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Translating Antiquity onto Souvenirs: The Collectively Shaped Reception of the Doves of Pliny on Micromosaics

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Translating Antiquity onto Souvenirs:

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Pavements are an invention of the Greeks, who also practiced the art of painting them, till they were superseded by mosaics. In this last branch of art, the highest excellence has been attained by Sosus, who laid, at Pergamus, the mosaic pavement known as the "Asarotos œcos"; from the fact that he there represented, in small squares of different colors, 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. There is 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.

—Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*[1]

Grand Tour Ritual and Identity

The material culture of ancient Rome permeated the souvenir industry of the city with fans, models, gems, and micromosaics during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Micromosaics, created from minutely sized tesserae, were popular souvenirs that were generated in connection with the Grand Tour in Rome and continued in popularity through the nineteenth century. The ubiquity of micromosaics is enumerated by British traveler Charlotte Eaton who recounts:

> 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 Mosaicisti.[2]

The subjects of micromosaics were often the same as other eighteenth- and nineteenth-century souvenirs including vistas of the city and representations of both ancient and Renaissance works of art and monuments.[3] Micromosaics decorated a wide scope of objects from brooches to tables, snuffboxes to paperweights, boxes to chimneypieces. The micromosaic was an object of paradoxes: it was embraced both for its easy reproducibility as small souvenirs and its status as fine art in larger compositions imitating paintings; it was a commonly reproduced motif and a unique, masterful design; it was sought after mostly by the English upper middle class who visited Rome and by international royalty and elite patrons; it was a miniature in its materiality but not always miniature in its composition size.[4] The versatility of micromosaics is one thing that sets them apart from other souvenirs as they could offer a range of sizes, decorate a range of objects, and cater to a range of buyers' pockets in a way few other souvenirs could.[5] This essay will investigate one ancient Roman motif found on micromosaics—the Doves of Pliny—as an entry point to understanding how an artwork that is replicated serially on souvenirs can reveal the collectively shaped perceptions of tourists.

Figure 1. Doves of Pliny Mosaic from Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli. Second century CE mosaic after second century BCE mosaic by Sosus of Pergamon. 85 x 98 cm. Capitoline Museums (MC0402). Copyright Sopraintendenza di Roma Capitale - Foto in Comune.

While this article will focus on the micromosaic, travelers to Italy brought back numerous types of souvenirs. What constitutes a Grand Tour souvenir exceeds the confines of Nelson Graburn's description of souvenirs as cheap, portable, and understandable. It also exceeds David Hume's reworking of Susan Stewart's categories of the sampled, the representative, and the crafted souvenir.[6] There are obvious souvenirs like fans, miniature bronzes, gems, micromosaics, cork models, porcelain, and prints. There are also those less obvious: like the replica loggia of Raphael, produced for Catherine the Great, that Antonio Pinelli includes in his essay on Grand Tour souvenirs, or the oil paintings and watercolors included by Ilaria Bignamini and Andrew Wilton, in their catalog of Grand Tour objects.[7] Most useful prove the general guidelines offered by art historian Sarah Benson who suggests that souvenirs "shared [a] set of characteristics inherent to their media and representational conventions and to their use by those who purchased and contemplated them."[8] These objects that Grand Tourists brought back with them served as markers of their experiences, their education, and their refinement.

Such souvenirs of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Rome as micromosaics represent a rich avenue for exploring the reception of specific ancient objects, as determined by the collective body of travelers who came to Italy.[9] Micromosaics are understood primarily through catalogs, which typically detail methods of production, technological advances,

general subjects depicted, style and dating, and the names of artists.[10] However, technological developments and production structures of micromosaic making are not a primary consideration of this essay. Instead, I explore how micromosaics can signify the collectively determined reception of an ancient object, a topic that is underrepresented in the existing scholarship on micromosaics.[11]

In the case of this artistic medium, the collective body in question consists of English-speaking travelers who flocked to Italy becoming the primary occupants of the Piazza di Spagna quarter, where micromosaic vendors densely clustered. These mostly British and American travelers were the largest consumers of such objects, and typically selected from serially produced versions, whereas unique compositions served the domain of the elite and/or royalty, who commissioned larger compositions more akin to paintings. Tourist scholar Dean MacCannell's discussion of touristic experience—with its associated memories and souvenirs, revolving around participation in collective "ritual," while reinforcing a collective identity—will serve as this study's framework for understanding the collectively shaped social reception of the Doves of Pliny on micromosaics.[12] Anthropologist and art historian Christopher Steiner suggests that, rather than seeing the seriality of souvenirs as an inauthentic signifier, their seriality can be seen as a commanding authority through its repetition.[13] In turn, I propose that modifications serially reproduced on micromosaics of the Doves of Pliny reinforced Grand Tourists' aggregate beliefs about that ancient artwork.

An examination of one prolific iconographic theme on micromosaics, the second-century CE Doves of Pliny mosaic from Hadrian's Villa, in conjunction with the words of tourists recorded in travelogues, will demonstrate how variants of even the most widely reproduced of souvenirs can be used to understand the mentalities of travelers and their reception of a Roman artwork. The Doves of Pliny is a Roman mosaic depicting three doves perched on and drinking from a cup (fig. 1). Following its eighteenth-century discovery at Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli, it was widely attributed to the famous 2nd century BC Greek artist Sosus of Pergamon whose artwork was recorded by Roman author Pliny the Elder (AD 23/24-79). This essay considers the ways in which this Roman mosaic fueled and shaped the micromosaic industry. A closer look at modifications of Doves of Pliny iconography, as represented on micromosaics, reveals how the industry responded to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century tourist perceptions of the ancient mosaic, and in the process, materializing an understanding of the ancient artwork shaped by the collective of its consumers.

Early Micromosaic Production and Impact of Discovering the Doves of Pliny

In the late eighteenth century, souvenir micromosaics originated as an entirely distinct but related venture from the Studio del Mosaico Vaticano, in the Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro in Rome. They were propelled to further popularity by eighteenth-century archaeological discoveries. The Studio Vaticano began in 1586, gaining momentum under the reign of Pope Urban VIII, who suggested replacing the deteriorating painted altarpieces of St. Peter's with more enduring copies in mosaic.[14] The studio took its modern form of organization in 1727, under Pope Benedict XIII. As mosaicists working at the studio became aggrieved by a longtime record of inadequate compensation, they sought to supplement their income by opening private workshops outside the Vatican, peddling micromosaics as souvenirs to tourists. In 1775, Giacomo Raffaelli held the first recorded exhibit of micromosaics in his private studio.[15] While private studios were an entirely separate undertaking from the Studio Vaticano, they often shared the same mosaicists and, at times, materials.[16]

Further fueling the zeal for modern micromosaic-making was the discovery of the Doves of Pliny mosaic. Monsignor (later, Cardinal) Alessandro Furietti excavated the renowned work at Hadrian's Villa in Tivoli, just outside of Rome, in 1737. The mosaic remained in the residence of Furietti until his death, after which it was sold in 1765 to Pope Clement XIII, who later donated his complete collections for display in the Museo Capitolino. In 1752, Cardinal Furietti published *De Musivis ad SS Patrem Benedictum XIV*, a book on the history of mosaics that garnered a wide readership and featured text and an engraving documenting the Doves of Pliny mosaic.[17] Through antiquarian publications and engravings, the news of the Doves of Pliny spread.[18]

The mosaic was on display and accessible to guests of Furietti as early as 1739, such as when the Marchese Scipione Maffei came to Furietti's residence to see the excavated finds.[19] 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 there were frequent visitors to the work while in Furietti's possession.[20] Naturally, the mosaic found a much wider audience once it was installed at the Museo Capitolino in 1765.

