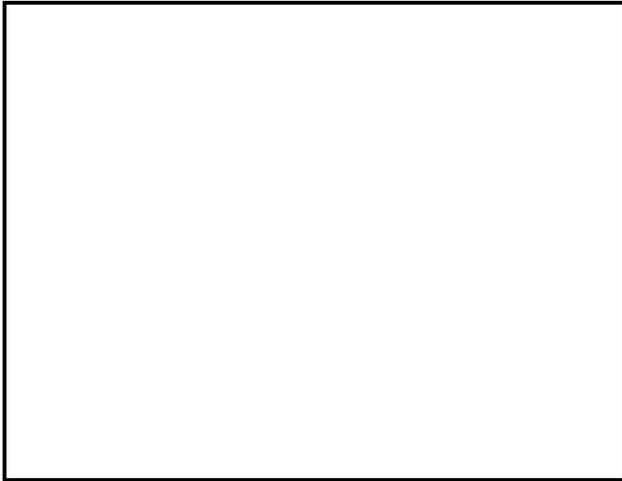


Figure 107. Engraving of the Doves of Pliny Mosaic in Furietti's *De Musivis ad SS Patrem Benedictum XIV*, eighteenth century (The New York Public Library, The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Art & Architecture Collection, "Mosaic of birds drinking from basin," accessed October 8, 2016, <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e3-0676-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99>).

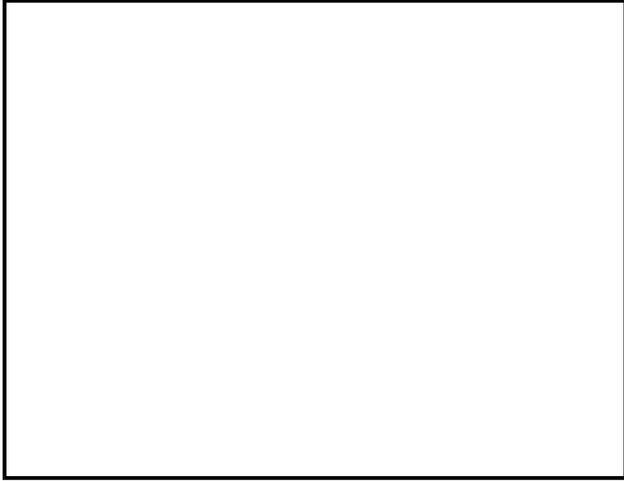


Figure 108. Image of the cornice of Doves of Pliny Mosaic given to Comte de Caylus. (Slavazzi, "I mosaici," fig. 2).

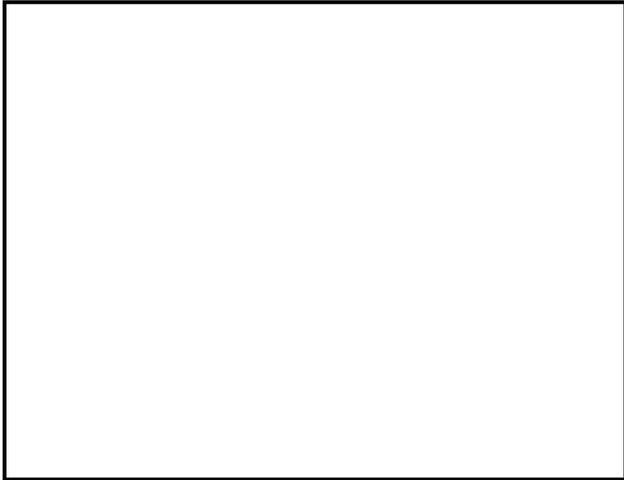


Figure 109. Engraving of the Doves of Pliny Mosaic in Furietti's *De Musivis ad SS Patrem Benedictum XIV*, eighteenth century. (The New York Public Library, The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, Prints and Photographs: Art & Architecture Collection, "Examples of mosaic patterns," accessed October 15, 2016, <http://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/510d47e3-0679-a3d9-e040-e00a18064a99>).

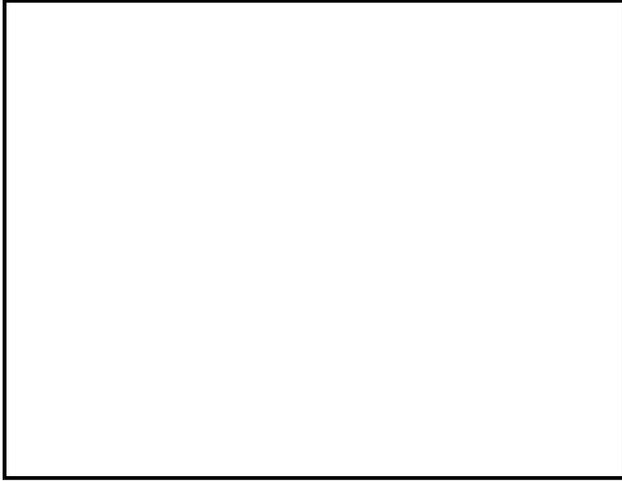


Figure 110. Giacomo Raffaelli, micromosaic brooch of Doves of Pliny, 1779, 5.5 cm. diam. British Museum. (Gabriel, *The Gilbert Collection*, fig. 4).

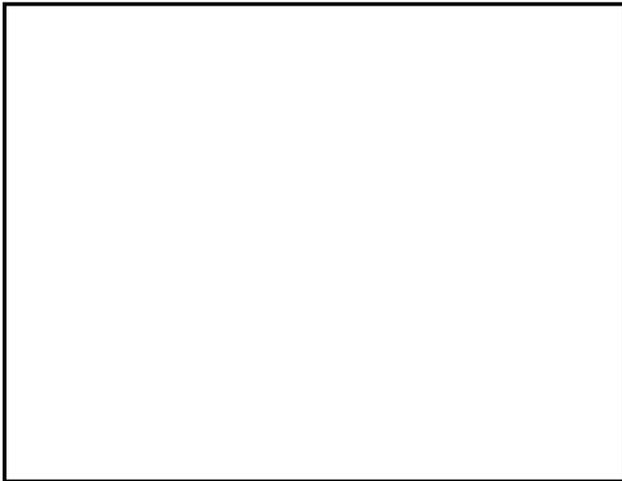


Figure 111. Giacomo Raffaelli, micromosaic plaque of Doves of Pliny, 1798, 6 cm. diam. Savelli collection, Rome, Inv. Sc. A 11/236. (Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 19).

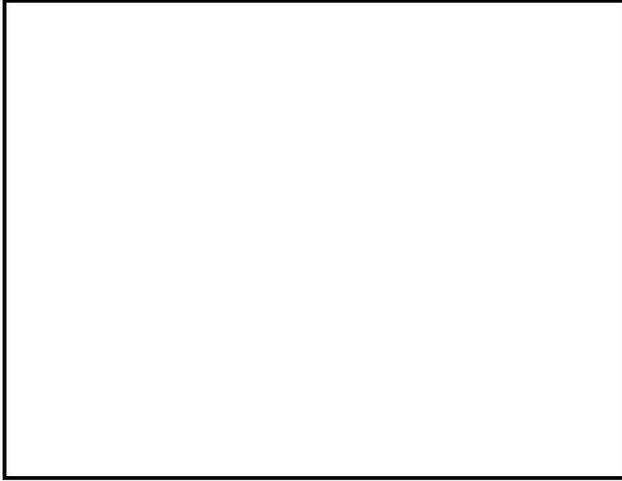


Figure 112. Doves of Pliny engraving in Fausto Amidei's *Roma antica distinta per ragioni*, 1741. (Amidei, *Roma antica*, pl. 63).

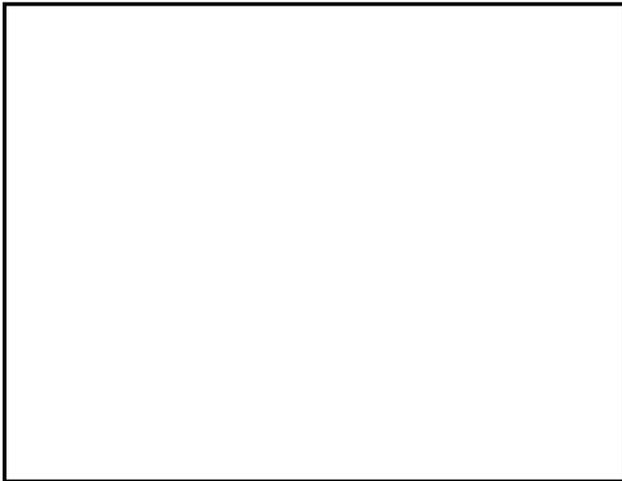


Figure 113. Micromosaic plaque of Doves of Pliny with bird's reflection in the water, first half of the nineteenth century, 18x23 cm. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 155).

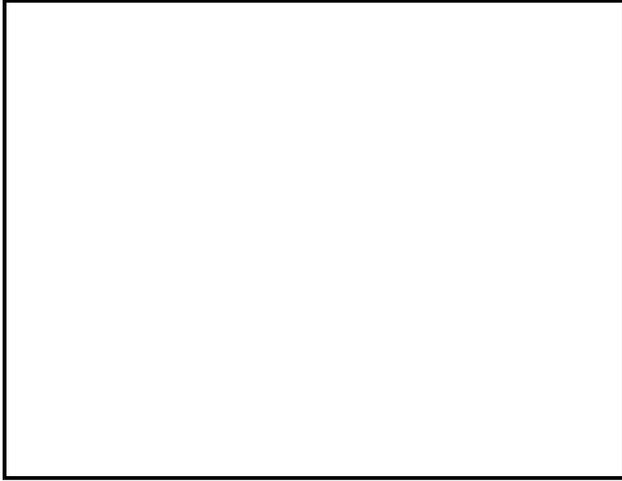


Figure 114. Doves of Pliny micromosaic picture with feathers, nineteenth century, 41x49.5 cm. Private collection. (Sotheby's, accessed January 31, 2017, <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2013/19th-century-furniture-n09021/lot.253.html>).

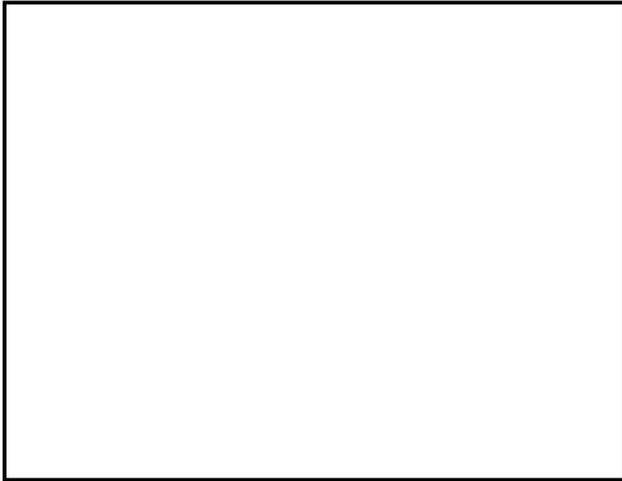


Figure 115. Micromosaic picture of Doves of Pliny with feathers and seeds, first half of the nineteenth century, 19x26 cm. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, fig. 373).



Figure 116. Unswept Floor Mosaic after Sosus of Pergamon, second century CE. Vatican Museums, Inv. 10132. (Werner, *Die Sammlung*, 263).

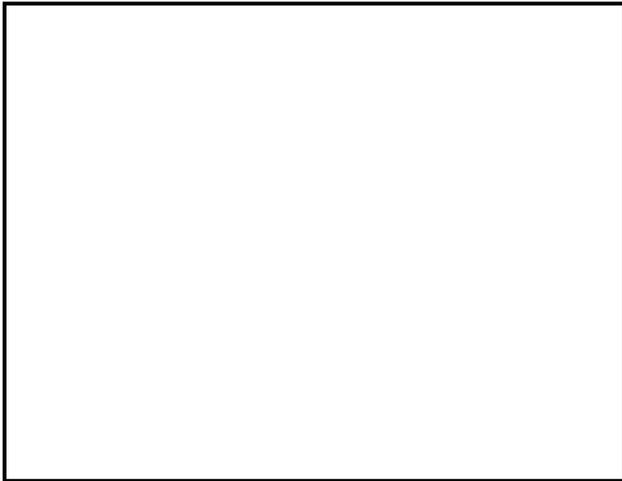


Figure 117. Tapestry with both the Doves of Pliny and unswept floor mosaic after Sosus of Pergamon, 1851-1863. Vatican Museums, Inv. 43799. (DeStrobel, "L'arazzeria," fig. 14).

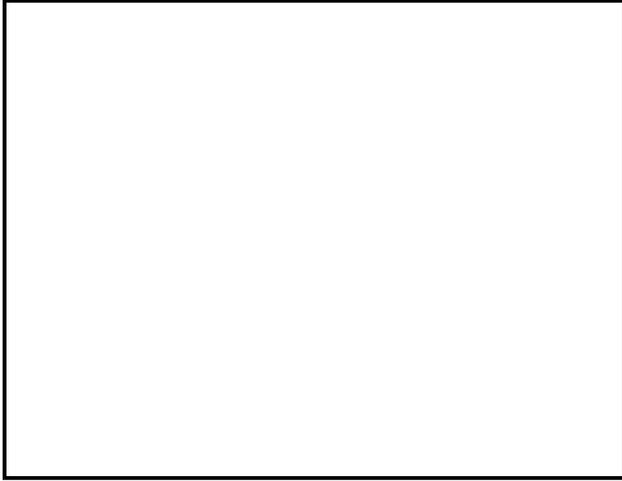


Figure 118. Doves of Pliny micromosaic picture, mid-nineteenth century, 20x30 cm. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, fig. 399).

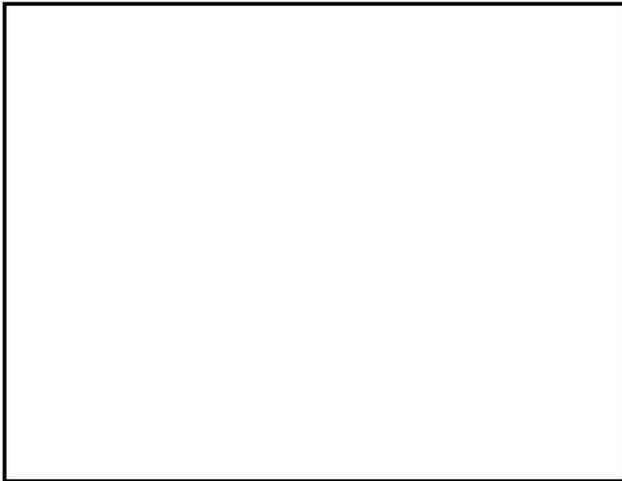


Figure 119. Micromosaic paperweight of Doves of Pliny, second half of nineteenth century. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, fig. 332).

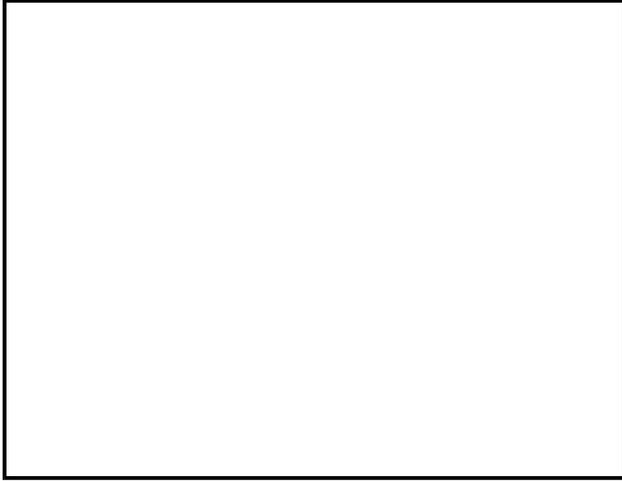


Figure 120. Micromosaic plaque with Doves of Pliny and passage from Pliny's *Natural History*, 1800-25, 14.9x16.3 cm. Gilbert collection, London, Inv. 1996.261. (Victoria & Albert Museum, accessed January 31, 2017, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O156400/plaque-unknown/#>).

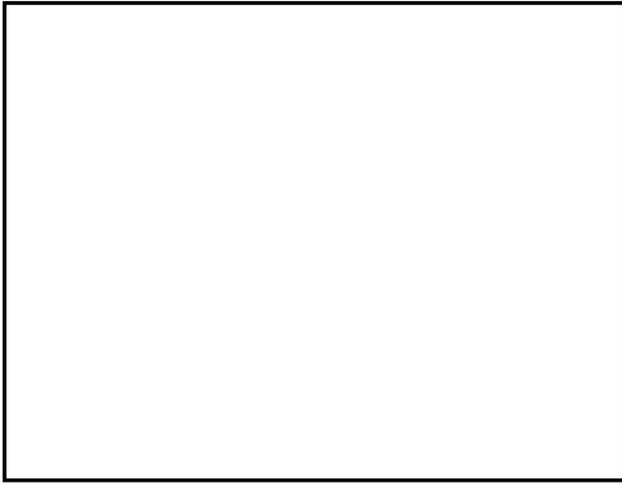


Figure 121. Mosaic of Basket of Flowers, second century CE. Musei Vaticani, Inv. 45746. (Photo by author).

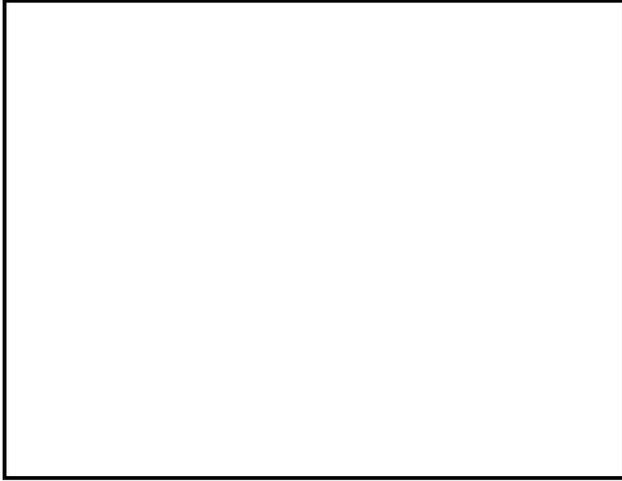


Figure 122. Balthasar van der Ast, *Basket of Flowers*, 1622. National Gallery. (Wikimedia Commons, accessed January 31, 2017, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Balthasar\\_van\\_der\\_Ast#/media/File:Basket-flowers-1622.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Balthasar_van_der_Ast#/media/File:Basket-flowers-1622.jpg)).

