

Metropolitan Museum Journal

Volume 37/2002

Essays in Honor of Clare Le Corbeiller



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CONTENTS

Foreword

PHILIPPE DE MONTEBELLO

Thoughts of Clare Le Corbeiller

JAMES DAVID DRAPER

The Publications of Clare Le Corbeiller

An Early Greek Bronze Sphinx Support

JOAN R. MERTENS

Framed in Fifteenth-Century Florence

SUZANNE BOORSCH

An Early Meissen Discovery: A *Shield Bearer*

Designed by Hans Daucher for the Ducal Chapel
in the Cathedral of Meissen

WOLFRAM KOEPPE

A New Drawing by Jean Cousin the Elder for the Saint Mamas Tapestries

PERRIN STEIN

A Sixteenth-Century Lacquered Chinese Box

JAMES C. Y. WATT

Miss America's Brother and His Club

HELMUT NICKEL

Some Seventeenth-Century French Painted Enamel Watchcases

CLARE VINCENT

Migration and Metamorphosis: The Transformation of Shapes, Ornaments, and Materials

BERNHARD HEITMANN

Japanese Porcelain at Burghley House: The Inventory of 1688 and the Sale of 1888

OLIVER IMPEY

Meissen Porcelain for Sophie Dorothea of Prussia and the Exchange of Visits between the Kings of Poland and Prussia in 1728

MAUREEN CASSIDY-GEIGER

William Bradshaw: Furniture Maker and Tapestry Weaver

GEOFFREY BEARD

A Pattern of Exchange: Jan Luyken and *Chine de Commande* Porcelain

CHRISTIAAN JÖRG

The Reign of Magots and Pagods

DANIËLLE KISLUK-GROSHEIDE

The Development of Repertoire in Mennecy Porcelain Sculpture, circa 1738–65

AILEEN DAWSON

A Drawing by Canaletto of Richmond House Terrace

KATHARINE BAETJER

The Spaghetti Eaters

MEREDITH CHILTON

"I'm No Angel": A Terracotta Model of *Saint Vincent Ferrer* by Giuseppe Sanmartino

JOHANNA HECHT

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Contents

Foreword PHILIPPE DE MONTEBELLO	7
Colorplates	9
Thoughts of Clare Le Corbeiller JAMES DAVID DRAPER	15
The Publications of Clare Le Corbeiller	19
An Early Greek Bronze Sphinx Support JOAN R. MERTENS	23
Framed in Fifteenth-Century Florence SUZANNE BOORSCH	35
An Early Meissen Discovery: A <i>Shield Bearer</i> Designed by Hans Daucher for the Ducal Chapel in the Cathedral of Meissen WOLFRAM KOEPPE	41
A New Drawing by Jean Cousin the Elder for the Saint Mamas Tapestries PERRIN STEIN	63
A Sixteenth-Century Lacquered Chinese Box JAMES C. Y. WATT	77
Miss America's Brother and His Club HELMUT NICKEL	83
Some Seventeenth-Century French Painted Enamel Watchcases CLARE VINCENT	89
Migration and Metamorphosis: The Transformation of Shapes, Ornaments, and Materials BERNHARD HEITMANN	107
Japanese Porcelain at Burghley House: The Inventory of 1688 and the Sale of 1888 OLIVER IMPEY	117
Meissen Porcelain for Sophie Dorothea of Prussia and the Exchange of Visits between the Kings of Poland and Prussia in 1728 MAUREEN CASSIDY-GEIGER	133
William Bradshaw: Furniture Maker and Tapestry Weaver GEOFFREY BEARD	167
A Pattern of Exchange: Jan Luyken and <i>Chine de Commande</i> Porcelain CHRISTIAAN JÖRG	171
The Reign of Magots and Pagods DANIËLLE KISLUK-GROSHEIDE	177

The Development of Repertoire in Mennecy Porcelain Sculpture, circa 1738–65 AILEEN DAWSON	199
A Drawing by Canaletto of Richmond House Terrace KATHARINE BAETJER	213
The Spaghetti Eaters MEREDITH CHILTON	223
“I’m No Angel”: A Terracotta Model of <i>Saint Vincent Ferrer</i> by Giuseppe Sanmartino JOHANNA HECHT	229
Sir Francis Watson at Firle Place, East Sussex DEBORAH GAGE	239
A New Attribution of Three Sèvres Vases LINDA H. ROTH	247
<i>A Meuble à Corbeil</i> in the Metropolitan Museum WILLIAM RIEDER	257
The “Etruscan” Style at Sèvres: A Bowl from Marie-Antoinette’s Dairy at Rambouillet SELMA SCHWARTZ	259
Hard-Paste Porcelain Plates from Sèvres with Chinoiserie Decoration in Colored Golds and Platinum ANTOINE D’ALBIS	267
<i>The River Nile</i> , A Giovanni Volpato Masterwork JAMES DAVID DRAPER	277
A Paris Porcelain Dinner Service for the American Market ALICE COONEY FRELINGHUYSEN	283
A Nineteenth-Century Sèvres Cup and Saucer JEFFREY H. MUNGER	291
A Modest Sèvres Vase for a King TAMARA PRÉAUD	299
“Reproductions of the Christian Glass of the Catacombs”: James Jackson Jarves and the Revival of the Art of Glass in Venice JUDY RU DOE	305
Balthus’s Mountain Guide Revisited SABINE REWALD	315

Foreword

PHILIPPE DE MONTEBELLO

Director, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

THIS VOLUME of the *Metropolitan Museum Journal* results from a spontaneous desire on the part of many to honor curator Clare Le Corbeiller upon her retirement. In 2000, she tendered her resignation (it was accepted with the greatest reluctance), having served forty-one years in the department now known as European Sculpture and Decorative Arts. Her presence continues to be felt through the number and significance of her accomplishments, as well as through the frequent visits she still pays us, to the delight of her colleagues.

It is an extremely rare occurrence at the Museum, perhaps too rare, that we salute a coworker in this

fashion. However, in view of Clare's steadfast devotion to the institution and the mark she has made on the decorative arts through her irreproachable curatorial habits and her inspired teaching, we make the exception wholeheartedly. I join my voice in tribute with the *Journal's* Editorial Board and with those who have contributed articles from far and wide, to whom many thanks.

This is also the proper place in which to reiterate thanks to Romano I. Peluso and his family for their generous support of the *Journal*. Without it we could hardly have embarked on a project as complex as this Festschrift, nor have hoped for results as rewarding.

METROPOLITAN
MUSEUM JOURNAL

Volume 37 / 2002

Plate 1. Hans Daucher, design, executed in the workshop of Adolf Daucher, German, Augsburg, *Shield Bearer with the Ducal Arms of Saxony*, commissioned most likely 1518, delivered in 1521. Honestone, partially polychromed and gilt, H. 19¾ in. (50.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Gifts of The Hearst Foundation, Alexander Smith Cochran, Mrs. Russell Sage, Mr. and Mrs. William Randolph Hearst Jr., and Bequest of Emma A. Sheaffer, by exchange, 1999 (1999.29). See pp. 41–62



Plate 2. Lucien Falize (1839–1897). Box in Islamic style, mark registered by Alexis Falize et Fils in 1875. Enameled gold, H. 1 in. (2.4 cm), L. 2¾ in. (7 cm), W. 2 in. (5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Friends of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts Gifts, in honor of Clare Le Corbeiller, 2002 (2002.258)



Plate 3. Box in plate 2 with lid raised, showing the maker's signature



Plate 4. Left to right: Watchcase, French (Blois or Paris), ca. 1645–50. Painted enamel on gold, diam. $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. (5.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.1583). Back of watchcase with scene of the Holy Family with the Infant Saint John the Baptist, French (Paris or Blois), ca. 1645–50. Case of painted enamel on gold; movement signed “Goullons Paris,” diam. $2\frac{1}{4}$ in. (5.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.1627). See pp. 89–106



Plate 5. After a model by Johann Gottlieb Kirchner (German, b. ca. 1706). Covered cup with stand, ca. 1728. Meissen porcelain, Gr. H. $15\frac{1}{8}$ in. (39.5 cm), diam. of stand $11\frac{7}{8}$ in. (30.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of R. Thornton Wilson, in memory of his brother, Orme Wilson, 1966 (1966.63a-c). See pp. 133–66



Plate 6. Pair of candelabra, French, ca. 1740–45. Gilt bronze, lacquered wood, and hard-paste porcelain, each H. 6¾ in. (17.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.87,.88). See pp. 177–97



Plate 7. Giuseppe Gricci, modeler (Italian, 1700–1770). *The Spaghetti Eaters*, ca. 1750. Italian (Capodimonte). Soft-paste porcelain, H. 5⅝ in. (14.3 cm). Mark: fleur-de-lis in blue enamel. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.350). See pp. 223–28



Plate 8. Martin Carlin (d. 1785).
Table, 1776. Oak veneered
with tulipwood, holly, and
ebony, set with four soft-paste
plaques from the Sèvres
manufactory, gilt-bronze
mounts, H. 28⁷/₈ in. (73.3 cm),
diam. 15³/₄ in. (40 cm). The
Metropolitan Museum of Art,
Robert Lehman Collection,
1975 (1975.1.2028).
See pp. 257–58



Plate 9. Cup and saucer,
French, Sèvres, 1823. Painted
by Sophie Debon (cup) and
Célestin-Stanislas Lamarre
(saucer). Hard-paste porcelain,
cup H. 4³/₄ in. (12.2 cm),
saucer diam. 6 in. (15.1 cm).
The Metropolitan Museum
of Art, Purchase, Gifts in mem-
ory of Frederick P. Victoria, 1993
(1993.276.1–2). See pp. 291–97

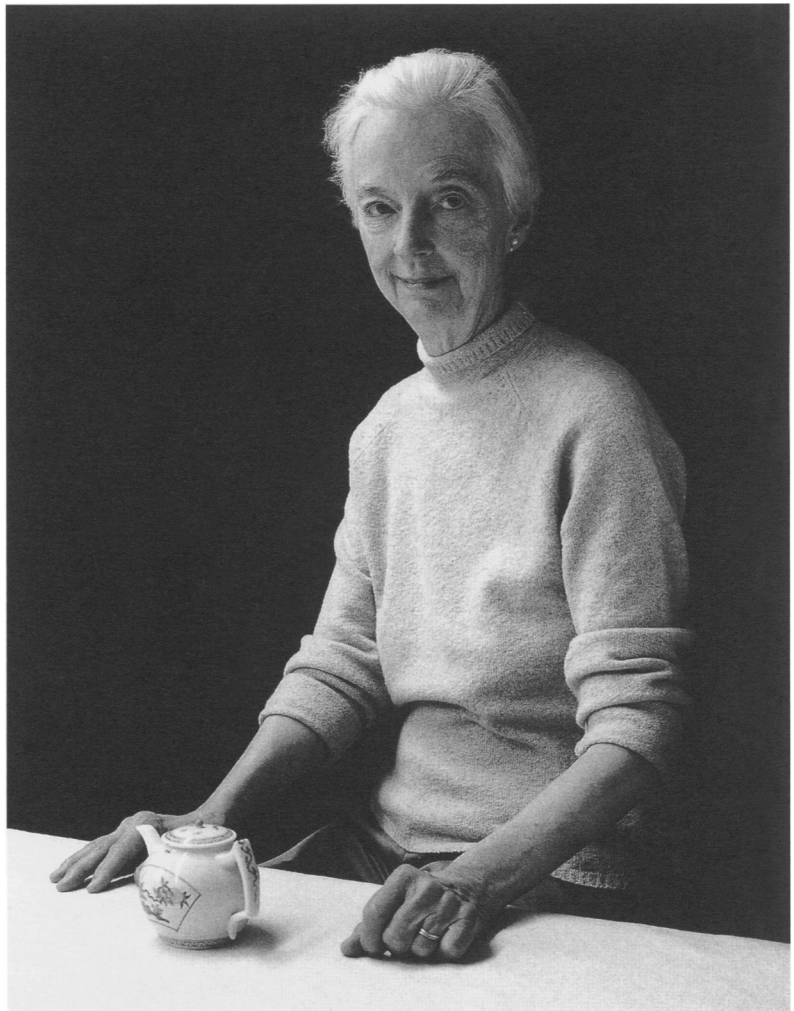
Thoughts of Clare Le Corbeiller

JAMES DAVID DRAPER

Henry R. Kravis Curator, European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

TO BEGIN: Clare was born in 1931 to an American couple then resident in England, the former Marian Bull, of Buffalo, and Hamilton Eames, a Cleveland who was pursuing graduate studies in history at Cambridge. The legendary soprano Emma Eames was a great aunt whom Clare remembers from her early years. Clare's godfather was

Francis Watson, future director of the Wallace Collection in London. Returning to America before the Second World War, Clare and her older sister grew up in Cleveland, where Mr. Eames worked as an English teacher. During the war, Clare was in New York, where Mrs. Eames eventually became editor of Lincoln Kirstein's *Dance Index*. From 1949 to 1951, Clare was a



Clare Le Corbeiller (photo: Eileen Travell)

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 37



Figure 1. Johann Gottlieb Kirchner (1706–after 1737). *Lioness* (one of a pair), German (Meissen), 1733–35. Porcelain, H. 18¾ in. (47.5 cm), L. 30 in. (76.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Wrightsman Fund, 1988 (1988.294.2)

piano major at Oberlin College but also attended the art-history lectures of Seymour Slive and Wolfgang Stechow. She took up the advertising arts at the Rhode Island School of Design for a year, from 1951 to 1952, but did not wait for a degree.

In 1958, she married Jean Le Corbeiller, a teacher of mathematics and the history of science, whom she met while both were singing in the Dessoiff Choir. Unlike many cultivated New Yorkers, she never trumpeted her musical side but did once give me a startled look, in the long corridor leading to our old offices, when she realized I was attempting to render one of her and Jean's favorite Mozart piano duets, which they could play and I could only whistle in gusts.

Clare had started at the Metropolitan Museum in 1953 in the Catalogue Department. As a cataloguer she came to the notice of John Goldsmith Phillips, who put her to work "mopping up" (her words) his records of the McCann Collection of Chinese export porcelain, and in 1959 she entered the department he headed, then known as Renaissance and Post-Renaissance Art, as a research assistant. She took a breather from the Museum to rear two daughters, Suzanne Le Corbeiller, now living in Pocatello, Idaho, and Geneviève White, now of Pelham, New York. After her return to the Museum in 1967, she worked virtually without pause in her three main areas: Continental porcelain, Continental metalwork and jewelry, and Chinese export porcelain. She is best known for her work on eighteenth-century European decorative arts.

Investigating the bejeweled automated creations of James Cox, she wrote memorably on him in the old *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (then a more scholarly enterprise than it is today) and in the *Burlington Magazine*. The only leave of any length that I can remember her taking was to pursue her Cox researches at the Getty Center, but when she retired she confided, with typical candor, that it was a great relief to pitch out her Cox notes after another scholar came into print with even more Cox data than she had compiled.

At the Met Clare exerted increasing influence in acquisitions by the department now known as European Sculpture and Decorative Arts. Standouts such as the pair of Meissen *Lions* modeled by Johann Gottlieb Kirchner (Figure 1), the *rarissime* platinum sugar bowl by Marc-Étienne Janety (Figure 2), and the *Morrison Clock* designed by Lucien Falize (Figure 3), bold choices all, come readily to mind. She has an uncannily developed perception of the peculiar eloquence of a given object, be it perfect or near-perfect or quirkily charming, and of its relevance to the rest of the collection.

As for Chinese export wares, Clare has lately been updating her research. The result will be an entire *Met Bulletin* on the subject, jointly written with Nonnie Frelinghuysen.

With keenest pleasure, I use these pages to announce a gift to the Metropolitan that has just been made in Clare's honor: an exquisite enameled-gold box by the firm of Falize, showing another facet of its art (Colorplates 2, 3; see also front cover). This present

from the Museum's Friends of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts now brightens the gallery case devoted to Islamic-inspired objects, including Venetian glass and the ceramics of Théodore Deck. The gift is doubly fitting: one of Clare's most recent writings is a lengthy review of a monograph on Falize, in which she shares her copious knowledge of that multitalented goldsmith.

Clare has given herself prodigiously to exhibitions and installations as well as to less glamorous tasks, such as the mammoth one of reinventing the department's storage. In the process, many storerooms were reduced to one, with compact racks and shelving. We all benefited from her systematic supervision, but the laboratory-like space she created for herself is best of all. There she was to be found day after day, absorbed in her examination of ceramic bodies and glazes, under a good, clear light.

We often discussed objects of all sorts and periods, trying them out on each other, as it were, but my closest

collaborations with her had to do mainly with the nineteenth century—especially the exhibition “The Arts under Napoleon” (1978)—and with the installation of the Iris and B. Gerald Cantor Galleries for later decorative arts (1991). The latter meant joyous times of joint discovery of material that hitherto had been neglected by the Museum, to the point of being virtually forbidden, and I think we instilled courage in each other as our enthusiasm mounted. Only a fraction of our finds made it into the annual issue of the Museum's *Bulletin* highlighting recent acquisitions, so it is irresistible to illustrate here just one of these off-beat escapees: an iridescent eggplant-colored jug with sagging blooms and a bright vermilion spout that expresses the excesses of the Zsolnay factory about 1900 (Figure 4). Clare greeted it with a characteristic “Oh, Jim, it's wonderful,” and her purchase form duly noted how, with its “tapestry-like density of color,” the piece adds strength to our scant holdings of this underrepresented Art Nouveau firm.



Figure 2. Marc-Étienne Janety (1739–1820). Sugar bowl, French, 1786. Platinum with glass liner, H. 5¼ in. (13.3 cm), L. 7 in. (17.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Gift of Dr. and Mrs. A. L. Garbat, Manya Garbat Starr, and Julian A. Garbat, by exchange, and Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1974 (1974.164a–c). The bowl is one of the earliest instances of worked platinum

Figure 3. Lucien Falize (1839–1897). *The Morrison Clock*, French, 1881, designed for Bapst et Falize, movement by Le Roy et Fils. Silver, gold, enamel, semiprecious stones, amethysts, and diamonds, H. 17¼ in. (45.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Mrs. Charles Wrightsman Gift, 1991 (1991.113a–f). The clock, in so-called Louis XII style, was made for the English collector Alfred Morrison





Figure 4. Zsolnay factory. Jug, Hungarian (Pécs), ca. 1900. Glazed earthenware, H. 8½ in. (21.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Robert L. Isaacson Gift, 1997 (1997.83)

I have often said, never really in jest, that Clare saved my life on a daily basis. And not mine only. Arriving at the Museum shortly after eight each morning, she started the technicians on their rounds and got the departmental secretarial machinery going

long before the rest of us curators arrived. It has always fascinated me that Clare, ever impeccably punctual, has never worn a watch! Her natural sense of order affected everything, from her care of the objects to the files stuffed with information she has amassed concerning them.

Among her outside involvements I should mention her lectures in museums across the United States and her terms of teaching in New York City for the Parsons/Cooper Hewitt Masters Program and for the Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts. She also has given longtime service to the American Friends of the Attingham Summer School and to the French Porcelain Society.

The other *Journal* Editorial Board members join me in thanking our contributors to this extraordinary number. The quality of their offerings inevitably reflects Clare's generosity to other scholars and her impact on the study of European decorative arts. Countless colleagues helped bring the issue together, especially Jeffrey Munger, who assumed Clare's curatorial responsibilities when she retired and to whom, accordingly, fell the jobs of helping to evaluate texts and of ordering new photography for authors. Thanks, too, to the brilliantly responsive office staff of the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts, all great fans of Clare: Roger Haapala, Stephanie Post, and Debi Jackson. Under great pressure, the Photograph Studio managed to work its usual wonders (special thanks to Barbara Bridgers and Joseph Coscia Jr.). Finally, we gratefully acknowledge editor Jane Bobko's aplomb and sensitivity in orchestrating the whole.

The Publications of Clare Le Corbeiller

This bibliography was prepared by Robert C. Kaufmann, Associate Museum Librarian, part-time, in the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. The items are listed chronologically according to the year of publication or, in the case of periodicals, the year of the volume. Books and pamphlets appear first, in capital letters, followed by articles and occasional papers; these are organized alphabetically, first by the publication in which they appear and then by the first significant word in the title. Book reviews appear last, arranged alphabetically by the name of the author.

ABBREVIATIONS

MMA—The Metropolitan Museum of Art

MMAB—*The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*

MMJ—*Metropolitan Museum Journal*

1958

The Emperor's Cabinet, by Clare Eames. *MMAB* n.s., 17 (December), 108–12.

1960

James Cox and His Curious Toys. *MMAB* n.s., 18 (June), 318–24.

1961

Miss America and Her Sisters: Personifications of the Four Parts of the World. *MMAB* n.s., 19 (April), 209–23.

1962

Trade Winds from China. *MMAB* n.s., 20 (January), 176–84.

1963

Mercury, Messenger of Taste. *MMAB* n.s., 22 (Summer), 22–28.

1966

EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN SNUFF BOXES, 1730–1830. New York: Viking Press; London: Chancellor Press.

1968

China into Delft: A Note on Visual Translation. *MMAB* n.s., 26 (February), 269–76.

1969

East and West and the Gold Box. *Apollo*, n.s., 90 (September), 250–52.

A Stuart Flask Redefined. *Apollo* n.s., 89 (March), 230.

Grace and Favor. *MMAB* n.s., 27 (February), 289–98.

1970

James Cox: A Biographical Review. *Burlington Magazine* 112 (June), 351–58.

Porcelain Odysseys. *MMAB* n.s., 29 (May), 400–403.

Introduction [to Chelsea and Other English Porcelain], (in collaboration with C. C. Dauterman). *The Wrightsman Collection, vol. IV: Porcelain*, by C. C. Dauterman. New York: MMA, 313–20.

1972

Design Sources of Early China Trade Porcelain. *Antiques* 101 (January), 161–68.

1973

CHINA TRADE PORCELAIN: A STUDY IN DOUBLE REFLECTIONS. Exh. cat. New York: China House Gallery, China Institute of America.

China Trade Porcelain. *The Connoisseur* 184 (December), 276–78.

1974

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Crosscurrents in China Trade Porcelain. *Antiques* 105 (January), 145–50.

1975

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1977

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Craftsmanship and Elegance in Eighteenth-Century French Silver. *Apollo* n.s., 106 (November), 396–401.

1978

THE ARTS UNDER NAPOLEON: AN EXHIBITION OF THE DEPARTMENT OF EUROPEAN SCULPTURE AND DECORATIVE ARTS, WITH LOANS FROM THE AUDREY B. LOVE FOUNDATION AND OTHER NEW YORK COLLECTIONS (in collaboration with James David Draper). Exh. cat. New York: MMA. See especially Introduction to Napoleonic Silver and entries on silversmiths' and goldsmiths' work.

1979

A GUIDE TO THE WRIGHTSMAN GALLERIES AT THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART (in collaboration with James Parker). New York: MMA.

Review of S. Brault Lerch, *Les orfèvres de Franche-Comté et de la principauté de Montbéliard du moyen âge au XIXe siècle*. Series: *Dictionnaire des poinçons de l'orfèvrerie provinciale française*. (Geneva, 1976). *Burlington Magazine* 121 (March), 187.

1981

The Construction of Some Empire Silver. *MMJ* 16, 195–98.

1984

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Review of S. G. Detweiler, *George Washington's Chinaware* (New York, 1982). *Winterthur Portfolio* 19 (Spring), 87–89.

1985

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1986

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1988

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1989

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1990

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1992

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through May 2, 1992, University of Toronto School of Continuing Studies, George R. Gardiner Museum of Ceramic Art, and the Royal Ontario Museum. 103–11.

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1993

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1993–94

Tournai and Mennecy. *Les cahiers de Mariemont: Bulletin du Musée Royal de Mariemont (Numero spécial en hommage à Mireille Jottrand)* 24/25, 55–59.

1994

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1995

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Robert-Joseph Auguste, Silversmith—and Sculptor? *MMJ* 31, 211–18.

1999

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A Pair of Neo-Gothic Vases. *Mélanges en souvenir d’Elisalex d’Albis, 1939–1998*, comp. B. Dragesco and T. Préaud [France, Friends of Elisalex d’Albis], 146–50.

2000

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2001

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FORTHCOMING

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An Early Greek Bronze Sphinx Support

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CLARE LE CORBEILLER HAS OCCUPIED A SPECIAL place in the curatorial ranks of The Metropolitan Museum of Art by virtue of her expertise and the gracious generosity with which she has imparted it. Her specialization in European porcelains and metalwork inspires me to publish an extraordinary recent acquisition¹ that features two of the most long-lived Greek contributions to Western iconography, the sphinx and the foot in the form of a lion's paw.

The adornment and animation of utilitarian objects by means of figural motifs are hallmarks of Greek art. The object of our attention is a bronze support datable to about 600 B.C. and consisting of a lion's paw that develops into the forepart of a sphinx. While a sphinx, by definition, has the body of a lion, the head of a woman, and the wings of an eagle, the paw-shaped foot is considerably more common than the sphinx as an adjunct in related bronze utensils (Figures 1–3). The paw shows five toes that are separated and articulated but nonetheless maintain a rather strong, blocky appearance from both the front and side views; this is a chronologically early feature. The paw swells into the chest and wings, surmounted by a large, carefully detailed head. The torso is rendered with a pair of breasts and two symmetrical, bolero-like areas of chased feathers that extend, in low relief, onto the wing feathers.² These are executed with radiating chased lines. On the proper left wing appear three short, straight strokes that may indicate guidelines. The small holes at the top of each wing and the surviving rivet in the center of the creature's forehead helped to fasten the sphinx to a utensil. While the articulation of the torso is generalized, the throat and collarbones are attentively described.

The powerful face shows a very large mouth set asymmetrically to the left. The ridge of the nose continues into the heavy eyebrows. The equally prominent eyes are rhomboidal, each with a small hole for the pupil. Light, regular hatching ornaments both eyebrows and eyelids. The hairdo consists of curls over

the forehead, strands that frame the temples and then fall behind the ears, and four distinct waves that widen toward the bottom. A short channel behind each ear may have served in the attachment of the figure to the vessel it carried. On the top of the head rests a thick fillet that may have had a central ornament. While the details of the physiognomy are not organically interrelated, the prominent eyes and mouth convey sharp focus and ferocity.

The base, sides, and back of the object reveal little articulation but provide some more information about the larger whole to which it belonged. The cutting at the top of the back of the head, the continuation of the rivet noted on the forehead, and extensive remains of lead indicate the use of several means of joining and attachment. The underside of the foot has a roughly elliptical opening, also filled with lead, indicating that the metal was poured through the hollow interior. The long, triangular tongue projecting from the back and reinforced by a strut ending in a volute helped bear the utilitarian part of the piece. The very wide arc of the cutting on the sphinx's head and the relation between this cutting and the rivet holes on the wings suggest that the missing element was an extremely large basin with a profiled lip, a short neck, and a bottom that deepened from its circumference to the center. The diameter of the basin measured a meter or more.³ The sturdy construction of the foot and its considerable weight testify further to the size and mass of the original object. The lead visible on the underside not only provided stability but may also have served to affix the foot to a base. The utensil must have had at least three figural supports.

Contributing further to the complexity of the work are two irregularly square openings under each wing. The surrounding surfaces indicate abrasion. The proper right hole contains miscellaneous material as well as a small rivet, the head of which appears at the bottom of the proper right wing. The proper left hole shows some lead. The function of the holes under the wings is particularly puzzling; these are not viable points at which to attach the straight rods or struts of a tripod or stand.⁴ The holes may be the points of attachment for a second set of wings that arched

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 37

The notes for this article begin on page 32.

23



Figure 1. Support with sphinx, Greek, ca. 600 B.C. Bronze, H.10 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (27.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift from the family of Howard J. Barnet, in his memory, 2000 (2000.660)

downward in ancient Near Eastern fashion, as Dr. Mary B. Moore has suggested. During the late seventh and the sixth century B.C. Greek artists eschewed the double set of wings at least in part because it complicated an organic rendering of the human body. Nonetheless, it appears occasionally⁵ and is even favored by the Amasis Painter, for example.⁶ The alternative is that a pair of arms was worked and fastened separately. The shortcoming of this proposal is that in the pertinent comparative material the arms seem to be cast as part of the figure.