The wealth of information disseminated about the mosaic was augmented by a clear relationship to surviving ancient literature. When Furietti published his discovered mosaic, he connected it to a mosaic that the ancient Roman naturalist and philosopher Pliny the Elder described in his *Natural History*. During the eighteenth century, there was a deep yearning to connect artwork to surviving literary records.[21] This impulse continued throughout the nineteenth century, and travelers frequently connected surviving artworks with ancient literature, often citing Pliny in particular.[22] The mosaic discovered by Furietti came to be called, most often, the Doves of Pliny, named for the description in Pliny's text that bears connections to the mosaic.

In his 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."[23] Tourist accounts emphasize the importance of the mosaic from Hadrian's Villa and its connection to Pliny, often recounting Pliny's description in full.[24] British traveler George Head wrote of the undeniable connection: "[The Doves of Pliny mosaic] cannot fail to be recognized in a brief but peculiarly graphic description of Pliny."[25] It is clear that the popularity of the mosaic discovered in the eighteenth century was heightened by the striking similarities to the ancient textual record, increasing the authenticity of the mosaic as part of the material culture of antiquity.

The Doves of Pliny mosaic reinvigorated excitement about the craftsmanship level of ancient mosaics. While other mosaics garnered attention in the eighteenth century—such as the Nilotic scene from Palestrina on which Jean-Jacques Barthélemy and others published—the discovery of the Doves of Pliny mosaic marked a turning point because of its minute tesserae. With about 150 tesserae per square inch, the Doves of Pliny mosaic exceeded the tesserae-per-square-inch ratio in previously found mosaics.[26] Tourists routinely praised the minute tesserae of the Doves of Pliny in their travel narratives. Antiquarian J. Salmon noted that it was "composed of stones so small as to be fearce discernible, or the whole distinguished from the most delicate painting."[27] Adelaide Harrington, an American woman who traveled Europe, wrote that "the workmanship is so fine that one hundred and fifty stones can be counted in the space of a square inch."[28] 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 tesserae was valued.[29] Therefore, the small and dense tesserae of the ancient mosaic spurred to popularity the burgeoning art of the modern micromosaic, which used tesserae on an even smaller scale than the Doves of Pliny mosaic.

Following the ancient mosaic's discovery, souvenirs depicting the Doves of Pliny proliferated in a range of media. The mosaic was reproduced on cameos,[30] *pietre dure* [or pietra dura],[31] fans,[32] sculptures,[33] and gems.[34] The subject, however, most frequently appeared on micromosaics, likely due to its shared medium of mosaic (fig. 2). The strong presence of and demand for these micromosaics is demonstrated by the nineteenth-century American tourist William Gillespie, who recalled "the Mosaic of Pliny's doves, copied in miniature on half the breast-pins that you see."[35] In addition to brooches, the Doves of Pliny appeared on nearly every type of surface that micromosaics could decorate, from mosaic pictures to plaques to tables to paperweights.

The connection between micromosaics and the ancient Doves of Pliny mosaic is borne out by travelers' accounts frequently referencing micromosaic copies in their discussions of the Museo Capitolino mosaic from Hadrian's Villa. In one case, an anonymous tourist brought home "a small modern copy of this very subject [the Doves of Pliny], certainly far better executed."[36] In another, George Hilliard recalled how "this graceful composition [the Doves of Pliny] is still popular, and constantly repeated by the mosaic workers of Rome, in diminished proportions."[37] Clearly, the demand of micromosaic

Figure 2. Micromosaic brooch of Doves of Pliny by Giacomo Raffaelli. 1779. 5.6 cm d. © The Trustees of the British Museum (1990,0710.1). Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial- ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) license.

representations of the Doves of Pliny by travelers to Rome spurred the market for the medium. Convergence of the new discoveries at Hadrian's Villa, the rise of finely crafted micromosaic souvenirs, and travelers' excitement over connections between the ancient mosaic and a contemporaneous account demonstrate the interconnectedness of Roman antiquity and the modern production of micromosaics.

Modifications Spurred on by Pliny the Elder's Description

Micromosaicists were especially in tune with how visitors received the ancient Doves of Pliny mosaic, modifying their compositions to mirror tourist mentalities. The most striking modifications favored elements from Pliny's description despite the details of the actual mosaic discovered at Hadrian's Villa. Consider these modifications as useful tools for shedding light on the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century visitors' experience of the Doves of Pliny mosaic from Hadrian's Villa. Adjustments made by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century mosaicists

also demonstrate how the actuality of the ancient mosaic was intertwined with the mosaicists' long-standing knowledge of Pliny's description.

However closely aligned the mosaic from Hadrian's Villa with Pliny's description, it offers no shadow. Pliny stated that one of the birds "throw[s] the shadow of its head upon the water," but such an effect cannot be seen in the mosaic Furietti uncovered in 1737. Some tourists accepted, with no hesitation, the idea that this mosaic was the one about which Pliny wrote. In 1845, William Gillespie wrote, "It is beyond doubt the identical work described by Pliny."[38] Other travel accounts, however, disputed whether the Doves of Pliny mosaic was in fact the exact one discussed by Pliny. Despite Scottish traveler Joseph Forsyth's doubts that the mosaic was the same as the one described by Pliny, it was "still regarded here as the original of Sosus. If it really is that original.[39] An anonymous traveler also speculated that "this one in question is more probably an antique and valuable copy than the original."[40] There was no accord on the issue, as British theologian Edward Burton described it in 1828:

> 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.[41]

The wealth of travelers' accounts speculating on whether the mosaic from Hadrian's Villa was the exact one discussed by Pliny or simply a copy, and the lack of their consensus on the matter at any given date, suggests that this was a continual issue throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Most early micromosaics, especially those of noted micromosaicist Giacomo Raffaelli, do not depict any sort of shadow, corresponding with the mosaic at Hadrian's Villa (see fig. 2).[42] By the early nineteenth century, however, micromosaicists introduced what looked like the shadow of the drinking bird's face into their compositions, which directly parallels visitors' desires to connect the mosaic to the one

Figure 3. Micromosaic box of Doves of Pliny with bird's reflection in the water and vivid colors. Circa 1830. 2.3 x 8.4 cm. Copyright Victoria & Albert Museum, London (M.92-1969).