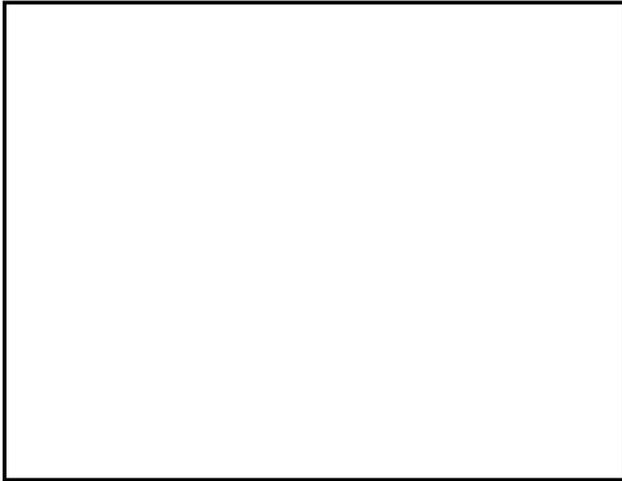


Figure 123. Jan Van Huysum, *Roses and Other Flowers in an Open-weave Basket*, 1733. Private collection. Sotheby's Lot 298, January 30, 2013. (Sotheby's, accessed January 31, 2017, <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2013/old-master-drawings-n08951/lot.298.html>).

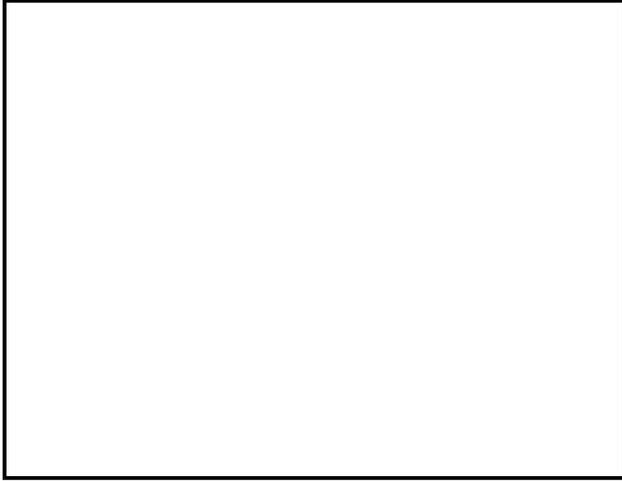


Figure 124. Micromosaic of a necklace with baskets of flowers and the Doves of Pliny at the center (composition is mirror reversed, problem in imaging), first half of the nineteenth century. 38 cm. in length. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 74).

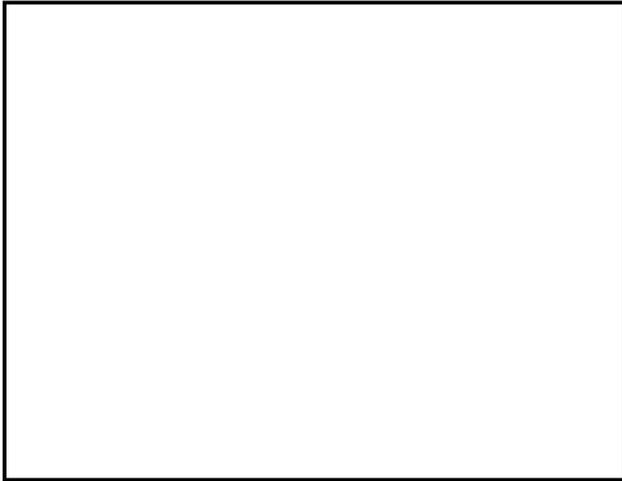


Figure 125. Micromosaic plaque of a basket of flowers, ca. 1830, 8x 5.8 cm. Musei Vaticani, Inv. 53131. (Cornini, "La collezione," fig. 33).

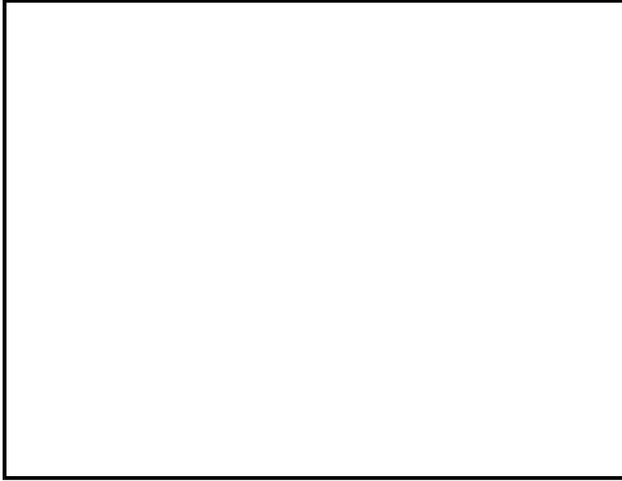


Figure 126. Micromosaic snuffbox of a basket of flowers, first half of the nineteenth century, 5x7 cm. Savelli Collection, Rome, Inv. Fi 02/23An. 06/06. (Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 47).

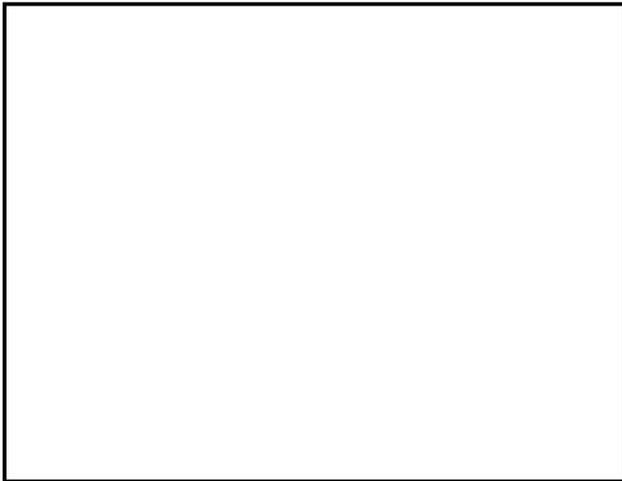


Figure 127. Micromosaic plaque of a basket of flowers, ca. 1830, 5x7.5 cm. Gilbert Collection, London, Inv. 1996.246. (Gabriel, *The Gilbert Collection*, fig. 157).

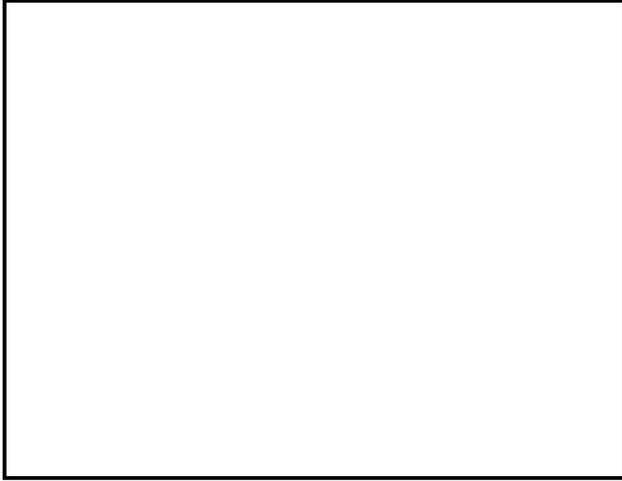


Figure 128. Micromosaic plaque of a basket of flowers with birds and nest, first or second quarter of the nineteenth century, 12x16 cm. Savelli Collection, Rome, Inv. Fi. a. 01/38. (Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 110).

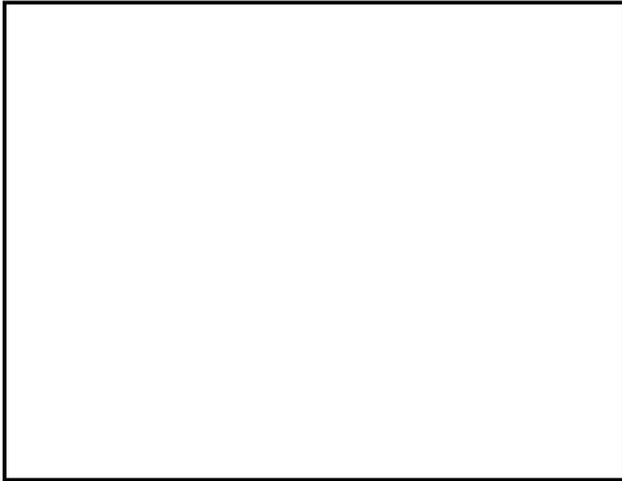


Figure 129. Micromosaic snuffbox of basket of flowers with bird and butterfly, ca. 1810, 8.6x5.4 cm. Gilbert Collection, London, Inv. 1996.292. (Victoria & Albert Museum, accessed January 31, 2017, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O157078/snuffbox/>).

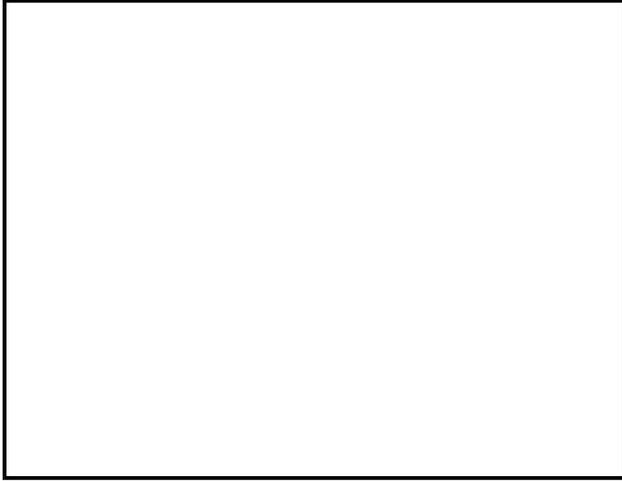


Figure 130 Jan Van Huysum, *Vase of Flowers*, 1722. The J. Paul Getty Museum, Inv. 82.PB.70. (Artstor).

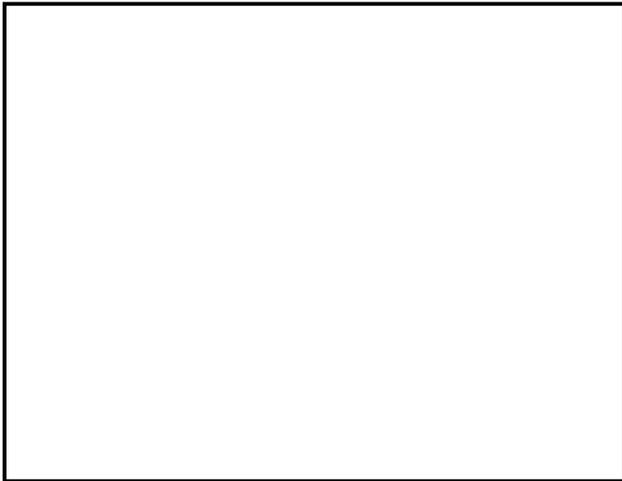


Figure 131. Micromosaic picture of a basket of flowers with bird and grapes, third quarter of the nineteenth century, 25x35 cm, Savelli Collection, Rome, Inv. Fi. a. 02/39. (Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 111).

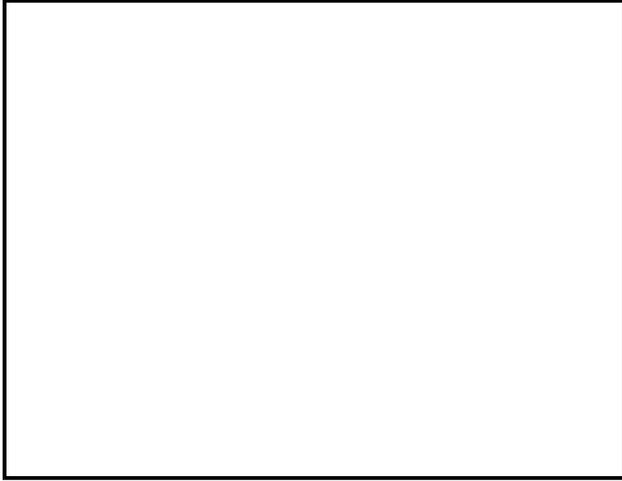


Figure 132. Micromosaic picture of a basket of flowers with fruit, birds, insect, and fish, ca. 1850, 57.4x43.2 cm. Gilbert collection, London, Inv. 1996.183. (Gabriel, *The Gilbert Collection*, fig. 89).

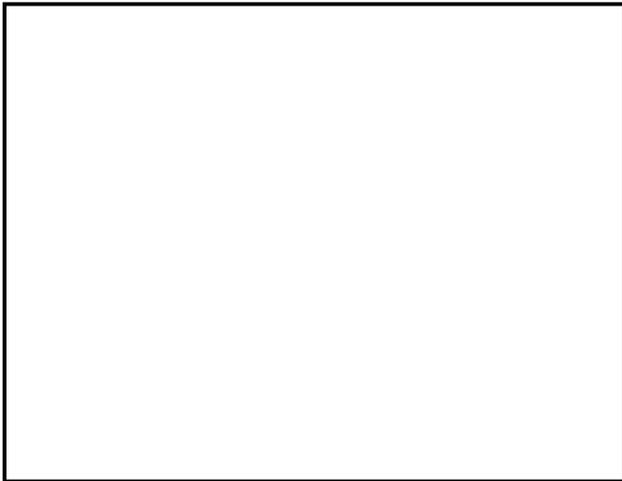


Figure 133. Micromosaic picture of a vase of flowers, ca. 1870, 83.8x61 cm. Gilbert collection, London, Inv. 1996.282. (Victoria & Albert Museum, accessed January 31, 2017, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O157737/picture-unknown/>).

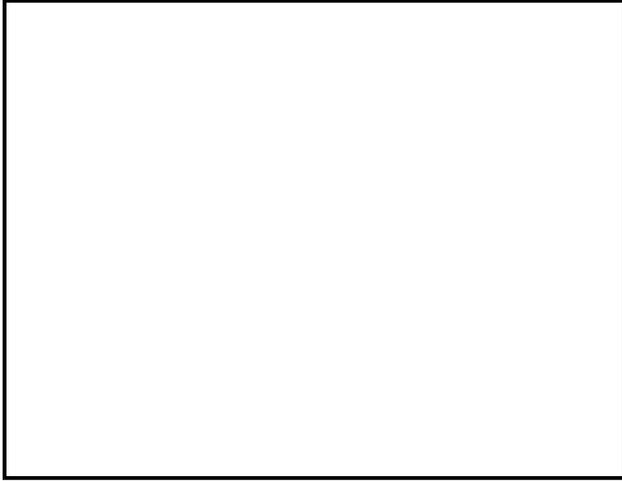


Figure 134. Georgius Jacobus Johannes van Os, *Still Life with Flowers in a Greek Vase: Allegory of Spring*, 1817. Rijks Museum in Amsterdam. (Rijks Museum, accessed January 30, 2017, <https://www.rijksmuseum.nl/en/collection/SK-A-1105>).

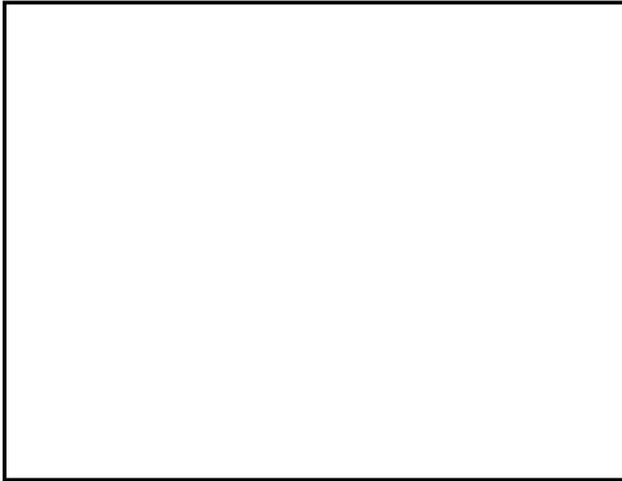


Figure 135. Micromosaic plaque with basket of flowers and two doves, first quarter of the nineteenth century, 6 cm. diam. Savelli collection, Rome, Inv. Fi. /a. 03/40. (Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*, 75).

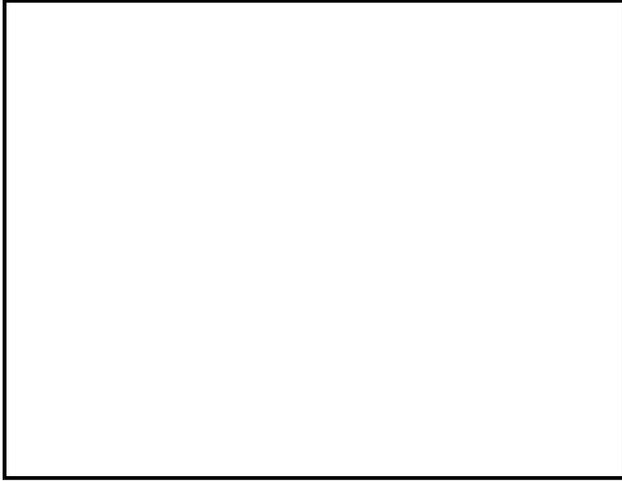


Figure 136. Micromosaic paperweight of basket of flowers with two doves, second half of the nineteenth century, 15x11 cm. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 132).