Between the late eighth and the late sixth century B.C., elaborately wrought and decorated bronze vases with figural adjuncts were luxury items exchanged as gifts by individuals of rank and dedicated at sanctuaries. The Museum's newly acquired sphinx support was such an object⁷ and can be assigned a place within the distinguished lineage of bronze tripod stands and vessels with lions' paws. The site of Olympia has yielded the largest number of examples, and Werner Gauer has reconstructed an evolutionary sequence.⁸ Three-legged stands were introduced to Greece from the East, with Cyprus as a significant intermediary.⁹ Among the earliest Greek supports with a lion's paw and human face is a piece from Olympia dated to the late first quarter of the seventh century B.C. (Figures 4, 5).¹⁰ While it lacks an organic connection between the paw below and the head above, it is directly pertinent to our sphinx in two respects. At the back it has a projecting support that preserves remains of solder, thus indicating the existence of some kind of bowl. Furthermore, it can be related stylistically to bronze vessel adjuncts from Lakonia, the most innovative and prolific center of bronze vessel production from the late seventh until the mid-sixth century B.C.¹¹

A Laconian work dated about 590–580 B.C. demonstrates an appreciable advance in both the development of the feline support and the integration of figural mythological elements (Figure 6).¹² The lower part resembles the Metropolitan's sphinx in the paw that gives rise to a capacious torso with a pair of wings; in somewhat different form, the breast feathers are rendered in low relief above the flight feathers. Upon this base stands a goddess wearing a long, close-fitting garment and a low, cylindrical headdress; two tresses fall behind her ears and then forward onto her shoulders. She has not been associated with any of the Olympian deities but may represent a manifestation of Artemis, who was important in contemporary iconography, particularly as a *potnia theron*, or mistress of animals.¹³ The figure was attached to a cylindrical vessel as tall as she by rivets visible on her chest and at the lower edge of her chiton. While the surface has suffered



Figure 2. Side view of Figure 1



Figure 3. Back view of Figure 1

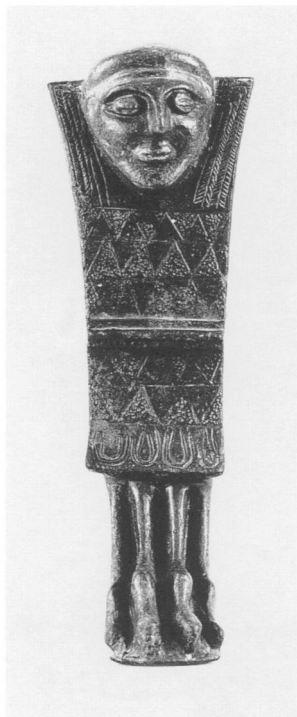


Figure 4. Support with face, Greek, late 1st quarter of 7th century B.C. Bronze, H. 4 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (10.6 cm). National Museum, Athens, 6201; Olympia Br 10881 (photo: copyright Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. no. NM 6180)

Figure 5. Side view of Figure 4 (photo: copyright Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. no. NM 6181)

considerably, the facial features—particularly the eyes—show a softer, fuller rendering than those on the Museum's piece.

A slightly later variant of the Olympia *potnia* is an impressive support in the form of a Gorgon; found off the island of Rhodes and dated to about 550 B.C., it is now in the Louvre (Figures 7, 8).¹⁴ Here, the kneeling Gorgon bears the lion's paw, from which issue attachments for the rods of a tripod. The mythological figure is readily identifiable, but she is rendered without her usual wings and snakes. The position of her arms, slightly bent at her sides, however, evokes mythological beings with two pairs of wings, perhaps quite deliberately. In any case, at this relatively early time in the development of bronze vessels, shape and iconography vary considerably.

The next major typological stage is represented by two supports of the last quarter of the sixth century B.C. The first, attributed to a Laconian workshop and found in Olympia, consists of a feline foot surmounted by the upper body of a Gorgon (Figure 9).¹⁵ Of the pieces that we have considered so far, it most resembles the Museum's. The later date is, however, indicated by the fuller articulation of the feline toes,



Figure 6. Support with goddess, Greek, ca. 590–580 B.C. Bronze, H. ca. 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (14.5 cm). Olympia Museum, B 1202, B 6050 (photo: copyright Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. no. Ol.6886)



Figure 7. Support with kneeling Gorgon, Greek, ca. 550 B.C. Bronze, H. 21 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (55 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris, Br. 2570 (photo: M. & P. Chuzeville, courtesy of Musée du Louvre)



Figure 8. Side view of Figure 7 (photo: M. & P. Chuzeville, courtesy of Musée du Louvre)

the channeling of the leg above, the more organic treatment of the body, the tighter curve of the wings, and the greater number of feathers. The second example, of smaller size and lesser quality but probably contemporary date, is a foot found at Dodona and now in Iannina.¹⁶ The paw rests on a circular base. Gauer attributes the work to one of the Corinthian workshops of the middle and later sixth century B.C. that adopted—and adapted—earlier Laconian inventions.¹⁷

The five works just mentioned provide the main lines of the typological development to which the Museum's support belongs. Additional evidence includes, most notably, the leg of a tripod *kothon* (vase for perfumed oil) with a projection to support the bowl and a lion's paw but no additional adjunct. Found at Dodona, it is dated by Gauer to the first half of the sixth century B.C. (Figures 10, 11).¹⁸ Noteworthy among the pieces with figural elements is the

primacy of female forms, whether or not they are evidently mythological and whether or not they have wings. Expensive dedications, particularly in bronze, seem to have called for protection by demonic forces.¹⁹ The phenomenon recurs, with greater restraint, in the largest preserved class of bronze vessels, the bronze hydriai, or water jars, made from about 630 B.C. onward (Figure 12).²⁰ The special interest of the Museum's sphinx support is that it is earlier than most of the pieces we have reviewed and distinctive indeed in the articulation of the head. Moreover, the lion's paw belongs with the creature above it; the other early examples often combine the paw with a Gorgon.

In Greek art of the seventh century B.C. a style known as Daedalic has been distinguished and characterized by scholars according to several criteria.²¹ Among the more generally accepted features are



Figure 9. Support with Gorgon, last quarter of 6th century B.C. Bronze, H. $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. (9.85 cm). Olympia Museum, Br 12947. (photo: copyright Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. no. 81/145)

heads rendered with a U-shaped face framed on either side by tiers of hair that widen from top to bottom producing a regular triangular shape. Although our sphinx displays certain similarities, she is quite distinct, for instance, in the irregular stepping of her tresses. The latter detail leads us to an earlier category of dedicatory bronze vessels, the cauldrons with figural attachments that were introduced from the Near East to the Greek world and Etruria during the eighth century B.C.²² Intensive study of these impressive objects has indicated that some are Eastern imports, others are Greek adaptations.²³ Several examples are particularly pertinent to our inquiry.

The sites of Olympia, in Greece, and Praeneste, in Etruria, have yielded fewer than a dozen conical supports of hammered bronze that originally held cauldrons. One from Olympia is decorated with a series of frontal female creatures with clawlike or pawlike feet, two pairs of wings, and stepped coiffures (Figure 13).²⁴ They stand on indeterminate, elevated bases. The support is attributed to a neo-Hittite workshop active in North Syria during the second half of the eighth century B.C. It is significant



Figure 10. Support, Greek, first half of 6th century B.C. Bronze, H. $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. (16 cm). National Museum, Athens, KAP 414 (photo: National Museum, Athens)



Figure 11. Back view of Figure 10 (photo: National Museum, Athens)



Figure 12. Hydria, Greek, ca. 630–610 B.C. Bronze, H. 17¼ in. (43.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, David L. Klein Jr. Memorial Foundation Inc., The Joseph Rosen Foundation Inc., and Nicholas S. Zoullas Gifts, 1995 (1995.92)



Figure 13. Cauldron support, Greek, 2nd half of 8th century B.C. Bronze, H. 19¼ in. (49.5 cm). Olympia Museum, B 5005 (photo: copyright Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. no. Ol.6124)

in documenting the kind of source underlying the iconography of the Museum's sphinx support as well as the variants noted above.

The figural adjuncts embellishing the cauldrons themselves consisted of the heads and foreparts of animals and mythological creatures, notably sirens, bulls, and griffins, as well as human busts attached to the vessels by arm-shaped or wing-shaped extensions or both. An attachment from the Athenian Akropolis (Figures 14, 15)²⁵ of Greek workmanship, dated to early in the first quarter of the seventh century B.C., shows the U-shaped head with pronounced eyes, nose, mouth, and chin; from the front, the hairdo is jagged, but in back view it falls in harmonious, stylized waves. Over time, the artificial angularity could well have softened into the forms of the Museum's sphinx. A Greek attachment from Olympia,²⁶ dated to the late eighth century B.C., differs in the coiffure but has the fuller features and large mouth of our work. Moreover, it illustrates the combination of arms and wings for fastening the heavy, usually cast, elements to the vessel; the heads looked over the cauldron lip. Finally, an attachment probably from Mesopotamia and now in The British Museum is enlightening as a rather late Near Eastern relative (Figures 16, 17).²⁷ In the round face, the strong eyes and mouth, the slightly bell-like conformation of the hair, as well as the prominent and

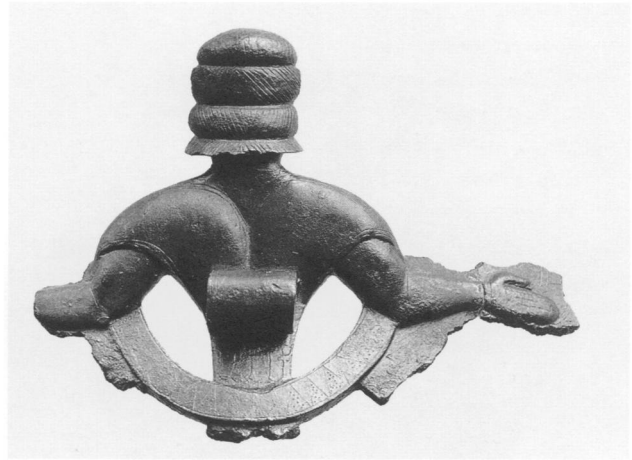
unnaturalistically high chest, it bears directly upon the pieces we have been discussing.

A primary aspect of Greek art—indeed, of all Greek culture²⁸—during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. is its exposure to and assimilation of influences from the East. The recently acquired sphinx support reflects a number of developments in the medium of bronze working. Compared with the earlier Eastern and Greek cauldron attachments, it illustrates an accomplished Greek bronze worker's effort to liberate the frontal bust from its two-dimensional captivity into a three-dimensional presence. The early vessel supports with lions' feet represent one of the forms in which Greek artists most actively and creatively reworked foreign imports into elements that were functionally and iconographically significant. The Museum's sphinx is of exceptional interest and importance because it so clearly presents where it has come from artistically and where it is going.

At the present time, the piece has no precise counterpart(s) and the localization of a workshop remains embroiled in scholarly controversy. However, the painstaking study of the Olympia finds as well as Conrad Stibbe's investigations has clarified stylistic and chronological aspects of Laconian bronze working. Subject to the appearance of other evidence, the sphinx support may be attributed to a Laconian workshop. A date



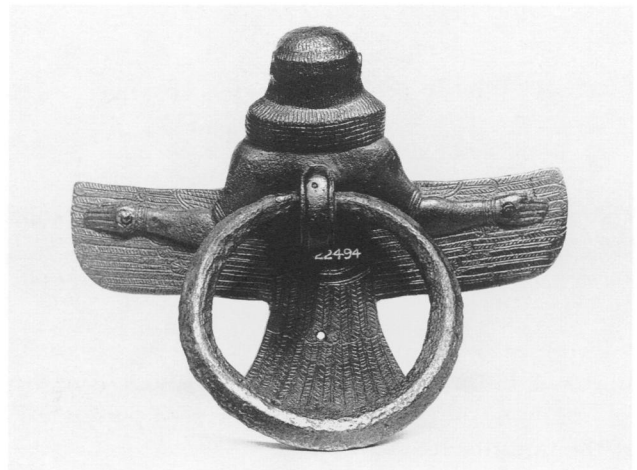
14.



15.



16.



17.

Figure 14. Cauldron attachment, Greek, 1st quarter of 7th century B.C. Bronze, W. 5¼ in. (14.5 cm). National Museum, Athens, 6519. (photo: copyright Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. no. 73/1072)

Figure 15. Back view of Figure 14 (photo: copyright Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Athens, neg. no. 73/1073)

Figure 16. Cauldron attachment, Late Assyrian or Late Babylonian, 7th–6th century B.C. Bronze, W. 8¾ in. (21.9 cm). The British Museum, London, 22.494 (photo: courtesy of The British Museum)

Figure 17. Back view of Figure 16 (photo: courtesy of The British Museum)

Figure 18. Cauldron attachment, Greek, 3rd quarter of 7th century B.C. Bronze, H. 10¼ in. (25.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Walter C. Baker, 1971 (1972.118.54)



18.

about 600 B.C. seems appropriate in view of not only the bronze comparanda²⁹ but also works in other media. As in virtually every case where no external evidence exists, the function of a date is to situate the object chronologically and, especially, to suggest its place in relation to other material.³⁰

The sphinx support joins the bronze griffin from the Baker Collection³¹ (Figure 18) as an eloquent representative of one of the most innovative and influential

periods of Greek art. The magnificence of metal vases of the Archaic period was evident already in antiquity; the historian Herodotos, for example, mentions a colossal bronze krater embellished with a frieze of animals that the Spartans had made as a gift for Croesus, king of Lydia.³² The tradition whose beginnings the Museum's sphinx documents enjoyed a long and fruitful life that was still flourishing in the epochs of Clare Le Corbeiller's special competence (Figure 19).



Figure 19. Jean-Baptiste-Claude Odier. Cruet frame, French, ca. 1817. Silver, W. 12 in. (30.5 cm), D. 15½ in. (39.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Audrey Love, in memory of C. Ruxton Love Jr., 1978(1978.524.1)

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Descamps, Musée du Louvre, Paris; Dr. Nikolaos Kaltsas, Dr. Rosa Proskynetopoulou, and Dr. Katerina Rhomiopoulou, National Archaeological Museum, Athens. Special thanks are due to a friend whose interest in the Greek and Roman collection extends as much to the whole as to the individual objects.

NOTES

1. The piece has been noted briefly in Carlos A. Picón, "Recent Acquisitions by the Greek and Roman Department at the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Apollo*, July 2001, pp. 12–13, and in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin: Recent Acquisitions. A Selection, 2000–2001*, entry by Joan Mertens, p. 9.
2. The treatment of the "bolero" shows many variants in winged creatures of the late seventh and sixth centuries B.C. A useful indication of the possibilities is provided by the decorated bronze shield straps from Olympia cited in Emil Kunze, *Archaische Schildbänder* (Berlin, 1950). The sphinx is particularly well represented; especially pertinent to the Museum's support is Ia (pl. 5 and p. 242). Note also the ankle guard (B 153) in Alfred Mallwitz and Hans-Volkmar Herrmann, *Die Funde aus Olympia* (Athens, 1980), p. 103, no. 64. For a rather awkward three-dimensional "bolero," see Marlene Herfort-Koch, *Archaische Bronzeplastik Lakoniens* (Münster, 1986), p. 122, no. K161. A late, very dry variant occurs on a foot in the Metropolitan Museum, x.21.101, more likely from a bowl than a cista. See Gisela M. A. Richter, *Greek Etruscan and Roman Bronzes* (New York, 1915), p. 293, no. 849.
3. Richard E. Stone, conservator at the Metropolitan Museum, suggests that the lip of the basin was reinforced by an underlying iron band. The height of the lip measures about $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (1 cm), the height of the neck about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. (4 cm).
4. The only possibility of this kind would be a curved rod joining the Museum's support to those on its left and right, assuming that the original object had three supports in all. Although three is the canonical number, it could theoretically have had more.
5. To my knowledge, the subject of wings in ancient Near Eastern and early Greek art has not received particular attention. It was touched upon by Paul Wolters, *Der geflügelte Seher* (Munich, 1928). Recently, Sarah Morris, *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art* (Princeton, 1992), esp. pp. 191–96, and Erika Simon, "Early Images of Daidalos in Flight," *The Ages of Homer* (Austin, 1995), pp. 409–11, have addressed this significant attribute of the mythological craftsman. In Near Eastern iconography, some information can be gleaned from F.A.M. Wiggermann, *Mesopotamian Protective Spirits* (Groningen, 1992), and Dieter Kolbe, *Die Reliefprogramme religiös-mythologischen Charakters in neuassyrischen Palästen* (Frankfurt am Main, 1981). In Greek art, the derivation and significance of double as against single wings remain unexplored.
6. Dietrich von Bothmer, *The Amasis Painter and His World* (Malibu, 1985).
7. For a survey of the iconographical history of the sphinx, see Heinz Demisch, *Die Sphinx* (Stuttgart, 1977).
8. Werner Gauer, "Gerät- und Gefäßfüsse mit Löwenpranken und figürlichem Schmuck aus Olympia," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 99 (1984), pp. 35–53.
9. Ibid., pp. 35–37. See also Hartmut Matthäus, *Metallgefäße und Gefäßuntersätze der Bronzezeit, der geometrischen und archaischen Periode auf Cypern* (Munich, 1985), pp. 312–13.
10. Olympia Br 10881 (Athens, National Museum, 6201). Gauer, "Gerät- und Gefäßfüsse," pp. 38–40.
11. For the most recent assessment of the role and achievements of Laconian bronze workers, see Conrad M. Stibbe, *The Sons of Hephaistos* (Rome, 2000).
12. Olympia B 1202 + B 6050. Gauer, "Gerät- und Gefäßfüsse," pp. 43–44; see also Werner Gauer, *Die Bronzegefäße von Olympia I* (Berlin, 1991), p. 287, no. E229.
13. For a general survey, with further bibliography, see Lilly Kahil, "Artemis," *Lexikon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* 2 (Zurich, 1984), esp. pp. 624–29.
14. Paris, Musée du Louvre Br.2570 (MNC 482) Gauer, "Gerät- und Gefäßfüsse," p. 45. See also *Greek Art of the Aegean Islands* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1979–80), p. 164, no. 121.
15. Olympia Br 12947. Gauer, "Gerät- und Gefäßfüsse," p. 46; see also idem, *Bronzegefäße*, p. 286, no. E228.
16. Iannina Museum, 4909. Gauer, "Gerät- und Gefäßfüsse," pp. 46–48.
17. Gauer, "Gerät- und Gefäßfüsse," p. 48.
18. Athens, National Museum, KAP 414. Gauer, "Gerät- und Gefäßfüsse," p. 39. Worth mentioning because it belongs to the Metropolitan Museum is the Etruscan cauldron, 03.23.3, found with the Monteleone chariot. Datable to the mid-sixth century B.C., the cauldron has three feet ending in lions' paws surmounted by very stylized sphinxes; the source of inspiration was clearly a model such as ours. Gisela M. A. Richter, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes* (New York, 1915), p. 226, no. 624; Sarah Leach in Francesco Roncalli, *Antichità dall'Umbria a New York* (Perugia, 1991), p. 400, no. 3.
19. With the development of monumental marble sculpture, at least in Attica, the Archaic sphinx becomes the guardian, par excellence, of funerary stelai. See Pierre Müller, *Löwen und Mischwesen in der archaischen griechischen Kunst* (Zurich, 1978), pp. 158–65.
20. See Conrad M. Stibbe, "Archaic Bronze Hydriai," *Babesch: Bulletin Antieke Beschaving* 67 (1992), pp. 1–62; idem, *Sons of Hephaistos*. For 1995.92, see idem, "Between Babyka and Knakion," *Babesch* 69 (1994), pp. 63–113.
21. Romilly J. H. Jenkins, *Dedolica: A Study of Dorian Plastic Art in the Seventh Century B.C.* (Cambridge, 1936); more recently, Georg

- Kaulen, *Daidalika* (Munich, 1967) and *Dädalische Kunst auf Kreta*, exh. cat. (Hamburg, 1970).
22. Hans-Volkmar Herrmann, *Die Kessel der orientalisierenden Zeit I: Kesselattaschen und Reliefuntersätze* (Berlin, 1966); idem, *Die Kessel der orientalisierenden Zeit II: Kesselprotomen und Stabdreifüsse* (Berlin, 1979); see also Mallwitz and Herrmann, *Die Funde aus Olympia*.
 23. For a review of the literature, see Oscar White Muscarella, "Greek and Oriental Cauldron Attachments," in Günter Kopcke and Isabelle Tokumaru, *Greece between East and West* (Mainz, 1992), pp. 16–45.
 24. Olympia, B 5005. Herrmann, *Kesselattaschen und Reliefuntersätze*, pp. 163, 170–74; Mallwitz and Herrmann, *Die Funde aus Olympia*, p. 72, no. 39.
 25. Athens, National Museum, 6519. Herrmann, *Kesselattaschen und Reliefuntersätze*, p. 102.
 26. Athens, National Museum, 6123. Herrmann, *Kesselattaschen und Reliefuntersätze*, p. 102, A 19.
 27. Herrmann, *Kesselattaschen und Reliefuntersätze*, p. 56. John Curtis, "Mesopotamian Bronzes from Greek Sites: The Workshops of Origin," *Iraq* 56 (1994), pp. 11–14. I am indebted to Dr. Curtis for his help with this object.
 28. For one survey, see Walter Burkert, *The Orientalizing Revolution* (Cambridge, 1992).
 29. See Herfort-Koch, *Archaische Bronzeplastik Lakoniens*.
 30. Gisela M. A. Richter's *Korai* (London, 1968) and *Kouroi*, 3rd ed. (London, 1970), remain useful surveys of the range of stylistic development in the decades immediately before and after 600 B.C.
 31. Carol C. Mattusch, "A Trio of Griffins from Olympia," *Hesperia* 59 (1990), pp. 549–60.
 32. Herodotus I, 69–70.

Framed in Fifteenth-Century Florence

SUZANNE BOORSCH

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FLORENTINES OF THE late fifteenth century went to the establishment of Francesco Rosselli (1448–1508/25), in his day the principal engraver of the city, to purchase series of prints that he engraved and published. As frames for these prints, Rosselli offered printed border segments, several to a sheet. The purchaser could then cut out and arrange these border segments around the images, supporting the whole framed scene on a backing.

Only three examples of uncut sheets of borders by Rosselli are known to have survived to the present day. Two are in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figures 3, 4); the third is in the Cabinet Rothschild in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (Figure 2). Each is printed from a different plate. These three sheets were first published by Arthur Hind in 1910 and were later illustrated in his magisterial *Early Italian Engraving* (1938).¹ A few fragments from these, or similar, border sheets also survive. This essay calls attention to one of these fragments, also in the Metropolitan Museum, which resembles but is not identical to a segment in one of the known sheets, and offers a few observations about these works.

Francesco Rosselli's family, including his older brother Cosimo, the painter, was thoroughly grounded in the artistic life of Florence. During his career Francesco engraved more than one hundred plates, among them three series of figural images: thirty-six individual Prophets and Sibyls; a fifteen-print series traditionally known as the *Life of the Virgin and Christ* but more accurately referred to as *The Mysteries of the Rosary* (the name I will use here); and a set of six *Triumphs of Petrarch*.² We know that Francesco's frame segments were used as he intended because of extant examples of the *Mysteries* framed within them. It should be stressed, however, that this is the only series that has come down to us with the borders in place. A complete set of the *Mysteries* within frame segments—hand-colored and

mounted on linen—is preserved in Hamburg; a second, incomplete set of eleven prints within frame segments, hand-colored and mounted on wood, is in the Cabinet Rothschild. These two sets are framed in border segments from different sheets: the Hamburg set in the segments shown in Figure 2 (though, as discussed below, the horizontal segment is from a variant sheet, and other segments may be as well), and the Rothschild set in those illustrated in Figure 3, one of the uncut sheets in New York.

Hind observed that a cut border segment very similar to both of the vertical candelabra in this New York sheet, but identical to neither, is preserved in The British Museum (Figure 9). The British Museum segment is colored, obscuring it somewhat, but Hind nevertheless was able to conclude that "it seems to be from a different plate."³ My own examination of this segment bears out his conjecture.⁴ If the British Museum segment is indeed a variant, it suggests that a duplicate (but slightly divergent) plate of Figure 3 existed.

This suggestion is reinforced by the cut segment in the Metropolitan's collection, mentioned above (Figure 1). It is similar to the horizontal frieze in the Rothschild print (see Figure 2) but is definitely from a different plate. The most noticeable difference is the width. The Metropolitan's segment measures 16.5 centimeters (6½ in.) from the line at the left to the edge of the sheet at the right; its counterpart on the Rothschild sheet is only 12.3 centimeters (4¾ in.) wide. The Metropolitan's segment is also symmetrical, comprising one full and two half busts of winged females and two complete garlands and anthemias, whereas the Rothschild segment consists of only one and a half of each of these elements (that is, the Rothschild segment lacks one-quarter of the design at the left).

Impressions of the plate from which the Metropolitan's segment was printed were also used for two of the *Mysteries* prints in Hamburg, the *Flagellation* and *Resurrection*. The Hamburg *Resurrection* was illustrated in Hind, and both subjects were reproduced

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 37

The notes for this article begin on page 40.



Figure 1. Francesco Rosselli (Italian, 1448–1508/25). Fragment of horizontal frieze with female bust in center, garlands, anthemias, cut from a plate of border segments. Engraving, $1\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{3}{8}$ in. (4.3 x 16.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1921 (21.30.5)

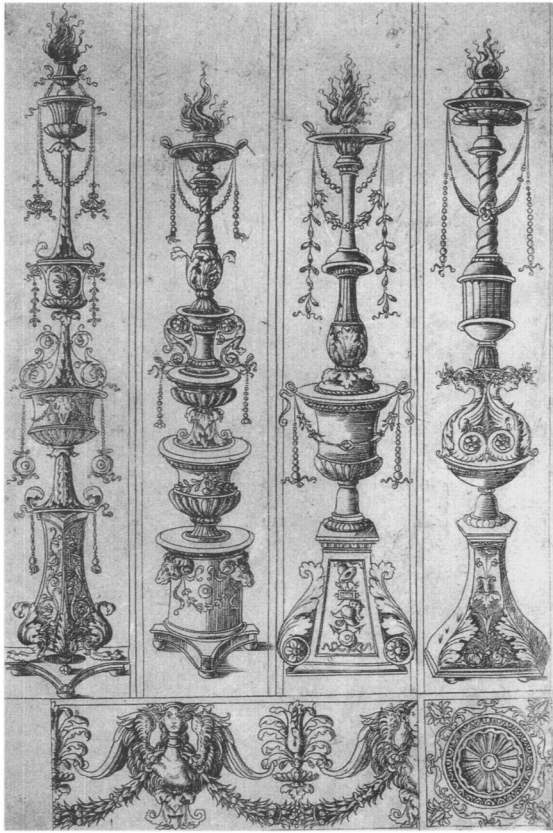


Figure 2. Francesco Rosselli. Plate of border segments: four candelabra, small horizontal piece, one corner. Engraving, $11\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$ in. (28.5 x 19.3 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris, Cabinet Rothschild

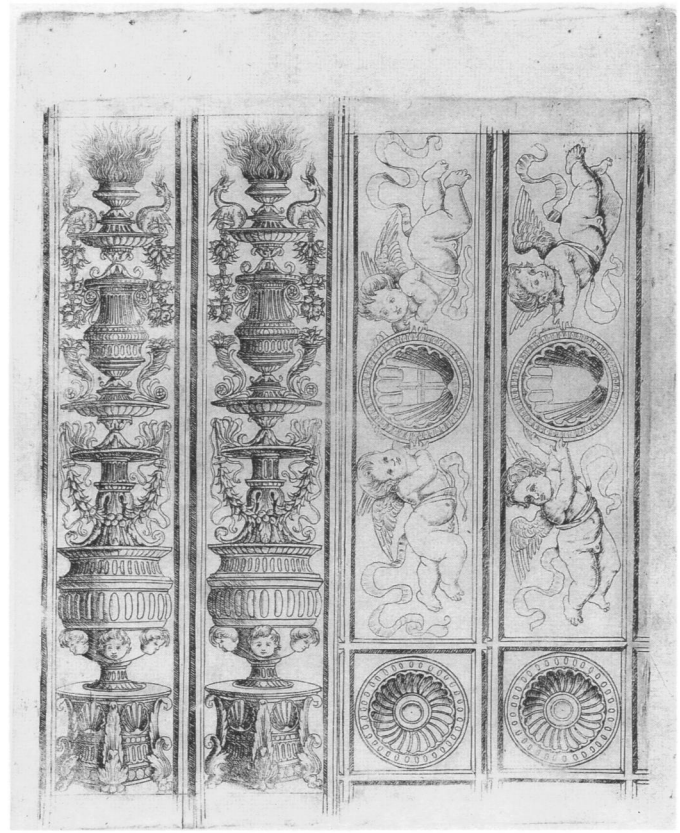


Figure 3. Francesco Rosselli. Plate of border segments: two candelabra, two horizontal pieces with cupids, two corners. Engraving, plate mark $9\frac{3}{8} \times 7\frac{1}{8}$ in. (23.8 x 19.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1929 (29.16.2)

in David Landau and Peter Parshall's *The Renaissance Print* (1994), but none of these authors calls attention to the fact that the horizontal border elements are not identical to those on the corresponding Rothschild sheet.⁵ Likewise, the Metropolitan's segment is listed in Mark J. Zucker's *The Illustrated Bartsch* as though it were simply a segment cut from the sheet known in the Rothschild set.⁶ It is clearly not the same, however: in addition to the size difference, comparison of the faces of the winged female busts reveals that the Rothschild's is thinner and more elegant, with a mouth turned down slightly at the corners; the Metropolitan's (one complete and two partial) are fuller, with pudgier noses and more neutral expressions of the mouth.