Figure 4. Micromosaic plaque of Doves of Pliny with feather and seeds. Circa 1850. 39.5 x 51 cm. Private collection. Photograph Courtesy of Sotheby's, 2023 ("Sotheby's Lot 169," auction date April 20, 2007).

described by Pliny (fig. 3).[43] In actuality, the "shadow" produced by the micromosaicists was typically a reflection of the bird's face, but it also served as a clear reference to Pliny's passage. This very deliberate act of displaying the bird's "shadow" in the water addressed the inconsistencies between Pliny's account and the actual ancient mosaic, giving tourists the idealistic version of Pliny that the material culture of antiquity itself did not provide. Furthermore, micromosaicists strove to remain competitive on the souvenir market, through the innovation of including the drinking bird's "shadow," which certainly distinguished micromosaics from the sea of other souvenirs without this modification.[44] In some mediums, such as gems, artists had a more difficult time presenting this modification without color.[45] The addition of the "shadow" suggests that Pliny's account proved more influential than the actual mosaic uncovered at Hadrian's Villa.

Another alteration to the Doves of Pliny micromosaics likewise reflects tourists' reception of the ancient mosaic found at Hadrian's Villa. Beginning in the mid-nineteenth century, certain micromosaic plaques display feathers resting on the pedestal that supports the vessel, presumably feathers that have just fallen while the bird preened itself (fig. 4).[46] In some instances, there are also round, seed-like objects in addition to feathers. The dimensions of these micromosaic plaques are close to those of the ancient mosaic from Hadrian's Villa, so the composition itself is not miniature, only the tesserae. With the inclusion of feathers and seeds, the attention to realism and illusion is striking. I would suggest that the addition of these fallen items relates to Sosus' *asarotos oecus* or "unswept-floor" mosaic, the famed mosaic Pliny documented in the same passage, alongside the dove mosaic (fig. 5). Pliny's documentation of both mosaics, praised their illusionistic qualities, essentially linking them in tourists' minds.

In 1833, a mosaic matching Pliny's *asarotos oecus* description was discovered in the Vigna Lupi on the Aventine Hill and then displayed at the pontifical museums.[47] The newly discovered *asarotos oecus* mosaic was missing its central emblem due to the construction of a later wall. Many accounts contemporary with its discovery concluded that the Doves of Pliny mosaic from Hadrian's Villa originally belonged in this missing space, thus further binding the two discovered mosaics and Pliny's account.[48] In the initial 1833 announcement of the discovery of the *asarotos oecus* mosaic in the *Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*, Bunsen wrote:

> We must look in the center of the mosaic to have physical proof that the exact copy of that famous work by Sosus was preserved on this floor; where the Capitoline doves should still be found, if they really are the faithful copy taken from the same original.[49]

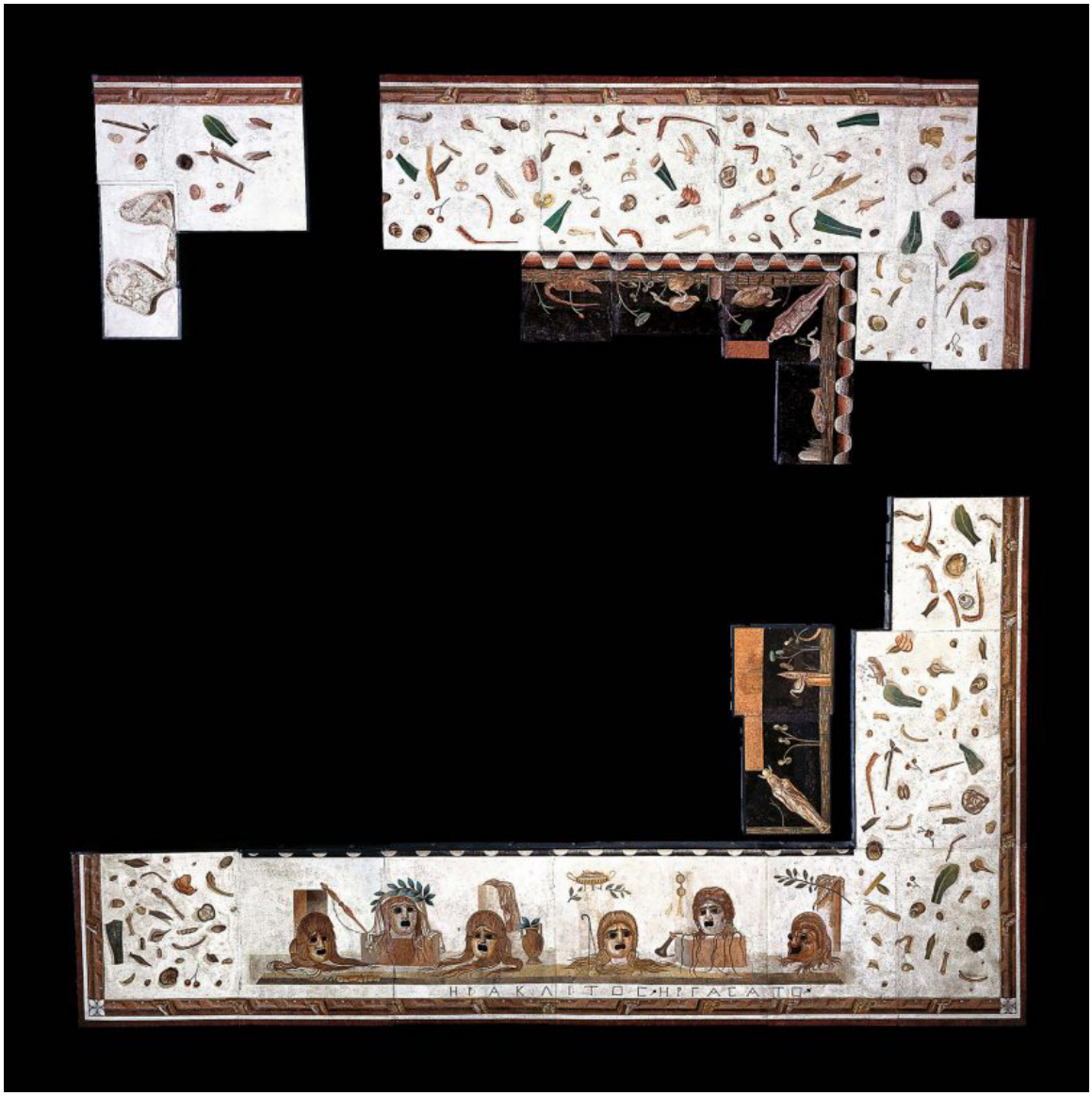

Figure 5. *Asarotos oecus* mosaic by Sosus of Pergamon. Photo copyright © Governorate of the Vatican City State-Directorate of the Vatican Museums (inv. 10132).