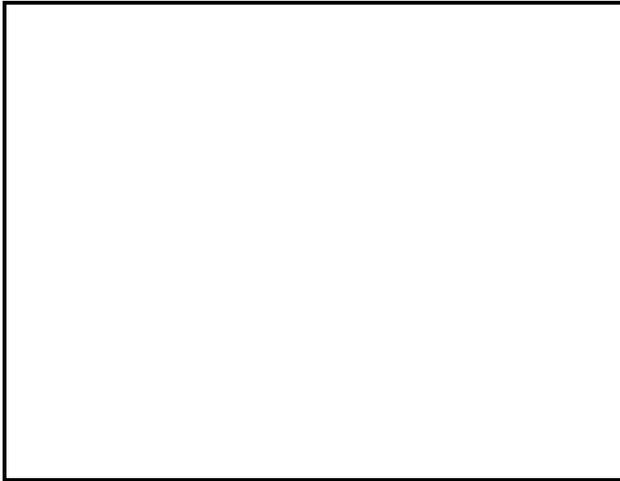


Figure 137. Aristeas and Papias of Aphrodisias, the Furietti Centaurs, second century CE. Capitoline Museum, Inv. 658 and 656. (Morawietz, "Die Kentauren," taf 15 and 35).

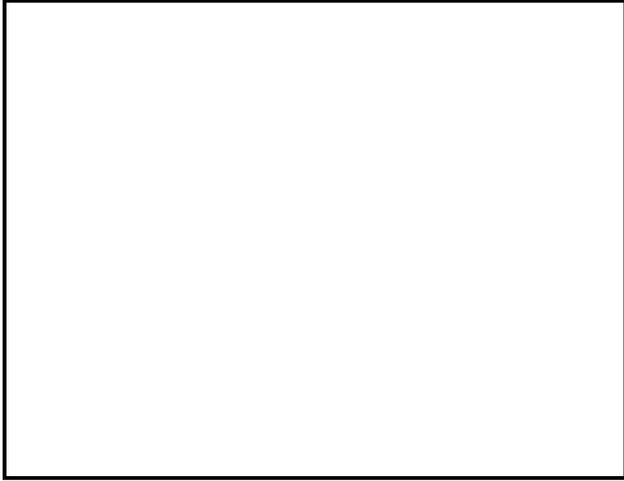


Figure 138. Borghese Centaur, ca. 130 CE. Louvre Museum, Inv. MR 122. (Colivia, *Borghese e l'antico*, 407).

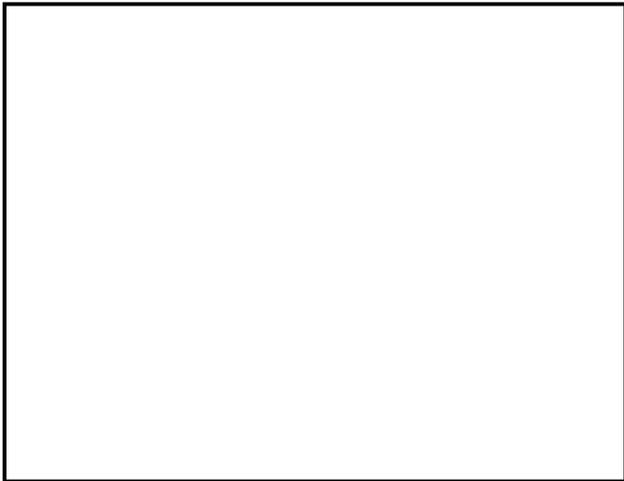


Figure 139. Sala degli Animali Centaur, first century CE. Musei Vaticani, Inv. 404. (Morawietz, "Die Kentauren," taf. 41).

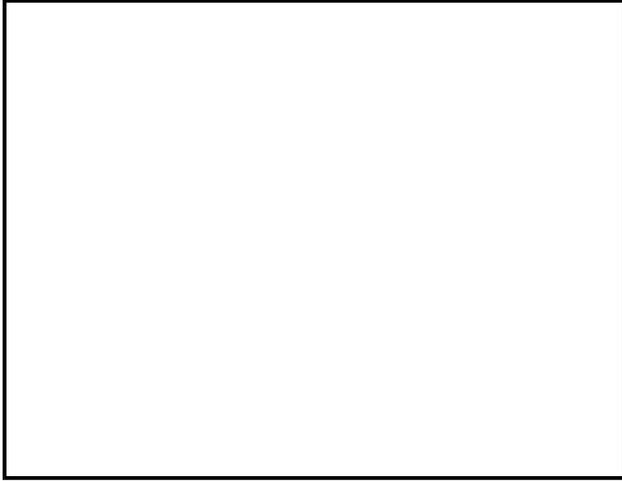


Figure 140. Micromosaic plaque of Centaur with cupid, late eighteenth century, 5.9 cm diam. Private collection, G. Ammassari, Rome. (Alfieri, Branchetti, and Cornini, *Mosaici minuti*, fig. 92).

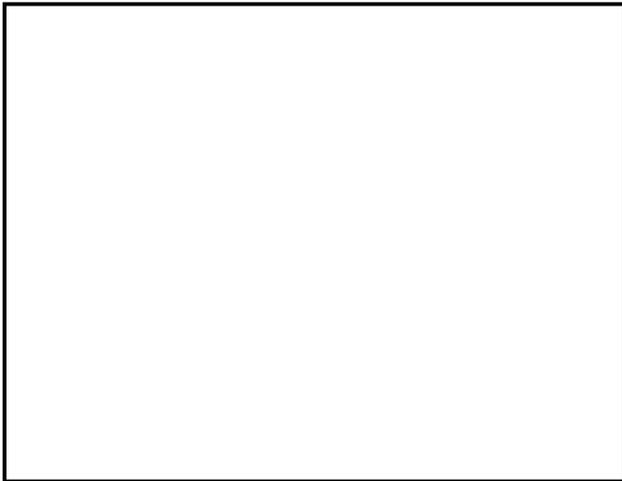


Figure 141. Micromosaic plaque of a Centaur with a Cupid, end of the eighteenth century, 5.5 cm. diam. Private Collection, Rome. (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 108).

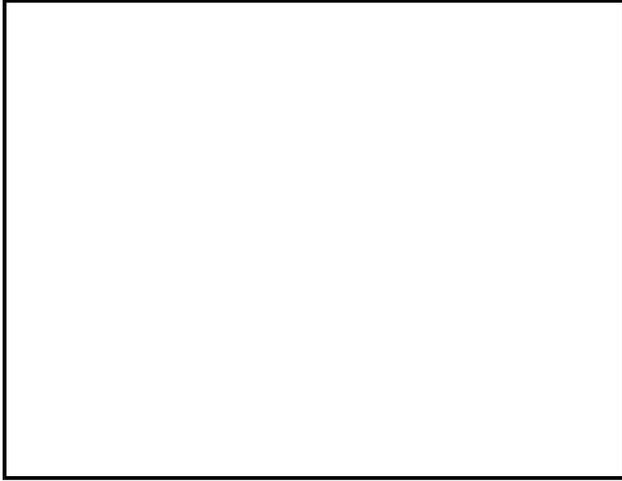


Figure 142. Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, print of the elder Furietti Centaur, in *Raccolta d'antiche statue busti bassirilievi ed altre sculture restaurate da Bartolomeo Cavaceppi scultore romano*, 1768. (Cavaceppi, *Raccolta*, Tomo 1, pl. 27).

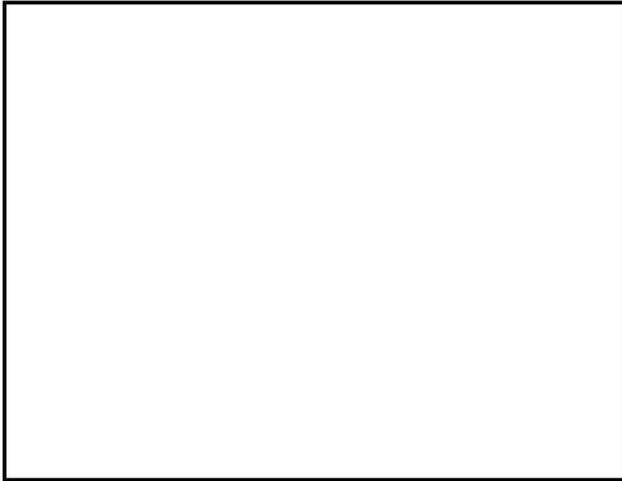


Figure 143. Nicolò Foggini, print of the elder Furietti Centaur in *Musei Capitolini*, 1782. (Foggini, *Musei*, tomo quartus, pl XXXII).

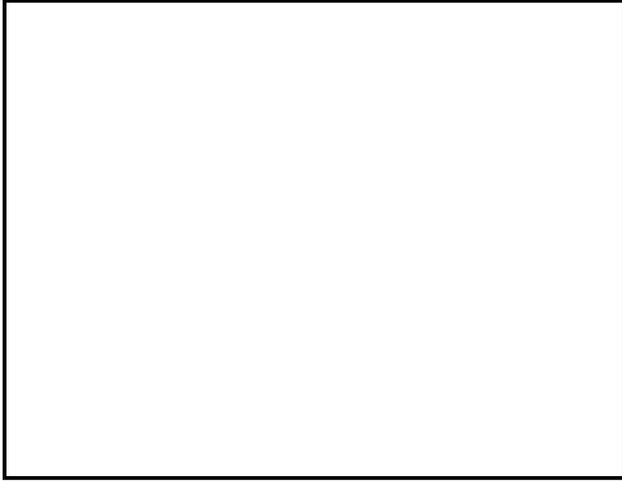


Figure 144. Gem of Paoletti that shows the two centaurs flanking the Museo Capitolino. (Stefanelli, *La collezione*, tomo ottavo Cat. 239).

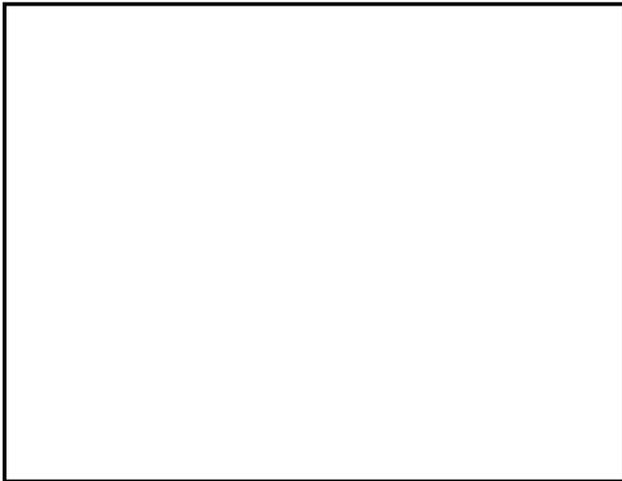


Figure 145. Francesco Righetti, bronze elder Furietti centaur, 1784. Victoria & Albert, Inv. 979-1882. (Victoria & Albert, accessed January 30, 2017, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O88461/a-centaur-statuette-righetti-francesco/>).

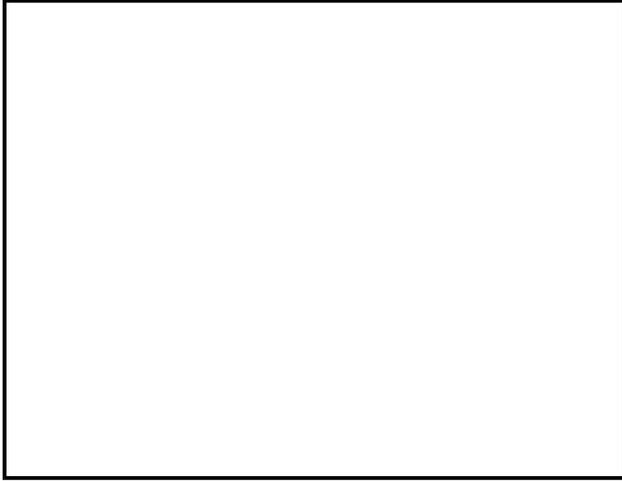


Figure 146. Bronze statuettes of the Furietti Centaurs, late eighteenth/early nineteenth century. Private collection. (Christie's South Kensington Ltd, *Antiquities and Souvenirs of the Grand Tour*, Wednesday 27 April 1994, fig. 293).

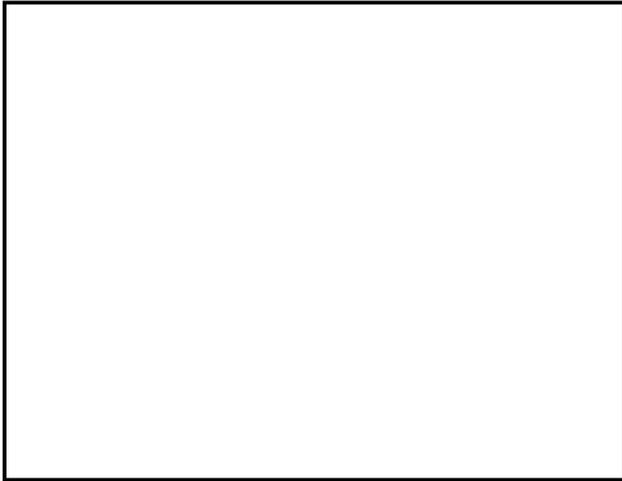


Figure 147. Paolo Alessandro Maffei, print of the Borghese Centaur in *Raccolta di statue antiche e moderne*, 1704. (Maffei, *Raccolta*, tav. LXXII).

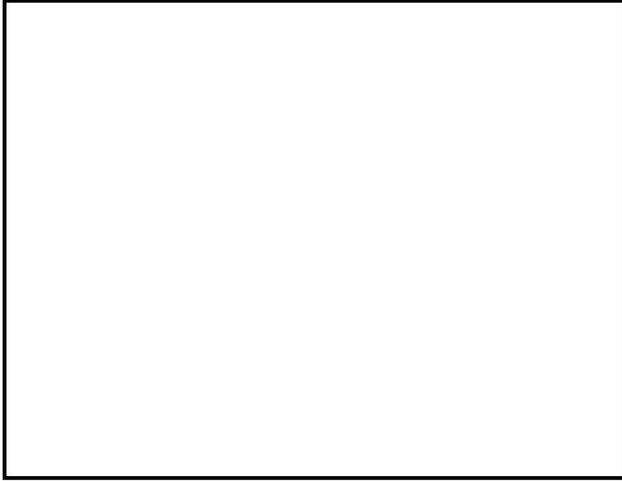


Figure 148. Filippo Taglioni of the Real Fabbrica Ferdinanda, a statuette of the Borghese Centaur, 1790-1806. Galleria Nazionali di Capodimonte, Inv. IC 14825. (Caròla-Perrotti, *Le porcellane*, fig 441b).

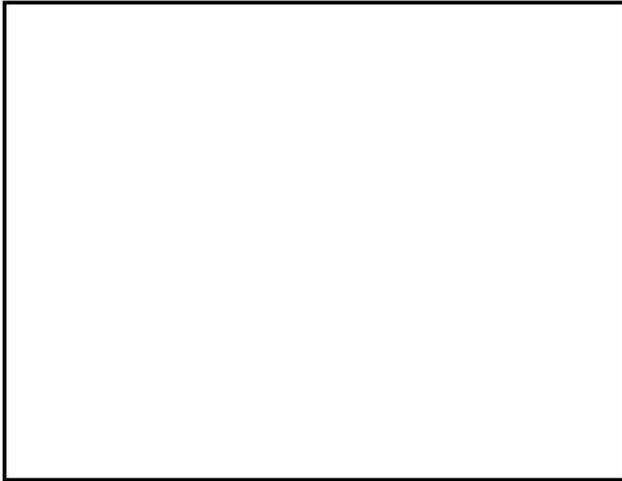


Figure 149. Bronze statuette of the Borghese Centaur, acquired by Thomas, 1<sup>st</sup> early of Macclesfield, 1772. (Christie's South Kensington Ltd, *The Macclesfield Sculpture*, December 1, 2005 fig. 77).

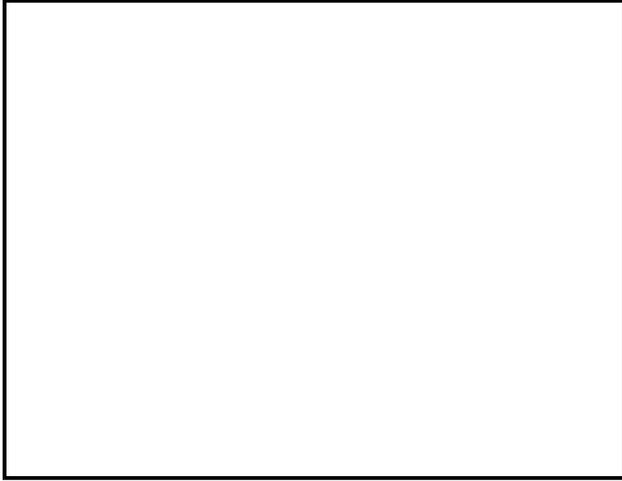


Figure 150. Giovanni Pichler, red sulphur wax impression, 1766-1771. (Tassinari, *Giovanni Pichler*, I.36).

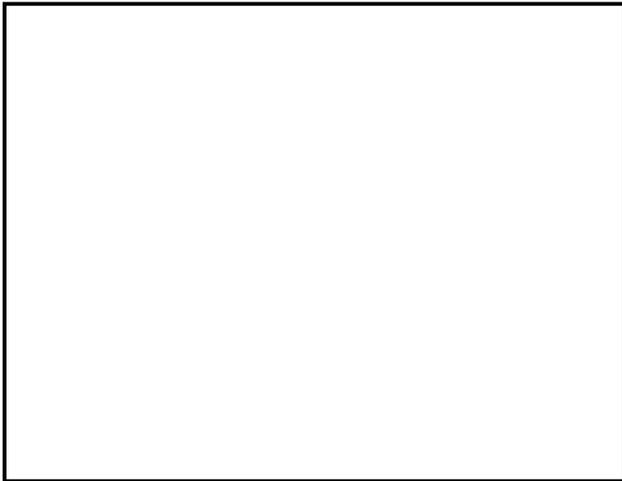


Figure 151. Paoletti, gem of Centaur and Cupid. (Stefanelli, *La collezione*, 322).



Figure 152. Giovanni Volpato, biscuit pair of the Borghese Centaur and Sala degli Animali Centaur, 1786-1803. Alberto Di Castro, Rome. (d'Agliato and Melegati, *Ricordi*, fig. 86).