The possibility that Rosselli made similar border segments on more than one plate is not at all surprising, because the buyer would have had to acquire many sheets of segments to frame the complete set of fifteen *Mysteries*. The Rothschild sheet (Figure 2), for example, has only one corner piece, and the Metropolitan's (Figure 3) has only two. The possibility exists, then—in fact, it seems fairly likely—that a sheet with more corner segments existed. Moreover, had there been only one sheet of border segments for any given set, if it had two corners it would have had to have been printed at least thirty times for each one of the figural plates, and thus the wear on the plates would have been severe. Even if a set were mounted on a support in three horizontal rows thereby sharing some border segments, as was the case with one in Berlin destroyed during the Second World War, eighteen vertical, ten horizontal, and twelve corner segments would still be needed to frame the group of fifteen images.⁷

A major point that emerges from consideration of these frames, and one that must be stressed continually, is the enormous percentage of fifteenth-century printed material that has not come down to us. The third surviving uncut sheet of border pieces, also in the Metropolitan (Figure 4), is the only known impression either of this engraving or of any part of it; in other words, no example of any section of it that was actually used as a frame is known, nor has any one section—or variant of a section—survived alone. It is also not clear what series it was intended to frame. The sheet includes one vertical and one horizontal piece of about the same length, approximately 26.4 centimeters (10½ in.), and four corner sections. If each frame was meant to consist of two vertical and two horizontal segments and four corners, the framed image must have been roughly square, and no image of this shape, as Zucker

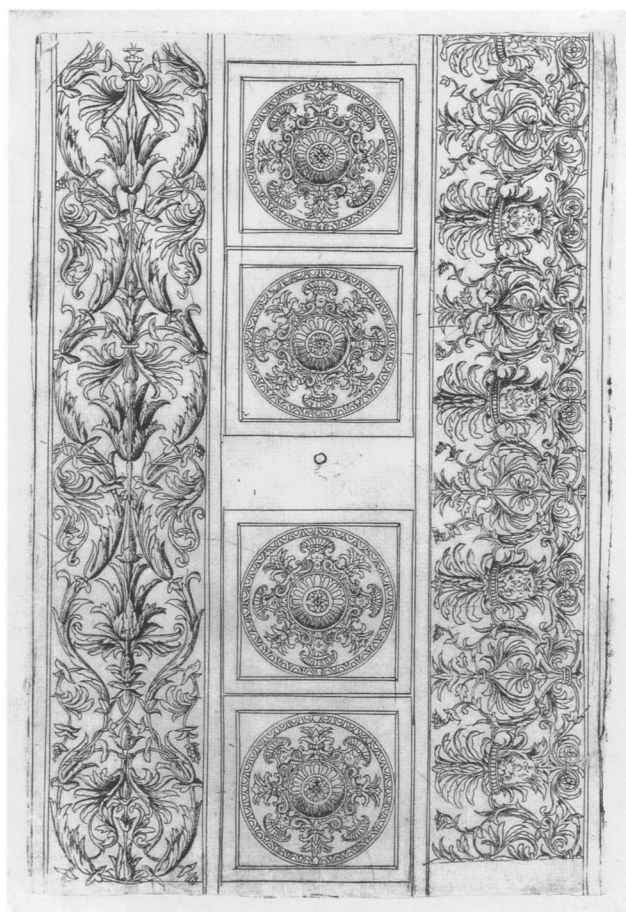


Figure 4. Francesco Rosselli. Plate of border segments: vertical floral ornament, horizontal frieze, four corners. Engraving, plate mark 10% x 7 in. (27 x 17.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1929 (29.16.3)

pointed out,⁸ is known in Rosselli's oeuvre. However, it is not impossible—if perhaps not that likely—that these segments could have been used without corner pieces, as shown in the montage in Figure 5. If they were used in this way, they would just fit the series of *Triumphs of Petrarch*, which measure approximately 26 by 17.2 centimeters (10¼ x 6¾ in.), as shown. Alternately, the horizontal pieces could have been trimmed to allow for the corners (Figure 6).

A few stray vertical candelabrum pieces not known from any complete sheet also survive. All are approximately of the height of the *Triumphs*, and thus it has been theorized that these were meant to frame that series.⁹ Just as there were at least two designs of frames for the *Mysteries*, it seems possible that both the Metropolitan's sheet (Figure 4) and the separate vertical candelabra segments were

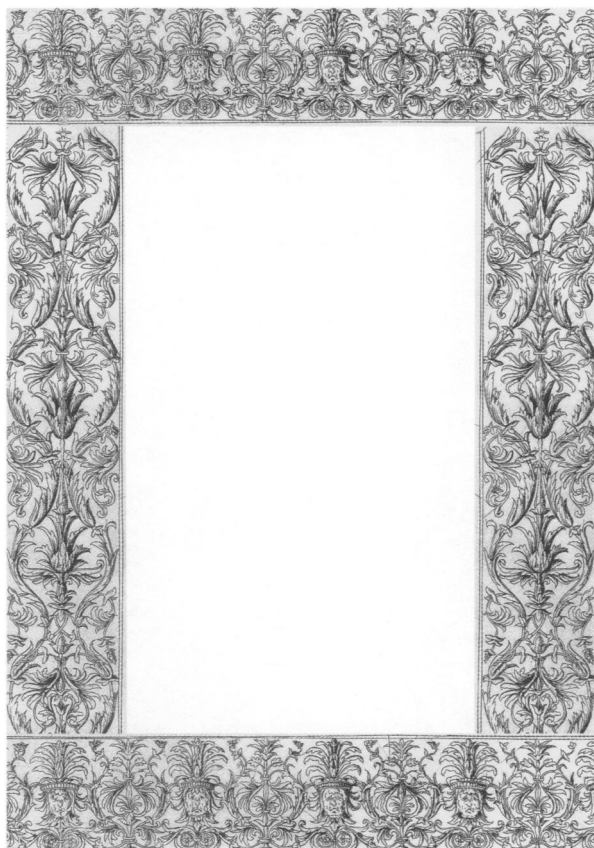


Figure 5. Photomontage, without corners, made from the engraving shown in Figure 4

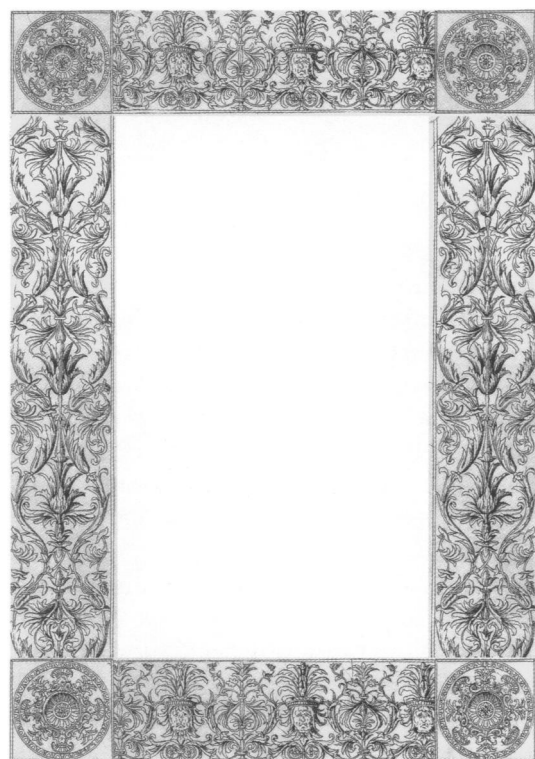


Figure 6. Photomontage, with corners, made from the engraving shown in Figure 4

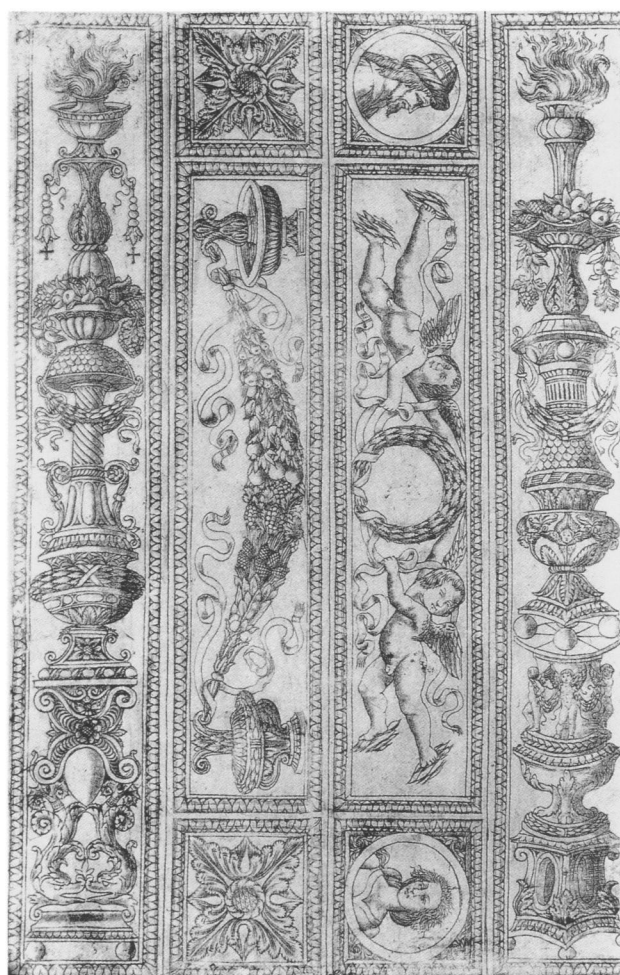


Figure 7. The supposed Baccio Baldini (Italian, act. 2nd half of 15th century; d. 1487?). Plate of border segments: two candelabra, two horizontal pieces, four corners. Engraving, $1\frac{3}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ in. (34.2 x 20.9 cm). Albertina, Vienna

intended to frame the *Triumphs*. Without any such example, however, this suggestion must, for the time being, remain just that. Perhaps some day a fortunate find in a neglected album in an out-of-the-way library will prove these theories; in the meantime, we are reminded of how much has been lost.

Where did Rosselli get the idea to surround his images with ornamental borders? Almost certainly from the principal engraver in Florence of the previous generation. This engraver was identified almost two centuries ago as one Baccio Baldini, who was mentioned in Giorgio Vasari's *Lives*, but that identification is tenuous at best. The case against continuing to call this engraver Baldini has been argued most recently and strongly by Peter Keller.¹⁰ The question of this engraver's identity is well beyond the scope of this



Figure 8. The supposed Baccio Baldini. *The Planet Venus*, within the border panels in Figure 7. (photo: after Arthur M. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving* [London, 1938], vol. 2, pl. 131)

essay, but Keller sounded the theme emphasized here when he wrote, “Perhaps the fragmentary nature of the surviving material will prevent convincing solutions.”¹¹ Whatever the engraver’s name, he or his shop made at least—and probably more than—two sheets of frame segments (Figure 7) and another with eleven panels of ornament. Quick comparison reveals that Rosselli obviously used Figure 7 as his model for Figure 3. Rosselli’s entire series of twenty-four Prophets and twelve Sibyls was copied from a series by this predecessor, so it is not surprising that at least one set of frames was also modeled on his work. It has been conjectured that the sheet in Figure 7 was meant to frame a series of *Planets* by the earlier engraver, and Hind included a montage illustrating this idea (Figure 8). In light of the fact that Rosselli copied the Prophets and

Sibyls and the earlier frame segment (which is probably by this same engraver), it seems likely that Rosselli’s other frames were also copied from earlier models.

Printmaking itself originated north of the Alps, and printers of incunabula in Italy were from German areas. It is fair to say that most innovations in printmaking came from these German-speaking parts of Europe. As far as I can ascertain, however—and again it should be stressed that because of the scarcity of material any conclusion must be tentative—the provision of printed borders for series of prints was an Italian idea, doubtless arising out of the tradition of illuminated manuscripts. And not surprisingly the idea seems to have originated in Florence, the city that was the birthplace of so much else in Renaissance art.



Figure 9. Francesco Rosselli. Candelabrum, cut from a plate of border segments. Engraving. The British Museum

NOTES

1. Arthur M. Hind, *Catalogue of the Early Italian Engravings . . . in the British Museum* (London, 1910), pp. 104–7, 116–17; *Early Italian Engraving* (London, 1938), vol. 1, pp. 119–29, esp. pp. 127–29. See also Mark J. Zucker, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 24, *Commentary*, pt. 2 (1994), pp. 8–29, esp. pp. 24–29 and 102–3.
2. See, most recently, Arthur R. Blumenthal, ed., *Cosimo Rosselli, Painter of the Sistine Chapel*, exh. cat., The George D. and Harriet W. Cornell Fine Arts Museum, Rollins College (Winter Park, Fla., 2001), esp. Suzanne Boorsch, “Francesco Rosselli” and entries on pp. 208–44, and Virginia Budny and Frank Dabell, “Hard at Work ‘di notte chome di di’: A Close Reading of Cosimo Rosselli’s Career, with Some New Documents,” pp. 23–44. John Goldsmith Phillips, former curator of European sculpture and decorative arts at the Metropolitan Museum, first put Francesco’s name to the group of prints now generally accepted as his, in *Early Florentine Designers and Engravers* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955), pp. 68ff. The groundbreaking study on Francesco as engraver was done by Konrad Oberhuber in Jay A. Levenson, Konrad Oberhuber, and Jacquelyn L. Sheehan, *Early Italian Engravings from the National Gallery of Art* (Washington, D. C., 1973), pp. 47–52. The most extensive and detailed publication of Francesco’s engravings is Zucker, *Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 24, *Commentary*, pt. 2, pp. 1–109. In an oral presentation at a symposium on Cosimo Rosselli in connection with the exhibition at the Cornell Museum of Fine Arts (February 25, 2001), I proposed that Francesco engraved the thirty-one plates for Francesco Berlinghieri’s *Geographia* (Florence, 1482); see Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, vol. 1, pp. 295–96, G.3.
3. In addition to the segments framing images of the *Mysteries* in Hamburg and Paris, sixteen segments cut from the complete sheets of these plates have been identified in public collections in Bassano, Italy; Dresden; London; Milan; New York; Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale); and Pavia, Italy; see Zucker, *Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 24, *Commentary*, pt. 2, pp. 24–27.
4. Zucker, *Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 24, *Commentary*, pt. 2, p. 27, seems to concur with this opinion.
5. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, vol. 1, pp. 127–28, B.I.16; David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print* (New Haven and London, 1994), pp. 82, 84–85.
6. Zucker, *Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 24, *Commentary*, pt. 2, p. 24.
7. The configuration is shown in Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, vol. 1, p. 128.
8. Zucker, *Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 24, *Commentary*, pt. 2, p. 103.
9. Hind, *Early Italian Engraving*, vol. 1, p. 146, B.III.19; Zucker, *Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 24, *Commentary*, pt. 2, p. 99.
10. Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi (Florence, 1880), vol. 5, p. 396; Peter Keller, “The Engravings in the 1481 Edition of the *Divine Comedy*,” in *Sandro Botticelli: The Drawings for Dante’s Divine Comedy*, exh. cat., Kulturforum, Berlin, Scuderie Papali al Quirinale, Rome, and Royal Academy of Arts, London (London, 2000), pp. 326–33, esp. 332–33.
11. Keller, “The Engravings,” p. 333.

An Early Meissen Discovery: A *Shield Bearer* Designed by Hans Daucher for the Ducal Chapel in the Cathedral of Meissen

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JOHANN FRIEDRICH BÖTTGER, the inventor of European porcelain, worked as an alchemist at the Albrechtsburg in Meissen in 1705–6, seeking the arcanum of making gold. After 1710, this medieval castle would house the first Western porcelain manufactory—as shown here in a mid-eighteenth-century etching, with smoke issuing from the chimney of its kiln (Figure 1). The fortified structure, situated on a hill high above the town of Meissen, was accessible only by a drawbridge. The secluded site was chosen in order to keep the process of porcelain making secret and under tight control. Böttger was not allowed beyond its walls, remaining, de facto, a prisoner of the state until 1714.¹ A sickly man, he was plagued by depression as a result of a degenerative disease brought on by the poison he used for his chemical experiments. He sought rest and seclusion within the guarded walls, but even the magnificent view over the valley of the river Elbe could not offer much in the way of consolation.

It would seem that the serene architecture of the Late Gothic princely chapel in the nearby cathedral would have provided a tranquil place for meditation (see Figures 1, 2), yet it is not known whether Böttger was able to enjoy this magnificent space. These years of personal hardship in Meissen came at a time of intense international rivalries: European monarchs competed to consolidate their absolute power and to expand their areas of hegemony. Augustus the Strong (1670–1733), king of Poland and liege lord of Böttger in Saxony, was one of the central figures who participated in these shifting alliances and military successes.

Although this article is closely connected with Meissen, its primary concern is not early German porcelain—about which Clare Le Corbeiller has written so effectively—but a work in another medium, from another time of struggle and innovation. The beginning

of the sixteenth century witnessed the dawn of a similarly exciting period in Saxony: within a few years, the order that had ruled Europe for more than a millennium would become obsolete. The devoutly religious Duke George the Bearded, the last Catholic prince of Albertine Saxony (r. 1500–1539), had invited Martin Luther to preach in Dresden in July 1517, and it was in a letter addressed to this duke one year later that Luther asked that “a common *reformation* should be undertaken of the spiritual and temporal estates”—Luther’s first known use of the word that would become the name of his historic religious revolution.²

The foundation of the princely chapel in the Albrechtsburg, situated above the town of Meissen, was laid some decades before these radical changes in the ecclesiastical and political makeup of Europe took place. Margrave Frederick IV (d. 1428), who had secured the electorate in 1423, had added the chapel to the cathedral’s west facade (Figure 2) to serve as a burial site for the Wettin family, the ruling dynasty of Saxony. This addition transformed the structure into an impressive double-choir cathedral (Figure 3).³ Frederick himself was buried in the chapel five years later. The epitaphs of members of his family were placed around the raised bronze tomb of the elector (see Figure 2). Duke George, following the example of his ancestors, planned a funerary memorial for himself and his wife, Barbara (d. 1534), the daughter of King Casimir IV of Poland. By 1500, the princely chapel was nearly filled,⁴ and Duke George had to have a small addition built onto the chapel; from 1521 to 1524, a separate sepulchral annex was created, the so-called Capella Ducis Georgii (Figures 3, 4).⁵

The original appearance of much of the space was altered during the Baroque period (the 1670s), though the architectural framework of the chapel had been conceived initially in the Late Gothic style, the *maniera tedesca*, which accounts for the pronounced ribbed vaulting. The entrance portal and other aspects of the decoration were designed in the new Italian style, or *maniera italiana*,⁶ its Early Renaissance forms introduced in the North from southern Italy. Duke George

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 37

The notes for this article begin on page 60.

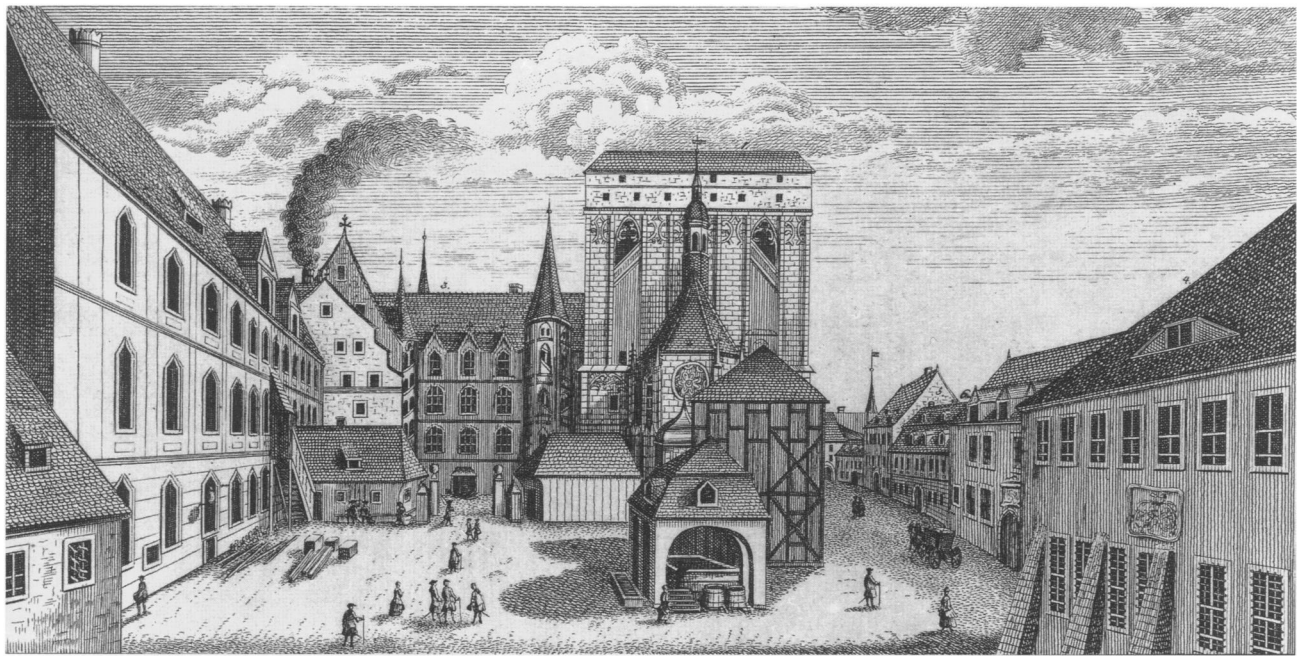


Figure 1. Christoph Gottlob Werner, Albrechtsburg and cathedral with princely chapel, mid-18th century. Etching. Sammlung Bienert (29-40-70), Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen, Dresden (photo: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen)



Figure 2. Princely chapel, photographed 1997 (photo: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen)

may have first encountered this style, then rather avant-garde, during the Imperial Diet of 1510 in Augsburg. In that city, one of the most ambitious funerary monuments of the sixteenth century was in the final planning stages—or perhaps already under construction—the “Fugger family chapel in the St. Anna-Kirche in Augsburg, whose original opulence shaped posterity’s image of its patron, Jakob Fugger [1459–1525], the international banker and the Holy Roman Empire’s wealthiest patrician. This is the first truly Renaissance-style funerary chapel in Germany.”⁷ The Fugger chapel marked the overture of the Renaissance style north of the Alps. The importance of the commission is underscored by the participation of Albrecht Dürer, who designed some of the decoration. The chapel’s innovative style was praised by the Augsburg chronicler Clemens Jäger in 1545 as “auf welsche [italienische] art, der zeit gar neu erfunden . . . vber allen der beruembten Kunstwerck.”⁸

In the sixteenth century, Augsburg was transformed by the Fuggers’ patronage into an international cultural center, with profound repercussions for Central Europe. In the spring of 1518, Duke George (Figures 12, 27, 35) traveled to Augsburg to participate in another multistate assembly. During his long acquaintance with the duke, Jakob Fugger often delivered payments on the latter’s behalf, and the duke was a frequent guest at the Fugger family’s Augsburg residence. Records of the privy purse of Duke George

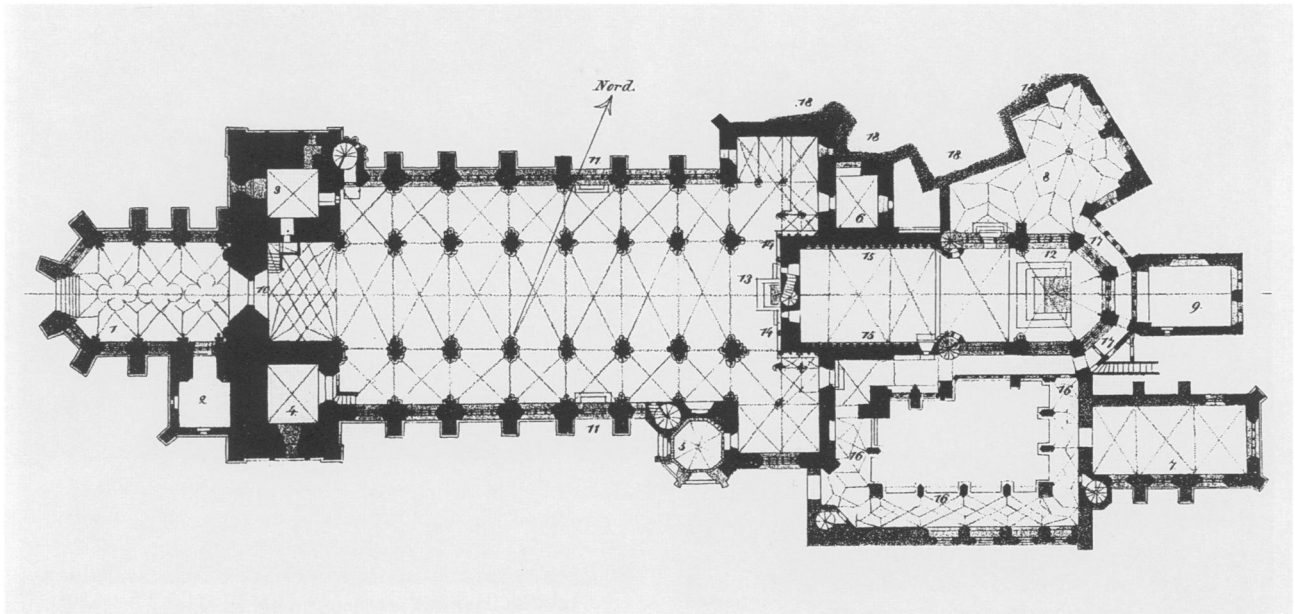


Figure 3. Meissen cathedral, historic floor plan, ca. 1835. On the left: 1 princely chapel; 2 ducal chapel (photo: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen)