The London *Morning Post* also included a reference to the Doves of Pliny in their announcement of the 1833 discovery of the *asarotos oecus* 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."[50] Both of these accounts associated the Doves of Pliny with the *asarotos oecus* mosaic. In much the same way that multiple accounts verbally reconstructed the mosaics together, so too were they visually brought together. Such was the case when, in 1851, the Ospizio Apostolico di San Michele made a tapestry that depicted the Doves of Pliny mosaic surrounded by the *asarotos oecus* mosaic.[51]

Given the deeply ingrained connections between the two mosaics of Sosus, I propose that the appearance of seeds and feathers in the mid-nineteenth century correlates with the 1833 discovery of, and ensuing excitement over, the illusionistic qualities of the *asarotos oecus* mosaic, matching Pliny's description.[52] In this way, the two mosaics of Sosus provided the tourist not only with a more complete experience of Sosus but also with a chance to showcase their knowledge of Pliny's account.

Modifications for Modern Sensibilities of Superiority

In addition to the modifications based on Pliny's text, some micromosaics deviated from the ancient Doves of Pliny mosaic from Hadrian's Villa to align themselves more closely with the modern sensibilities of travelers. Changes from the original color in the later nineteenth century proved a significant modification of micromosaics of the doves.[53] Early micromosaics were more faithful to the ancient Doves of Pliny from Hadrian's Villa and were restrained in palette, using only browns, beiges, and white to represent the birds, as seen in the works of Giacomo Raffaelli. In later nineteenth-century representations, however, the colors of the doves drastically differ from one micromosaic to another. The colors chosen are significantly brighter and include the use of blue and purple tones (see fig. 3). In part, this change in coloration of the doves was inspired by technological advances that provided an ever-increasing number of colors to micromosaicists over the course of the nineteenth century.[54] That does not fully explain, however, why micromosaicists chose to use such a variety of colors.[55] The different gradations of color appealed to the aesthetics of tourists, especially since they praised the coloring and modeling of the ancient Doves of Pliny mosaic on display in the Museo Capitolino. William Gillespie wrote of the mosaic in the museum that "the colors are very sober and harmonious."[56] 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."[57]

When discussing the Doves of Pliny mosaic, travelers often noted how, despite the excellence of ancient craftsmanship, modern mosaicists exceeded even the standards set by admired ancient artists such as Sosus. Joseph Forsyth observed:

> 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. . . . [The] ancients are now excelled in the art of tessellation [by us].[58]

Irish traveler Jane Waldie recalled how "[the art of mosaic] is probably carried to greater perfection in the modern than in the ancient world... [Ancient mosaics] are certainly very inferior to the productions of the present day."[59] The Reverend 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."[60]

These accounts, and many others, underscore how prevalent was the idea of the superiority of modern mosaic-making over the ancient mosaic of the Doves of Pliny, trumpeting the ability of the nineteenth century to triumph in the replication of antiquity. This competitive attitude corresponds with nineteenth-century national fairs and the introduction of world fairs, like the Crystal Palace Exhibition in 1851, where micromosaics were on display and won prizes.[61] It was at exhibitions like this that highly crafted skill and technological advances, like the ones the travelers praised, were put on display to champion the accomplishments of nations. Therefore, in addition to mirroring technological developments, the

choice to augment coloring and modeling in the micromosaics chiefly reflected tourists' interest in the superiority of contemporary mosaic-making over the ancient practice.

Especially interesting in relation to this idea of modern superiority are the Studio Vaticano's views on mosaics. They boasted of their technological advances in color over the ancient Romans in a document dating to the nineteenth century under Pope Pius VII:

> While it is true that the ancient Romans laid the foundation of this art [mosaic], they didn't perfect it as modern artists have, who went so far as to create new materials similar to those used in antiquity. With these materials, they would elevate their craft to create a close copy of the painting. Indeed, if one had to judge based off of what remains of their monuments, it could be said that Romans limited their use of mosaics to their floors; and the famous doves so highly praised by Pliny. Yet now, we have reason to believe that [the Ancient Roman mosaics] are far from the virtues of modern advancements that can now be admired in Rome. One of the reasons of this limitation was certainly because of the restricted availability of pigments, used to color the stones, with which Ancient Romans realized such works. Whereas, modern artisans, with the knowledge of chemistry, sought out, and happily succeeded in creating varnishes in great abundance, with many variances of color that were necessary to imitate the most difficult combinations of paint in ancient works.[62]

This passage explains how the ancient mosaic from Hadrian's Villa, while admirable for the time, was far removed from contemporary technological advances in color. It parallels the same type of thought seen in tourist accounts evoking the Doves of Pliny in their comparison of ancient and modern mosaics.[63] Therefore, the superiority of contemporary over ancient mosaics culminated in the materiality of modified micromosaics of the Doves of Pliny connecting direct representations of the ancient mosaic with the desired experience of the tourist. Micromosaics were unique in offering this modification; such other souvenirs as cameos and gems could not, and a medium like pietra dura did not. By using the same marble stones as ancient mosaic, pietra dura was just as limiting as the outdated technology of "the Romans [who] chiefly used coloured marbles, or natural stones, in their mosaics." It typically used a variety of earth tones or all white to color the doves.[64]

Micromosaic souvenirs of the Doves of Pliny also demonstrated superiority because of the ways in which their miniature tesserae exceeded the minuteness of even ancient tesserae. Contemporary scholar of mosaics Gaetano Moroni wrote how superior modern micromosaic craftsmanship was for miniaturizing the Doves of Pliny:

> Through similar discoveries, a knowledge of the superiority of materials used in the making of modern mosaics has emerged. Such methods were surely unknown by ancient artisans, for which one could presume that the art form has finally reached its peak perfection. Evidence of this can be seen in what has come to be known as the Cup of the Doves, illustrated by Pliny, and more particularly by the commentary of His Excellency Cardinal Furietti, stating emphatically that within one square inch of the mosaic, now residing in Campidoglio, 163 pebbles can be counted, whereas today, the same cup can be made with the same design, minus four less birds in the same square inch.[65]

Here, Moroni emphasized how contemporary micromosaicists surpassed Sosus' work that had 163 tesserae per square inch by fitting the entire cup of the composition into a single square inch.