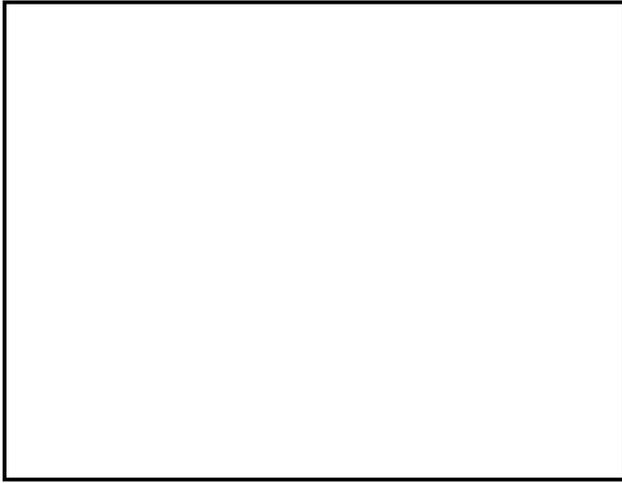


Figure 153. Alessandro Cades, gem impression of centaur. (Cades, *Impronti*, Libro 12, classe II, A, no. 533; Beazley Archive).

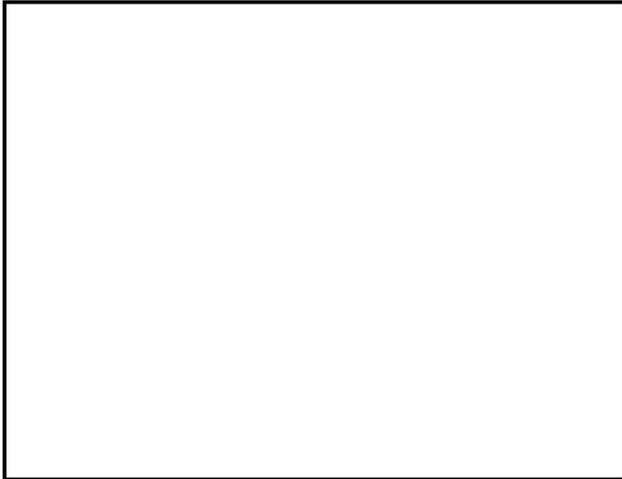


Figure 154. Gabinetto delle Maschere Mosaic as restored by Andrea Volpini, late Republican. Vatican Museums, Inv. 45762. (Werner, *Die Sammlung*, 113).

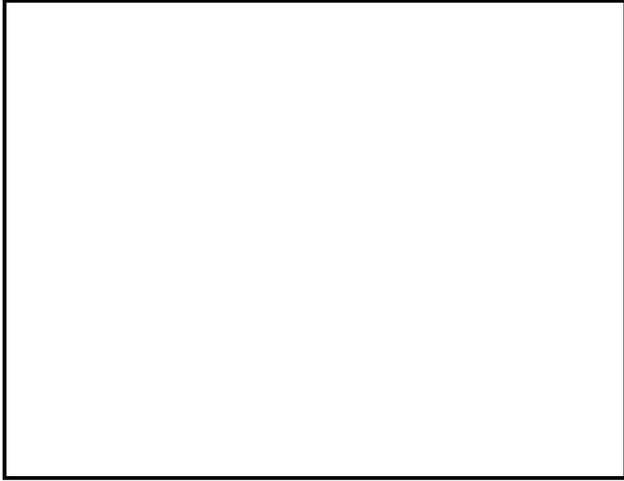


Figure 155. Agostino Penna, print of gabinetto delle maschere mosaic panel in its original context in *Viaggio pittorico della Villa Adriana*, 1806. (Penna, *Viaggio*, tav CVI).

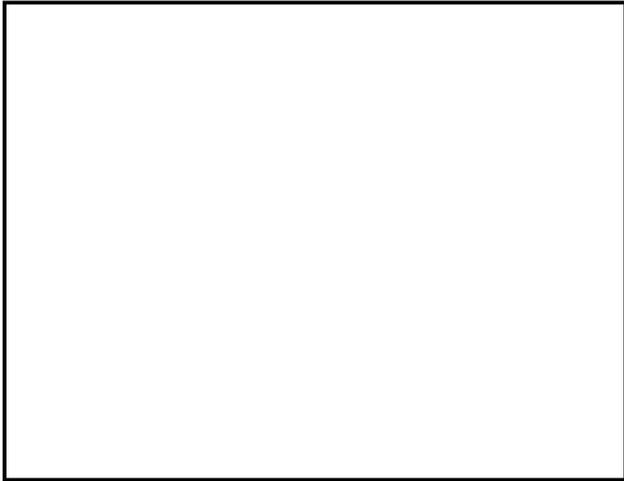


Figure 156. Micromosaic snuffbox of Gabinetto delle Maschere Mosaico, first quarter of nineteenth century, 6.5 cm. diam. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, fig 182).

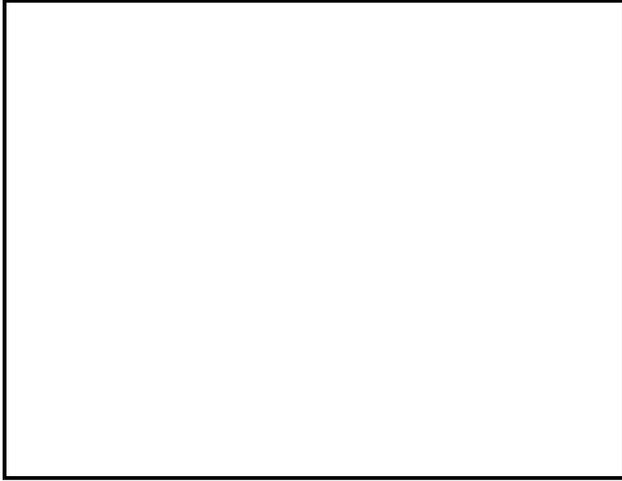


Figure 157. Micromosaic snuffbox of Gabinetto delle Maschere mosaic, first quarter of nineteenth century, 6.5 cm. diam. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, fig. 183).

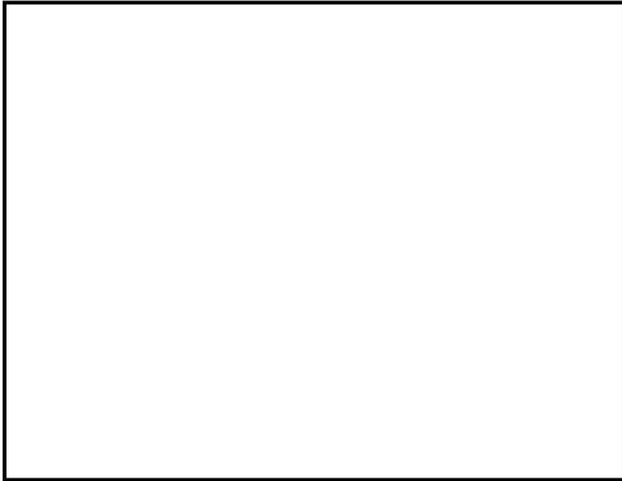


Figure 158. G. Pennacchini, Pampani micromosaic table with Gabinetto delle Maschere frieze at the Hermitage, having been given as a diplomatic gift to Tsar Nicholas I by Pope Gregory XVI, early nineteenth century. (Gosudarstvennyĭ Ėrmitazh, *West European Mosaik of the 13<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> Centuries in the Collection of the Hermitage*, (Leningrad: Sovietsky Khudozhnik, 1968), fig. 61).

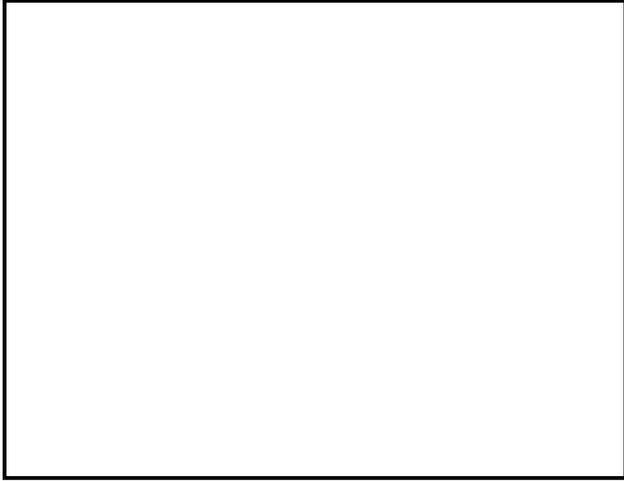


Figure 159. Thomas Rowlandson, *Don Luigi Meets Donna Anna in the Museum*. (Engelbach, *Naples*, 176).

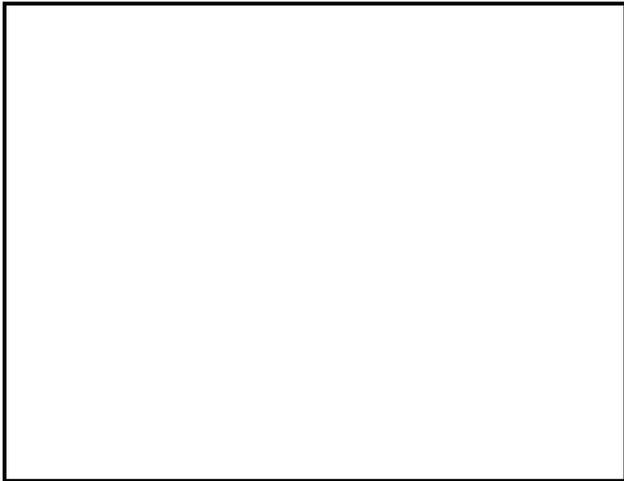


Figure 160. Herculaneum Dancers, Villa of Cicero, Pompeii, first quarter of the first century CE. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, Inv. 9295, 9297. (Osanna, Caricciolo, and Gallo, *Pompeii*, fig. 1.19).

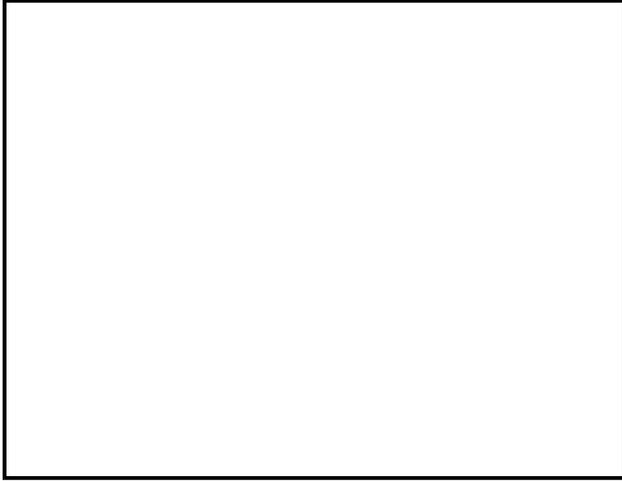


Figure 161. Micromosaic bracelet and earrings of the Herculaneum Dancer, 1860, 17.2 cm in length. (Sotheby's, Lot 206, April 26, 2008, accessed February 19, 2017, <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2008/a-celebration-of-the-english-country-house-n08435/lot.206.html>).

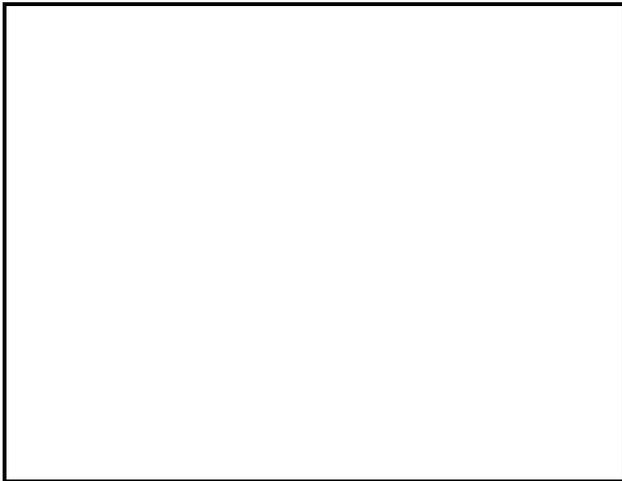


Figure 162. Micromosaic bracelet and brooch of the Herculaneum Dancers, second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, 7.5 inches. (Sotheby's Lot 30, September 25, 2008, accessed February 19, 2017, <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2008/important-jewels-n08470/lot.30.html>).



Figure 163. Micromosaic brooch of the Herculaneum Dancer, last half of the nineteenth century, 3 cm. diam. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, fig. 149).

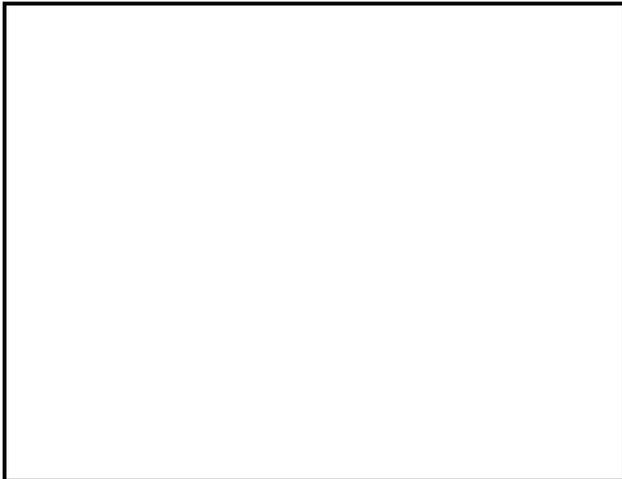


Figure 164. Herculaneum Dancer micromosaic plaque from necklace. First half of the nineteenth century. 2.5 cm. diam. Private collection. (Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, fig. 139).

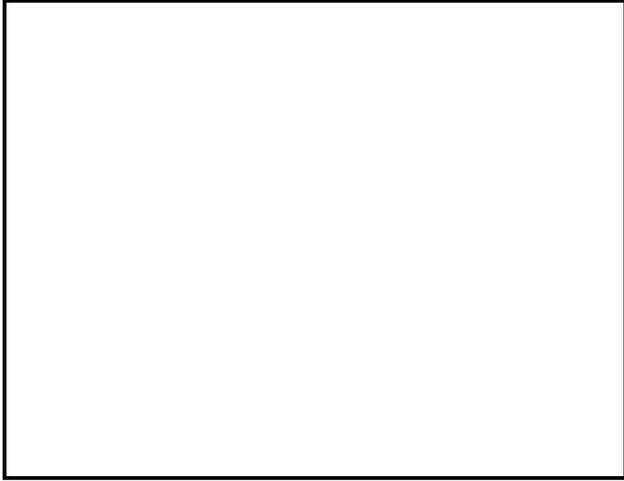


Figure 165. Micromosaic brooch of the Herculaneum Dancer, mid-nineteenth century, 4 cm. Private collection. (Sotheby's Lot 103, October 23, 2006).

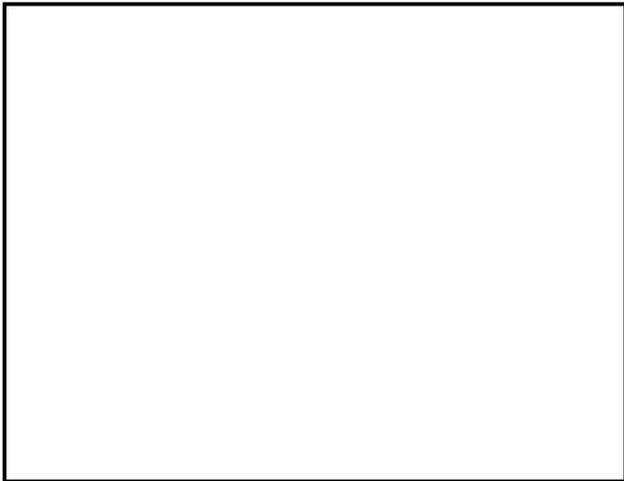


Figure 166. Maenad with thyrsus, House of the Naviglio in Pompeii, first half of the first century CE. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, Inv. 9298. (Osanna, Caricciolo, and Gallo, *Pompei*, fig. 1.16).

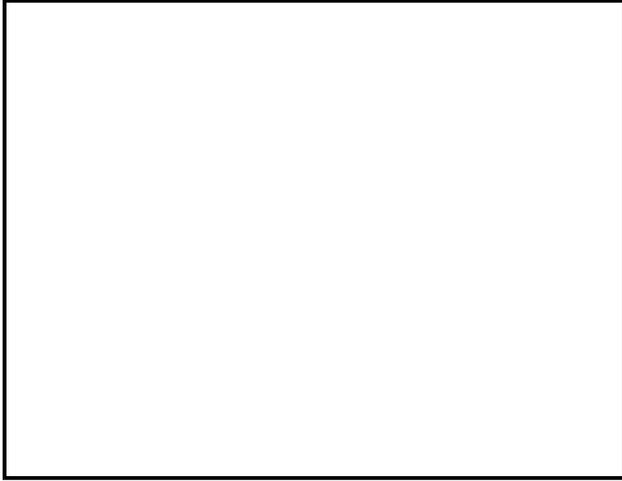


Figure 167. Plates and cups with the Herculaneum dancers, end of the eighteenth century. Collezione d'Arte Villa Cagnola, Inv. 377A, 377b. (Claut et al., *Il fascino*, fig. 74).

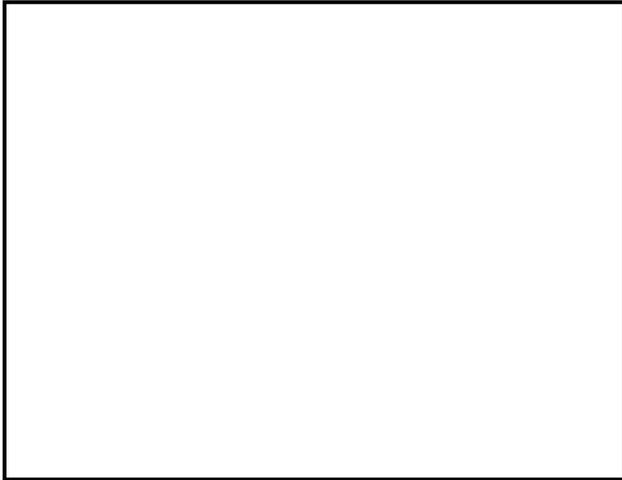


Figure 168. Giovanni Pichler, sulphur wax cast, late eighteenth century. *Gabinetto Numismatico e Medagliere delle Raccolte Artistiche del Castello Sforzesco di Milano*. (Tassinari, *Giovanni Pichler*, I.26a).