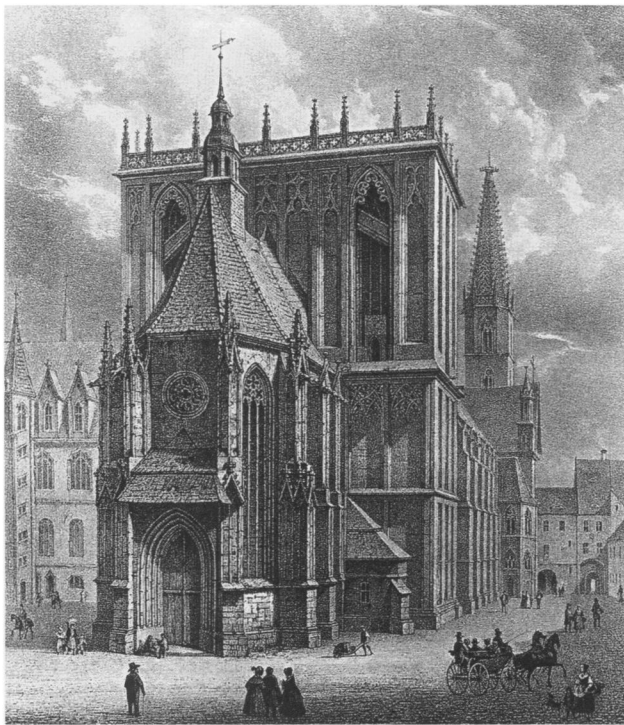


Figure 4. Meissen cathedral, princely chapel with ducal chapel annex on its right, mid-19th century. Lithograph after a drawing of Giacomo Pozzi (photo: after *Das Portal an der Westturmfront und die Fürstenkapelle: Forschungen zur Bau- und Kunstgeschichte des Meissner Domes*, vol. 1 [Halle, 1999], p. 199, fig. 285)

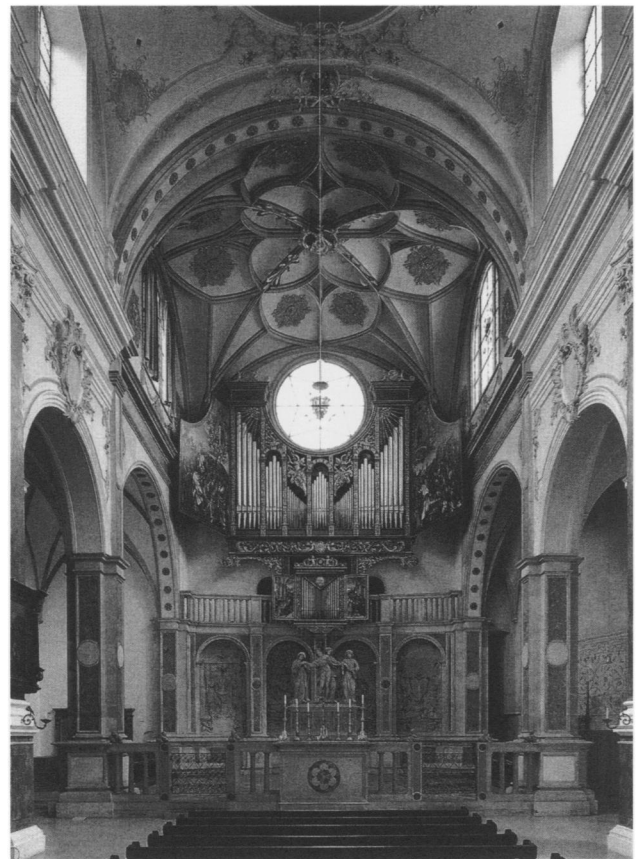


Figure 5. Fugger chapel, ca. 1509–18, St. Anna-Kirche, Augsburg, photographed 1993 (photo: after Bruno Bushart, *Die Fuggerkapelle bei St. Anna in Augsburg* [Munich, 1994], colorpl. 4)

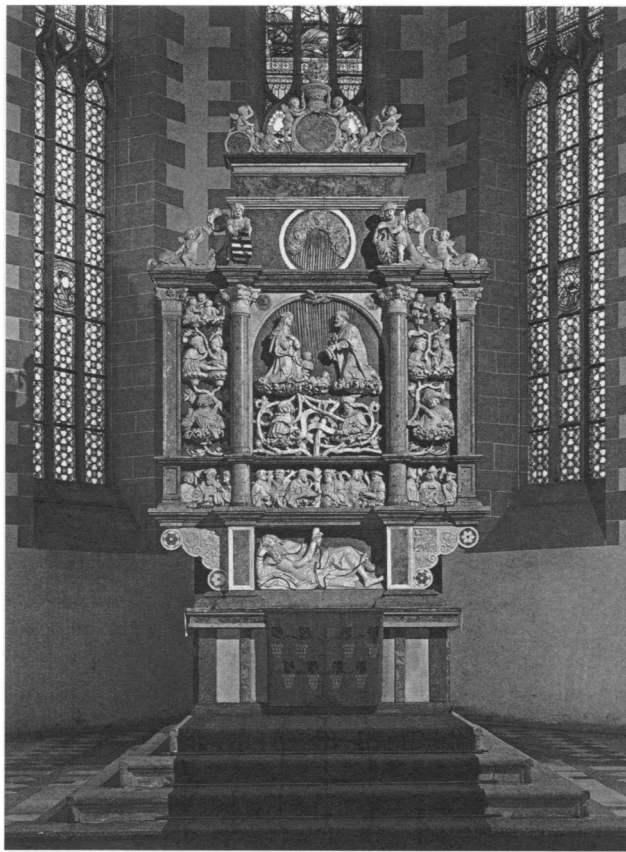


Figure 6. Hans Daucher, design and partial execution, and workshop of Adolf Daucher, high altar, commissioned most likely in 1518, erected 1522, H. 24 ft. 2 in. (7.38 m). St. Annenkirche, Annaberg-Buchholz (photo: Constantin Beyer, Weimar/ courtesy of Pfarramt St. Annen, Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchengemeinde, Annaberg-Buchholz)

document his visit to the recently dedicated Fugger chapel on May 10, 1518, when the Carmelite friars celebrated a mass in his honor. The chapel's Lombard-Venetian character and the innovative iconographic concept of combining religious devotion, in the form of a monumental altar dedicated to the Man of Sorrows (Figure 5), with ornate family epitaphs, partly framed by the multicolored marble of the architectural setting, influenced the duke's desire for a burial chapel of his own. On August 23, 1518, George visited the workshop of one of the Fuggers' sculptors, Adolf Daucher (or Dauher; ca. 1465–?1523/24) in Augsburg.⁹ Before his departure fifteen days later, the duke paid fifteen guilders “an meyster Adolff, den Steinschneider” (to master Adolf, the stonecutter) and two guilders to his son Hans Daucher (act. 1485–88; d. 1538), who worked closely with his father.¹⁰ The reason for these payments is not known, but it is likely that they were related to the ducal commission of several different monuments to follow: the high altar of the St. Annen-Kirche in



Figure 7. Hans Daucher (?) and workshop of Adolf Daucher, *Lamentation*, ca. 1522. White limestone, partially polychromed and gilt, relief without marble framing, 27 ½ x 33 ½ in. (70 x 85 cm). Parish Church of Notre-Dame, Zabern (photo: after Thomas Eser, *Hans Daucher* [Munich, 1996], p. 225, fig. 54)

Annaberg-Buchholz (Figure 6); a relief of the *Lamentation* intended as a diplomatic gift for Wilhelm von Honstein, the bishop of Strasbourg (Figure 7); and the overall design and main decorative elements of the entrance portal of the duke's burial chapel in Meissen (Figures 2, 8, 9). A note written by Adolf Daucher on December 12, 1519, and attached to a letter from Jakob Fugger to the duke, informs George about the upcoming trip by Adolf's son Hans to Saxony. The son intended to take measurements and to prepare working drawings in situ, as well as to discuss the design with Duke George. The note relates mainly to the Annaberg altar but also mentions a second work, “E[uer] g[naden] haben wollt”¹¹—most likely a reference to the Meissen portal.

Both commissions were completed before October 1521, when the duke wrote to Adolf Daucher: “You have informed us that the work for St. Annaberg and our work are all finished and that you are willing to send those two works on two wagons.” On December 10, 1521, the duke informed the town council of Annaberg of the arrival of the shipment: “You have received 12 crates of stonework from master Adolf of Augsburg . . . among them is a crate that weighs 9 centners [hundredweights: 900 pounds or 450 kg] and was addressed by master Adolf to us. We desire that this crate of 9 centners should be sent on a separate wagon, and at our cost, to Schellenberg [the duke's hunting lodge].”¹² An epidemic postponed Adolf Daucher's journey to supervise the erection of the altar in Annaberg until May 1522.

Why the heavy crate was not shipped directly to the construction site in Meissen remains unknown. Identi-

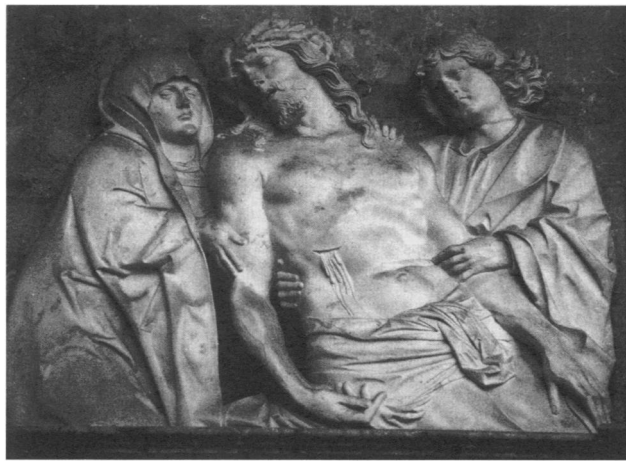


Figure 8. Augsburg sculptor in the workshop of Adolf Daucher, *Lamentation*, commissioned most likely in 1518, delivered in 1521. White limestone, relief 27 1/2 x 33 1/4 in. (70 x 85 cm). Meissen cathedral, princely chapel, part of portal frame in Figure 9 (photo: after Thomas Eser, *Hans Daucher* [Munich, 1996], p. 285, fig. 84)

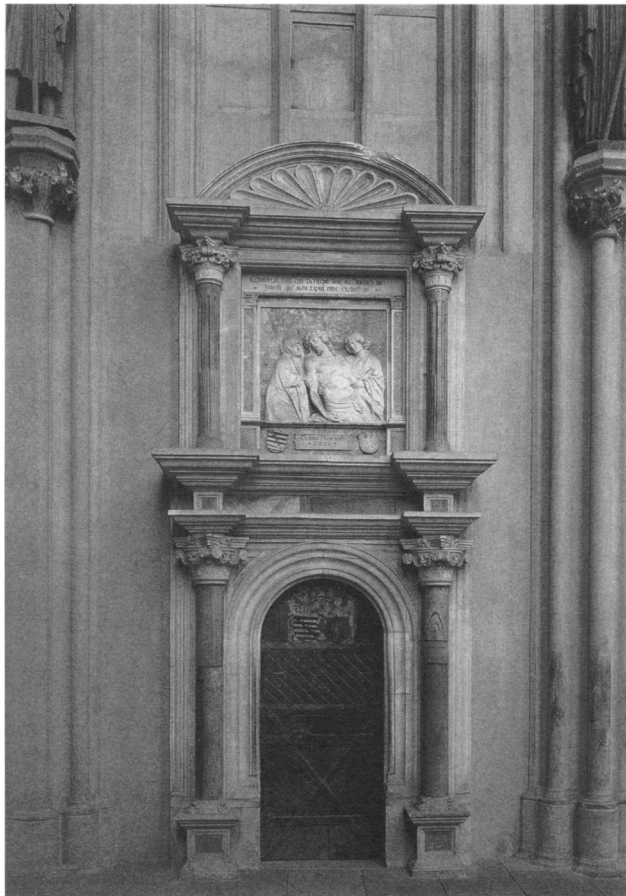


Figure 9. Hans Daucher, design and partial execution, and workshop of Adolf Daucher and an unknown Saxon workshop (architectural elements and serpentine columns), portal frame, commissioned most likely in 1518, Augsburg parts delivered in 1521, installed ca. 1524, H. ca. 16 ft. 4 in. (5 m). Meissen cathedral, princely chapel (photo: Constantin and Klaus G. Beyer, Weimar)



Figure 10. Hans Daucher, *Madonna with Child and Angels*, dated 1520. Honestone, H. 16 1/2 in. (41.8 cm), W. 12 1/4 in. (31 cm). Städtische Kunstsammlungen, Maximiliansmuseum, Augsburg, inv. no. 5703 (photo: Städtische Kunstsammlungen, Augsburg)

fication of the stonemason's marks in the Capella Ducis and the possible influence of its architecture on other works in Meissen led Hans-Joachim Krause to suggest that the construction was not completed until 1524.¹³ Therefore, Duke George may have been concerned about the secure storage or possible damage to the fragile and precious parts of the portal. Meanwhile, in his private quarters he might have been enjoying the central element of the composition—the finely carved *Lamentation* (Figure 8)—which perhaps served as an object of personal devotion. The choice of subject is hardly coincidental and was of utmost importance in light of the duke's religious belief, as we shall see.

What, after all, did the crate from Augsburg contain besides the relief? The materials used for the portal were analyzed in 1966. The siliceous white limestone of the relief and its red-and-white grained-marble background, as well as the pilasters supporting the inscribed entablature above and the small *cartellino* below, framed with a coat of arms, are all of South



Figure 11. Hans Daucher, *Virtutum et viciorum adumbratio* (Allegory of Virtues and Vices at the Court of Charles V), German, Augsburg, dated 1522. Honestone with touches of gilding, H. 10 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (27.6 cm), W. 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (46.7 cm), D. ca. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (3.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.745)

German or Austrian (Salzburg) origin. Each of these components probably came from the Daucher workshop and had to be assembled in Meissen. Local stones—a whitish limestone from the Elbe River valley and greenish Saxon serpentine—make up the major parts of the architectural framework and the shell-shaped calotte.¹⁴ In appearance, the meticulously polished white limestone of the relief resembles honestone (correctly referred to as Jurassic limestone), which was often employed during the Renaissance for *Kunstkammer* objects and small-scale sculpture;¹⁵ Hans Daucher frequently worked with this material (Figures 10, 11).¹⁶ On the Meissen portal, honestone was used only for the moldings around the reddish white marble, the flat capitals of the pilasters, the inscribed plaques, and the heraldic shields. The sculptural elements of the Annaberg altar were carved from the same limestone as the Meissen relief.¹⁷ Modern analysis supports the description by the Saxon historian G. Fabricius, who, in 1569, mentioned that Duke George's burial chapel was embellished with "marmore candido & rubeo



Figure 12. George the Bearded (here depicted without beard in the center on horseback; detail of Figure 11)



Figure 13. Hans Daucher, design, executed in the workshop of Adolf Daucher, German, Augsburg, *Shield Bearer with the Ducal Arms of Saxony*, commissioned most likely 1518, delivered in 1521. Honestone, partially polychromed and gilt, H. 19¾ in. (50.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Gifts of The Hearst Foundation, Alexander Smith Cochran, Mrs. Russell Sage, Mr. and Mrs. William Randolph Hearst Jr., and Bequest of Emma A. Sheaffer, by exchange, 1999 (1999.29). See also Colorplate 1



Figure 14. Side view of *Shield Bearer* in Figure 13

Ratisbonense" (white-and-red marble from Regensburg) and "item ophitino masculino Zebliciano" (serpentine from Zöblitz in Saxony [a mining town near Annaberg-Buchholz]).¹⁸ Furthermore, the reddish white grained marble from Adnet (Salzburg) was used

in combination with honestone in the Fugger chapel in Augsburg as well.¹⁹

The proportions of the Meissen portal (Figure 9) reveal an obvious discrepancy in quality between the Augsburg elements and those that were produced



Figure 15. Front view of *Shield Bearer* in Figure 13

locally. The cornices, moldings, and capitals appear oversized, and the shell-shaped calotte is unusually squat and attenuated, so that it cannot properly accommodate the evenly balanced fluting of the scallop shape. The designs obviously were executed by craftsmen unfamiliar with the rules of classical proportion and with the new Renaissance architectural forms seen in Augsburg.²⁰

If one compares details of the portal with those of the Annaberg altar (see Figure 6), similarities become clear, such as the curious positioning of the capitals,

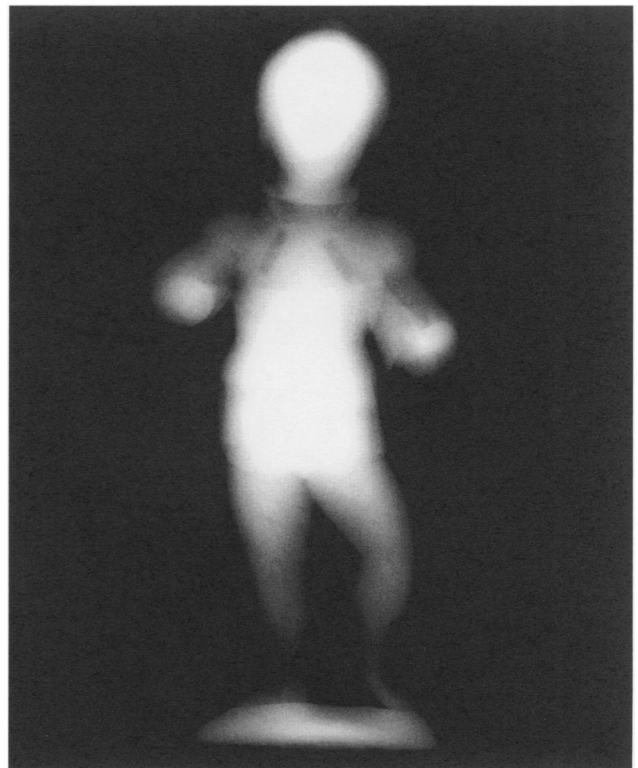


Figure 16. Radiograph of *Shield Bearer* in Figure 13, showing the fillings of the former wing attachments (radiograph: Jack Souldanian Jr., The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

which are turned forty-five degrees, or the column shafts, which widen at the lower end instead of having proper bases, demonstrating the close relationship of both projects. However, one major ingredient places them poles apart: celestial putti, comfortably mounted on dolphins, some attending casually yet joyously to the “eternal flame” issuing from the urn that surmounts the highly decorative finial of the altar. The Meissen portal does not terminate in a like organic form.

The positioning of the portal within the princely chapel supports this observation. The sculpture decorating the entrance to the cathedral, the so-called *Westportal* (see Figure 2), is arranged symmetrically: first we perceive the central figure of Christ in the Deesis, after which we are drawn to the pinnacle of the pyramidal composition where an angel holds the cross and the crown of thorns—the final instruments of the Passion.²¹ One wonders whether the undistinguished culmination of the portal in Meissen was intended or if something that continued the rhythm of the chapel’s wall decoration might be missing in its current state of preservation.

In 1999, The Metropolitan Museum of Art acquired the *Shield Bearer with the Ducal Arms of Saxony* (Figures 13–16). It had been on the Munich art market after

being sold at auction in London in 1997. Not much about its previous history is known. The coat of arms obviously connected the sculpture with Saxony, while its stylistic features pointed to Augsburg and justified, very rightly, an attribution to the circle of Adolf Daucher.²²

The sculpture depicts a young boy, three to five years old, wearing a visored helmet and a whimsical variation of a cuirass *all'antico*—a Roman metal or leather armor, baring his lower bottom, genitals, and legs. The shoulders are accented by turban-shell-shaped pauldrons and leather pendent straps. He stands in a modified contrapposto on a low, roughly textured circular base of blue-green coloration. A delightful contrast is achieved by the inventive combination of the boy's juvenile air of innocent confidence; his pseudoclassical costume of an ancient warrior paired with the helmet of a contemporary late medieval knight; and his touchingly earnest expression as he balances a tall heraldic shield in front of him. His self-reliant attitude seems to be underscored by the action he performs. The leather strap on the back of the enormous shield is wrapped around three fingers of his right hand, while he simultaneously presses the shield down with them, and he stabilizes its position with just the tip of the index finger of his left hand, stretching the hypothenar. The figure's statuary presence commands our attention, and the quiet outline of its contours gives it a certain monumentality.

James David Draper has noted that “cherubic shieldbearers were much in vogue [in the Renaissance]. . . . We can posit that this lad was originally an angel (holes for his wings [Figure 16] . . . have been filled in the back) and that he stood steadying his shield, carved with the ducal arms of Saxony, high on the top left of an altar. The heraldic insignia are actually presented in reverse for a decorative reason: they no doubt faced the armorial device sustained by a fellow shieldbearer at top right. . . . The whole must have been quite splendid in effect, with skin tones and details picked out sparingly in polychromy and gilding” (see Figure 13 and Colorplate 1).²³

X rays reveal that the figure, including the shield, was carved from one block of honestone (Figure 16), and they show the filled-in holes for wings mentioned above. Approximately three-quarters of the coat of arms on the front of the shield are repainted. A hole on the underside of the circular base, about three-quarters of an inch deep, may have served to secure the work to the carver's workbench in the workshop. The figure of the boy most likely was mounted on the top of a cornice with cement or adhesive.²⁴

Draper's observations and the condition report suggested several areas for further research. It is evident



Figure 17. Franz Maidburg, pulpit, 1516. St. Annenkirche, Annaberg-Buchholz (photo: Constantin and Klaus G. Beyer, Weimar / courtesy of Pfarramt St. Annen, Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchengemeinde, Annaberg-Buchholz)



Figure 18. Winged *Shield Bearer* with *trabes Saxonicae*, detail of altar in Figure 6 (photo: Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London)

that the sculpture is remarkable for its utilization of the materials and its freedom from earlier conventions. Its obvious close connection with the two shield bearers on the Annaberg altar suggests the possibility that the Daucher workshop received another Saxon commission. In the letter of 1519 cited above, Adolf Daucher mentions, in addition to the upcoming travels of his son to Saxony, “Mein sun wirt auf die fasten [Lenten] hinein zu dem churfursten etlich stuck stain hinein fuern.”²⁵ Under the circumstances, the vague expression that refers to the delivery of “some pieces of stone” could also be interpreted as “some carved works of stone.” The Ernestine branch of the Wettin family held the electorate at the time, and Frederick III, called the Wise (d. 1525), the protector of Martin Luther, resided in Wittenberg.²⁶ We can conclude, however, that the New York sculpture was not part of the shipment addressed to Frederick because the coat of arms is that of the Saxon dukedom and not the electorate of Saxony. The *Sur le tout* of the coat of arms of the electors does not display the “barry of ten or and sable, a crown of rue in bend vert,” the so-called *trabes Saxonicae* of the dukedom, but instead shows the crossed swords that are the badge of the archmarshal of the Holy Roman Empire. With the accession of Duke Moritz (r. 1547–53), the prestigious position passed from the Ernestine to the Albertine line. The latter adopted the electoral badge of office with the crossed swords, which gradually would become the main armorial insignia of Saxony; in the eighteenth century, it was adapted as the now-famous mark guaranteeing the origin of the *porcelaine de Saxe*, or Meissen porcelain.²⁷

The coat of arms on the shield supported by the young warrior can be identified as specifically belonging to Duke George the Bearded.²⁸ A detailed description of the duke’s personal coat of arms was supplied by Philipp Jakob Spener in his heraldic treatise of 1717.²⁹ According to Spener, the ducal arms of George are, quarterly:

- I Landgraviate Thuringia (d’azur au lion fascé d’argent et de gueules)
- II Palatinate Saxony (d’azur à l’aigle couronné d’or)
- III Margraviate Landsberg (d’or à deux pals d’azur)
- IV Margraviate Meissen (d’or au lion de sable, armé et lampassé de gueules)

and the *Sur le tout* with the Saxon rue-crown blazoned as a *crancelin vert*³⁰ and the barry of ten or and sable (the *trabes Saxonicae*).³¹

As noted by Draper, the depiction of the duke’s coat of arms on the shield of the New York sculpture is in

mirror image (see Figure 15). In addition, the heraldic order is confused, with the exception of III (Landsberg). The quartering reads: I Meissen / II Thuringia (Thürigen) / III Landsberg / IV Palatinate-Saxony (Pfalz Sachsen). The overall shows a mirror image of the *crancelin*, which is also shortened. The *crancelin* should be vert (now dark blue), and the eagle of the Palatinate should be couronné d’or (now painted white with traces of silver and minimal residue of gilding underneath).

The duke’s coat of arms appears in the correct arrangement several times in the St. Annen-Kirche in Annaberg, where, for example, it can be seen in such prominent locations as just below the sculptural reliefs on the pulpit (Figure 17), a major work, of 1516, by Franz Maidburg (act. 1503–?), and on the so-called Schöne Tür, of 1512, by the Master HW. However, the coat of arms with the ducal quartering is always accompanied by a second shield bearing the royal Polish coat of arms, *gueules, aigle d’argent* and belonging to the duke’s wife, Barbara.³² The two winged shield bearers (Figures 18, 19) on the high altar in Annaberg also display the couple’s coats of arms, but there they include only the private armorials of the two families: the *trabes Saxonicae* (for George) and the Polish eagle (for Barbara).

The embellishment of public buildings with coats of arms was not done merely as decoration. Armorial bearings and devices were important under the feudal system of the Holy Roman Empire, and their use was strictly regulated. Heraldic symbols conveyed the social status of their owners and could represent an individual, as would an inscription or a portrait. Learned citizens in the Renaissance could read such devices as they would a book. Coats of arms served also as memorials and honored important donors. In a letter of 1521 from Duke George to the bishop of Meissen and the abbot of Alzelle, the duke requested their financial support for the St. Annen-Kirche in Annaberg, tempting them with the promise that their coats of arms, or those of their families, would be displayed in “eternal commemoration.”³³ Duke George and his family contributed great sums toward the building and decoration of the St. Annen-Kirche, especially of its treasury and high altar depicting the Tree of Jesse, which was commissioned from Augsburg.³⁴ It is logical that the duke’s coat of arms would be included to note his financial support as well as to mark the fact that he was feudal lord of the region.

The cornerstone of the St. Annen-Kirche was laid in 1499, only two years after the foundation of the town itself. The discovery of a substantial vein of silver in the region about 1491 sparked a huge interest in the mining of precious metals, followed by the growing



Figure 19. Winged *Shield Bearer* with Polish eagle, detail of altar in Figure 6 (photo: Conway Library, Courtauld Institute of Art, London)



Figure 20. Meissen cathedral, princely chapel with portal frame of Figure 9 on the right, ca. 1844–50. Lithograph by Gustav Schlick after a drawing by Carl Ferdinand Sprosse (photo: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen)

need for an urban infrastructure. The situation, comparable to the California Gold Rush of 1849, initiated the new settlement of Annaberg, which grew at a rapid pace, resulting in eight thousand registered inhabitants by 1508 (twice as many as in Dresden at the time, and the same number as in Leipzig, a leading center of trade).³⁵

Chosen for the Annaberg armorial was a depiction of Saint Anne, the Virgin Mary, and the Christ Child in the configuration known as the *Anna Selbdritt*, to be situated above a pick hammer crossed with a mining hammer and supported by two miners. The duke and his wife's deep devotion to the mother of Mary, Saint Anne, the patron saint of the town and of its principal church,³⁶ was in keeping with the steadily increasing worship of relics in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.³⁷ Saint Anne had long been one of the most prominent saints during the Holy Roman Empire.³⁸ It may have been this religious connection to Saint Anne, in addition to his personal acquaintance with Jakob Fugger, that led to the duke's interest in the construction of the Fugger chapel, which was to be annexed to the cloister of the St. Annen-Kirche in Augsburg.³⁹ As discussed earlier, this project also led the duke to commission several works of art in Augsburg. The foundation charter of the Fugger chapel, drawn up by Jakob Fugger on August 23, 1521, provides an interesting insight into the exclusivity of such contemporary traditions. Fugger decreed, "Auch die selbig Cappell alle Quotember [seubern Lassen vnnd verhuetten] . . . [yemands anderen kain annders dann] vnser wappen darein und darumb zumachen [gestattet, auch alle tag Jnn der] Cappellen ain mes gelesen."⁴⁰

Once the association of the New York sculpture with George the Bearded was established, confirmation of the object's place on a monument ordered by the duke awaited. Of crucial importance were the inventories published by the Alterthumsverein, the Royal Saxon Antiquarian Society, in the nineteenth century. In his description of the high altar in Annaberg, published in 1885, Richard Steche wrote:

Decorating the *attica* [of the altar] above the columns and holding the armorial shields of Duke George and his spouse are two putti: the helmet of the right one (with the Polish coat of arms) has wings [Figure 19]; like the other six on the crest, these figures of children are among the loveliest creations of the Early Renaissance in Germany. Artistically they resemble the figures that crown the portal of the Georgen-Capelle in the cathedral of Meissen erected by Duke George in 1528; there, as here, the armorial shields are the same and the eagle of the Polish coat of arms is executed in the identical technique. Similarities in



Figure 21. Meissen cathedral, princely chapel with portal frame of Figure 9 on the right, ca. 1810–20. Anonymous etching. Sammlung Bienert (29-53-33), Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen, Dresden (photo: Landesamt für Denkmalpflege Sachsen)

style and date of origin allow [us] to assume with certainty that the Meissen figures mentioned were likewise commissioned by Duke George and made by Adolph Dowher [Daucher].⁴¹

In 1905, Felician Gess, an expert in interpreting archival documents related to Duke George, suggested, “The twelfth crate [of the Daucher shipment,] addressed to George, could perhaps have contained the two figures of children crowning the portal of the Georgenkapelle of Meissen cathedral, which Steche attributes to the same artist [Adolf Daucher].”⁴² Cornelius Gurlitt, author of the *Beschreibende Darstellung* of the Burgberg Meissen, published in 1919, does not mention the shield bearers.⁴³ If Steche saw the two figures in or before 1885, the shield bearers must have been removed from the cathedral sometime between that year—when they were no longer on the portal but still were associated with it—and 1919.