Tourists also took note of the minute contemporary tesserae, and micromosaicists capitalized on a market fascinated by the miniature. For example, in 1820, 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."[66] The souvenir, Waldie expounded, was a miniature of a miniature, which held such appeal because it operated in another world. As Susan Stewart argues in an influential study, there is no miniature in nature, and it is therefore miniaturization that can offer the purchaser an alternative time outside of the historical, lived time in the natural world. Steeped in nostalgia, the miniature could manipulate lived experiences.[67] This ability to create an alternative time, where experiences are warped by nostalgia, corresponds well with a souvenir that, like the micromosaic,

was meant to memorialize and rewrite past experiences. I would argue that the Doves of Pliny was detached from historical time in the mind of the tourist. As shown in previously quoted tourist excerpts, accounts often jump between past and present through simultaneous discussions of ancient mosaics and contemporary micromosaics. For example, Waldie references ancient mosaic practice while discussing modern micromosaic-making at the Vatican: "Mosaic is, as I suppose every one knows, a revived art."[68] Miniatures can create romantic histories that tie a contemporary practice, like micromosaic, to a historic one, like ancient Roman mosaics. The miniature materiality of the Doves of Pliny micromosaics offered travelers an alternative space in which nostalgia could rewrite the memories of their experiences.

Conclusions

Alterations made to the Doves of Pliny micromosaics were largely unique to that medium and were not regularly pictured on other souvenirs replicating the Doves of Pliny. The reason for this is the materiality of micromosaics, whose minute tesserae not only mimicked the marble mosaic from Hadrian's Villa but also had the ability to surpass it and offer advantages that other mediums could not. However, the Doves of Pliny was not the only ancient object to be subjected to the modifications that the collective body of travelers to Italy desired in souvenir format. In representations of the Parthenon, for example, micromosaics, fans, and prints often removed the much-detested campanili added under Pope Urban VIII, well before their actual removal in 1883.[69] Visitors despised these campanili, including American George Hillard, who 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."[70] Furthermore, micromosaics, porcelain, fans, and gems all modify the original indoor setting of the ancient wall painting of the Seller of Cupids to an outdoor backdrop.[71] This change from a private, indoor scene to a public, outdoor one helped deemphasize erotic aspects of the wall painting. Additionally, micromosaics adopted a landscape suggestive of the Bay of Naples environment, connecting the painting to the environment in which it was found. While souvenirs may be serially-produced objects, they offer useful variations that can shed light on how tourists received specific ancient artworks and should be investigated for such possibilities.

A careful examination of the Doves of Pliny micromosaics demonstrates how souvenirs were adapted over time to correspond with tourists' collectively shaped reception of the ancient mosaic found at Hadrian's Villa. Tourists wanted a memento that reflected the literary record of Pliny the Elder—as evidenced by the addition of the dove's shadow in the early nineteenth century, and the inclusion of seeds and feathers in the mid-nineteenth. They insisted on the superiority of modern mosaic-making over the already exquisite skills of the ancients, and this is borne out in the alteration of color from the Doves of Pliny mosaic to the later nineteenth century versions and in the ever-more minute tesserae.

Travelers could then take the souvenirs home, allowing for touch-activated memories that improved upon and translated the tourists' experience of seeing the Doves of Pliny in the Museo Capitolino in Rome. One can imagine a tourist returning home in the nineteenth century, sporting a brooch of the Doves of Pliny, and recounting to all admirers her in-person experience of seeing the minute tesserae of the vibrantly colored mosaic while confirming how it accorded with classical literature, the domain of learning in her world. The travelogues and material culture surrounding the Doves of Pliny demonstrate how intricately the ancient mosaic and its micromosaic adaptations were related; neither could exist without the other. The desires of tourists for the Doves of Pliny mosaic from Hadrian's Villa materialized in micromosaic variations that ultimately augmented the ancient mosaic. The case of the micromosaic representation of the Doves of Pliny serves as an example of how souvenirs might be used to better understand the contemporary reception of ancient artworks.

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Endnotes

1. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, trans. John Bostock (London: Taylor and Francis, 1855), 36.60.

2. Charlotte A. Eaton, *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* (London: H.G. Bohn, 1852), 1:311. Because of the number of shops and the general downward turn in quality of mass-reproduced micromosaics, toward the end of the nineteenth century, it was necessary for publishers like John Murray to provide a curated list of the best places to purchase micromosaics from the masses that were available; see Judy Rudoe, "Mosaico in Piccolo: Craftsmanship and Virtuosity in Miniature Mosaics," in *The Gilbert Collection: Micromosaics*, ed. Jeanette H. Gabriel (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2000), 45; and John Murray, *A Handbook of Rome and its Environs* (London: John Murray, 1881), 24.

3. Plaster and sulfur gems, with their similar subjects and seriality of production, are the souvenirs most comparable to micromosaics.

4. For a discussion of royalty and micromosaics, see Heike Zech, *Micromosaics: Masterpieces from the Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Collection* (London: V&A Publishing, 2018), 12–13, and Jeanette H. Gabriel, *Micromosaics: Private Collections* (United States: Brian McCarthy, 2016), 8–11. While larger micromosaics such as tables and pictures tended to be the domain of the elite, and smaller micromosaics such as snuffboxes or paperweights tended to be reproduced at higher rates for travelers, we should not discount the cultural value of smaller, less expensive micromosaics. Irish tourist Lady Morgan Sydney documented how small souvenir micromosaics in the form of jewelry presented an expense: "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 curiosity shops no longer tempt the curious." Lady Morgan Sydney Owenson, *Italy by Lady Morgan* (London: Henry Colburn and Co., 1821) 2:295.

5. To give an idea of the variation in price of such objects, a micromosaic picture of the Temple of Sibyl at Tivoli was sold by the Studio Vaticano around 1876 for 2,800 scudi. "Nota dei quadri in musaici in smalti filati sistenti nel Gabinetto particolare dello Studio del Mosaico al Vaticano dall anno 1876" ["Notes of the mosaic paintings in spun enamel existing in the Cabinet particular of the Mosaic Studio at the Vatican from the year 1876"]; Archivio Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro (ARFSP), Vatican City, Armadio 84, A61, F37. There is an account of a mosaic necklace with gold chain from Venice that cost 30 scudi, and Gherardo Volponi, a mosaicist who worked both in a private studio and for the Studio Vaticano, made mosaic chimneypieces that cost 400 scudi for Marchese Marini. Archivio di Stato di Roma (ASR), Rome, Busta 98 (Fabbrica di mosaici 1813–1838), Num. 3 Gherardo Volponi.

6. Nelson H. H. Graburn, *Ethnic and Tourist Arts: Cultural Expressions from the Fourth World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1976), 6–15. David Hume, *Tourism Art and Souvenirs: The Material Culture of Tourism* (London: Routledge, 2013), 123.