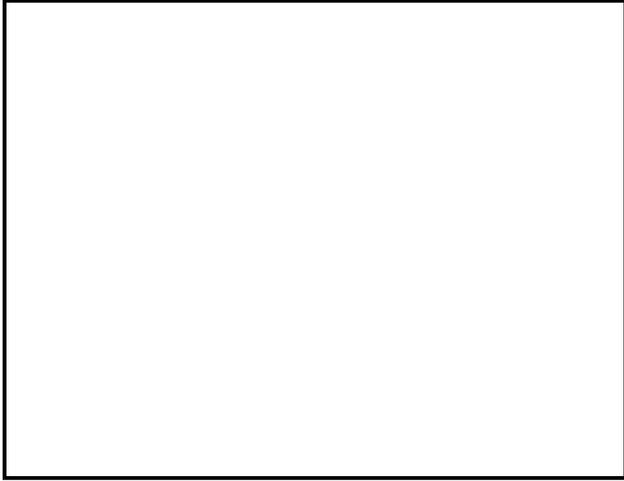


Figure 169. William Artaud, *Sketches of Lady Hamilton's Attitudes*, 1796. British Museum, Inv. P&D 1973-12-8-85 (6,7). (Jenkins and Sloan, *Vases and Volcanoes*, cat. 161).

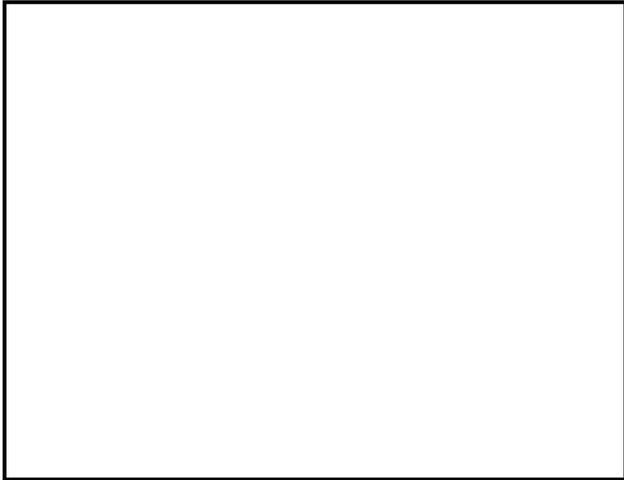


Figure 170. George Romney, *Emma Hart as Bacchante*, 1785. Private collection. (Wikimedia Commons, accessed January 31, 2017, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Emma\\_Hamilton#/media/File:George\\_Romney\\_-\\_Lady\\_Hamilton\\_\(as\\_a\\_Bacchante\)\\_3.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Emma_Hamilton#/media/File:George_Romney_-_Lady_Hamilton_(as_a_Bacchante)_3.jpg)).

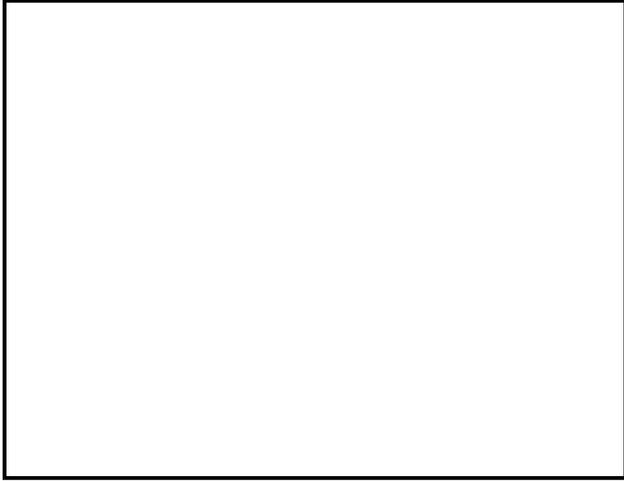


Figure 171. Mariano Bovi after William Lock, Emma, Lady Hamilton Dancing the Tarantella, 1796. The British Museum, Inv. P&D 1906-7-19-5. (Jenkins and Sloan, *Vases and Volcanoes*, no. 157).

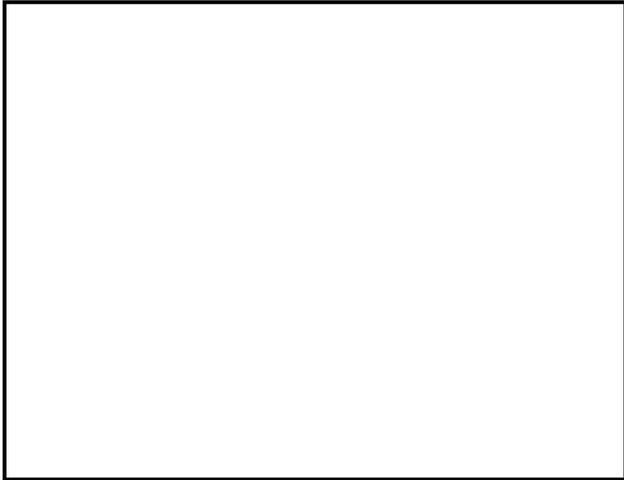


Figure 172. Georg Melchior Kraus after Frederich Rehberg, *The Attitudes of Lady Hamilton*, ca. 1800. (photo by author).



Figure 173. Richard Westall, *Emma Hamilton*, 1805. Private Collection. (Web Gallery of Art, accessed September 15, 2016, [http://www.wga.hu/html\\_m/w/westall/ladyhami.html](http://www.wga.hu/html_m/w/westall/ladyhami.html))

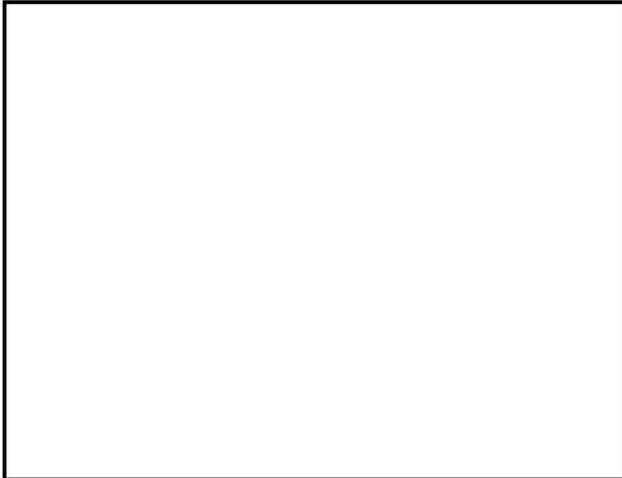


Figure 174. Thomas Piroli engravings after Friedrich Rehberg, *Lady Hamilton ne ruolo della Musa dell'arte del danzare*, 1794. Dessau, Kultursiftung Dessau-Wörlitz, Inv. Sig. I 421/1. (Dieter Richter and Uwe Quilitzsch, *Lady Hamilton: Eros e attitude*, trans. Alida Fliri Piccioni, (Petersberg: Michael Imhoh Verlag, 2015), 109).

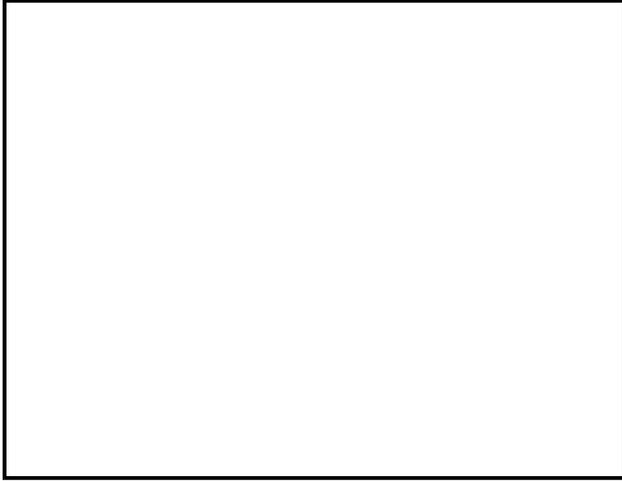


Figure 175. Queen Maria Carolina, *Self-Portrait with children overlooking Naples*, 1780. (Wikimedia Commons, accessed January 30, 2017, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Queen\\_Maria\\_Carolina\\_and\\_her\\_children\\_overlooking\\_Naples.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Queen_Maria_Carolina_and_her_children_overlooking_Naples.jpg)).

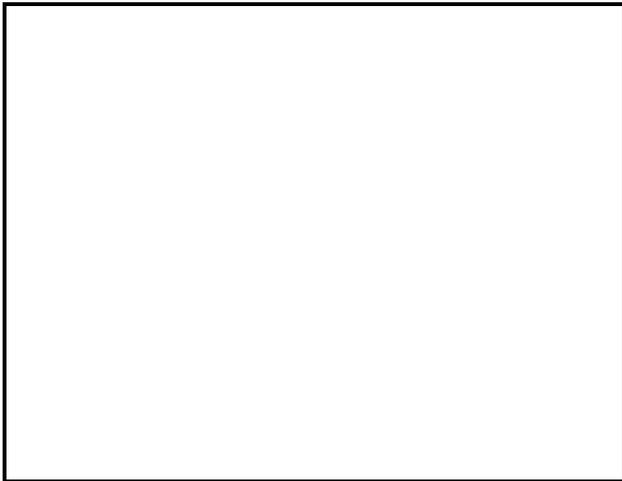


Figure 176. Henry Bone, *Portrait of Mrs. Thomas Hope*, 1813. Private collection. (Caracciolo, “Una svolta,” 38).

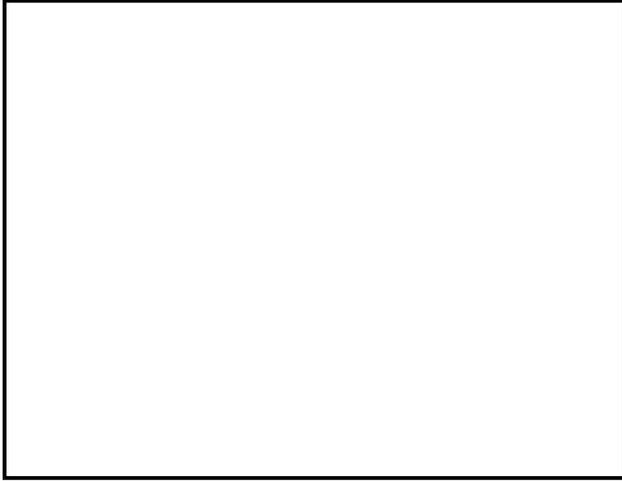


Figure 177. Sir Martin Archer Shee, *Louisa Hope*, 1807. Collection of the Hon. Mrs. Everard de Lisle. (Watkin and Hewat-Jaboor, *Thomas Hope*, cat. 3).

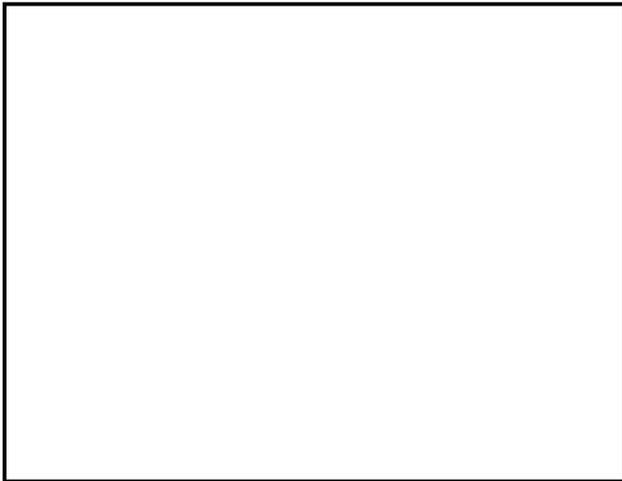


Figure 178. A painting of Marguerite Gérard before a masked ball in the guise of the dancer. (Praz, *On Neoclassicism*, fig. 15).

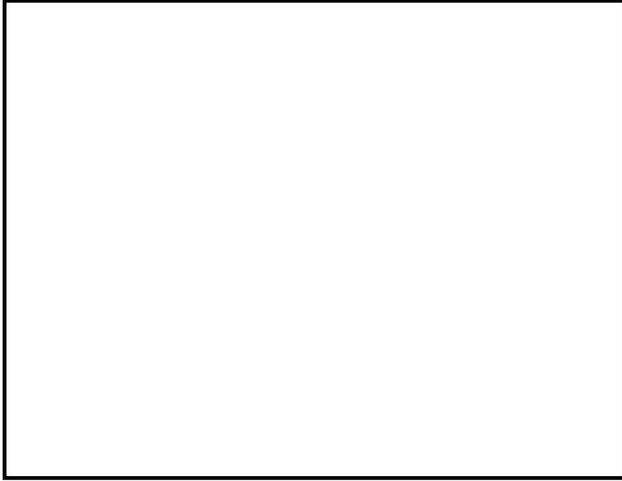


Figure 179. Jan Rustem, *Portrait of Maria Mirska*, 1808. National Museum in Warsaw. (Miziołek, *Muse*, fig. 57).

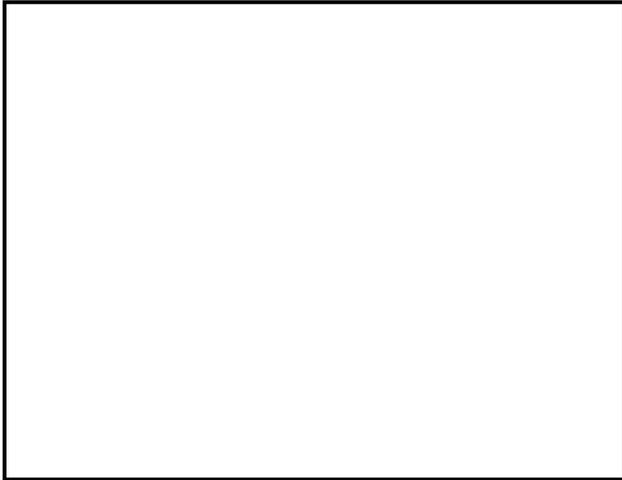


Figure 180. John Hoppner, *Portrait of Emily St. Clare as a Bacchante*, 1806-1807. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Inv. 45-1. (The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, "European Painting and Sculpture," accessed September 5, 2016, <http://search.nelson-atkins.org/collections/iscroll-objectview.cfm?id=7720>).

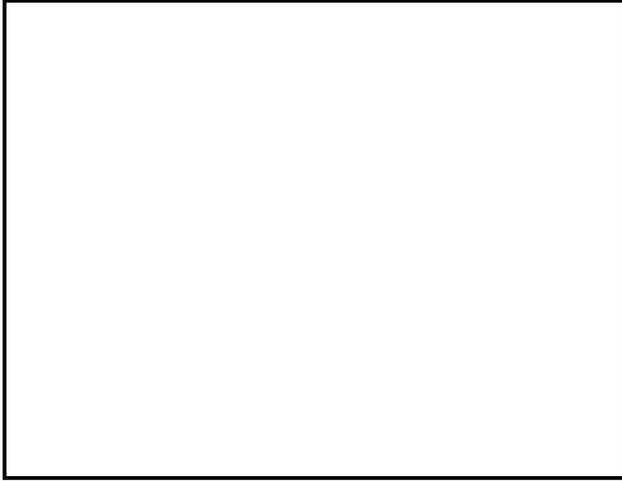


Figure 181. Elisabeth Vigée Lebrun, *Portrait of Princess Karoline von Liechtenstein, née Countess von Manderscheid (1768-1831), as Iris*, 1793. The Princely Collections, Liechtenstein, Inv. No. GE 1787 (Liechtenstein, “Elisabeth Vigée Lebrun,” accessed January 20, 2017, [http://www.liechtensteincollections.at/en/pages/artbase\\_main.asp?module=browse&action=m\\_work&lang=en&sid=87294&oid=W-147200412195342025](http://www.liechtensteincollections.at/en/pages/artbase_main.asp?module=browse&action=m_work&lang=en&sid=87294&oid=W-147200412195342025)).

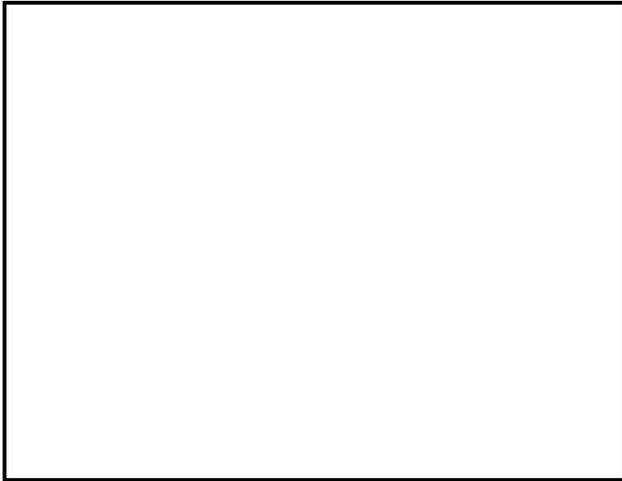


Figure 182. Francesco Bartolozzi after Angelica Kauffman, *Bacchanalian Nymph*, 1802. Private collection (Richter and Quilitzsch, *Lady Hamilton*, 189).