With reference to Steche, Hans-Joachim Krause wrote in 1973: “Two shield-bearing putti, mentioned

by Steche, had been sought everywhere with no result. They were said to be artistically and stylistically like the figures on the Annaberg altar. Besides Steche, nobody has seen them.”⁴⁴ Krause continued to discuss why, in his opinion, the shield bearers may never have existed. He based his argument mainly on historic depictions of the princely chapel (for example, see Figures 20, 21), in which no putti are recognizable.⁴⁵ In addition, Krause refers to the turbulent history of the portal. In the course of an extensive Gothic Revival renovation of Meissen cathedral between 1856 and 1865, the portal was dismantled about 1860 and moved to the inside wall of the Capella Ducis (Figures 22, 23).⁴⁶ In its new location (Figure 23), the frame of the portal was reversed, and it was only visible when one exited the small chapel. Krause, who knew of the portal only in this position, argued that the low-vaulted ceiling left no room to install the armorial putti,⁴⁷ noting that the portal appeared to be crammed into a narrow space. One wonders why Krause did not consider the possibility that the shield bearers were removed from the portal’s cornice because of a lack of space after its relocation. As part of a 1977 restoration, the portal was returned to its original place, the entrance to the burial chapel (see Figure 2).⁴⁸

Richard Steche was, indeed, a very active member of the Sächsischer Alterthumsverein in the second half of the nineteenth century, whose inventories of the Saxon patrimony fill fifteen volumes;⁴⁹ his publications seem to have been carefully compiled and are often characterized by a pedantic passion for detail. The question may never be fully resolved, but given the closeness of the New York sculpture to the Annaberg shield bearers and other commissions from Augsburg, and in light of the history of the cathedral and the iconography of the portal—which will be discussed below—Steche’s detailed observations appear to be credible.

Meissen cathedral did, in fact, have a very turbulent history. The radical changes brought about by the Reformation, which put an end to the worship of saints and relics, and the iconoclastic controversy after the death of Duke George in 1539, destroyed most of the monuments and much of their decoration. Of the fifty-six altarpieces in the cathedral in the early sixteenth century, only a few survived⁵⁰—a fact that inspired Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832) to remark, on the occasion of his visit to Meissen in 1813, “Inside, the slenderest, most beautiful building of its time [the cathedral] . . . is not darkened by monuments, spoiled by galleries, painted yellow, nor lightened by clear windows.”⁵¹ Goethe’s comments typify the preference, in the period, for Neoclassicism and the Neo-Gothic style.

F. W. Schwechten noted in 1826: “The Reformation and especially the great fire of 1547 in the church eliminated all the decoration in the [princely] chapel. The entire roof burned down . . . and the flames consumed all the [heraldic] trophies. . . . Bigotry and the unrestrained armies of the Thirty Years’ War destroyed everything that was left from former times.”⁵² Despite Schwechten’s generalizations, the building, including the princely chapel and its annex, was, in fact, neglected after the Reformation. The roof was not replaced until 1595. In 1613, the coat of arms on the bronze tomb of Frederick IV (see Figure 2) was newly painted and the portal to Duke George’s chapel was “neu gesetzt” (renovated structurally), indicating that its attachment to the wall was no longer sound. Extensive surface damage was also recorded,⁵³ leading to a major renovation between 1668 and 1672.⁵⁴ The importance of Meissen as a burial site for the Wettin family ended with the demise of Duke George in 1539; his successors erected their funerary monuments in the Cathedral of Freiberg.⁵⁵

In his 1826 description of Meissen cathedral, Schwechten mentions another event that is of great importance for the discussion of the Metropolitan Museum’s shield bearer: “Duke George had the simple and unpretentious tomb that had been erected over the burial place of [Saint] Benno, Bishop of Meissen (d. 1106), by Bishop Withego (1266–93) removed and replaced with one made of marble and

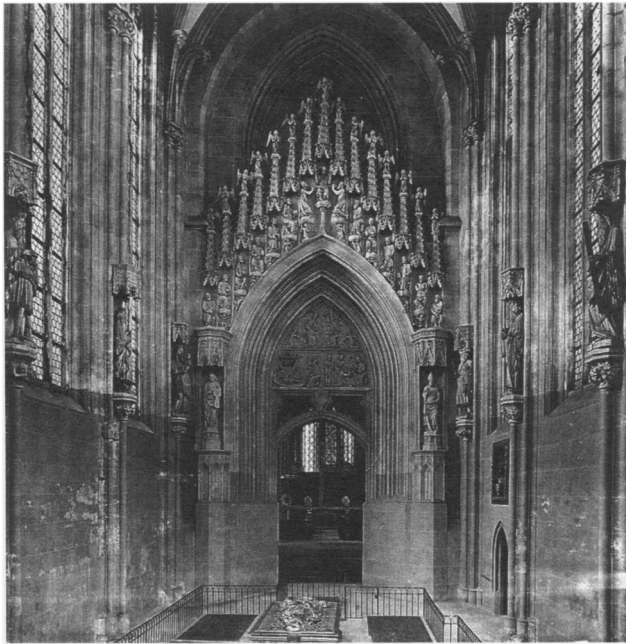


Figure 22. Meissen cathedral, princely chapel, photographed 1898 (photo: after *Das Portal an der Westturmfront und die Fürstkapelle: Forschungen zur Bau- und Kunstgeschichte des Meissner Domes*, vol. 1 [Halle, 1999], p. 202, fig. 288)

serpentine. We can assume that it was executed in the horrible [*sic*] Italian [Renaissance] style, but it did not survive for long, as it was totally destroyed during the Reformation in 1539. However, no artistic treasure was really lost!”⁵⁶ The harshness of this statement underscores the widespread appreciation during the first third of the nineteenth century for pure Gothic architecture, which had been praised by Goethe. Dislike of the Renaissance period, in fact, began much earlier: in 1772, Paul von Stetten, commenting on the decoration of the Fugger chapel in Augsburg, noted: “In the Fugger choir of St. Anna are many reliefs in white marble, and also some in wood . . . which prove that the masons and sculptors living here [in Augsburg] in the sixteenth century were artists of limited capabilities.”⁵⁷ The wood decorations were removed from 1817 to 1819 to prepare the chapel for the anniversary celebration of the Augsburger Reformation.⁵⁸

Bishop Benno of Meissen was held in high esteem by Duke George, who for years had tried to obtain Benno’s canonization in Rome. Finally, with the help of the emperor, other German princes, and great sums of money, which were channeled to influential Church officials by the Fugger bank, Benno was appointed to the canon of saints in 1524.⁵⁹ Thus, what had been the bishop’s tomb in Meissen cathedral came to be recognized as the repository of relics of a new saint, significantly increasing the importance of Meissen as a prestigious place of pilgrimage. Many came to worship at his tomb. Duke George celebrated Meissen’s new status by ordering that the tomb be appropriately decorated with “marble and serpentine . . . in [the] Italian manner,” as described by Schwechten and cited above. Local greenish serpentine was employed. If the “marble” referred to is a local whitish limestone similar to the one out of which the capitals, moldings, and cornices of the portal of the duke’s burial chamber were carved, it would link the two monuments stylistically (their “Italian manner”) and visually (the greenish and whitish color of the stone). Furthermore, both memorials were installed at roughly the same time (about 1524). The visual unity of the two sepulchral sites conveys an important religious and political message. Duke George intended to demonstrate his loyalty and deep devotion to “his” saint (Benno) in a way that would be difficult for any visitor to the cathedral to overlook, even long after George’s death in 1539. The duke continued to uphold his faith and to support the Roman Catholic Church until he died. In fact, the inscription on a Saxon medal memorializes him as “the Old Faith’s most steadfast servant.”⁶⁰ He was unwilling to follow other German princes who wished to abolish the worship of relics and who criticized the



Figure 23. Portal frame of Figure 9, installed on the exit wall of the Capella Ducis, photographed before the 1977 relocation (photo: Klaus G. Beyer, Weimar, after H. J. Mrusek, *Drei sächsische Kathedralen* [Dresden, 1976], fig. 298)



Figure 25. Peter Fischer the Younger, *Epitaph of Dr. Anton Kress*, 1513, cast brass, H. 51 ¹/₈ in. (130 cm), St. Lorenz-Kirche, Nuremberg (photo: after Volker Krahn, ed., *Von allen Seiten Schön: Bronzen der Renaissance und des Barock*, exh. cat., Skulpturensammlung, Berlin [Berlin, 1995], p. 241, no. 49)

Figure 24. Andrea Bregno, *Saint Andrew*, Rome, 1491, from the Perrier altar in Old Saint Peter's Cathedral, Rome, dismantled in 1606. Marble, H. 47 ¹/₈ in. (119.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.1736)

inflated number of new canonizations—two of the reasons that led Luther to initiate the Reformation.

The unique use of large quantities of Saxon serpentine for the two monuments is most unusual for the Early Renaissance period. Without an understanding of the importance of serpentine at the time, this fact could be easily overlooked. In 1546, Georgius Agricola noted that the people of Saxony believed that cups and spoons made of serpentine could detect poisonous food.⁶¹ The meals in princely households were served in covered dishes and the cupbearer would touch the food with a piece of “unicorn” (“corne de licorne,” or narwhal horn), an adder’s-tongue (the “pierre de Malte,” a fossilized shark’s tooth), or a fragment of serpentine to guarantee the absence of poison.⁶² Ambroise Paré (1510–1590), personal physician to Charles XI at the Hôtel-Dieu in Paris, is known to have remarked that the price of one pound of gold equaled 148 écus, but a pound of “unicorn” was valued at 1,536 écus—as expensive as ten pounds of gold.⁶³ Serpentine was a very much sought after and



Figure 26. Hans Schwarz, *Entombment of Christ*, 1516. Wood, H. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (28.5 cm). Skulpturensammlung, Berlin (photo: after Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *German Sculpture of the Later Renaissance c. 1520–1580* [Princeton, 1994], p. 282, fig. 245)



Figure 27. Anonymous Saxon artist, *Epitaph of Duke George the Bearded*, ca. 1539, cast bronze. Meissen cathedral, Capella Ducis (photo: Klaus G. Beyer, Weimar, after H. J. Mrusek, *Drei sächsische Kathedralen* [Dresden, 1976], fig. 297)

costly antidote in the early sixteenth century. The Meissen portal represents the first known architectural use of this luxurious material, the mining of which was officially supervised by the government, with the best stones reserved for the ducal family.⁶⁴ Although the Annaberg altar was extremely expensive in part because it is embellished with no fewer than ten different varieties of marble and stone, serpentine was not included (on purpose?).⁶⁵

We can only speculate on whether the duke’s choice of serpentine for the two Meissen monuments was purely a demonstration of his wealth or if he followed



Figure 28. Desiderio da Settignano, *Shield Bearer from the Monument of Carlo Marsuppini*, after 1453. Marble, H. 37³/₄ in. (96 cm). Santa Croce, Florence (photo: after John Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Renaissance Sculpture*, 2nd ed. [London and New York, 1971], pl. 68)

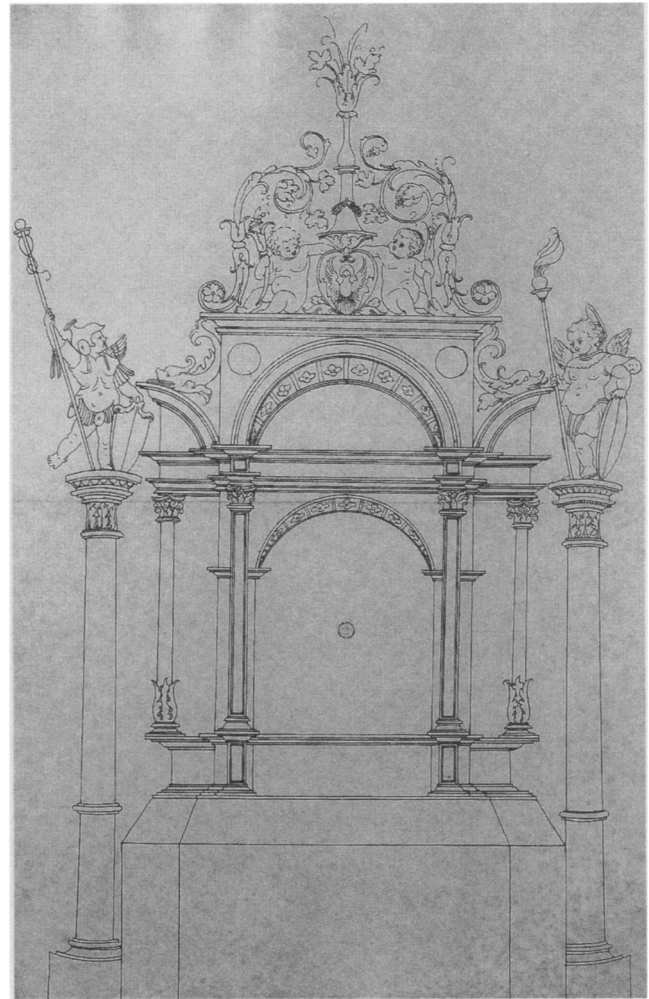


Figure 29. Augsburg artist, *Design for an Altar*, ca. 1510–20. Drawing. Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Kupferstichkabinett, Basel (photo: after Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *German Sculpture of the Later Renaissance c. 1520–1580* [Princeton, 1994], p. 166, fig. 124)

his contemporaries in believing that it possessed apotropaic power to repel harmful elements. Did the duke intend to keep the bad influence of the “disbelievers” of a reformed church away from his burial chapel? Despite all this, an anonymously published jewelry guide, *Der aufrichtige Juwelier* (The honest jeweler), reminds the reader that serpentine’s “most distinguished [characteristic] is . . . that, at the moment [that] something poisonous is [put] in it or touches it, it will burst, and [thus] for all who are afraid of death it is a well-known material that can be used without fear.”⁶⁶ Moreover, the greenish color of serpentine set it apart in another special way. According to late medieval belief, rare green stones such as serpentine or green porphyry were symbolic of freshness and signified those who were vigorous—that is, faithful—believers.⁶⁷ The New York sculpture accords with the distinctive color scheme of the Meissen portal. The

blue-green (now darkened) of the base on which the boy stands is delicately offset by the color of the paint on his collar, which logically would continue the patterns of color of the architecture below.

The architectural design of a shell-shaped calotte crowned by shield bearers or armorial angels was still a novelty in South Germany during the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The shell is not only decorative but has a specific symbolic connotation, in addition to creating the impression of a halo. A representative example of the fusion of a shell and halo in ecclesiastical sculpture occurs in a high relief by Andrea Bregno (1421–1506) in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 24).⁶⁸ The halo behind the head of Saint Andrew clearly is extended by the fluting of the scallop shell. On the Meissen portal, the motif spans the entire composition above the Man of Sorrows relief.



Figure 30. Attributed to Hans Schwarz (?), *Two Putti*, ca. 1520. Limewood, polychromed and gilded, H. 17¼ in. (44.5 cm) and 17¼ in. (45 cm). Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (photo: Marianne Franke, Munich)

A drawing by Albrecht Dürer serves as a document of the use of the Italianate shell motif in South Germany as early as 1509, complete with putti seated atop a cornice.⁶⁹ Peter Fischer the Younger (1487–1528) adapted the feature in his brass *Epitaph of Dr. Anton Kress*, of 1513, in the St. Lorenz-Kirche in Nuremberg (Figure 25), where the shell-shaped decoration above the icon of Christ the Redeemer appears visually to

enlarge the halo.⁷⁰ Not long after, Augsburg artists followed suit, producing similar designs. A relief of the *Entombment of Christ*, monogrammed and dated 1516 by Hans Schwarz (1492–?mid-1520s), includes shield bearers with processional torches on either side of its frame and surrounding a shell-like decorative carving at the center of which is a skull—a symbol of Vanity (Figure 26).⁷¹ A different, allegorical meaning is intended here for the shell, which takes on a Renaissance humanistic association with nature and the concept of growth, in contrast to the *Vanitas* connotation of the skull, as a reminder of transience and the passage of time. When the shell motif was incorporated in the design of an epitaph and “placed under the motto *Sic transit gloria mundi*,” it was to emphasize that the deceased buried in the tomb had to leave his body, which like “this physically superb living organism [the shell] was but an empty shell after death, as its spirit had crossed into another world.”⁷² We do not know if Duke George himself selected the shell design in the background of his bronze epitaph on the floor of his chapel (Figure 27), but, in any case, the halolike motif serves to distinguish him as a true believer in the “old faith.”⁷³ Small shells the size of late medieval pilgrims’ badges are applied to the abacus of the upper capitals of the Meissen portal, evoking the small shells that became the attribute of Saint James and that contemporary German pilgrims wore on their long pilgrimages to Italy, France, and Spain.⁷⁴

Shield bearers as sepulchral sculpture were adapted



Figure 31. Hans Daucher, *Ercoletto*, right putto of the balustrade of the Fugger chapel in Figure 5, ca. 1530. Yellowish white limestone, H. ca. 11 in. (28 cm). Augsburg, St. Anna-Kirche (photo: after Bruno Bushart, *Die Fuggerkapelle bei St. Anna in Augsburg* [Munich, 1994], colorpl. 26)

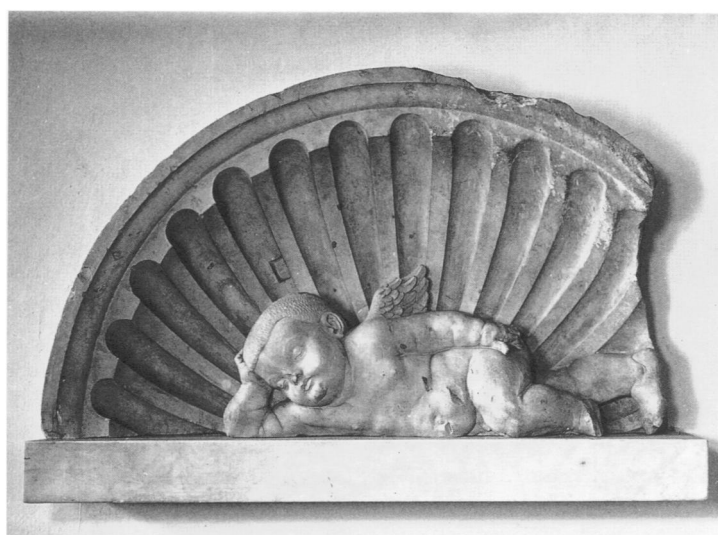


Figure 32. Attributed to Hans Daucher, *Sleeping Putto*, Augsburg, ca. 1520–30. White limestone, H. 29⅞ in. (76 cm), W. 49¼ in. (125 cm). Städtische Kunstsammlungen, Maximiliansmuseum, Augsburg, inv. no. 1361 (photo: Städtische Kunstsammlungen, Augsburg)

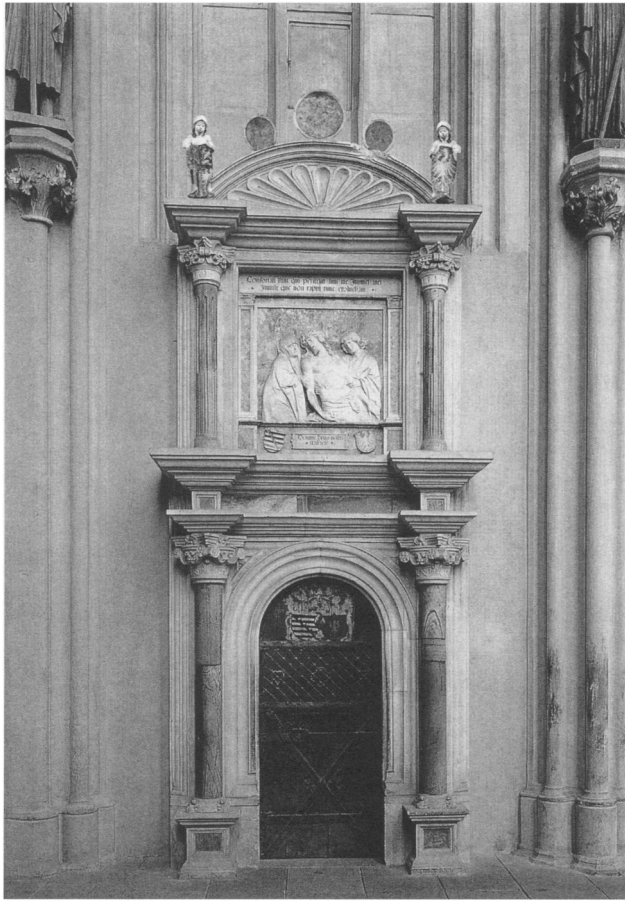


Figure 33. Computer composite of Figures 9 and 15 (courtesy of Robert Goldman, The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

in Italy directly from Roman sarcophagi.⁷⁵ One of the first masters to apply freestanding juvenile shield bearers depicted in contrapposto flanking a sacophagus was Desiderio da Settignano (1428–1464) on his funeral monument for Carlo Marsuppini in Santa Croce in Florence (Figure 28).⁷⁶ However, the Italian examples are more reserved and controlled in their action and not as playful as their Northern counterparts. The characterizations of similar putti in Germany are remarkable for their naturalism; they often appear as playful as angelic children (Figure 29).⁷⁷ Even when the putti perform other, serious tasks, such as holding the Instruments of the Passion—as on the Altar of the Rosary by Sebastian Loscher and Hans Burgkmair in Nuremberg⁷⁸—they retain their quietly cheerful demeanor. Some of the finest such examples are the two expressive wood putti in armor, attributed to Hans Schwarz, of about 1520 in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich (Figure 30).⁷⁹ However, the most accomplished putti were designed by the workshop of Adolf Daucher⁸⁰—specifically, by his son Hans. Stylistically closely related to the shield bearers

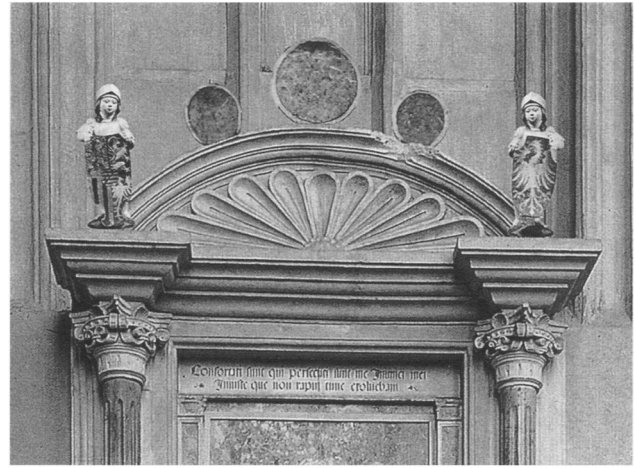


Figure 34. Computer composite of Figures 9 and 15 (courtesy of Robert Goldman, The Metropolitan Museum of Art)

in Annaberg and to the Metropolitan Museum's more sophisticated sculpture are the six putti on the balustrade of the Fugger chapel in Augsburg.⁸¹ Daucher's *Ercoletto*, the infant Hercules, shown as the filial protector of humanity, has a similarly whimsical cuirass (Figure 31). A sculpture fragment attributed to Hans Daucher, now in the Maximiliansmuseum, Augsburg (Figure 32), delightfully combines the shell motif with a sleeping putto; its iconography suggests that it, too, may have formed part of a funeral monument.⁸²

Once we accept the fact that the New York sculpture crowned the Meissen portal, which a host of reasons now seems to warrant, we will be able to use modern technology to attempt to reconstruct visually the overall composition (Figures 33, 34).⁸³ The two shield bearers would have reduced the overwhelming weightiness of the architectural elements. An examination of the presumed location on the cornice atop the portal revealed chisel marks that either were made in preparing the surface for an adhesive or else when some of this cement was cleaned away; additional chisel marks on the calotte suggest that perhaps decorative elements were attached and eventually removed. Such features are included in some of the historic depictions of the chapel (see Figure 20), but not in others (see Figure 21), and may have resembled the marble roundels on the crest of the Annaberg altar (see Figures 6, 33). The New York sculpture fits perfectly in the armorial and iconographic program of the portal in its function as an entrance framing a ducal burial site. The coats of arms held by the putti on top represent an armorial *précis* of the official state devices of the ducal couple, supplementing in an appropriate manner their family

coats of arms below the relief and on the original iron door. The subject of the *Lamentation* relief and the Latin inscriptions, which refer to the sacrifice of Christ, the Eucharist, and the invocation of divine mercy, were chosen by Duke George, who undoubtedly had in mind his own grave in the annexed chapel and the spiritual well-being of his wife and himself (Figure 35). Krause discussed the issue at length, including related biblical and theological texts.⁸⁴ Bernd Wolfgang Lindemann added some excellent observations to Krause's conclusion, showing the strong Italian influence on the relief and its version in Zabern (see Figure 7), and, in particular, the connection to Desiderio da Settignano's tabernacle of 1461 in San Lorenzo, Florence.⁸⁵

The New York sculpture provides a juvenile counterpart to the Roman soldiers that are often depicted in contemporary paintings guarding the tomb of Christ—a task combined with that of an armorial page, as indicated by the figure's childlike appearance. The position of page was part of an aristocratic young man's education at late medieval and Early Renaissance courts; like heralds, pages preceded their lords at official functions or tournaments, bearing the master's arms or armor. Two such pages, wearing armor, diligently watched over the entrance to the duke's tomb. These putti literally topped off the overall design, relaxing as they looked forward self-reliantly to eternal life and resurrection. The ability to achieve such brilliant psychological insight into human behavior in a work of carved stone surely is the mark of a great artist.

The Annaberg altar is documented as having been executed in the workshop of Adolf Daucher, who was described by Duke George as a "stonecutter," as men-

tioned earlier. The Augsburg guild records list him as "cabinetmaker" active from about 1514–15 along with his son Hans, a trained sculptor.⁸⁶ Their workshop was apparently technically well equipped to produce large altarpieces. One last curious "product" of the workshop is the so-called marble niello in which the coat of arms on the Annaberg altar is executed. The background of the shield with the Polish eagle (see Figure 19) was carefully chiseled out of the honestone and later filled with a red composite mass; the eagle was left in relief and then the entire surface of the shield was polished.⁸⁷ The small shields below the Meissen relief were made in the same technique, and Steche cites specifically the shield bearer with the Polish coat of arms.⁸⁸ However, he does not mention the duke's very complicated coat of arms, details of which hardly would be visible if they were, in fact, executed in such a delicate manner—not to mention the tour de force of craftsmanship involved in carving out the background for the quartering and the *Sur le tout*.