7. See Antonio Pinelli, "L'industria dell'antico e del souvenir," in *Il Classico si fa Pop: di scavi, copie, e altri pasticcio*, eds. Mirella Serlorenzi, Marcello Barbanera, and Antonio Pinelli (Milan: Electa, 2018), 110–111, and Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini, eds., *Grand Tour: The Lure of Italy in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Tate Gallery Publishing, 1996).

8. 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.

9. Antonio Pinelli situates the souvenirs of Rome, including micromosaics, in their Grand Tour context. Anotnio Pinelli, *Souvenir: l'industria dell'antico e il Grand Tour a Roma* (Rome: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 2010). Sarah Benson suggests that the early modern souvenirs of Rome set forth a collectively determined framework for the ways that we understand souvenirs today: as repeatable, fragmentable, and portable objects that are collected ("Reproduction," 34). Wilton and Bignamini put forth a catalog of souvenirs associated with the Grand Tour (Grand Tour).

10. See, for example, a selection: Domenico Petochi, Massimo Alfieri, and Maria Grazia Branchetti, *I Mosaici Minuti Romani dei secoli XVIII e XIX* (Rome: Abete, 1981); Alvar González-Palacios, *Fasto romano: dipinti, sculture, arredi dai palazzi di Roma* (Rome: Leonardo-De Luca, 1991); Dario Narduzzi, ed., *Mosaici in mostra dallo Studio del Mosaico della Fabbrica di S. Pietro in Vaticano* (Città Vaticana: Tipografia Vaticana, 2001); Roberto Grieco and Arianna Gambino, *Roman Mosaic: l'arte del micromosaico tra '700 e '800* (Milan: De Agostini Rizzoli Arte & Cultura, 2001); Roberto Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic* (Rome: Gangemi Editore, 2009); Maria Grazia Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti romani: collezione Savelli* (Rome: Gangemi, 2004); Alvar González-Palacios, *The Art of Mosaics: Selections from the Gilbert Collection* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1982); Jeanette H. Gabriel, ed., *The Gilbert Collection: Micromosaics* (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2000); Gabriel, *Micromosaics: Private Collections; Zech, Micromosaics: Masterpieces.*

11. A notable exception with micromosaics is an edited volume by Chiara Stefani, *Ricordi in Micromosaico: Vedute e paesaggi per I viaggiatori del Grand Tour* (Rome: De Luca Editori D'Arte, 2011). This volume explores the appeal of souvenirs and tourists' discussion of them. The essays move beyond merely recording the fundamental information about micromosaics and discuss how micromosaics reflect the tourists' experiences of their visit.

12. Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory on the Leisure Class*, (New York: Schocken Books, 1976), 137-143.

13. 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.

14. Carlo Pietrangeli, "Mosaici 'in piccolo,'" *Bollettino dei Musei Comunali di Roma* 25–27 (1986): 83. Steffi Röttigen, "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 County Museum of Art), 24. The first mosaic altarpiece was made in St. Peter's as early as 1627, though it was made

of Venetian glass. Dario Narduzzi, ed., *Mosaici in mostra dallo Studio del Mosaico della Fabbrica di S. Pietro in Vaticano* (Vatican City: Tipografia Vaticana, 2001), 9–11.

15. Gabriel, *The Gilbert Collection*, 14.

16. The Studio's strict control of the use of their smalti, or enamels, by their workers for their own private workshops in 1794 suggests that unauthorized use was a problem. In fact, there was a custodian whose only job was to account for and regulate the distribution of *smalti* (Petochi, Alfieri, and Branchetti, *I Mosaici Minuti*, 18). Documents note, for example, 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 it dates from the first half of the nineteenth century, which suggests that Vatican enamels continued to infiltrate the private market well after stricter regulations were enacted. ASR, Busta 98 (Fabbrica di mosaici 1813–1838) [Fabbrica di mosaici di L.M.], Num. 2: Lettere e conti (1819–1838, 1847).

17. Scottish traveler William Cadell wrote, "This Mosaic was once in the possession of Cardinal Furietti, who published a description of it." *A Journey in Carniola, Italy, and France in the Years 1817, 1818*, vol. I (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co., 1820), 415. English theologian Edward Burton also acknowledged Furietti's publication when he wrote about the Doves of Pliny in his travelogue; see 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), 137.

18. 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'esempio di Sesto Rufo, Vittore, e Nardini* (Rome: 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 *Miscellania filologica*, and Nibby's 1821 *Descrizione della Villa Adriana*. Mariana De Franceschini, *Villa Adriana: Mosaici-Pavimenti-Edifici* (Rome: L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1991), 337.

19. The President de Brosses and Pope Benedict XIV also visited the mosaic at Furietti's residence. Fabrizio Slavazzi, "I mosaici di Monsignor Frueitti: 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, IT: Scripta manent, 2005), 730.

20. Carlo Fea, *Miscellanea Filologica Critica e Antiqauria dell'avvocato Carlo Fea* (Rome: Nella Stamperia Pagliarini, 1790), CXXXXV.

21. Miranda Marvin, *The Language of the Muses: The Dialogue between Roman and Greek Sculptures* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2008), 27.

22. For example, English traveler Charlotte Eaton wrote about the artists to whom Pliny attributed the Laocöon and how Pliny described the statue of the Nile in the Vatican (*Rome, in the Nineteenth Centur*y, 111 and 244).

23. Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, trans. John Bostock (London: Taylor and Francis, 1855), XXXVI.60.

24. See, for example, Burton, *A Description*, 137; George William Evans, *The Classic and Connoisseur in Italy and Sicily*, Vol. I (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Gren & Longman, 1835) 447–8; and William Mitchell Gillespie, *Rome: As Seen by a New-Yorke*r (New York: Wiley and Putnam, 1845), 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.

25. George Head, Rome: *A Tour of Many Days* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1849), 2:20.

26. In fact, the Nilotic mosaic was even subject to a lively debate between Barthélemy and Bernard de Mountfaucon regarding its possible connection to a passage of Pliny. Tamara Griggs, "Antiquaries and the Nile mosaic: the changing Face of erudition," in *Viewing Antiquity: The Grand Tour, Antiquarianism, and Collecting*, eds. Carole Paul and Louis Marchesano (Rome: Carocci editore, 2000), 42–3.

27. J. Salmon, *A Description of the Works of Art of Ancient and Modern Rome*, vol. 1 (London: J. Sammells, 1798), 80.

28. Adelaide L. Harrington, *The Afterglow of European Travel* (Boston: D. Lothrop and Company, 1882), 180.

29. This mosaic was even displayed like a painting. 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 di Monsignor," 730.

30. 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*, issue 16848, Monday, December 20, 1824.

31. Pietra dura tabletop; Christie's South Kensington Ltd, *Antiquities and Souvenirs of the Grand Tour, Wednesday 4 November 1992* (London: Christie's, 1992), no. 236.