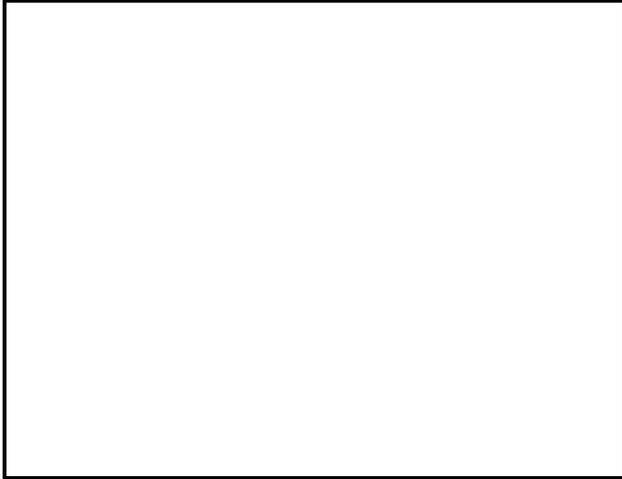


Figure 183. Elisabeth Vigée- Lebrun, *Emma Hamilton as a Bacchante*, ca. 1790-2. National Museums of Liverpool, Inv. LL3527. (National Museums Liverpool, “Lady Hamilton as a Bacchante,” accessed January 30, 2017, <http://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/ladylever/collections/star-objects/item-227755.aspx>).

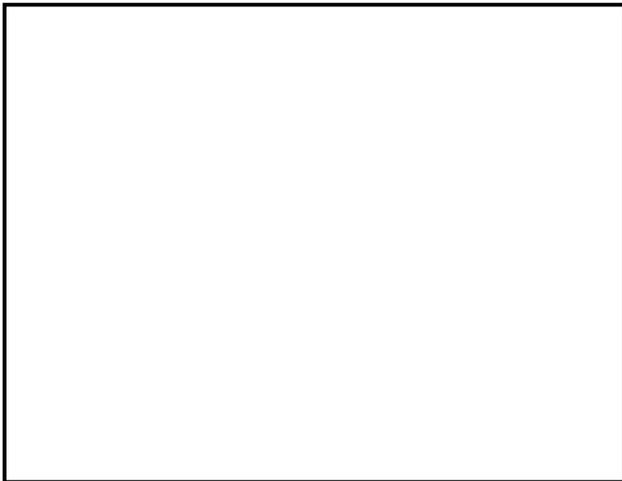


Figure 184. Élisabeth Vigée-Lebrun, *Princess Sapiena, nee Potocka, or Dancing with Shawl*, 1794. The Royal Castle in Warsaw. (The Victorian Lady, accessed September 15, 2016, <http://thevictorianlady.tumblr.com/post/7322744924/princess-sapiena-nee-potocka-or-dancing-with>).

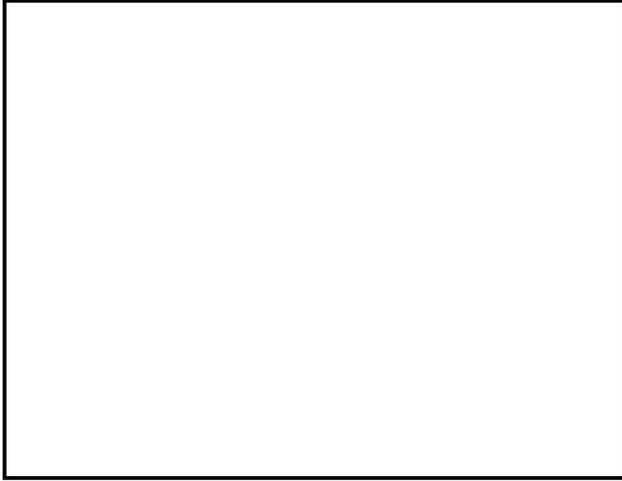


Figure 185. Bartolomeo Pinelli, *Uomo e Donna del Paese di Roccaspinavetta, Provincia di Chieti* and *Il Ballo Napoletano detto la Tarantella* from *Raccolta di Costumi del Regno di Napoli*, eighteenth century. (Pinelli, *Raccolta*, No. 32 and No. 1).



Figure 186. Bartolomeo Pinelli, *Danseuses de Saltarelle*. Musée National du Château, Versailles. (Caracciolo, "Danser," fig. 11).

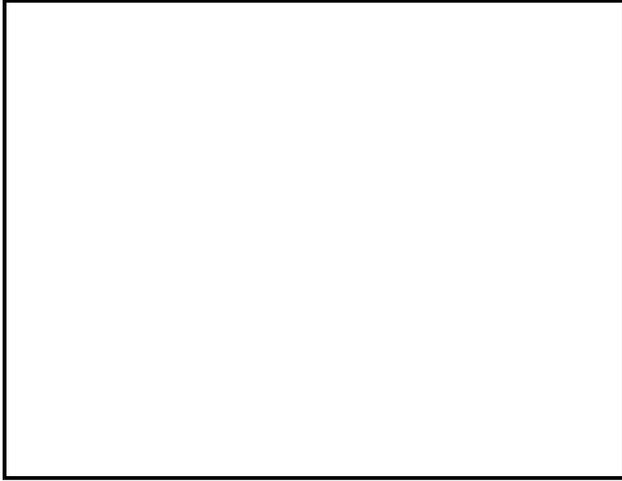


Figure 187. S. della Gatta, *Il ritorno dalla Festa dell'Arco*, 1825. Private collection. (Fino, *Donne*, fig. 46).

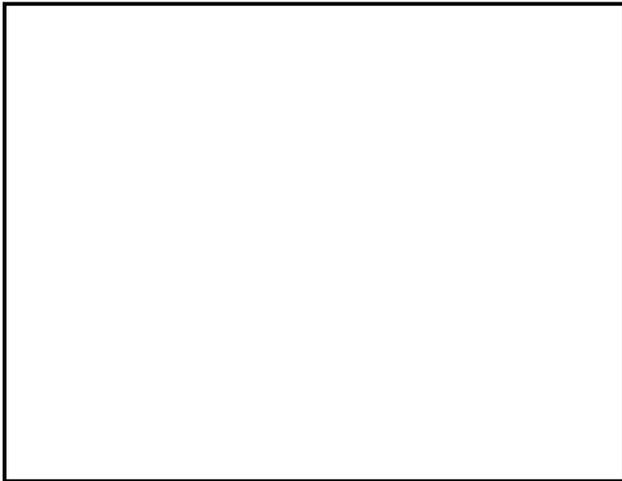


Figure 188. Aquatint fan showing a woman with a tambourine and dancers, 1770-1800. The British Museum, Inv. 1891, 0713.6569. (The British Museum, "Collection Online," accessed September 15, 2016, [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection\\_online/collection\\_object\\_details.aspx?objectId=1437754&partId=1&searchText=fan+charlotte&place=42023&from=ad&fromDate=1700&to=ad&toDate=1900&page=1](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=1437754&partId=1&searchText=fan+charlotte&place=42023&from=ad&fromDate=1700&to=ad&toDate=1900&page=1)).



Figure 189. Micromosaic with peasants dancing the tarantella, second half of the nineteenth century, 6.3 cm. Musei Vaticani, Inv. 53148. (Cornini, "La collezione," fig. 35).

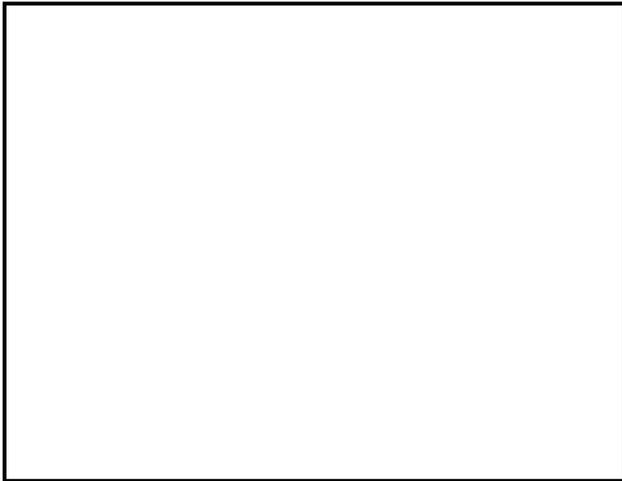


Figure 190. Charles Grignion, *Villa Borghese: il Saltarello*, 1790. Trustees of the Powis Castle Estate (Wilton and Bignamini, *Grand Tour*, no. 84).

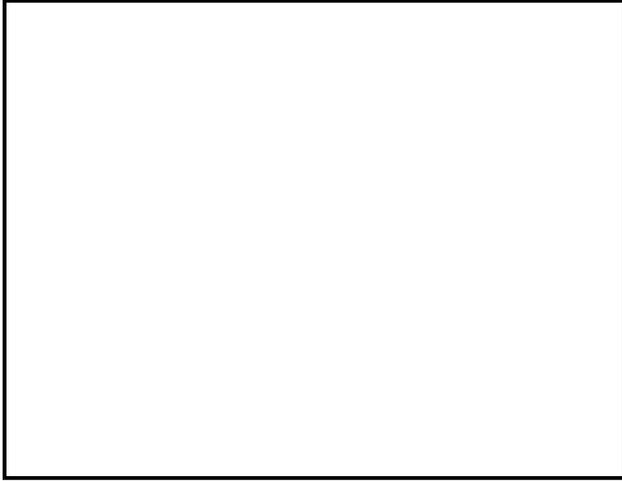


Figure 191. Attributed to Michelangelo Maestri, *Danzatrice*, eighteenth century. Private collection, Feltre. (Claut et al., *Il fascino*, 5.a).

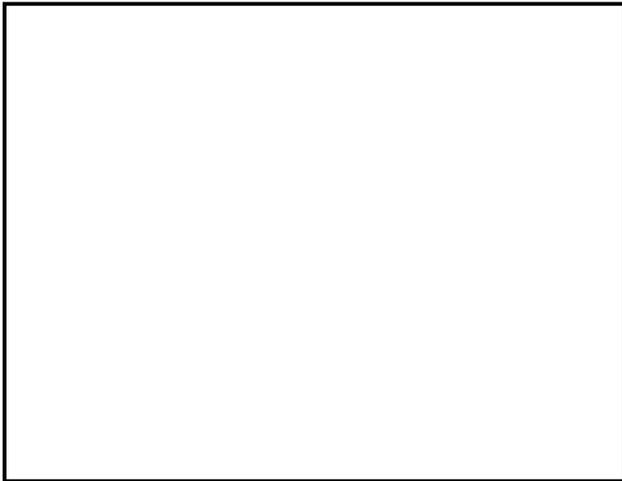


Figure 192. Seller of Cupids wall painting, Villa Ariana at Stabiae, first half of the first century CE. Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples, Inv. 9180. (Wikimedia Commons, accessed January 30, 2017, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Venditrice\\_di\\_amorini\\_1.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Venditrice_di_amorini_1.jpg)).

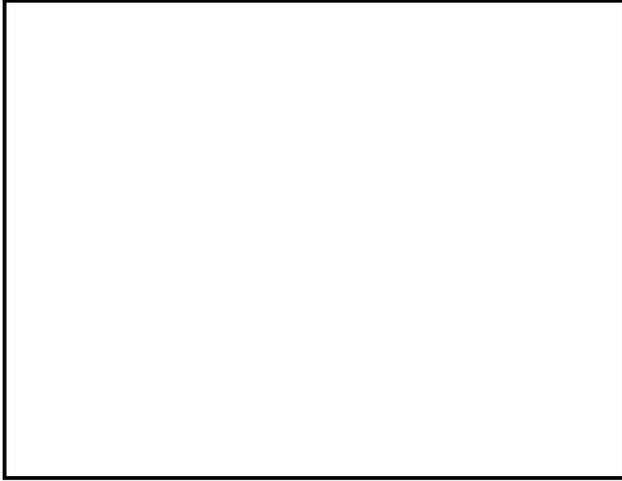


Figure 193. Carlo Nolli, *Venditrice di Amorini* from the *Le Antichità*, 1762. (*Le Antichità*, tomo III, 41).

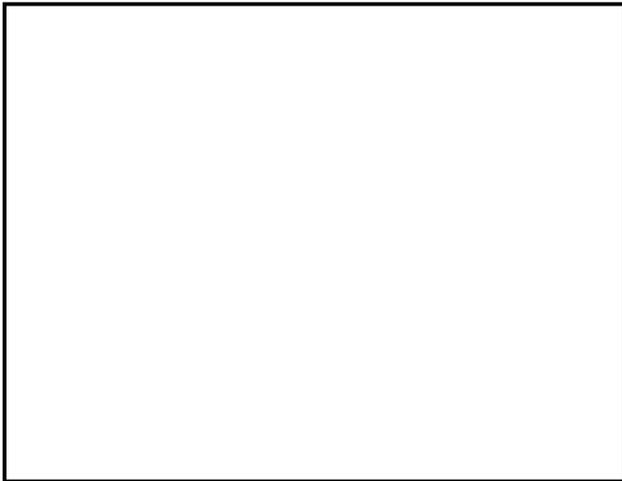


Figure 194. Joseph Marie Vien, *La marchande d'amours*, 1763. (Wikimedia Commons, accessed January 30, 2017, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Joseph-Marie\\_Vien\\_-\\_La\\_Marchande\\_d%27Amours\\_-\\_WGA25067.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Joseph-Marie_Vien_-_La_Marchande_d%27Amours_-_WGA25067.jpg)).

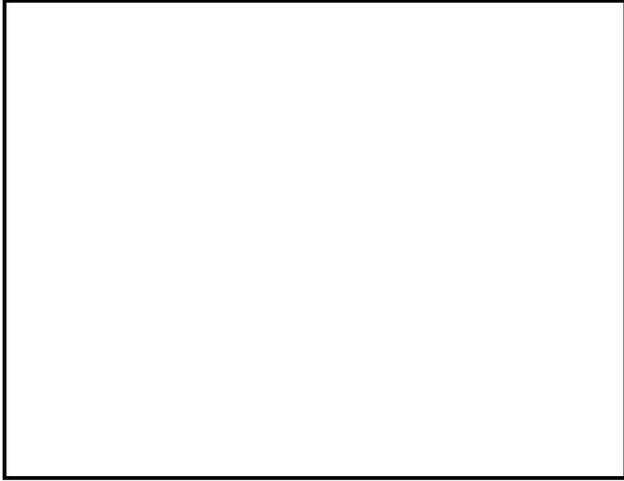


Figure 195. Jacques-Louis David, *Drawing after Selling of Cupids*, ca. 1776 (Rosenblum, *Transformations*, fig. 5).

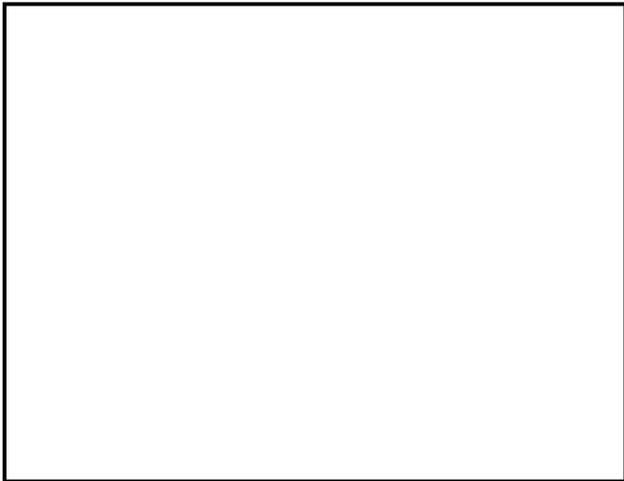


Figure 196. Christian Gottfried Jüchter by the Meissen Manufactory, eighteenth century. Staatliche Porzellan-Manufaktur, Inv. 19940. (Osanna, Caricciolo, and Gallo, *Pompei*, cat. 1.26)

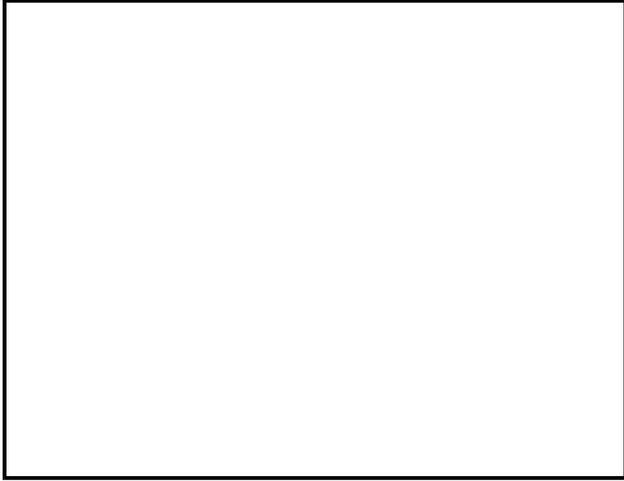


Figure 197. A tray with the Seller of Cupids manufactured by the Real Fabbrica Ferdinanda. Private collection. (Caròla-Perrotti, *Le porcellane*, tav. LXXII).

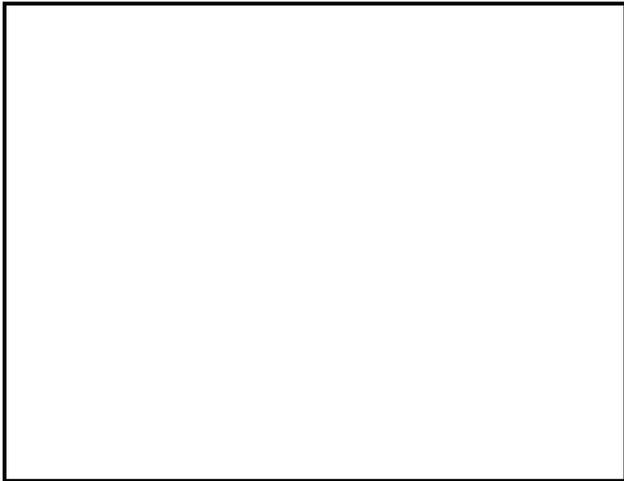


Figure 198. A fan leaf of Italian manufacture, ca. 1790. (MacKay, *Fans*, 86).