The hands of the individual sculptors in the Daucher workshop are difficult to identify in documented works of art. It is almost certain that Hans Daucher was the designer of the Annaberg altar and the Meissen portal and that his father, Adolf, entrusted him and various Augsburg carvers with the execution of the works. Details like the turned capitals, which Hans Daucher most likely adapted from the designs of Albrecht Dürer and Hans Holbein the Elder⁸⁹ and included in several small-scale depictions (see Figure 10) are rather typical of signed reliefs by him. Other names have surfaced in discussions of the Meissen version and the less stylistically advanced Zabern relief, such as that of Gregor Erhart (ca. 1468–1540), the teacher of Hans Daucher, his nephew, and the

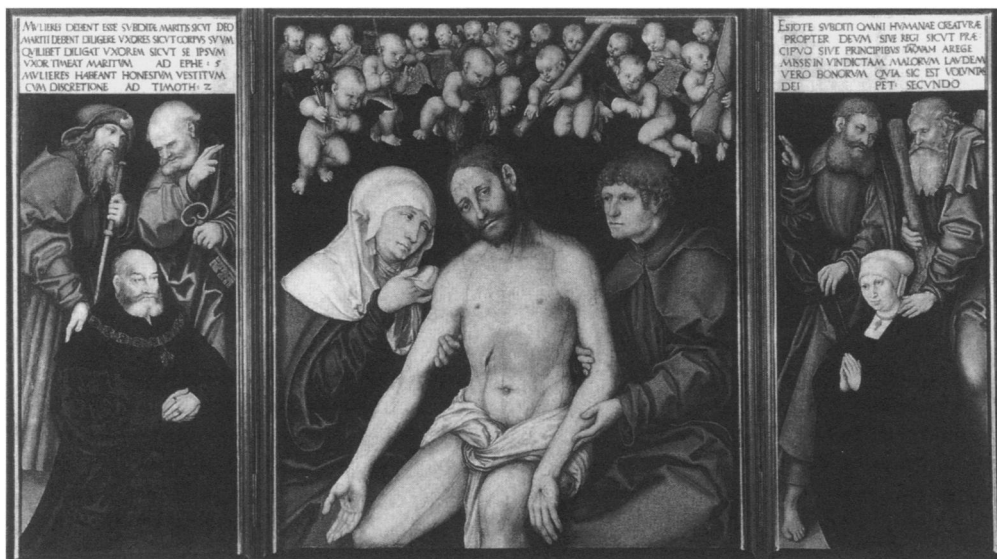


Figure 35. Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Triptych with Lamentation of the Capella Ducis* showing the portrait of Duke George (on the left) and of his wife, Barbara (on the right), ca. 1534 (photo: Constantin and Klaus G. Beyer, Weimar, after Heinrich Magirius, *Der Dom zu Meissen* [Munich and Regensburg, 1993], p. 41)

brother-in-law of Adolf Daucher.⁹⁰ Jörg Rasmussen called the range of sculptors in Augsburg in the early sixteenth century a *Verschiebbahnhof* (shunting station) in acknowledgment of their possible cooperation, technical accomplishment, and widespread influence.⁹¹ An attribution of the New York shield bearer to the workshop of Adolf Daucher is now secure, but identification of different sculptors' hands remains too much a matter of speculation.

In conclusion, the exceptionally beautiful shield bearer from the portal of the Capella Ducis in the cathedral of Meissen is a rare surviving example and a key work of Northern Renaissance sculpture from the age of Dürer. As such, it is important in documenting the artistic movement that characterized the exciting period marking the dawn of the Reformation.⁹²

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I thank Olga Raggio, James David Draper, Robert Goldman, Helmut Nickel, Stuart W. Pyhrr, and Jack Soultanian Jr., The Metropolitan Museum of Art; Paul Arnold, Münzkabinett/Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden; Markus Graf Fugger-Babenhausen, Fugger Museum, Schloss Babenhausen; Stephanie Stroh and Heinrich Magirius, Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, Meissen; Michelangelo Lupo, Trent; and Hartmut Ritschel, Landesamt für Denkmalpflege, Dresden.

NOTES

1. Willi Goder et al., *Johann Friedrich Böttger: Die Erfindung des Europäischen Porzellans* (Leipzig, 1982), pp. 91, 130.
2. Preserved Smith, *The Age of Reformation* (New York, 1920), p. 700.
3. Hans-Joachim Mrusek, *Drei sächsische Kathedralen* (Dresden, 1976), p. 368; Heinrich Magirius, *Der Dom zu Meissen* (Regensburg, 1993), pp. 30–43; E. Hütter, G. Kavacs, M. Kirsten, and H. Magirius, *Das Portal an der Westturmfront und die Fürstenkapelle: Forschungen zur Bau- und Kunstgeschichte des Meissner Domes*, vol. 1 (Halle, 1999), pp. 176–358.
4. "Occupato tamen loco sepulchrorum pristino, sibi vxorique proprium sacellum extruxerat," as cited by Georgius Fabricius, *Oreginum stirpis Saxoniae libri septem / Annalium urbis Misnae* (Jena, 1597), p. 91, after the example in the Universitätsbibliothek, Dresden, first published 1569, and later, in *Rerum Germaniae magnae et Saxoniae*, liber 2 (Leipzig, 1609), p. 91.
5. Hans-Joachim Krause, "Die Grabkapelle Herzog Georgs von Sachsen und seiner Gemahlin im Dom zu Meissen," in *Das Hochstift Meissen* (Berlin, 1973), pp. 375, 379.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 375–76.
7. Jeffrey Chipps Smith, *German Sculpture of the Later Renaissance*

- c. 1520–1580* (Princeton, 1994), pp. 171–72, 456; for the chapel's history, see Philipp Maria Halm, *Adolf Daucher und die Fuggerkapelle bei St. Anna in Augsburg*, Studien zur Fuggergeschichte, vol. 6 (Munich and Leipzig, 1921); Norbert Lieb, *Die Fugger und die Kunst im Zeitalter der Hohen Renaissance* (Munich, 1958), pp. 268–74, 448–54; Bruno Bushart, *Die Fuggerkapelle bei St. Anna in Augsburg* (Munich, 1994).
8. Bushart, *Die Fuggerkapelle*, p. 37.
9. See the travel account for August 23, 1518, item 73b: "Monday the vigil of the Apostle Bartholomew 1 florin tip for the stone-cutter's journeymen, during my lord's visit by the very same cutter of stones . . . Master Adloff the stone cutter"; see Krause, "Die Grabkapelle," p. 381 n. 27 and esp. nn. 34, 35.
10. Karl Feuchtmayr, "Die Bildhauer der Fugger-Kapelle bei St. Anna zu Augsburg," in Norbert Lieb, *Die Fugger und die Kunst im Zeitalter der Spätgotik und der frühen Renaissance*, Studien zur Fuggergeschichte, vol. 10 (Augsburg, 1952), pp. 435–59; Hannelore Müller, "Die Künstlerfamilie Daucher," in *Lebensbilder aus dem bayerischen Schwaben* (Munich, 1958), pp. 131–65; Thomas Eser, "Hans Daucher ein Zeitgenosse Dürers," in *Weltkunst* 12 (1991), pp. 1770–73; Thomas Eser, *Hans Daucher: Augsburger Kleinplastik der Renaissance* (Berlin, 1996), pp. 15–45; Jeffrey Chipps Smith, in *The Dictionary of Art*, vol. 8 (New York, 1996), pp. 540–42 (entries on Adolf and Hans Daucher); W. Goeltzer, in *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexikon*, vol. 24, ed. K. G. Saur (Munich and Leipzig, 2000), pp. 373–76 (entries on Adolf and Hans Daucher [Daucher]).
11. Felician Gess, *Akten und Briefe zur Kirchenpolitik Herzog Georgs von Sachsen* (Leipzig, 1905), p. 231; Feuchtmayr, "Die Bildhauer," pp. 438–39; Müller, "Die Künstlerfamilie Daucher," p. 151.
12. Gess, *Akten und Briefe*, pp. 229–30; Krause, "Die Grabkapelle," p. 381.
13. Krause, "Die Grabkapelle," p. 387.
14. H.-D. Beeger and H. Prescher, "Gutachten über das zum Bau der Georgskapelle am Meissner Dom verwendete Gesteinsmaterial / Forschungsstelle des Staatlichen Museums für Mineralogie und Geologie" (Dresden, June 14, 1966), Domarchiv, Meissen (also cited by Krause, "Die Grabkapelle," p. 398, n. 40).
15. Honestone is a variety of fine-grained Jurassic limestone consisting of siliceous and calcareous elements (see "Hone," *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; Nicholas Penny, *The Materials of Sculpture* [New Haven and London, 1993], p. 288 n. 15). The English terms "German razor hone" and "honestone" refer to the ease with which the material can be sharply cut, polished, and etched. Hone is indigenous to various regions around the world, but this article is concerned only with the material found specifically in and around Solnhofen, in the valley of the Altmühl River near Eichstätt (about 65 kilometers north of Augsburg), where several quarries exist that produce stone in a range of colors. In this region, known for its slate mountains, a vein of hone from 1 to 18 inches forms in the blue slate (see www.Solnhofen.de), which, in historic German inventories, is called "Solnhofener Stein"; its other historic names include "Kehlheimer Stein" (the stone was shipped from Kehlheim, on the river Danube; see www.Kehlheim.de), and "pierre de Munich" or "pierre de Bavière"—allusions to the material's South German origin (see Eugen von Philippovich, *Kuriositäten / Antiquitäten* [Braunschweig, 1966], p. 310). A color chart and scientific analysis of the various stones from different quarries still need to be done; only these could enable us to securely document the origin of each material (see Eser, *Hans Daucher*, p. 50).

16. Eser, *Hans Daucher*, p. 200, no. 26.
17. Ibid.
18. Fabricius, *Oreginum stirpis Saxoniae libri septem*, p. 91.
19. Krause, "Die Grabkapelle," p. 398 n. 41.
20. Ibid., p. 384; Krause suggests members of the workshop of Jakob Heilmann or of the master Markus Ribisch from Pirna. Hoyer names a certain "Martin Kibisch" (Eva Maria Hoyer, *Sächsischer Serpentin* [Leipzig, 1995], p. 280, no. 246).
21. Michael Kirsten, "Zur kunstgeschichtlichen Stellung der Portal-skulptur," in *Das Portal an der Westturmfront und die Fürstenkapelle*, pp. 104–65, figs. 207, 245.
22. Sale, Sotheby's, London, July 2, 1997, lot 101; *Sotheby's Art at Auction 1996–97* (London, 1997), p. 173; "European Sculpture and Works of Art," stock catalogue, Julius Böhler / Kunsthandlung (Munich, n.d. [1998]), no. 9, and cover ill. The auction house provided verbal confirmation that the object was on the London art market in the late 1960s and was later in an English private collection before being part of the collection of Dr. Gustav Rau (note by James David Draper in the archives of the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts at the Metropolitan Museum). See also *From Fra Angelico to Bonnard: Masterpieces from the Rau Collection*, exh. cat., Musée du Luxembourg, Paris (Milan, 2000).
23. James David Draper, in *Recent Acquisitions: A Selection, 1998–1999. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (Fall 1999), pp. 26–27, colorpl. p. 26.
24. Examinations conducted by Jack Soultanian, Department of Objects Conservation at the Metropolitan Museum, October 8, 1998, and January 26, 2001. Soultanian states: "The proper right foot together with the area of the base touched by the toes are replacements. . . . Plugs of roughly circular shape appearing on the shieldbearer's chest and on the top of his helmet are the sculptor's repairs to losses to the stone incurred during the carving process. A trimmed, rectangular stone insert on the lower part of the shield is an additional repair. . . . the polychromy shows that it has been at least partially renewed. . . . An examination of the paint layers beneath a binocular microscope reveals that the original color scheme is similar to what may be observed in the over-paint. . . . The side edges of the shield, now black, were originally red." The complete conservation report is in the archives of the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts. (I am most grateful to Jack Soultanian for discussing the sculpture with me at length and for patiently answering my many questions.)
25. Gess, *Akten und Briefe*, p. 231; Eser, *Hans Daucher*, p. 75.
26. Günther Naumann, *Sächsische Geschichte in Daten*, 2nd ed. (Munich and Berlin, 1994), pp. 82–83.
27. J. Siebmacher's *Grosses und allgemeines Wappenbuch*, ed. Otto Titan von Hefner, vol. 1, *Die Wappen der Souveraine* (Nuremberg, 1856), pl. 26; *The Splendor of Dresden*, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1978), p. 102, no. 112; Naumann, *Sächsische Geschichte*, pp. 102–3.
28. I thank Paul Arnold, Münzkabinett, Dresden; Helmut Nickel, curator emeritus, The Metropolitan Museum of Art; and Michelangelo Lupo, Trent, for their help in resolving armorial questions.
29. Philipp Jakob Spener, *Insignium theoria seu operis heraldici pars specialis*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt am Main, 1717), p. 29; Ernst Oswald Schmidt, *Die St. Annenkirche zu Annaberg* (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 115–16.
30. *Boutell's Heraldry*, rev. by J. P. Brooke-Little (London, 1983), p. 327, fig. 443.
31. For a detailed Latin description of Duke George's coat of arms, see Spener, *Insignium theoria*, pp. 4–6, 11, 15, 29 (after the example in the Deutsche Bibliothek, Berlin).
32. Heinrich Magirius, *St. Annen zu Annaberg*, 2nd ed. (Regensburg, 1997), p. 38, colorpls. p. 25; Klaus Kratzsch, *Bergstädte des Erzgebirges: Städtebau und Kunst zur Zeit der Reformation* (Munich and Zürich, 1972), fig. 23; see also Richard Steche, *Beschreibende Darstellung der älteren Kunstdenkmäler des Königreichs Sachsen*, vol. 4, *Amtshauptmannschaft Annaberg* (Dresden, 1885), p. 17. The coat of arms of Saxony can be seen just below the door lintel at the left and that of Poland above the door wings at the right. For my visit to the St. Annen-Kirche in Annaberg-Buchholz on May 7, 2000, I thank the Evangelisch-Lutherische Kirchengemeinde, Pfarramt St. Annen, Annaberg-Buchholz, for its help and generosity in allowing me access to the various monuments in the church.
33. Gess, *Akten und Briefe*, p. 205, no. 255.
34. Ibid., pp. 230–31.
35. Kratzsch, *Bergstädte*, pp. 18–27; Naumann, *Sächsische Geschichte*, p. 85.
36. Magirius, *St. Annen zu Annaberg*, p. 6.
37. *Reliquien, Verehrung und Verklärung*, exh. cat. Schnütgen-Museum, Cologne (Cologne, 1989); Wolfram Koeppe and Michelangelo Lupo, "Lo 'Heiltumsaltar' nella sacrestia della cattedrale di Trento," in *Ori e argenti dei santi*, ed. E. Castelnovo (Trent, 1991), pp. 35–56 (both with extensive literature).
38. Dietmar Lüdke, "Meister von Frankfurt: Anna-Selbdrift-Triptychon, um 1510," *Patrimonia* 146 (Stuttgart, 1998), pp. 18–22, 32 n. 22.
39. Bushart, *Die Fuggerkapelle*, pp. 15–18.
40. H. Kellenbenz and M. von Preysing, "Jakob Fuggers Stiftungsbrief von 1521," *Zeitschrift des Historischen Vereins für Schwaben*, vol. 68 (Ausbürg, 1974), p. 95 (original document in the Fugger Archiv, Dillingen, inv. no. F.A. 81, 2); Bushart, *Die Fuggerkapelle*, p. 422.
41. Steche, *Beschreibende Darstellung*, p. 33; see also Feuchtmayer, "Die Bildhauer," p. 463.
42. Gess, *Akten und Briefe*, p. 230 n. 1.
43. Cornelius Gurlitt, *Beschreibende Darstellung der älteren Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler in Sachsen*, vol. 40, *Burgberg Meissen* (Dresden, 1919), pp. 209–11, fig. 295.
44. Krause, "Die Grabkapelle," p. 378. (For a brief description of the portal, see also Johann Friedrich Ursinus, *Die Geschichte der Domkirche zu Meissen* [Dresden, 1782], pp. 57–58, also with no mention of putti).
45. Hütter et al., *Das Portal an der Westturmfront*, figs. 279, 488, 496, 523.
46. "Die Herstellungen im Dom zu Meissen in den Jahren 1856 und 1857," in *Mitteilungen des Kgl. Sächsischen Altertumsvereins*, vol. 10 (1857), p. 11, vol. 11 (1859), p. 11, vol. 17 (1867), p. 10; Hütter et al., *Das Portal an der Westturmfront*, pp. 209–13.
47. Krause, "Die Grabkapelle," p. 378.
48. Heinrich Magirius, "Die denkmalpflegerische Wiederherstellung des Westportals und der Fürstenkapelle 1974–1996," in Hütter et al., *Das Portal an der Westturmfront*, p. 415.
49. Steche, *Beschreibende Darstellung*, vols. 1–15; see also www.tu-chemnitz.de/phil/snregiog/verein.htm.
50. Mrusek, *Drei sächsische Kathedralen*, p. 374.
51. Magirius, *Der Dom zu Meissen*, p. 45.
52. F. W. Schwechten, *Der Dom zu Meissen in allen seinen Teilen bildlich dargestellt* (Berlin, 1826), p. 4, col. 4.
53. Hütter et al., *Das Portal an der Westturmfront*, pp. 347, 354.

54. Magirius, *Der Dom zu Meissen*, p. 45.
55. Monika Meine-Schawe, *Die Grablege der Wettiner im Dom zu Freiberg: Die Umgestaltung des Domchores durch Giovanni Maria Nosseni, 1585–1594* (Munich, 1992); Damian Dombrowski, "Die Grablege der sächsischen Kurfürsten zu Freiberg: Ideelle Dimension eines internationalen Monuments," in *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, vol. 64 (2001), pp. 234–72.
56. Schwechten, *Der Dom zu Meissen*, p. 7 n. 17.
57. Paul von Stetten, *Beschreibung der Reichs-Stadt Augsburg* (Augsburg, [n.d.] after 1772), p. 451.
58. Halm, *Adolf Daucher und die Fuggerkapelle*, p. 39.
59. Gess, *Akten und Briefe*, pp. 620–21; Heinrich Magirius, *Der Dom zu Meissen*, p. 45.
60. Krause, "Die Grabkapelle," n. 103.
61. Georgius Agricola, *De natura fossilium*, vol. 10, in Georg Agricola, *Ausgewählte Werke*, vol. 4 (Berlin, 1958), p. 32.
62. Louis Lewin, *Gifte in der Weltgeschichte* (Berlin, 1920; rev. ed., Hildesheim, 1971), pp. 44–45.
63. Hoyer, *Sächsischer Serpentin*, p. 14.
64. *Ibid.*, pp. 20–22.
65. Schmidt, *Die St. Annenkirche*, p. 127.
66. *Der aufrichtige Juwelier* (n.p., 1729), chap. 2, p. 67.
67. Gerda Fries, *Edelsteine im Mittelalter* (Hildesheim, 1980), pp. 25, 35.
68. Olga Raggio, in *The Vatican Collections: The Papacy and Art*, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; The Art Institute of Chicago; and the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco (New York, 1982), pp. 42–43, no. 12.
69. Bushart, *Die Fuggerkapelle*, p. 104, fig. 52.
70. Volker Krahn, ed., *Von allen Seiten schön: Bronzen der Renaissance und des Barock*, exh. cat., Skulpturensammlung, Berlin (Berlin, 1995), pp. 240–41, no. 49.
71. Alfred Schädler, "Zum Werk des Augsburger Bildschnitzers Hans Schwarz," in *Pinxit/sculpsit/fecit: Festschrift für Bruno Bushart* (Munich, 1994), p. 60, fig. 2.
72. Wolfram Koeppel, "Chinese Shells, French Prints, and Russian Goldsmithing: A Curious Group of Eighteenth-Century Russian Table Snuffboxes," in *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 32 (1997), p. 207 (with additional literature).
73. Magirius, *Der Dom zu Meissen*, p. 43.
74. Benedetta Montecocchi and Sandra Vasco Rocca, *Dizionario terminologici* (Suppellettile ecclesiastica I) (Florence, 1987), pp. 381–83; *Thesaurus of Religious Objects* (Paris, 1999), p. 257.
75. James David Draper, *Bertoldo di Giovanni: Sculptor of the Medici Household* (Columbia, Mo., and London, 1992), p. 152, figs. 91, 92.
76. John Pope-Hennessy, *Italian Renaissance Sculpture* (New York, 1958), pl. 68; Bushart, *Die Fuggerkapelle*, p. 126, fig. 63. For other examples, see *La Scultura decorativa del Primo Rinascimento*, Atti del Convegno (Pavia and Roma, 1983), pl. IX; Ursula Mehler, *Auferstanden in Stein Venezianische Grabmäler des späten Quattrocento* (Cologne, Weimar, Vienna, 2001), figs. 54, 60, 67, 83–85.
77. Smith, *German Sculpture*, p. 166, fig. 124.
78. Renate Eikermann, *Der heilige Alexius im Augsburger Maximiliansmuseum* (Augsburg, 1994), p. 17, fig. 16.
79. Schädler, "Zum Werk des Augsburger Bildschnitzers Hans Schwarz," p. 64, fig. 6.
80. Bushart, *Die Fuggerkapelle*, p. 298.
81. *Ibid.*, pp. 313–16, colorpls. XXII–XXVI.
82. Eser, *Hans Daucher*, p. 213, no. 28.
83. I thank Stephanie Stroh for assistance with this reconstruction. During my visit to Meissen in May 2000, she prepared two actual-size cardboard mannequins, using enlarged photographs, and placed them on the cornice of the portal to recreate its original appearance. I am deeply grateful for her help and her interest.
84. Krause, "Die Grabkapelle," pp. 387–89.
85. Bernd Wolfgang Lindemann, "'Was ist modern um 1500?' Zu den Reliefs der Daucher-Werkstatt, in Zäbern und Meissen," in *Arbor amoena comis: 25 Jahre Mittellateinisches Seminar in Bonn* (Stuttgart, 1990), pp. 273–92.
86. Eser, *Hans Daucher*, p. 34.
87. Krause, "Die Grabkapelle," p. 398 n. 43.
88. Steche, *Beschreibende Darstellung*, p. 33.
89. Bushart, *Die Fuggerkapelle*, p. 104, fig. 52; Eser, *Hans Daucher*, p. 84.
90. Lindemann, "'Was ist modern um 1500?'" pp. 289–90.
91. Jörg Rasmussen, "Kunz von der Rosen in der Fuggerkapelle," in *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaften*, vol. 38, no. 1/4 (1984), p. 48.
92. The designs of Hans Daucher stimulated new interest and influenced Saxon and Bohemian artists to adopt the Renaissance style (for example, the related Saxon Electoral Succession Monument, for which, see Smith, *German Sculpture*, p. 184, fig. 144; for altars and epitaphs in general, see also Walburg Törmer-Balogh, "Zur Entwicklung des protestantischen Altars in Sachsen während des 16. und beginnenden 17. Jahrhunderts," in *Denkmalpflege in Sachsen 1894–1994*, pt. 2 [Halle an der Saale, 1998]; Ute-Nortrud Kaiser, *Der skulptierte Altar der Frührenaissance in Deutschland* [Frankfurt am Main, 1978]).

A New Drawing by Jean Cousin the Elder for the Saint Mamas Tapestries

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ALTHOUGH JEAN COUSIN THE ELDER (ca. 1500–ca. 1560) was a central figure of the French Renaissance, few firmly documented sheets by his hand survive, and the appearance of a new one is a noteworthy event. The Metropolitan Museum of Art was fortunate to acquire last year a well-preserved and previously unpublished¹ compositional study by this rare draftsman (Figure 1). It had already been attributed to Cousin at the time it was offered to the Museum² and has not been doubted since.³ Indeed, the drawing in its technique and figural types bears all the hallmarks of Cousin's style, known to some degree from other securely attributed sheets, but primarily from the translation of his designs into other media, such as tapestry, stained glass, and prints. The subject initially presented a mystery but can now be proposed as Amya Petitioning Faustus for the Custody of Saint Mamas, a design for a lost tapestry in Cousin's Saint Mamas series. The identification of the subject and its textual source as well as the iconography of the series as a whole will be discussed below.

The Saint Mamas tapestries woven for the Langres cathedral are among Cousin's most admired works. Nonetheless, a connection between the project and the New York drawing did not instantly suggest itself. For one, the tapestries are generally square in format while the drawing is decidedly horizontal. Second, in contrast to every other known composition relating to the tapestries, the figures in the Metropolitan's sheet do not have halos,⁴ leaving open the possibility that the scene was drawn from a historical rather than a biblical source. Ultimately, a close reading of the legend of Saint Mamas revealed an episode of his early life that explained all the unusual elements of the museum's drawing.

Saint Mamas was a child martyr who lived in Capadocia, in Asia Minor, in the third century. He was born to a pious patrician family in Paphlagonia. His

father, Theodotus, and his mother, Rufina, would also become saints. Theodotus, for his zealous devotion to the Christian faith, was brought before the tribunal of Alexander, governor of the city of Gangra.⁵ When methods of torture did not shake his steadfast refusal to sacrifice to idols, Theodotus was sent to Faustus, governor of the province, who immediately had him imprisoned. Rufina, who was pregnant, loyally followed her husband to jail. As a result of harsh treatment, Theodotus died shortly before the birth of his son. Mamas was born before term to the anguished Rufina, who died shortly after, leaving the infant alone in prison crying over his parents' corpses. According to the legend, God then sent a vision to a wealthy widow named Amya, who lived nearby. She was directed to petition Governor Faustus for permission to adopt the child. She was further instructed to bring the bodies of his parents home and give them a proper burial.

The Metropolitan's drawing depicts Amya carrying out the directives of her divine vision. She kneels in the foreground, holding the infant Mamas. Seated before her, surrounded by his soldiers, is Governor Faustus, gesturing in acquiescence to her requests. To the left of Amya can be seen the dead body of Theodotus being carried out of prison; to the right, Rufina's body is being placed in a coffin. In the background, three other events from later in Saint Mamas's life have been sketchily indicated.

The Saint Mamas series is a rare example of an early, fully documented tapestry commission in France.⁶ Claude de Longwy, cardinal of Givry and bishop of Langres, commissioned Cousin to provide designs for eight panels to decorate the choir of the Langres cathedral. Dated July 14, 1543, the contract was first published by Maurice Roy in 1914.⁷ Two interesting points are contained in the document. The first sentence, "Jehan Cousin, maistre peintre demourant a Paris, confesse avoir promis et promet a Monsgr le Reverendissime cardinal de Givry, a ce présent, de faire pour led. sgr Reverendissime huit pièces de patrons de la vie saint Mammès *selon la legende*

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 37

The notes for this article begin on page 76.



Figure 1. Jean Cousin the Elder (French, ca. 1500–ca. 1560), *Amya Petitioning Faustus for the Custody of Saint Mamas*, ca. 1543. Pen and brown ink, brush and gray wash, with white gouache, over black chalk, 9¼ x 12⅞ in. (23.5 x 32 cm). Inscribed (lower center) in pen and black ink: *Carron*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 2001 (2001.106)

et description dud. St Mamès qui lui a esté baillée” (emphasis added), makes specific mention of a description of the life of Saint Mamas given to the artist for the purpose of executing the cartoons. It is further specified that the cartoons will follow “*ung petit project en pappier qui en a esté fait, lequel a esté signé des notaires soubscriptz*.” It is not known what such projects on paper signed by notaries would have looked like, but their very existence points to the importance of drawings in obtaining approval for works in progress.