32. See fan, c. 1780, the Fan Museum in Greenwich, Wilton and Bignamini, *Grand Tour*, cat. 263; fan, c. 1785, the Brighton Museum, *Fans and the Grand Tour* (Brighton: Brighton Museum, 1982), no. 18; and anonymously produced eighteenth-century fan, the Metropolitan Museum of Art (38.91.107).

33. Alabaster tazza of the birds. "Sotheby's Lot 419," Sotheby's, auction date October 5–7, 2010, http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2010/chatsworth-the-attic-sale-l10309/lot.419.html (accessed 24 July 2023). James Paul Cobbet asserted: "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 in Italy and also in part of France and Switzerland* (London: 11, Bolt-Court, 1830), 264. George Head suggested 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 (*Rome: A Tour,* 20). These copies, as attested above, often had a circulation well beyond Italy.

34. Lucia Pirzio Biroli Stefanelli, *La collezione Paoletti: stampi in vetro per impronte di intagli e cammei*, (Rome: Gangemi Editore, 2012), 2: no. 215.

35. Gillespie, *Rome: As Seen*, 42.

36. *Mementoes, Historical and Classical, Of a Tour through part of France, Switzerland, and Italy in the Years 1821 and 1822* (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, 1824), 1:33.

37. George Stillman Hillard, *Six Months in Italy* (Boston: Ticknor, Reed, and Fields, 1850), 285.

38. Gillespie, *Rome: As Seen*, 42.

39. Joseph Forsyth, *Remarks on Antiquities, Arts, and Letters during an excursion in Italy in the years 1802 and 1803* (Boston: Wells and Lilly, 1812), 117.

40. *Mementoes*, 33.

41. Burton, *A Description*, 136–7.

42. For a selection of micromosaics faithful to the Doves of Pliny mosaic, see micromosaic plaque of Doves of Pliny by Giacomo Raffaelli, 1798, Savelli collection, Rome, Inv. Sc. A 11/236. (Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*,19); micromosaic plaque of Doves of Pliny, c. 1800 (Gabriel, *The Gilbert Collection*, fig. 107); micromosaic plaque of Doves of Pliny, late eighteenth/ early nineteenth century, private collection (González-Palacios, *Fasto Romano,* fig. 37); micromosaic plaque of Doves of Pliny, late eighteenth century, private collection (Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, fig. 228); and plaque by Giacomo Raffaelli, c.1799, private collection (Gabriel, *Micromosaics: Private Collections*, no. 75).

43. Judy Rudoe acknowledges the addition of the shadow in alignment with Pliny's text in the case of two micromosaics in the Gilbert Collection ("Mosaico in piccolo," 34). For a selection of examples with the addition of the reflection of the bird, see: micromosaic paperweight of Doves of Pliny, second half of nineteenth century, private collection (Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, fig. 332); micromosaic plaque of Doves of Pliny, first half of the nineteenth century, private collection (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 155); micromosaic table with Doves of Pliny, second quarter of the nineteenth century, Savelli collection, (Branchetti, *Mosaici minuti*. 53); snuffbox with micromosaic of Doves of Pliny, c. 1825, Gilbert collection (Gabriel, *The Gilbert Collection*, fig. 141); paperweight, mid-to-late nineteenth century, private collection (Gabriel, *Micromosaics: Private Collections*, no. 221); and mosaic picture, c.1850, private collection (Gabriel, *Micromosaics: Private Collections*, no. 35).

44. A rare representation of a shadow of the dove is in Amidei's 1741 print; however, the shadow is not in the water below as dictated by Pliny but is rather reflected on the bowl (Amidei, *Roma antica*, pl. 63).

45. In the Metropolitan Museum of Art, however, there is a single reproduction of the shadow on a small cameo that was likely produced in Naples; Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv. 2007.214a,b, https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/231639 (accessed 24 July 2023)

46. For a selection of micromosaics with feathers and/or seeds, see micromosaic plaque of Doves of Pliny with feathers and seeds, mid-nineteenth century, private collection (Grieco, *Roman Mosaic*, fig. 373); micromosaic plaque of Doves of Pliny with feathers, nineteenth century, private collection, "Sotheby's Lot 253," Sotheby's, auction date October 30, 2013, http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2013/19th-century-furniture-n09021/lot.253.html (accessed 24 July 2023); and micromosaic plaque of the Doves of Pliny with feathers, late nineteenth century, "Christies Lot 379," Christie's, auction date October 25, 2007, http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/furniture-lighting/a-roman-micromosaic-plaque-depicting-the-doves-4982003-details.aspx (accessed 24 July 2023).

47. It went to the Lateran Museum from 1846 until it was returned to Vatican in 1963. Alessandra Uncini, "Il rapporto con I Musei Pontifici," *Bollettino- Monumenti, musei e gallerie pontificie* 10 (1990): 170–1.

48. Wolfgang Helbig, *Guide to the Public Collections of Classical Antiquities in Rome*, trans. James F. and Findlay Muirhead (Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, 1895), 1: 512.

49. ". . . il centro del musaico 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"; C. Bunsen, "Scoprimento di un musaico nella Vigna Lupi, incontro il bastione di S. Gallo a Roma," *Bullettino dell'Instituto di Corrispondennza Archeologica* 1833, 83.

50. "Fashionable World," *The Morning Post*, issue 19553, Thursday, August 8, 1833.

51. 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*, eds. Laura Biancini and Franco Onorati (Rome: Editore Colombo, 1998), 152–3, fig. 14. The tapestry was displayed at the Floreria Apostolica until 1935, when it entered the Musei Vaticani (Uncini, "Il rapporto," 171).

52. The only other image with the Doves of Pliny, and either feathers or seeds, is a nineteenth-century painting by Johann Wenzel Peter, who worked in Rome. His painting includes feathers and must have been painted before the 1833 discovery of the asarotos oecus mosaic, since he died in 1829. Perhaps micromosaicists were inspired by this painting with their inclusion of feathers. Regardless, its appearance on micromosaics correlates with the discovery of the asarotos *oecus mosaic*, which suggests that the discovery excited such iconographic choices in micromosaics. See "Sotheby's Lot 79," Sotheby's, auction date June 21, 2018, http://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2018/tableaux-omp-19me-sculpture-pf1809/lot.79.html (accessed 24 July 2023).

53. For a selection of micromosaics with modified coloring of the doves, see micromosaic picture with Doves of Pliny, mid-nineteenth century, private collection (Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, fig. 399); micromosaic brooch with Doves of Pliny, second half of the nineteenth century, private collection (Grieco and Gambino, *Roman Mosaic*, 64); micromosaic paperweight with the Doves of Pliny, late nineteenth century, private collection, "Christie's Lot 155," Christie's, auction date September 23, 2008, http://www.christies.com/lotfinder/lot/an-italian-micromosaic-and-bla-late-19th-5114105-details.aspx (accessed 24 July 2023); micromosaic paperweight with Doves of Pliny, last half nineteenth century, private collection (Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, fig. 332).