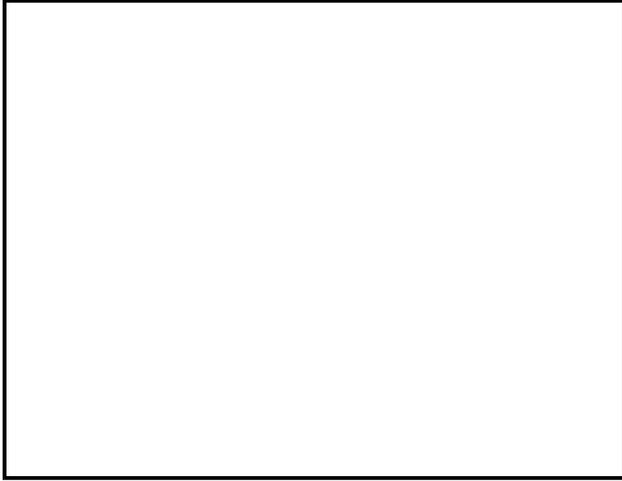


Figure 199. James Tassie, plaster cameo with Cupid Seller, late eighteenth century. Henry Ford Museum, Dearborn, Michigan. (*Pompeii as Source and Inspiration*, fig. 1).

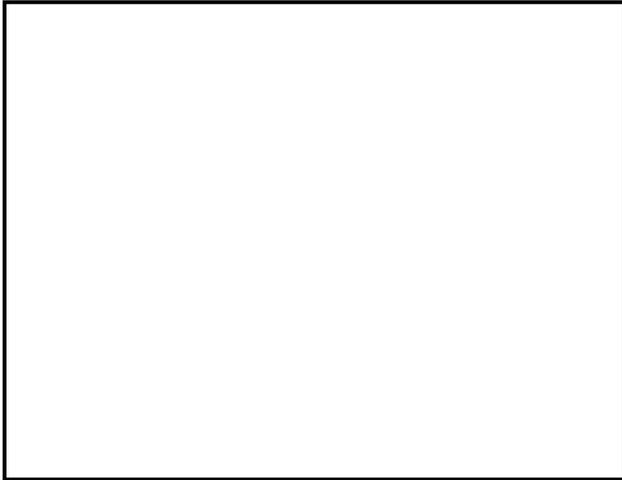


Figure 200. Micromosaic plaque of the Seller of Cupids, end of the nineteenth century, 4x5.8 cm. Private collection, Rome. (González-Palacios, *Una raccolta*, no. 50).

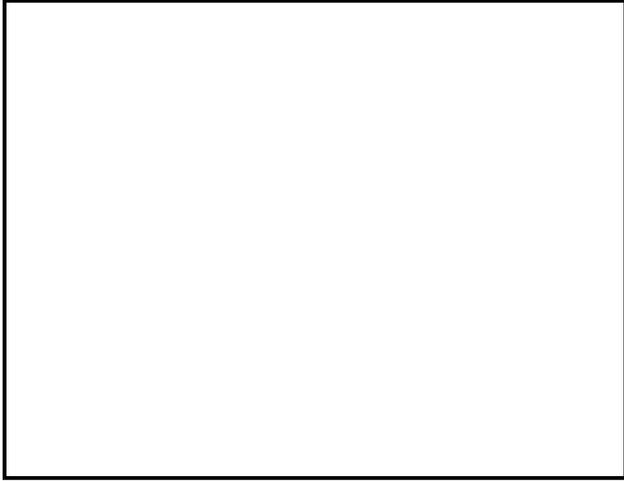


Figure 201. Micromosaic snuffbox of the Seller of Cupids, first quarter of the nineteenth century, 3x4 cm. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, no. 280).

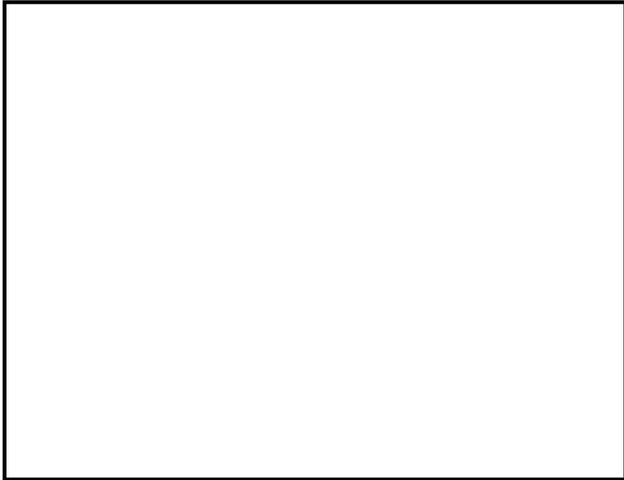


Figure 202. Clemente Ciuli, micromosaic box of the Seller of Cupids, early nineteenth century, 5.5x8.5 cm. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, no. 288).



Figure 203. Gold enamel snuffbox after Vien's *Seller of Cupids*, 1820. (Christie's, Sale 2851, Lot 5 November 2010, accessed January 30, 2017, <http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot/an-antique-enamel-gold-snuff-box-and-a-5365682-details.aspx>)



Figure 204. Gouache *Selling of Cupids*. Yale Center for British Art, Inv. B1983.23.2. (Yale Center for British Art, <http://collections.britishart.yale.edu/vufind/Record/3644968>).

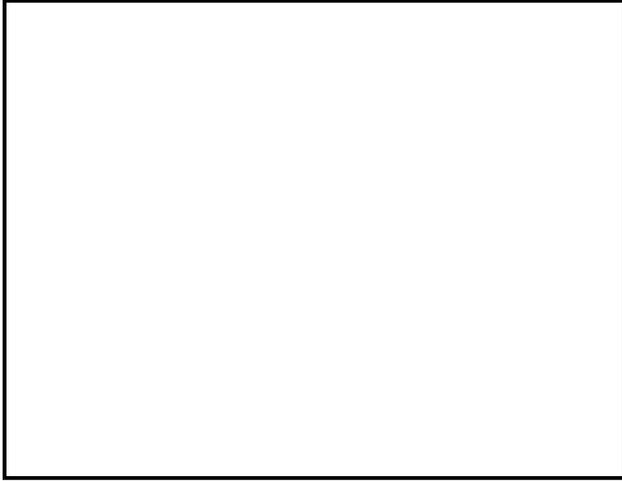


Figure 205. Meissen porcelain group after Christopher Gottlieb Jüchter, *The Cupid Seller*, second half of the nineteenth century. Sotheby's Lot 220, October 2008. (Sotheby's, accessed January 30, 2017, <http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2008/property-from-the-estate-of-rochelle-sepenuk-n08508/lot.220.html>).

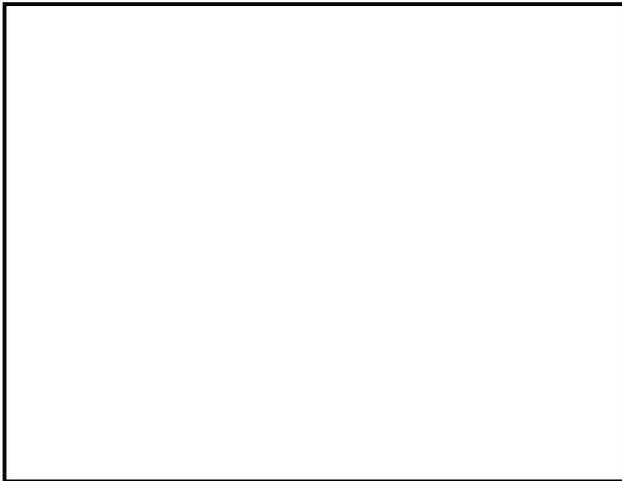


Figure 206. Attributed to Michelangelo Maestri, *Venditrice di Amorini*. Private collection. (Pagano, *C'era*, fig. 145).

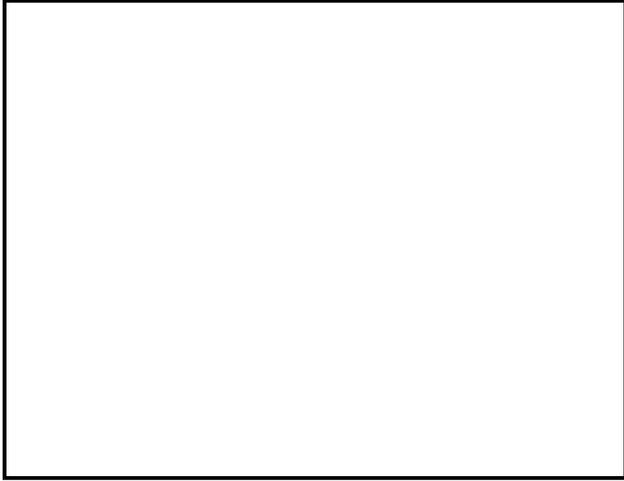


Figure 207. Attributed to Michelangelo Maestri, *Venditrice di Amorini*. Private collection. (Claut et al., *Il fascino*, 36.a).

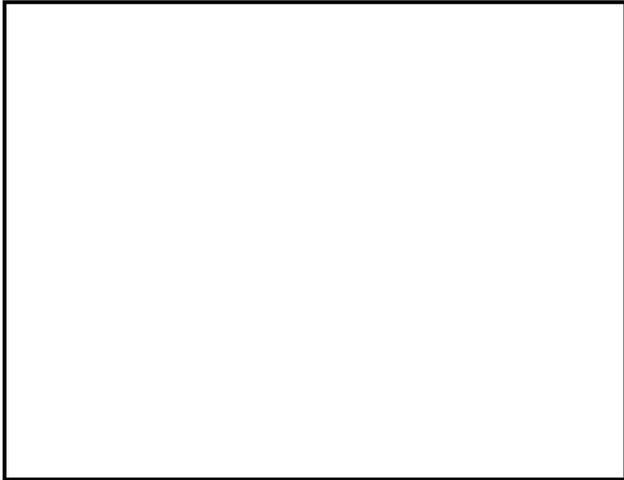


Figure 208. Intaglio of rock crystal. British Museum. (Micheli, "Eroti," fig. 4).

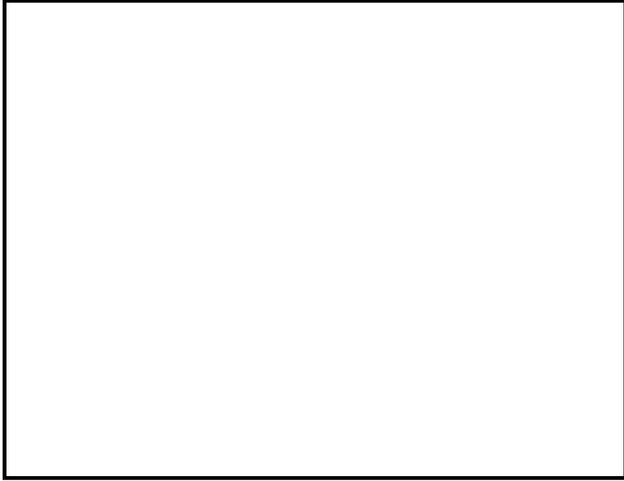


Figure 209. Steatite gem. Bayerisches Nationalmuseum. (Micheli, "Eroti," fig. 5).

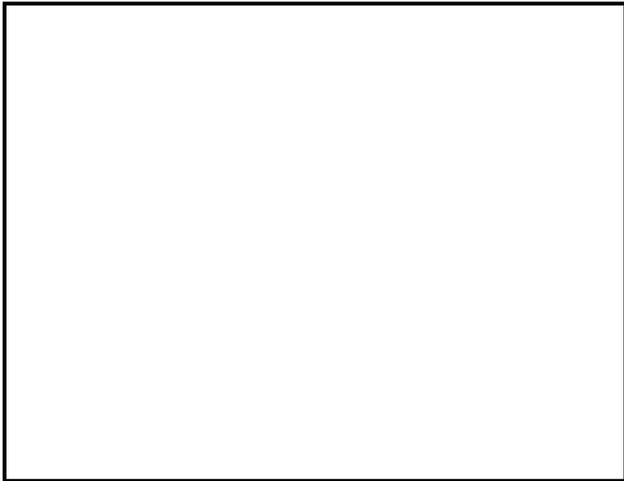


Figure 210. Venditrice di Amorini. Lava cameo. Private Collection. (Tassinari, *Le pitture*, fig. 43).

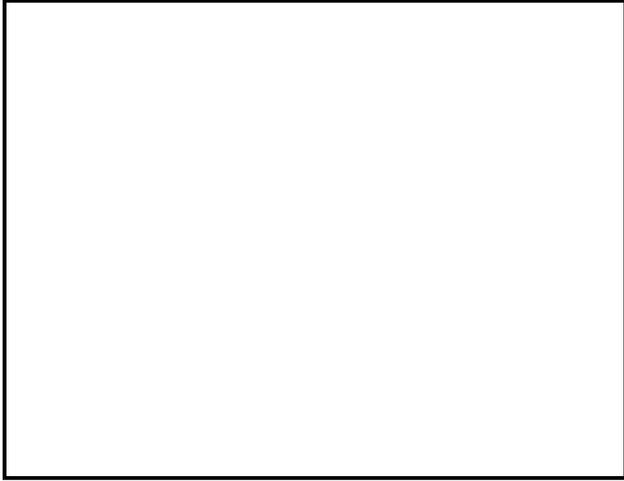


Figure 211. Fan with Seller of Cupids. Museo Nazionale di San Martino. (Ascione, "Wer Kauft," 83).

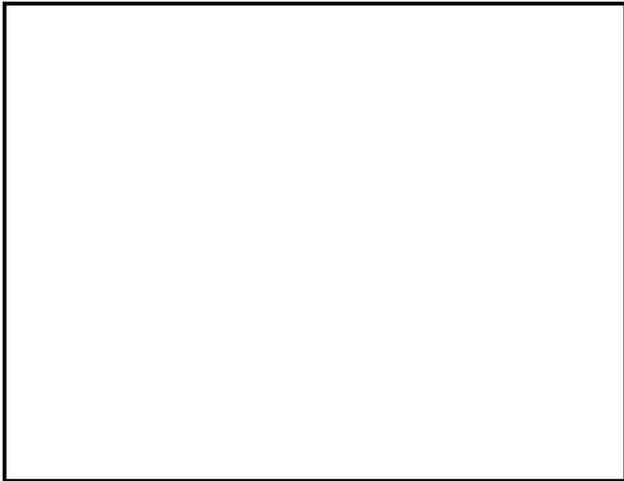


Figure 212. A. Vianelli, *Napoli da Capodichino*, 1828. Private collection. (Fino, *Donne*, fig. 63).

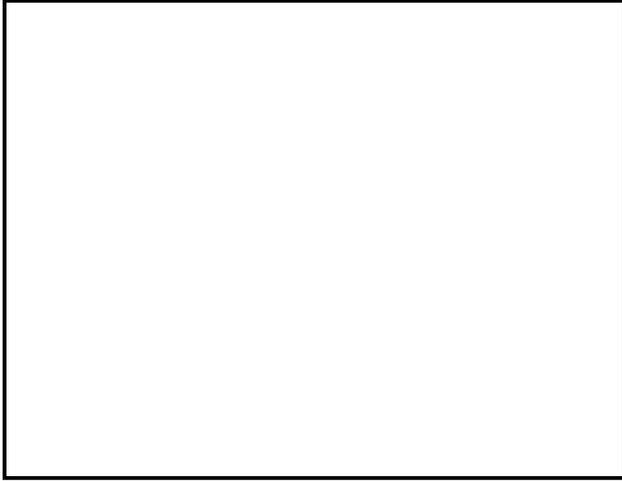


Figure 213. Pietro Fabris, *Campi Phlegraei*, pl. XXXI, 1776. (University of Glasgow, “Special Collections,” accessed January 30, 2017, <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/exhibns/month/oct2007.html>).

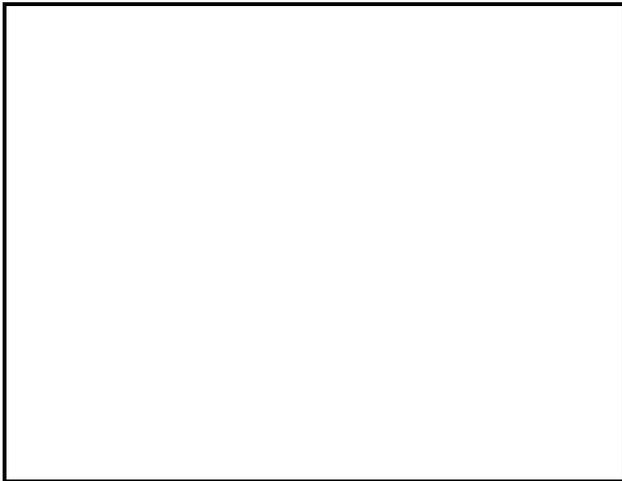


Figure 214. Gianbattista Piranesi, print, *Différents vues de Pesto*, 1774. (Wikimedia Commons, accessed January 31, 2017, <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Piranesi-15002.jpg>).

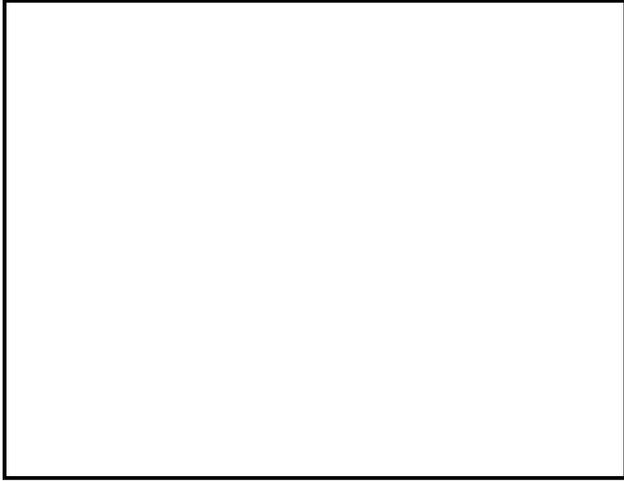


Figure 215. Antonio Joli, *The Temples of Paestum*, after 1766. Kulturstiftung Dessau-Wörlitz. (de Jong, *Rediscovering Architecture*, fig. 7).