A separate contract, dated January 29, 1544, between Pierre Blasse and Jacques Langlois, master weavers in Paris, and the cardinal de Givry allows us to know with certainty the weavers of the series. The patron here inserts an unusual request of the weavers: that they take special care of Cousin’s cartoons, “*lesquelz ilz seront tenuz de conserver et garder le myeulx qu’ilz pourront et en la fin les rendre aud. Sgr Reverendissime*.”⁸ As Henri Zerner has suggested, the

possibility that the cartoons would have been needed for a second weaving on a subject as rare as the life of Saint Mamas is quite remote. Givry’s desire to retain the cartoons in good condition must reflect his valuation of them as aesthetic objects.⁹

Weaving of the first panel began in February 1544. The project was apparently finished by May 1545, and the presence of the tapestries in the Langres cathedral is noted in several seventeenth- and eighteenth-century inventories.¹⁰ The set was dispersed at the time of the Revolution, and only three panels are known today: two that have been returned to the Langres cathedral (Figures 3, 5) and one in the Musée du Louvre (Figure 4).

In addition to the three surviving tapestries, a drawing in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (Figure 2), was recognized by J. Beaudoin Ross in 1978 as a preparatory design for a lost panel.¹¹ Even before Ross’s identification of the subject, the attribution of the sheet to Cousin had been confirmed by



Figure 2. Jean Cousin the Elder (French, ca. 1500–ca. 1560), *Saint Mamas Saved from Drowning*, ca. 1543. Pen and black and brown ink, brush and gray and brown wash, over black chalk underdrawing, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (27 x 34.5 cm). Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (B 6a, réserve)

Sylvie Béguin and Philippe de Montebello on the basis of style.¹² The Bibliothèque Nationale drawing depicts one of the trials of Saint Mamas before his final martyrdom. With a large weight tied to his neck, he is suspended from a bridge by soldiers poised to drop him into the river, as shown in the background. He is saved from drowning by an angel, before whom he kneels in the foreground in grateful supplication. The Bibliothèque Nationale drawing, like the Metropolitan's, is more horizontal than the woven tapestries. In its compositional strategies, however, it is wholly of a piece with the woven designs in terms of its figural types, architectural elements, and inclusion of different moments in the narrative as background vignettes.

If the Bibliothèque Nationale drawing (along with the three surviving tapestries) brought the number of known compositions to four, then the Metropolitan's recently discovered sheet increases the number to five. While no visual evidence survives of the three remaining panels in Cousin's Saint Mamas series,

their subjects can be guessed at on the basis of contemporary textual sources and later descriptions and inventories, as will be discussed below.

To create detailed compositions depicting the life of Saint Mamas, Cousin would undoubtedly have referred to a source, and the mention in the 1543 contract of a legend and description of the life of Saint Mamas that was given to the artist has long tantalized art historians, who have searched without success for such a text.¹³ In fact, a plausible source was identified in a thesis published in Dijon in 1926. However, since the thesis concerned not Cousin but his patron, Claude de Longwy, cardinal de Givry and bishop of Langres, it was overlooked by art historians. Louis Marcel, author of the thesis, pointed to and published excerpts from a 1536 breviary of the Langres cathedral held in the Réserve of the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève in Paris.¹⁴ Given the rarity of the book and its importance for Cousin scholars, the entire section relating the life of Saint Mamas is



Figure 3. Pierre Blasse or Jacques Langlois, *Saint Mamas Preaching the Gospel to Wild Beasts*. Tapestry woven ca. 1544–45 from a design by Jean Cousin the Elder. Wool and silk, approx. 14 ft. 3¼ in. x 15 ft. 7 in. (435 x 475 cm). Langres Cathedral

reprinted here in the appendix in its original Latin with an English translation.¹⁵ It is not known whether Cousin could read Latin; it is possible that the translator who provided the French text that was woven in a cartouche in the border below each scene could have given the artist a translation as well. The text in the lower border of the tapestries does not seem to be in itself sufficiently detailed to have provided the artist with enough information to create the designs.

Using the legend of Saint Mamas recounted in the Langres breviary, it is possible to order the known compositions from Cousin's series and to speculate on the subjects of the three missing pieces. The panel to which the Metropolitan's drawing corresponded would presumably have been the first in the series, illustrating the events directly following the deaths of Mamas's parents in prison. The textual source for the foreground scene reads, "the Lord, remembering the groans of those shackled, in order to set free the child of the slain: announced through a vision to a certain matron, whose name was Amya, of outstanding and rich family but without any descendants that she should ask the duke Faustus for the bodies of the saints to bury them and adopt the baby son as her own."¹⁶ Vignettes in the background depict other

moments in the narrative of the story temporally conflated within a pictorially continuous space. Sketchily indicated with brush and gray wash in the middle ground to the left is Saint Mamas's baptism on the porch of a classical building: "after she had finished all that had been ordered when the little baby boy would be taken to the sacred font of Baptism; and when the priest asked what name they wished to impose on him: the baby himself, who did not yet know the use of language, answered, 'Mamas is my name.' When again and still a third time the priest asked: with an open voice the boy said again, 'Mamas is my name.' Since this was done by the Lord, those knowing this did not presume to change his name."¹⁷ The grouping in the background at center is the most difficult to read. It may represent a woman seated on stairs with a small child standing near her, perhaps with arms outspread. This may relate to the passage devoted to Mamas's upbringing and precocious learning: "Amya nourished the infant thus adopted by her, educated (him), and embraced him as the son of her womb and the most gracious support of her old age. And the more the little boy grew, the stronger grew the mother's love for him. In him such a desire of doctrine, such a capacity for remembering, and at last

such an inborn genius appeared so that shortly he surpassed all his contemporaries in erudition.”¹⁸ For the figures grouped in the middle ground toward the right-hand margin, Cousin has switched to pen and brown ink. A man, with a faintly visible halo, walks down a few stairs. He is reaching out to offer something to the outstretched hands of a small group of figures seated on the ground—two men, a woman holding a baby, and a young child. This may make reference to Saint Mamas distributing cheese to the poor, an act of charity taken from later in the narrative.

One of the missing panels would likely have occupied the second place in the series, depicting perhaps one of the subsidiary episodes from the background of the New York drawing (the baptism or the education of Mamas) or his first encounter with a Roman official, Aurelianus, who called Mamas before him for refusing to follow his edict requiring veneration of the Roman gods. In the breviary text the account of Aurelianus’s threats and Mamas’s steadfastness directly follows the description of Mamas’s education.

The drawing preserved at the Bibliothèque

Nationale, Paris (Figure 2), would have been preparatory to the third panel. The text reads, “Then the furious tyrant (ordered) the naked body of Mamas first to be burned with torches and then pounded with stones. And when he saw that he was not affected by any torment, he commanded that a leaden sphere be hung around his neck and that he be thrown into the depth of the sea. But God, however, was not forgetful of Mamas. For an angel struck the executioners with such terror that all were put to flight; and he snatched Mamas and recommended to him to live on a mountain near Caesarea.”¹⁹ After he had abstained from food and drink for forty days, a heavenly voice came to him saying, ‘Mamas, take a staff, and with it strike the earth.’ When he had done this (wonderful to relate) the earth, splitting open, brought forth the gospel.”²⁰ The Paris drawing follows the text closely. In the background, the naked Mamas, with a circular disk tied to his neck, is being suspended by his ankles from a bridge. An angel flies down toward him as the soldiers, struck with terror at the sight, take flight to the left. In the foreground, the angel with a pointing



Figure 4. Pierre Blasse or Jacques Langlois, *Saint Mamas at the Tribunal of the Governor of Cappadocia*. Tapestry woven ca. 1544–45 from a design by Jean Cousin the Elder. Wool and silk, approx. 14 ft. 3¼ in. x 15 ft. 7 in. (435 x 475 cm). Département des Objets d’Art, Musée du Louvre, Paris, Gift of Maurice Lereuil (OA 9327)



Figure 5. Pierre Blasse or Jacques Langlois, *Saint Mamas in the Furnace*. Tapestry woven ca.

1544–45 from a design by Jean Cousin the Elder. Wool and silk, approx.

14 ft. 3¼ in. x 15 ft. 7 in. (435 x 475 cm). Langres Cathedral

gesture orders Mamas to go live on a mountain, while the kneeling saint (now dressed) expresses his gratitude. Summarily indicated in the background on the right, Mamas strikes the earth with his staff, bringing forth the gospel from the ground.

One of the surviving tapestries, held in the Langres cathedral, *Saint Mamas Preaching the Gospel to Wild Beasts* (Figure 3) would have been the fourth panel. In the narrative, this episode directly follows the account of the attempted drowning: “Mamas, taking it [the gospel] up, made an oratory for himself from palm fronds. While he was in it reading the gospel, all kinds of wild animals flocked to him. He milked the females of them in the same way as the tame. Thence he made cheeses keeping a few of them for himself for nourishment. He used to distribute them to the poor as he was going down into Caesarea. Alexander, governor of Cappadocia, was scared to death by the news of this strange event, and sent soldiers onto the mountain; in order to bring Mamas to him in chains.”²¹ The tapestry in Langres, again by temporally conflating different moments in the narrative, stays close to the text. The foreground is occupied by Mamas calmly reading

the gospel to an assembly of attentive and apparently gentle beasts, including a unicorn by his feet. In the upper left corner, he stands in a rustic structure—presumably his oratory built of palm fronds, perhaps making cheese. Just below, he is seen milking the wild animals. Vignettes along the right edge may refer to his distributing cheese to the poor and his encounter with Alexander’s soldiers.

This meeting is further elaborated in the Louvre’s tapestry, *Saint Mamas at the Tribunal of the Governor of Cappadocia* (Figure 4), panel five, which illustrates the following text:

Meeting them on the way and leading them to his house, he refreshed them sumptuously with bread, cheese, and water. And after the reading of the Gospel, they began to shake with fear at the gathering of the wild beasts. “Don’t be afraid,” he said, “I am Mamas whom you seek. Go back to the governor, I will follow you promptly.” After a short time, with those waiting for him at the gates of the city, Mamas, following along with them, came into the governor’s presence. Looking at him, Alexander said, “Are you the one who by your magic has so charmed the wild-

ness of the beasts that speaking with them is almost the same as speaking with men?" To him Mamas (replied), "I am a servant of Jesus Christ who hates all the magicians and evildoers, and detests them as (they were) sacrileges. But the beasts themselves revere God (whom you struggle against) and offer obedience to His servants whom you torture." Then the irate governor ordered him suspended on the rack and torn to pieces. Totally intent on heaven he looked upon his torturers with such a happy (expression) on his face that nothing could be seen of suffering. And while the governor was urging the butchers to more bitter (efforts) to tear him to pieces, a voice from heaven was heard comforting the martyr in such a way that he would not fear the torments.²²

Again, Cousin packs his composition densely to accommodate the narrative. At the upper left, Mamas serves the soldiers at a table in his palm-frond oratory, encircled by his tamed beasts. In the middle ground along the left margin, Mamas has the soldiers return to the city, saying he will follow. In the foreground, Mamas, accompanied by his lion,²³ turns himself in to the governor's soldiers at the city's gate. At center, visible through the archway of an ornate building, the governor can be seen urging on his torturers while Mamas is relieved from suffering by the presence of an angel.

In the Langres breviary, Alexander's failure to convert Mamas by beating is directly followed by the account of his next attempts, illustrated in the second panel at Langres (Figure 5):

[H]e commanded that Mamas be released into prison. He [Mamas] found there forty starving people in chains. After saying a prayer, he satiated them with milk and honey brought from heaven. He also released them from prison and their chains. However, when the furnace was fully fired, the judge sent for Mamas and attacked him. "We have shown favor to you, so that you may take care of your interests, but if you are unwilling—see how the furnace is fired up and the altitude to which it takes itself. I will no longer attack you by means of words, but with beatings and flames." To him Mamas (said), "Just now I opened my will to you, governor. What could you answer back on this same subject." After these words, the boy was immediately thrown into the furnace, but God protecting (him), it was as if he were walking around in a flowery garden, so he sang hymns and thanks.²⁴

The tapestry depicting this episode is perhaps the most dramatic of the series. A domed furnace, with a tranquil Mamas visible within, occupies the center of the composition, with flames spewing from every window and opening. Five soldiers in active, twisting poses fill the foreground, adding logs and stoking the fire. Mamas's release from prison takes place in the upper left corner.

For the final two panels of the series, neither tapestry nor drawing is known to survive. Early texts, descriptions, and inventories, however, allow us to hypothesize about their subjects. Logic dictates that the penultimate panel would have depicted the final martyrdom of Saint Mamas, and a poem written by P. Claude Perry in 1659 supports this hypothesis. The poem's subject is the life of Saint Mamas and the tapestries after Cousin are praised.²⁵

In the breviary, Mamas's death is preceded by one last trial imposed by the governor: Alexander "ordered that [Mamas] be led into the amphitheater and devoured by a leopard and a bear (which had torn many to pieces). As they were throwing themselves at Mamas's feet, they expanded the sense of duty they were able to show. At last the most ferocious lion was released, but to the holy one, he brought not suffering but consolation. Seeing this and gnashing their teeth the people were saying, 'Away with evil and evildoing!' Since it seemed that he was not hurt at being covered up by the stones being thrown, the desperate governor thrust an iron trident into his viscera. That truly (caused) a flow of blood from his viscera, and carrying himself the shame of Christ, outside the city walls he offered his own sacrifice to the Creator."²⁶ In the iconography of Saint Mamas, he is most commonly depicted holding a trident in one hand and his own entrails in the other.²⁷

The final panel would have shown the patron, Claude de Longwy, kneeling in prayer. An inventory of the church dated 1709 (at which point knowledge of Cousin's authorship had been lost and the series attributed to a student of Raphael) made passing reference to the last panel, where the "cardinal magnifique y est dépeint avec une grande prestance."²⁸ The cardinal may plausibly have been kneeling alongside a vision of the saint's apotheosis, described in the final lines of the breviary's legend of Saint Mamas: "A voice came down to him, it said, 'Mamas, ascend into heaven where Christ is waiting to crown you.' And immediately that blessed soul was freed from the bonds of the body, to ineffable delights and unsurpassed glory—to God may praise be raised. Amen."²⁹

With the addition of the Metropolitan's *Amya Petitioning Faustus*, the oeuvre of solidly accepted sheets by Jean Cousin the Elder grows, allowing us to gain a better knowledge of his style as a draftsman. Aside from a small—and variable—corpus of drawings accepted by scholars on the basis of style,³⁰ the Metropolitan and Bibliothèque Nationale sheets are the only two drawings given to Cousin that can be connected to a documented commission. While not identical in technique, they have much in common. Both the Paris and New York Mamas drawings have as their

foundation a loose sketch in black chalk. In both, foreground episodes are treated with a high degree of finish, with details of expression and clothing highly legible. Subsidiary episodes are much more sketchily indicated in various techniques. Architectural elements are drawn freehand at times and with a straight edge at others. The architectural vocabulary in both sheets is reminiscent of the plates in Cousin's *Livre de perspective* (Paris, 1560). In fact, the building at right in the Metropolitan's sheet is very close to one on the left in the Bibliothèque Nationale sheet.

The figures in both drawings exemplify Cousin's elegant style. They are described in a serpentine ink line, full of coiled energy and decorative embellishments, even while demonstrating an awareness of classical antiquity. The main characters are posed in simple, angular poses, with earnest, classical features, tapering limbs, and graceful hands and feet. Decorative touches can be found in the long curly hair and beards and beautifully detailed costumes, loosely

knotted and draped to reveal the body. Minor characters, typically at the margins, are contorted into more Mannerist poses.

From the free underdrawing and lack of finish in the background vignettes, one can assume that these are the *premières pensées*—Cousin's first articulation of his ideas, not yet conforming to the near-square dimensions of the tapestries as they were ultimately woven. In its technique, the New York sheet is more painterly and reliant on wash than any works previously associated with Cousin. Not only is gray wash used to articulate and model many areas of the composition, but a white gouache, applied both as wash and—with the point of the brush—as hatching, is used extensively to add highlights, producing convincing effects of light and shade. With a greater knowledge of Cousin's style as a draftsman and a reprinting of the life of Saint Mamas from the Langres breviary of 1536, it is hoped that more drawings relating to the Langres tapestry commission will be identified.

APPENDIX

Breviarium Lingonense

Paris: J. Amaeur, 1536

NOTATIONS

(*m*) indicates reconstructed abbreviations
(honored) indicates words inferred from the context

Latin Transcription³¹

Legenda (beati Mammetis martyris)

De nativitate/vita et passione ejusde(*m*) gloriosissimi Mammetis.

Lec(*tio*) ·i·

Sanctus Mammes gente Capadocus/et Syris/et Grecis literis megalomartyr/hoc est magn(us) testis vulgo nuncupatus/nobilitate generis et fidei puritate preclarus effulsit. Pater ejus Theodot(us) et mater Rufina (fuernat)/moribus/et vita (patritii) generis sui celsitudinem decorabant. Quippe qui divino favore succe(n)si/pietatis officia solícite prosequen(t)es/quotquot ad Christi fidem (accersire) potera(n)t : ex infidelitatis lacu traheba(n)t. Hinc apud Alexandrum Gange prefectum accusati cum nec diis libare/nec aurem quidem prefecti dictis velle(n)t admonere : ipse (cui sine imperatorio permissu (patritiorum) filio torquere non licebat) eos cesaream fausto duci discutiendos emisit. Quos ille susceptos mox in Cesaream co(n)jici Fausto.

L(e)c(*tio*) ·ii·

Theodotus autem sue carnis infirmitatem et tyranni sevitiā perpende(n)s/maluit honeste mori cum co(n)iuge quam indignum quiddam sue nobilitati i(n)suppliciiis admittere. Itaque fusa oratione spiritus in celum migrans/corpus in ceno carceris dereliquit. Rufina vero tam graves angustias non sustine(n)s/i(m)mature filiu(m) expulit. Quo Christo plurimum commendato/et cura conjugis corpori quantum valuit exhibita/completaque lachrymabili oratione animam efflavit : solo inter glebas utriusque parentis infa(n)tulo relicto. Sed memor gemitus compeditoru(m)/ut solveret filium interemptorum dominus:

English Translation

Legend of Saint Mamas, Martyr

Concerning the birth, life and passion of the very glorious Mamas.

First Reading

Saint Mamas, by race a Cappadocian; formally proclaimed a great martyr in both Syrian and Greek writings, that is, currently speaking, great witness, was brilliant and famous from the nobility of his family and the purity of his faith. His father was Theodotus, and his mother, Rufina. They honored the distinguished status of their patrician family in both their customs and way of life. Since they had so advanced by divine favor, they diligently performed works of piety, and pulled out of the lake of infidelity as many people as they could make come to the Christian faith. At this point they were accused in the presence of Alexander, prefect of Gangra because they were willing neither to make offering to the gods nor heed the prefect's words of warning. He (the prefect) (who had no authority to torture a son of patricians without imperial permission) sent them to the duke Faustus at Caesarea [Mazaca] so that they could be examined. He (Faustus) adjudged them deserving of being thrown into prison immediately.

Second Reading

Theodotus however carefully considering the weakness of his flesh and the cruelty of the tyrant preferred to die with honor with his wife rather than admit to say whatever sort of unworthiness (sully) his nobility by tortures. And so, after an outpouring of prayer, the spirit migrating into heaven left the body behind in the mire of the prison. But Rufina was not able to sustain such sufferings, and expelled her premature son. When he had been several times commended to Christ, when she had shown as much care of the body as was necessary, and when she had completed her tearful prayer, she breathed forth her soul;

per visum cuidam matrone prole carenti divitiis et genere precelle(n)ti Amie nomine intimavit/ut Fausto duce sanctorum(m) corpora peteret/ea sepeliret/et infantem sibi in filium adoptaret.

Lectio tertia.

Que protinus iussa co(m)plens/dum ad sacrum baptismatis fontem parvulus portaretur: et quod ei nomen vellent imponere sacerdos peteret : ipse qui nondum lingue usum noverat Mammes (inquit) est nome(n) meu(m). Quod cum iterum ac tertio sacerdos requireret: aperta voce puer rursus ait/Mammes est nomen meu(m). Proinde factum hoc a Domino cognoscentes/mutare nomen ejus non presumpserunt. Infantulum itaque sibi adoptans Amia nutrit/educavit/et amplexata est ut filium uterinum et sue senectutis gratissimum baculum. Et quo magis puellus crescebat eo matris amor in eum convalescebat. In quo tanta aviditas doctrine ta(n)ta capacitas memorie/denique tantum acumen ingenii apparuit : ut brevi coetaneos omnes eruditione devinceret.

Lec(tio) ·iiii·

Ea tempestate Romane rei apicem adeptus Aurelian(us) edicto publico jussit per universum orbem more patrum diis immolare: eisque ritibus in primis assuefieri pueros quos ob etatis incaute teneritudinem ad impietatem facilius trahere moliebatur. At Deo deditus Mammes spreto imperatoris decreto/coetaneos arcebat a sacrificiis : Christum solum verum Deum (qui cuncta creavit : co(n)dita nutu moderatur: et demu(m) penas aut premia singulis pro meritis reddet) affirmans ipsum solum colendum/venerandum/amandum. Eos autem quos impii deos appellaba(n)t inania simulachra esse turpitudinis/et ridiculi plena. Quod cum ad Democriti (qui Fausto successerat) notitiam pervenisset Mammem suo mox tribunali sistere jubet.

the tiny infant left alone between the clods of earth of both his parents. But the Lord, remembering the groans of those shackled, in order to set free the child of the slain: announced through a vision to a certain matron, whose name was Amya, of outstanding and rich family but without any descendants that she should ask the duke Faustus for the bodies of the saints to bury them and adopt the baby son as her own.

Third Reading

And after she had finished all that had been ordered when the little baby boy would be taken to the sacred font of Baptism; and when the priest asked what name they wished to impose on him: the baby himself, who did not yet know the use of language, answered, "Mamas is my name." When again and still a third time the priest asked: with an open voice the boy said again, "Mamas is my name." Since this was done by the Lord, those knowing this did not presume to change his name. Amya nourished the infant thus adopted by her, educated (him), and embraced him as the son of her womb and the most gracious support of her old age. And the more the little boy grew, the stronger grew the mother's love for him. In him such a desire of doctrine, such a capacity for remembering, and at last such an inborn genius appeared so that shortly he surpassed all his contemporaries in erudition.

Fourth Reading

At this time Aurelianus, achieving the summit of Roman power, commanded by a public edict that throughout the whole world sacrifice was to be made to the gods according to the traditions of the ancestors: in the first place, by these rites, (it was ordered) to accustom more easily those boys who because of the tenderness of their reckless age he might drag more easily to impiety. But Mamas, dedicated to God, despising the emperor's decree, prevented his peers from the sacrifices saying that: Christ alone was the true God (who created everything: he guided its founding by a nod: and finally he will give punishments or rewards to individuals according to their merits) and affirming him only to be worshiped, venerated, and loved. Those, however, which the impious called gods (are) empty statues of foulness and completely laughable. And when this came to the attention of Democritus (who succeeded Faustus), he ordered Mamas to present himself immediately to his tribunal.

Ubi primum de religione tactus et cur imperatori parere detrectaret interritus majori quam soleat etas illa co(n)sta(n)tia : Ego (ait) o dux vestras satis novi versutias. Deum verum deseritis : et surdis ac mutis simulachris immolatis. Absit a me ut vestris fraudibus captus vel in puncto a Christo meo recedam : vel quoscunque ad Ipsum convertere potero vestris minis territus desistam. Expavit dux pueri virtutem: sed minis acerbis aggressum ad Serapidis phanum pertrahi iussit ; Mam(m)es autem nihil femineum vel ignobile sapie(n)s. Non licet (inquit) te suppliciis afficere tam preclaris pare(n)tibus progenitum/tam generosa matrona educatum. Cujus rei veritate comperta Democritus dux Mam(m)(e)m catenis vinctum ad Aurelianum (qui in Egea civitate agebat) tra(n)smisit.

Lect(io) ·vi·

Aurelianus autem (vafro ut erat ingenio) Mam(m)am circumvenire satage(n)s. Si (I(n)quit) bone Mamma Serapidi libaveris/primus/ apud me delitiis frueris. Si vero non acquieveris/te cruciatu(m) et discerptum flammis absumam. Cui Mam(m)es. Nunquam mihi co(n)tingat imperator adeo desipere ut simulchra tua quovis honore digna existimen. Desine ergo/vel mihi leta promittere/vel seva minari. Pretiosior est mihi mors pro Christo (quam) totius mu(n)di delitiae. Ad hec fredens imperator/tenerum pueri corpus fustibus cedi precepit: quem cum hilari vultu persistere cerneret: dic (ait) solu(m)te velle sacrificare et libereris. No(n) (ait puer) si multo graviora paraveris/Christum corde vel ore negabo. Tunc furens tyrannus nudum Mammis corpus primum lampadib(us) uri/dehinc lapidibus tundi. Et cum nullo eum tormento flecti videret plu(m)beam sphaera(m) collo ejus appendi iussit : et in profundum maris mergi. Sed nec tamen quide(m) Mammetis oblitus est Deus. Angelus enim carnificibus ta(n)tum terrorem incussit ut omnes in fugam verterentur : ereptumque Mammem proximum Cesaree monte(m) incolere precepit.

At first, touching on (his) religion, and asked why he refused to obey the emperor he said, intrepidly and with a greater firmness than would have been normal for his age: he said, "O Commander, I know enough of your cunning tricks. You have deserted the true God: and sacrifice to deaf and mute empty statues. Let it be far from me that I be captured by your snares or withdraw even in the slightest way from my Christ: or in some way, I, even though terrified, can convert you to (Christ) Himself, by resisting your threats." The governor became very frightened by the boy's strength: but ordered him to be dragged by sharp threats to Serapis's temple. Mamas, however, knowing nothing of the womanly or the ignoble said, "It is not lawful to afflict with tortures an offspring of eminent parents educated by such a generous matron." When the truth of this matter became known, Democritus, the governor, sent Mamas, bound in chains, to Aurelian (who was spending time in the city Egea [Egerdir?]).

Sixth Reading

Aurelianus, however (cunning as he was talented), was making efforts to circumvent Mamas. "If (he said), good Mamas, you sacrifice to Serapis, you will enjoy a delicious life. If, however, you will not agree—I will submit you to tortures and to destruction by flames." To which Mamas (responded)—"Emperor, (I hope that) it would never happen that I would be so insane that I find your statues worthy of any honor. So, stop promising me delights or threatening me with cruel treatments. It is more precious to me to die for Christ than to enjoy all of the world." The emperor, gnashing (with rage), (responded) to this by giving an order that the tender body of the boy be given blows. When he perceived that he persevered with a happy smile, he said, "Only say you wish to sacrifice and you will be free!" "No", said the boy, "even if you prepare much worse (tortures), I won't deny Christ in my heart nor with my mouth". Then the furious tyrant (ordered) the naked body of Mamas first to be burned with torches and then pounded with stones. And when he saw that he was not affected by any torment, he commanded that a leaden sphere be hung around his neck and that he be thrown into the depth of the sea. But God, however, was not forgetful of Mamas. For an angel struck the executioners with such terror that all were put to flight; and he snatched Mamas and recommended to him to live on a mountain near Caesarea.

Ubi cum quadraginta diebus cibo potuque abstinisset venit ad eum celitus vox inquie(n)s : Virga(m) suscipe mammes : et ea terram percutere. Quod cum fecisset (miru(m) dictu) terra dehiscere(n)s evangelium protulit : quod Mam(m)es assumens/sectis fro(n) dibus oratorium sibi fabricavit. In quo dum evangeliu(m) legeret/undique afflueba(n)t omnigene fere : quaru(m) feminas perinde atque cicures mulgebat : et factos i(n)de caseos paucis sibi ad victum relictis in Cesaream descendens pauperibus erogabat. Cujus rei novitate percussus Alexander Capadocie preses milites in montem misit : qui Mammetem sibi vinctu(m) adducerent. Quos obvios Mammes et in casam ductos pane/ caseo/et aqua dapsiliter recreavit. Et du(m) lecto evanglio ferarum concursu perhorrescerent : ne formidetis : ait. Ego sum Mam(m)es quem queritis. Ad preside(m) redite/ego vos subinde consequar. Et paululu(m) prestolantes ad civitatis portas consecutus Mammes/una cum eis ad presidem ingressus est.