54. In the mid-eighteenth century, Alessio Mattioli discovered how to tint the opaque glass used for the tesserae, which freed the Vatican from reliance on shades of color from Venice; see Rudoe, "Mosaico in Piccolo," 28; Maria Grazia Branchetti, "L'Arte del mosaico minuto: una tecnica e il suo tempo," in *Mosaici Minuti Romani del 700 e dell '800*, eds. Massimo Alfieri, Maria Grazia Branchetti, Guido Cornini (Rome: Edizioni del Mosaico, 1986), 21. The documents of the Studio Vaticano show the ever-increasing number of tints available to micromosaicists throughout the nineteenth century. For example, in 1816, there were 15,326 tints available (ARFSP, Sistemo allo Studio de Mosaico della Fabbrica . . . 1816 Armadio 98 C33), but by 1838, there were over 18,000 (ARFSP, Nuovo Regolamento 15 Maggio 1838 Armadio 12 G14). The growing number was thanks to a new technique,

malmischiati, invented in the beginning of the nineteenth century. *Malmischiati* used multiple colors in a single cane, and this resulted in increased tones and versatility of coloring; see Chiara Bertaccini and Cesare Fiori, *Micromosaico: storia, tecnica, arte, del mosaico minuto romano* (Ravenna: Edizioni del Girasole, 2009), 90; Narduzzi, Mosaici, 17.

55. Likely also driving the interest in color was early nineteenth-century research by Quatremère de Quincy about polychromy in classical sculpture. See Paolo Bertonicini Sabatini, "Antoine Chrysostôme Quatremère de Quincy (1755–1849) and the "Rediscovery of Polychromy in Grecian Architecture: Colour Techniques and Archaeological Research in the Pages of 'Olympian Zeus,'" *Second International Congress on Construction History* 2006: 393–407.

56. Gillespie, *Rome: As Seen*, 42.

57. Julien Armstrong, "Birds in Art." *The Selbourne Magazine* 1890: 73.

58. Forsyth, *Remarks*, 58, 117.

59. Jane Waldie, *Sketches Descriptive of Italy in the Years 1816 and 1817* (London: John Murray, 1820), 2:263.

60. Evans, *The Classic and Connoisseur*, 447–8.

61.Signaling micromosaic superiority as fine art was their display in London's 1851 Crystal Palace Exhibition, where micromosaicist Michelangelo Barberi won a prize medal from the council for his table of micromosaic *vedute* of Italian cities; ASR, Camerlengato, Parte II, Titolo III-, commercio, Busta 141, num. 2771. Grande Esposizione di Londra. This table was made for Francis Needham, the Earl of Kilmorey, demonstrating that such objects became the domain of the elite.

62. "Gli antichi ne gettarono è vero i fondamenti ma no la portarono a quella perfezione a cui li moderni artisti l'hanno condotta creando per fino di nuovi più analoghi materiali, onde elevare questo vanno delle belle arti al punto di formarne l'imitazione la più prossima possibile della Pittura. Li Romani in fatti, se debbarsi giudicare dai monumenti, che ci restano limitarono il mosaico alli pavimenti, e le famose colombe cosi encomiate da Plinio ci provano abbasstanza, che quest'arte era ben lungi da quei progressi, che ora vi si ammirano, e siccome una dale ragioni di questa limitazione era certamente la ristretta quanti la delle tinte, che presentano le pietre colorate, con cui gli antichi eseguivano tali opere, in consequenza i moderni con l'aiuto della chimica cercarono e felicemente rinvennero nei smalti l'immuensa quantita delle diverse degradizioni che abbisognano per imitare più difficil impasti della Pittura"; ARFSP. Armadio 12, G14c, F583, 1731–1811.

63. Charlotte Eaton writes a passage that almost directly mimics that of the Studio Vaticano (*Rome, in the Nineteenth Century*, 311).

64. Eaton, *Rome, in the Nineteenth Century*, 311.

65. "Mediante simili ritrovati risulta una superiorità di mezzi per eseguire i musaici, 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 musaico, 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"; Moroni, Gaetano, "Mosaico," in *Dizionario di erudizione storico-ecclesiastica da S. Pietro ai nostri giorni*, vol. 47 (Venice: dalla Tipografia Emiliana, 1847), 78.

66. Waldie, *Sketches*, 263.

67. Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 55–65, 69.

68. Waldie, *Sketches*, 263.

69. Micromosaics: snuffbox, end of eighteenth/beginning of nineteenth century, Savelli Collection, Inv. Ve.R.a. 33/149 (Branchetti, *Mosaici Minuti*, 39); plaque, late eighteenth century, private collection (Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, fig. 264); snuffbox, 1815–1820, private collection (González-Palacios, *Fasto Romano*, 38, no. 73); plaque, given to Sir William Drummond in 1827, private collection (González-Palacios, *Fasto Romano*, 38, no. 40). Fans: late eighteenth century fan in the manner of Tommaso Bigatti, Praz collection, Inv. 204 (Rosazza-Ferraris, *Museo Mario Praz*, cat. 562); fan dating to c. 1780, the Fan Museum in Greenwich, (Wilton and Bignamini, *Grand Tour*, cat. 263); anonymously produced fan, eighteenth-century, the Metropolitan Museum of Art (38.91.107). Prints: Piranesi's engraving of the Pantheon for *Il Campo Marzio* in 1762 (Fagiolo, "*Roma quanta fuit*," fig. 7).

70. Hillard, *Six Months*, 316. Tourists often misattribute the towers to Bernini, though they were added by Carlo Maderno and Francesco Borromini.

71. For example: micromosaic box of the Seller of Cupids by Clemente Ciuli, early nineteenth century, private collection (Grieco, *Roman Micromosaic*, no. 288); tray with the Seller of Cupids manufactured by the Real Fabbrica Ferdinandea, private collection; see Angela Caròla-Perrotti, ed., *Le Porcellane dei Borbone di Napoli* (Naples: Guida editori, 1986), tav. 72. Also: Steatite gem, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum; see Maria Elisa Micheli, "Eroti in gabbia. Storia di un motivo iconografico," *Prospettiva: Rivista di storia dell'arte antica e moderna* 65 (1992): fig. 5. Finally: fan with Seller of Cupids, Museo Nazionale di San Martino; see Gina Carla Ascione, "Il 'souvenir' di Pompei. Dalle immagini neoclassiche alla diffusione nell'epoca della riproducibilità tecnica," *Rivista di Studi di Pompeiana* 12–13 (2001–2002): 83.