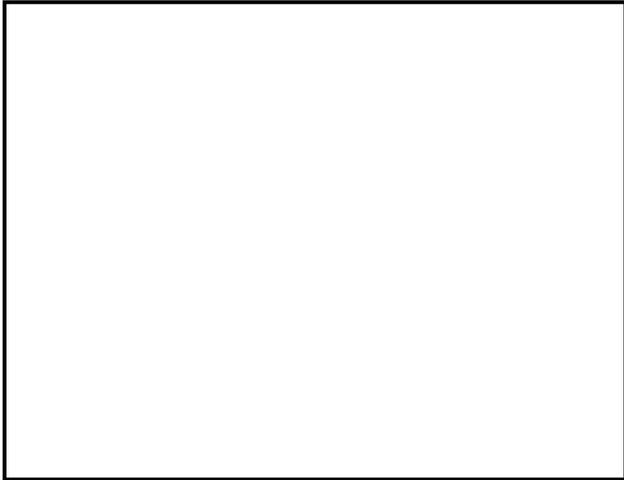


Figure 216. John Robert Cozens, *Two Great Temples at Paestum*, 1782. Victoria & Albert Museum, Inv. P.2-1973. (Victoria & Albert Museum, assessed February 19, 2017, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O1026422/the-two-great-temples-at-watercolour-john-robert-cozens/>).



Figure 217. Augusto Rosa, model temple of Neptune, 1777. Musée d'Archeologie nationale, Saint-Germaine-en-Laye. (Pinto, *Speaking Ruins*, fig. 146).

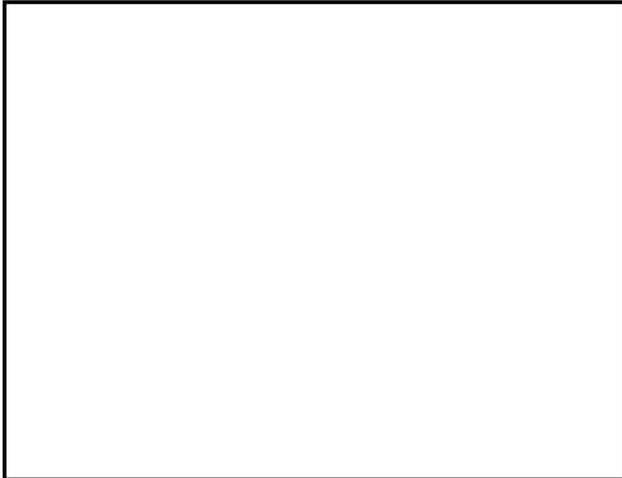


Figure 218. Rosso antico model of the Temple of Poseidon at Paestum, beginning of the nineteenth century. Museo di Capodimonte, Inv. OA 160. (d'Agliano and Melegati, *Ricordi*, cat. 53).

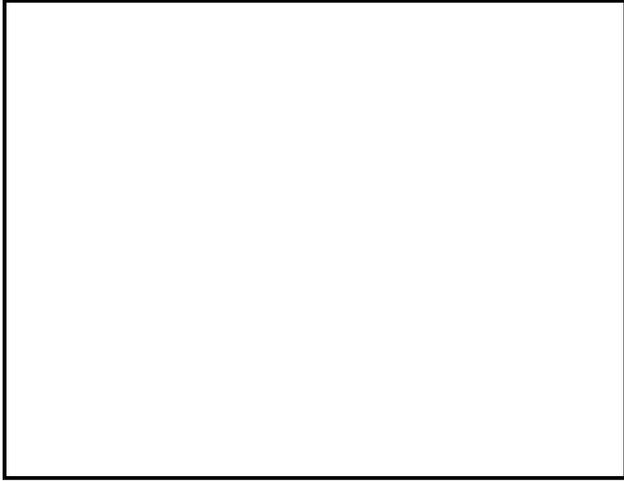


Figure 219. Raccolta D'Amodio in Naples, plate with temples of Paestum, 1784-88. (Caròla-Perrotti, *Le porcellane*, n. 327).

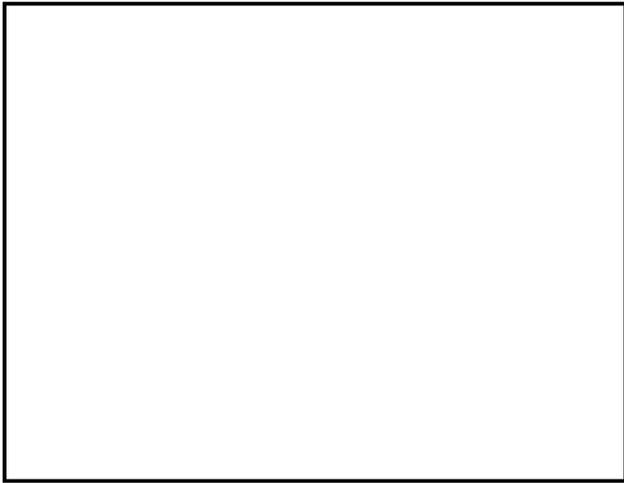


Figure 220. Micromosaic picture of the temples of Paestum, 22x126 cm. Collezione Savelli, Rome. (Stefani, *Ricordi*, cat. 7).

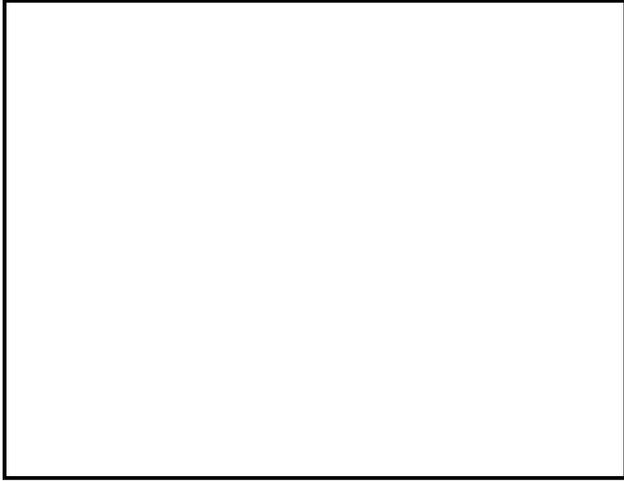


Figure 221. Plan of Paestum. (Claudio Caserta, ed., *Paestum negli anni del Grand Tour*, (Roma: Ripostes, 1997), 78).

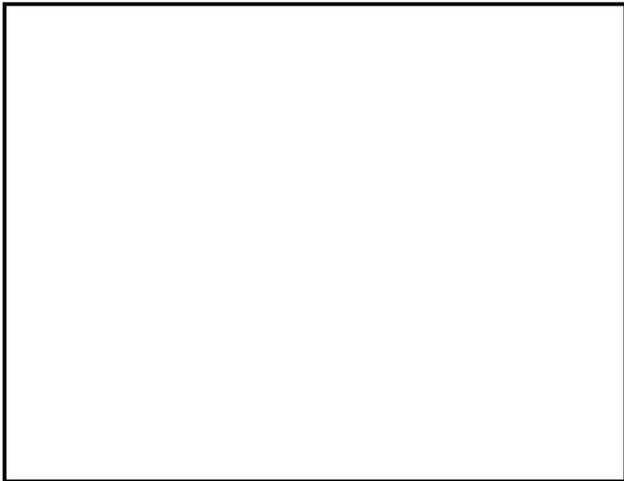


Figure 222. Plan of Paestum, 1819. (Caserta, *Paestum*, 87).



Figure 223. Giacinto Cola, micromosaic plaques of the Temple of Ceres and Neptune at Paestum, first half of the nineteenth century, 2.6x7.7 cm. Musei Vaticani, Inv. 53271, 53272. (Cornini, "La collezione," fig. 14, 14a).

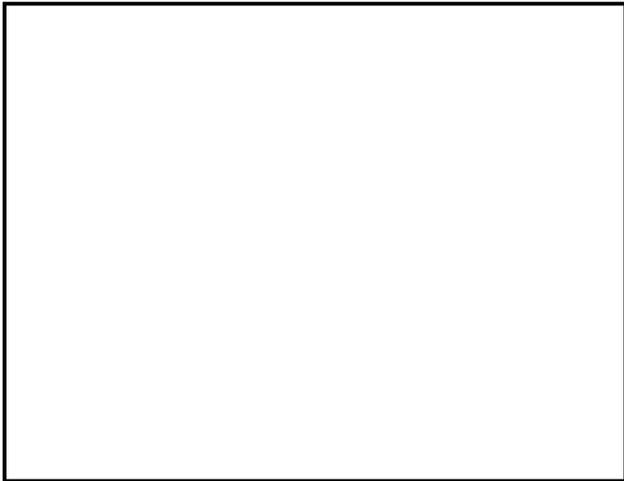


Figure 224. Constantino Rinaldi, micromosaic picture of the Temples of Paestum, mid nineteenth century, 64x172. Private collection, Rome. (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 143).

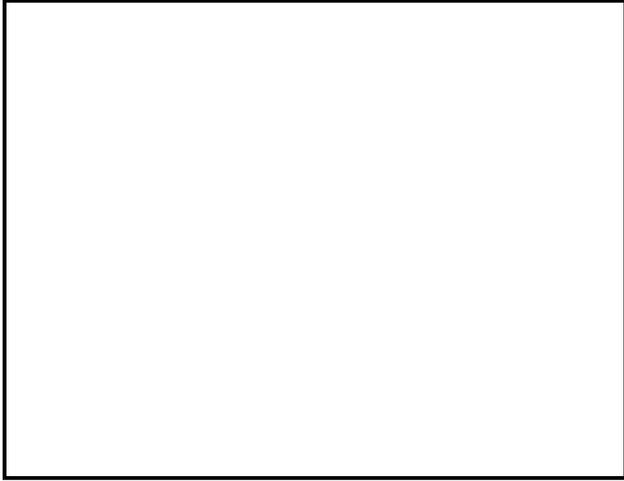


Figure 225. Gioacchino Rinaldi, micromosaic picture of the Temples at Paestum, 1830, 49.2x163.2 cm. Gilbert Collection, London, Inv. 1996.306. (Victoria & Albert Museum, accessed January 31, 2017, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O157750/picture-rinaldi-gioacchino/#>).

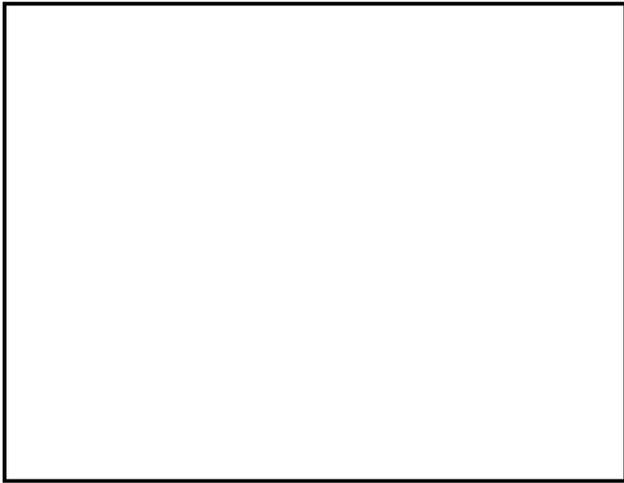


Figure 226. Gioacchino Rinaldi, micromosaic picture of the Temples at Paestum. Private collection. (Alvar González-Palacios, *Mosaici e Pietre Dure*, (Milano: Gruppo Editoriale Fabbri, 1981), 23).

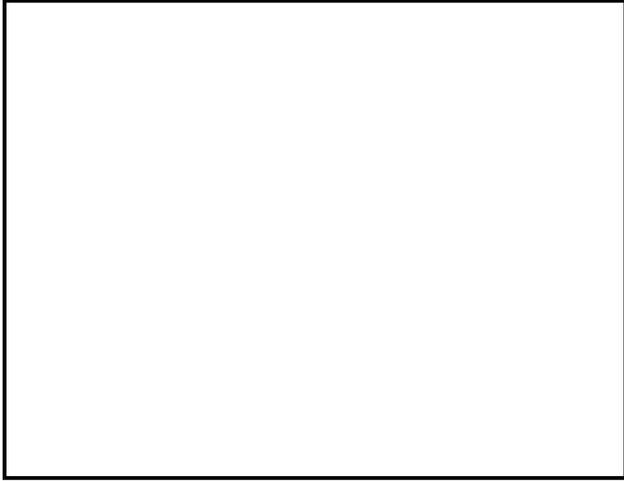


Figure 227. Micromosaic snuffbox of the Temples at Paestum, view from the north looking south, 7.1x4.7 cm. (Petochi, Alfieri, and Branchetti, *I mosaici minuti*, 218 n.34).

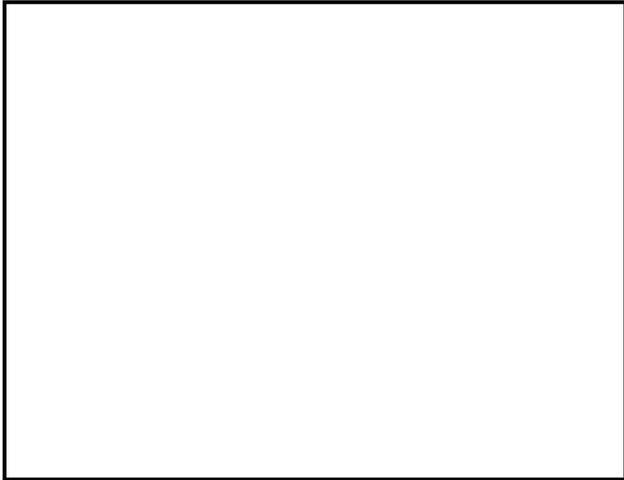


Figure 228. Micromosaic brooch of the Temple of Neptune, mid-nineteenth century, 4.5x4 cm. Private collection. (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 55).

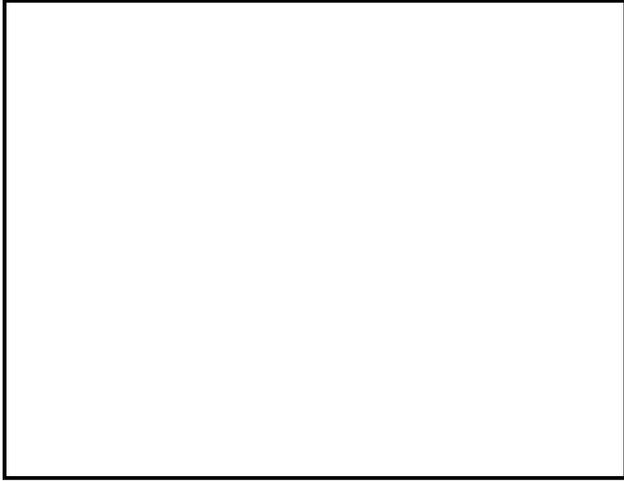


Figure 229. Micromosaic plaque of the Temple of Neptune, 1800-1825, 7x4.5 cm. Gilbert Collection, London, Inv. 1996.328. (Victoria & Albert Museum, accessed January 31, 2017, <http://collections.vam.ac.uk/item/O157766/plaque/#>).

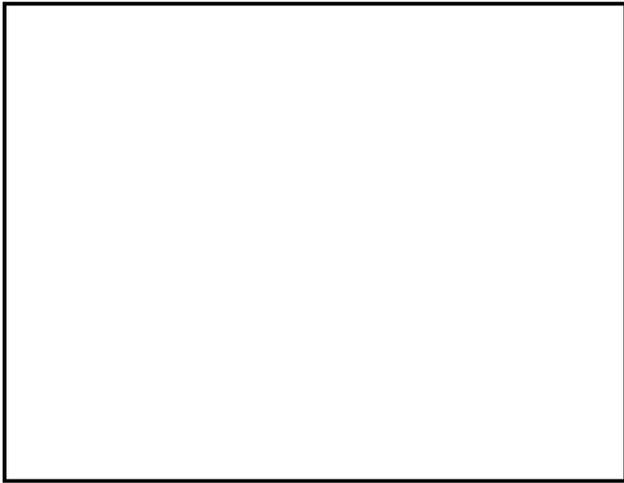


Figure 230. Micromosaic plaque of the Temple of Neptune, 6x5 cm. (Petochi, Alfieri, and Branchetti, *I mosaici minuti*, no 32).



Figure 231. Robert Wood, engraving in *The Ruins of Paestum, Otherwise Posidonia in Magna Graecia* by Thomas Major, 1768. (Thomas Major, *The Ruins of Paestum, Otherwise Posidonia in Magna Graecia*, (London: T. Major, 1768), tab. IX).

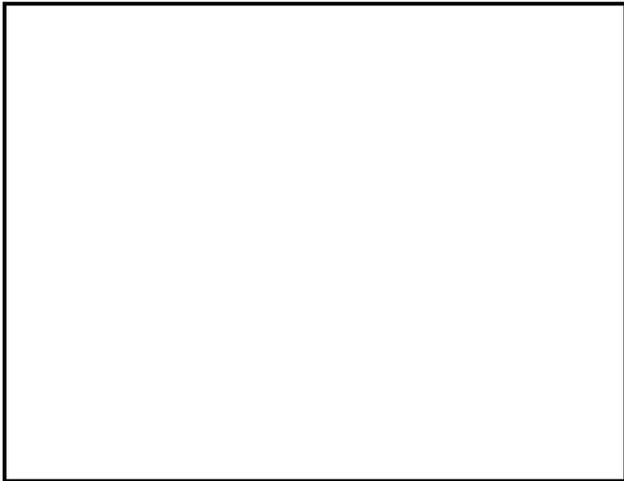


Figure 232. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, interior of Temple of Neptune, Study for *Différentes vues de Pesto*..Plate XVI, 1777-8. (Wikimedia Commons, accessed January 31, 2017, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Giovanni\\_Battista\\_Piranesi#/media/File:Piranesi-15017.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Giovanni_Battista_Piranesi#/media/File:Piranesi-15017.jpg)).

## **Vita**

Lauren Kellogg DiSalvo was born in Richmond, VA in 1986. She attended Monacan High School from where she graduated in 2004. She attended the University of Virginia where she graduated with a BA with distinction in Art History and a BA in Archaeology in 2008. She received her MA in 2011 from the University of Missouri-Columbia in Classical Art and Archaeology where she wrote a thesis entitled “The Aura of Reproduction: Plaster Cast Collections at the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition.” While she studied classical archaeology during both her undergraduate and graduate degrees and participated in excavations in Salemi, Sicily; Sardis, Turkey; and Williamsburg and Richmond, Virginia, her research interests in classical reception began with a fellowship with the Summer Institute in Museum Anthropology at the National Museum of Natural History in 2011.