After he had abstained from food and drink for forty days, a heavenly voice came to him saying, "Mamas, take a staff, and with it strike the earth." When he had done this (wonderful to relate) the earth, splitting open, brought forth the gospel. Mamas, taking it up, made an oratory for himself from palm fronds. While he was in it reading the gospel, all kinds of wild animals flocked to him. He milked the females of them in the same way as the tame. Thence he made cheeses keeping a few of them for himself for nourishment. He used to distribute them to the poor as he was going down into Caesarea. Alexander, governor of Cappadocia, was scared to death by the news of this strange event, and sent soldiers onto the mountain; in order to bring Mamas to him in chains. Meeting them on the way and leading them to his house, he refreshed them sumptuously with bread, cheese, and water. And after the reading of the Gospel, they began to shake with fear at the gathering of the wild beasts. "Don't be afraid," he said, "I am Mamas whom you seek. Go back to the governor, I will follow you promptly." After a short time, with those waiting for him at the gates of the city, Mamas, following along with them, came into the governor's presence.

Quem intuitus Alexander. Tunc es (I(n)quit) ille qui ferarum crudelitatem magia tua ita pellices ut cu(m) ipsis quasi cum hominibus verseris. Cui Mam(m)es. Servus sum Jesu Christi qui magos o(mn)es ac maleficos odit/et ut sacrilegos detestatur. Ipse vero fere Deum (que(m) vos conte(m)nit) reverentur : et famulis ejus quos torquetis obsequiu(m) prestant. Tunc iratus preses/jussit eum in equuleo suspen(di) et dilaniari. Ut celo totus intentus/vultu adeo hilari tortores aspicebat/ut nil doloris sentire videretur. Et dum preses ad acrius discerpendum carnifices instigaret : audita est vox de celo martyrem ita co(n)fortans ut deinceps supplicia non timeret. Quod cernens tyrannus fornacem jubet incendi. Sed aliis implicitus negotiis interim precepit Mammem in carcere recludi: ubi quadraginta vinctos fame tabescentes inveniens/facta oratione lacte et melle celitus delatis satiavit/et e carcere ac vinculis absolvit. Accenso autem vehementer camino accersitum Mammem judex ita aggreditur. Indulsimus tibi/ut rei tue consulas : quod si nolueris : vide in quantam accensa fornax se tollat altitudinem. Ego te modo verbis no(n) aggrediar/sed verberibus et flammis.

Looking at him, Alexander said, "Are you the one who by your magic has so charmed the wildness of the beasts that speaking with them is almost the same as speaking with men?" To him Mamas (replied), "I am a servant of Jesus Christ who hates all the magicians and evildoers, and detests them as (they were) sacrileges. But the beasts themselves revere God (whom you struggle against) and offer obedience to His servants whom you torture." Then the irate governor ordered him suspended on the rack and torn to pieces. Totally intent on heaven he looked upon his torturers with such a happy (expression) on his face that nothing could be seen of suffering. And while the governor was urging the butchers to more bitter (efforts) to tear him to pieces, a voice from heaven was heard comforting the martyr in such a way that he would not fear the torments. Noticing this, the tyrant orders the furnace to be fired up. But in the meantime, while he was occupied with other matters, he commanded that Mamas be released into prison. He [Mamas] found there forty starving people in chains. After saying a prayer, he satiated them with milk and honey brought from heaven. He also released them from prison and their chains. However, when the furnace was fully fired, the judge sent for Mamas and attacked him. "We

Lectio nona

Cui Mam(m)es. « Dudu(m) mea(m) tibi preses aperui volu(n) tatem. Quid rursus in eade(m) versaris. » Quo dicto mox puer in camino projicitur : sed Deo protege(n) te quasi in horto flore(n) ti ambulans/hymnos et gratias decantabat. Post quinque vero dies, nec mortuo quidem parcere volens, tyrannus/quicquid supererat e camino jussit extrahi. Sed cu(m) in martyre nec ignis vestigium nec adustionis signum videret: illum in amphitheatrum duci et devorandi leopardo et urso (qui multos laniaverant) dimitti precepit. Ut Mam(m)is pedibus provoluti/que poterant mansuetudinis officia impendeba(n) t. Dimissus demum ferocissimus leo : sancto consolatione(m) non supplicium attulit. Quod videntes populi frendentes dentibus aiebant. « Tolle malum atque maleficum. » Cu(m) vero coniectis lapidibus obrutus minime lesus videretur preses desperans tridentem ferream in viscera ejus fecit infigi. Ille vero defluentia sanguine viscera/et improprium Christi portans sese extra urbem plasmatori suo sacrificium obtulit. Ad quem vox demissa : ascende (inquit) Mamma in celo ubi te Christus coronaturus expectat. Moxque illa beata anima vinculis corporis absoluta : ad ineffabiles delicias et supernorum civium claritatem : Deu(m) semper laudatura assumpta est. Amen.

Finit sanctorale partis hyemalis breviarii Lingonensis.

have shown favor to you, so that you may take care of your interests, but if you are unwilling—see how the furnace is fired up and the altitude to which it takes itself. I will no longer attack you by means of words, but with beatings and flames.”

Ninth Reading

To him Mamas (said), “Just now I opened my will to you, governor. What could you answer back on this same subject.” After these words, the boy was immediately thrown into the furnace, but God protecting (him), it was as if he were walking around in a flowery garden, so he sang hymns and thanks. After five days and not wishing to spare anything to the dead, the tyrant ordered that whatever was remaining should be removed from the furnace. But when he saw that on the martyr there was no vestige of fire nor sign of burning, he ordered that he be led into the amphitheater and devoured by a leopard and a bear (which had torn many to pieces). As they were throwing themselves at Mamas’s feet, they expanded the sense of duty they were able to show. At last the most ferocious lion was released, but to the holy one, he brought not suffering but consolation. Seeing this and gnashing their teeth the people were saying, “Away with evil and evildoing!” Since it seemed that he was not hurt at being covered up by the stones being thrown, the desperate governor thrust an iron trident into his viscera. That truly (caused) a flow of blood from his viscera, and carrying himself the shame of Christ, outside the city walls he offered his own sacrifice to the Creator. A voice came down to him, it said, “Mamas, ascend into heaven where Christ is waiting to crown you.” And immediately that blessed soul was freed from the bonds of the body, to ineffable delights and unsurpassed glory—to God may praise be raised. Amen.

End of the sanctoral of the winter part of the breviary of Langres.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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NOTES

1. It has since been published in the Metropolitan Museum's *Bulletin* (Fall 2001), pp. 24–25 (entry by Perrin Stein), and in Thomas P. Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance: Art and Magnificence*, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 2002), under no. 56, p. 478 (entry by Pascal-François Bertrand and Thomas P. Campbell). I was researching this drawing at the same moment Tom Campbell was working on the entry on the Saint Mamas tapestries for his exhibition catalogue. I have benefited from our conversations and from his generous advice and assistance.
2. The drawing was offered to the museum by Alan Stone of Hill-Stone, Inc., on November 9, 2000. It had previously been with a fine-arts dealer in Belgium and, before that, in a European private collection.
3. The attribution was confirmed on the basis of a photograph by Dominique Cordellier (November 15, 2000).
4. Although it was not observed in the initial study of the drawing, a figure lightly sketched in the background does have a faint halo, as Bruno de Bayser later pointed out (conversation with the author, June 18, 2001).
5. An ancient town northeast of Ankara, in Turkey.
6. Maurice Roy, *Les tapisseries Saint-Mammès de Langres: Compositions authentiques de Jehan Cousin père* (Sens, 1914); Maurice Roy, *Artistes et monuments de la Renaissance en France: Recherches nouvelles et documents inédits* (Paris, 1929), pp. 44–51; Louis E. Marcel, *Le cardinal de Givry, évêque de Langres (1529–1561)*, thesis, Université de Paris (Dijon, 1926), vol. 2, pp. 323–52, 486–88; J. Beaudoin Ross, "Jean Cousin the Elder and the Creation of the Tapestries of Saint Mamas," *Art Bulletin* 60, no. 1 (March 1978), pp. 28–34; Henri Zerner, *L'art de la Renaissance en France: L'invention du classicisme* (Paris, 1996), pp. 225–43, 254–56; Pascal-François Bertrand, "Jean Cousin le père et la tapisserie," *Cahiers Haut-Marnais*, nos. 210–11 (1997), pp. 44–65; Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, pp. 477–80 (entry by Pascal-François Bertrand and Thomas P. Campbell).
7. Roy, *Les tapisseries Saint-Mammès de Langres*, p. 7.
8. *Ibid.*, pp. 7–8.
9. Zerner, *L'art de la Renaissance*, p. 255.
10. Roy, *Les tapisseries Saint-Mammès de Langres*, pp. 1–2.
11. Ross, "Jean Cousin the Elder," pp. 28–34.
12. *Le seizième siècle européen: Peintures et dessins dans les collections publiques françaises*, exh. cat., Petit Palais, Paris (Paris, 1965), no. 92 (entry by Sylvie Béguin). Béguin notes in her entry de Montebello's observation that the detail, in the immediate foreground just left of center, of one square block leaning on another is a signature motif of Cousin's appearing in several prints.
13. Ross, "Jean Cousin the Elder" pp. 28–34; Zerner, *L'Art de la Renaissance*, p. 254. In his study, Ross cited the tenth-century version of the legend by Simeon Metaphrastes.
14. *Breviarium Lingonense* (Paris: J. Amaeur, 1536), Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, Paris, Réserve, BB 8° 954. The breviary is catalogued in l'abbé L. Marcel, *Les livres liturgiques du diocèse de Langres: Étude bibliographique* (Paris and Langres, 1892), pp. 145–47.
15. Two other fifteenth- and sixteenth-century sources for the life of Saint Mamas are worth noting as further indications of contemporary interest in the subject. They are a fifteenth-century manuscript breviary of Jean d'Amboise today in the Bibliothèque Municipale, Chaumont, and Alexandre Cordier, *Histoire du grand martyr S. Mammès, patron de l'église de Lengres, divisée en deux livres: Le premier contient sa vie et sa passion, le second, les diverses translations de ses reliques, par un chanoine et archidiacre de la mesme église* (Paris, 1650). The publication date of the latter would preclude its use by Cousin as a source, unless it existed earlier in manuscript form.
16. Appendix, Second Reading.
17. *Ibid.*, Third Reading.
18. *Ibid.*
19. Presumably Caesarea Mazaca, chief city of ancient Cappadocia.
20. Appendix, Sixth and Seventh Readings.
21. *Ibid.*, Seventh Reading.
22. *Ibid.*, Seventh and Eighth Readings.
23. As Bertrand and Campbell pointed out, the lion depicted in the tapestry is not mentioned in the text of the breviary (Campbell, *Tapestry in the Renaissance*, p. 480).
24. Appendix, Eighth and Ninth Readings.
25. The excerpt describing the saint's apotheosis in Cousin's tapestry is quoted in Marcel, *Le cardinal de Givry*, vol. 2, p. 352.
26. Appendix, Ninth Reading. Alternately, the scene of Mamas in the amphitheater with the leopard, bear, and lion may have constituted a separate panel in place of the missing second panel.
27. Émile Vauthier, *Saint Mammès, patron de la cathédrale et du diocèse de Langres: Histoire-culte-légende-iconographie*, exh. cat., Chapelle des Annonciades (Langres, 1994); Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien*, (Paris, 1958) vol. 3, pp. 866–68.
28. The inventory was published in the *Revue de Champagne et de Brie*, 1879–80, vol. 8, p. 10, and vol. 9, p. 130; it is cited in Roy, *Artistes et monuments*, p. 45.
29. Appendix, Ninth Reading.
30. See Zerner, *L'art de la Renaissance*, pp. 236–43, esp. figs. 292–93.
31. The transcription and translation were provided by Reverend Richard Weaver and were edited by Florian Meunier.

A Sixteenth-Century Lacquered Chinese Box

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AN UNUSUAL CHINESE BOX entered the collection of the Department of Asian Art at the Metropolitan Museum in 1992. It is simply constructed from wooden slats glued together to form a rectangular container; the trapezoidal sides of the hinged lid rise to a square top (Figure 1). The exterior is dressed in a brown lacquer, applied over fabric and a thin layer of gesso, and decorated, on all sides except the back, with pictorial decoration in gold.¹ Each short side has a brass handle.

The most interesting of the decorations, in a Chinese context, are a portrait of a pope, on the top of the lid (Figure 2), and a scene of the Expulsion of Hagar (Genesis 21), on the front panel (Figure 3).² In the latter, Hagar, carrying a loaf of bread, and her son, Ishmael, with his customary staff, are about to set off into the wilderness. To the left is Abraham, his hand outstretched in a gesture of rejection; behind him is a household member or an angel. Unfortunately, the face of Abraham is damaged and partly covered with red paint. Whatever architectural background was depicted in the model—surely Western—from which this scene is derived seems to have been beyond the ability of the decorator to copy. Behind Hagar and Ishmael there are merely a screen and, in the distance, an awkwardly rendered enclosure with leaning walls. At the right are two entwined trees, which also may have been copied from a Western source. This motif occurs often in Chinese painting as a symbol of husband and wife, but to interpret it as such here is to assume that the artist responsible for the decoration of the box had some inkling of the relationship between Abraham and Hagar.

The left side of the box (Figure 4) shows a bearded man sitting on his haunches atop an ottoman and clasping his knees. He appears to be naked except for the peaked hat with backflap (the “Phrygian cap”) on his head and the cloak draped over his arm and spread out under him. In front of the man are his knapsack (resembling a pumpkin) and a gourd for

water on a carrying pole and his pointed shoes, or clogs; in the background are two entwined trees—as in the scene of the Expulsion of Hagar: one looks almost like a palm, and the other has heavy foliage that hangs over the seated figure. A large phoenix with spread wings hovers overhead. On the right side (Figure 5) is another figure resting on the ground under a tree with a pair of birds (perhaps falcons) in its branches. The figure has curly hair and possibly a beard, which is partly hidden by the metal plate of the handle. He (or she) is naked, but drapery covers the lower part of the body. An attendant at the left, with an elaborate headdress, brings the reclining figure an object that cannot be identified because of the damage to the lacquer surface. In the lower right corner is a lobed pouring vessel distinctly Southeast Asian in shape. The border decorating the two handled sides, which consists of alternating triangular motifs, is possibly a variant of that commonly seen in seventeenth-century Chinese decorative arts, but the border surrounding the scene of Hagar on the front almost certainly was adopted from a European pattern.

The jumble of artistic traditions continues in the decoration of the sloping sides of the lid. On the front (Figure 6) is an image of a man with a long beard and a squarish hat, wearing a large earring and a heavy coat with a thick collar. He sits cross-legged on a square mat, with his hands on his knees, and leans against a backrest. In front of him, under a tree, is a pair of long-necked birds, one of which has foliated tail feathers like those of a phoenix; behind him are two recumbent animals, perhaps a doe and a pig. In the background are mountainous forms and a somewhat clumsily rendered waterfall. Depicted on the left panel of the lid (Figure 7) is a man reclining on the ground against a large pillow or bag, a basket with a carrying handle before him. In the distance are waves. The rear panel of the lid (Figure 8) includes a man in a cornfield holding a plant, with wavelike motifs that appear to be representations of wind filling the rest of the pictorial space. On the right panel (Figure 9) are two elephants, again amid imagery of a cornfield and waves.

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 37

The notes for this article begin on page 82.



Figure 1. Lacquered and painted wooden box, China, Ming dynasty (1368–1644), late 16th century. H. 11 in. (27.9 cm), W. 10½ in. (26.7 cm), D. 7 in. (17.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Florence and Herbert Irving Gift, 1992 (1992.114)



Figure 2. Detail of top of lid in Figure 1, showing a portrait of a pope, possibly Sixtus V

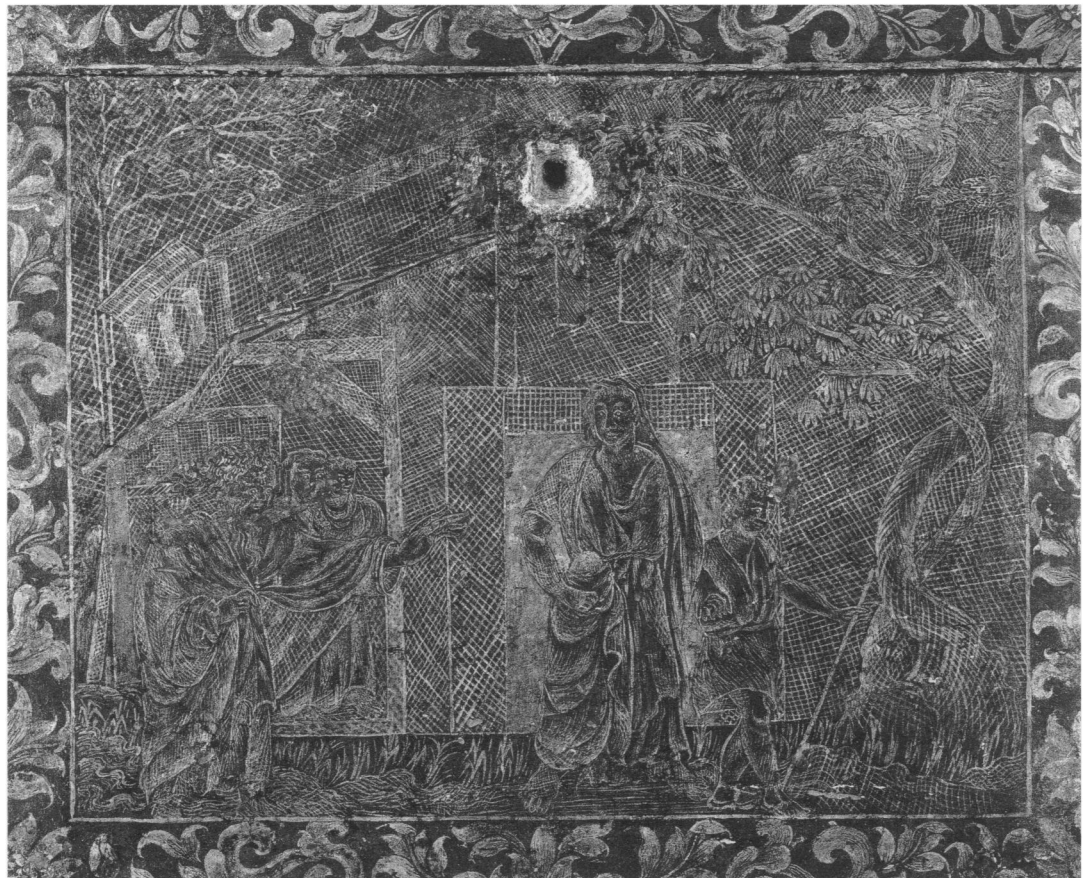


Figure 3. Detail of front panel in Figure 1, showing a scene of the Expulsion of Hagar

The box's decorative scheme and the pictorial compositions represent an uneasy confluence of cultures and artistic traditions. The portrait of the pope and the depiction of the Expulsion of Hagar, for which the artist must have copied European prints, include more successfully drawn figures than the other "foreign" scenes, which the artist seems to have invented, employing motifs derived from European prints and Indian drawings, as well as traditional Chinese decorative patterns. For example, the large earring worn by the cross-legged seated figure for centuries has been a standard device in Chinese art to indicate a foreigner. The cross-legged sitting position, ottoman, water vessel, and elephants can have only Indian drawings as their source. While a seated figure (usually supposed to represent a gentleman scholar) in a landscape is a common subject in Chinese painting, a traveler shown resting is rare in Chinese art. (Travelers in Chinese paintings are customarily represented on the move.) This theme also must have come from Western sources. The natural elements included in the landscapes also mix Western and Chinese conventions. The miniaturized mountain peaks in the distance are not presented in the Chinese manner, nor is the wind, but the depiction of water comes close to the traditional

Chinese approach. Equally fascinating is the artist's somewhat successful attempt at indicating chiaroscuro by means of cross-hatching—a technique that can be interpreted as learned from copying European engravings but is in any case necessitated by the use of gold painting, which is not amenable to shading.

This brings us to the dating of the box. The internal evidence—the shape and the technique of painting in gold on dark-colored lacquer—suggests that the box dates from the sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century, late in the Ming dynasty (1368–1644), and that it was made somewhere on the southern coast of China. The shape derives from a variety of storage box in common use in China from about the tenth century.³ It was also the standard type for storing Buddhist sutras, from the twelfth century onward. Many of these boxes were manufactured in the southern coastal provinces of Zhejiang and Fujian, important centers of printing and lacquerwork. In Japan, a number of sutra boxes of similar shape are preserved in temples and private collections. They are decorated in black lacquer with etched-gold decoration (the incised lines in the lacquer are filled with gold) and some of them bear an inscription dated 1315 and giving the place of manufacture as Hangzhou, in Zhe-



Figure 4. Detail of left handled side in Figure 1, showing a bearded man sitting on his haunches atop an ottoman and clasping his knees



Figure 5. Detail of right handled side in Figure 1, showing a figure resting on the ground under a tree with a pair of birds (perhaps falcons) in its branches



Figure 6. Detail of front lid panel in Figure 1, showing a man with a long beard and a squarish hat

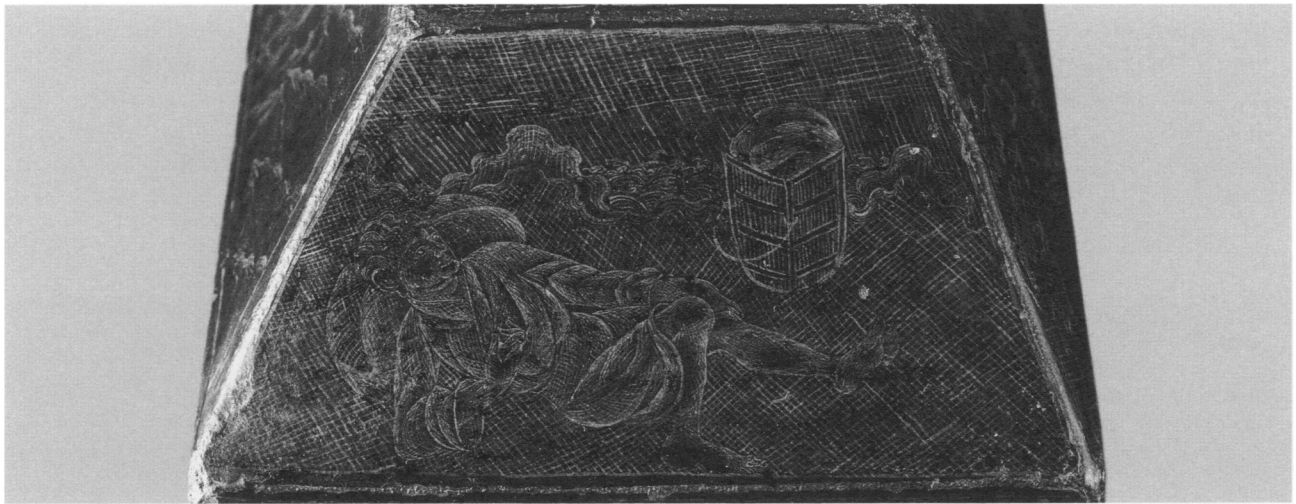


Figure 7. Detail of left lid panel in Figure 1, showing a man reclining on the ground against a large pillow or bag

jiang Province.⁴ By the late Ming period, to meet the demands of an increasingly prosperous population in South China, a large number of storage and gift boxes were made, decorated in various lacquering techniques; however, the elaborate etched gold was replaced by the cheaper and time-saving surface-gold technique. The decoration of the Metropolitan Museum's box conforms to this style, though the shape of the lid was modified so that the flat top is a square instead of a rectangle, with the sides proportionate to the base of the lid—obviously, in order to better frame the medallion portrait of the pope.

The date of the box can be narrowed down once the pope is identified. Of all the bearded pontiffs of the late sixteenth century, the most likely candidate is

Sixtus V (r. 1585–90; Figure 10). This identification fits in well with the historical context, as it was during the pontificate of Sixtus V that the Jesuits first were allowed beyond Macao and Canton, into the interior of China.⁵ If, indeed, the portrait on the box is that of Sixtus V, it would be one of the earliest attempts by a Chinese artist to copy a European image. It was, of course, not necessary for the Jesuits to enter China for Chinese craftsmen to have seen pictures with Christian subjects. Soon after the Spanish settled in the Philippines in the late 1570s, they began to commission ivory and wood carvings of religious figures from craftsmen in Zhangzhou, on the Fujian coast, across the South China Sea from Manila.⁶ Before that, Portuguese traders from Goa and Macao were conducting



Figure 8. Detail of back lid panel in Figure 1, showing a man in a cornfield holding a plant



Figure 9. Detail of right lid panel in Figure 1, showing two elephants, a cornfield, and waves

illicit commerce along the coasts of Zhejiang and Fujian—with the connivance of local officials.⁷ It was not necessarily the Jesuits who brought the portrait or medallion of Sixtus V to China, as their relationship to the pontiff was never an easy one; it could just as well have been the Franciscans in Manila, for they found greater favor with the pope.⁸

While the mode of transmission of Christian images into China in the sixteenth century is difficult to trace, the historical records are much more accessible for the period spanning the end of the sixteenth century through the seventeenth. After the Jesuits established themselves in Beijing, a considerable number of large folios of engravings of religious and secular subjects were transported to China. One of Christoph Plantin's

illustrated Bibles reached Macao in 1603 and was taken by a Jesuit to Beijing the following year.⁹ Abraham Ortelius's folio atlas of the world, *Theatrum orbis terrarum*, was among the gifts presented to the Wanli emperor by the Italian missionary Matteo Ricci upon his arrival in Beijing in 1601. This work included engravings of the pope and the nobility of the Holy Roman Empire.¹⁰ Several volumes of Georg Braun and Franz Hogenberg's *Civitates orbis terrarum*, published in Cologne between 1572 and 1616, also made their way to Beijing at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The likely influence that engravings from this work exercised on seventeenth-century Chinese landscape painting has been discussed by Michael Sullivan.¹¹ Illustrations in seventeenth-century Christian



Figure 10. Lorenzo Fragni, called Laurentius Parmensi (d. Rome, after 1618), *Medal of Sixtus V*, 1585–90. Bronze, diam. 1¼ in. (3.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Gwynne M. Andrews, 1930 (31.33.197)

publications in China often were copied directly from Western engravings. This fruitful meeting of East and West lasted until 1705–6, when the activities of Catholic missionaries were seriously curtailed as a result of the confrontation, based on hubris and ignorance on both sides, between the Kangxi emperor and Pope Clement XI (r. 1700–1721) on the question of ancestor worship. In the eighteenth century, Jesuit artists worked only at the imperial court and had little or no influence outside of Beijing.

All known instances of the impact of European pictorial art on Chinese painting and woodblock prints in the early seventeenth century are related to activities at the imperial court and to the interaction between Jesuit missionaries and the Chinese intelligentsia. This is obviously not the case with the Metropolitan Museum's box, however. Apart from the Christian images and the attempt at chiaroscuro, there are elements in the decoration of the box that must have been derived from contacts with the people and objects of India and Southeast Asia. There are also indications that the artist responsible for the decorations was familiar with representations of foreigners in traditional Chinese art. This brings us back to the conjecture that the box was produced at or near one of the ports along the South China coast—a center of international trade conducted by both Euro-

peans and Asians—in the late sixteenth century, during the reign of Sixtus V or shortly after. The pictorial ornament on the box combines diverse styles and motifs adapted from various sites along the East–West trade route. It evinces a meeting of several artistic traditions that might have resulted in a creative synthesis but did not—thus providing further proof that unless a seed is planted in fertile ground, it will not flourish.

NOTES

1. Examination of the box by Richard E. Stone in the Metropolitan's Department of Objects Conservation has shown that the "lacquer" is in fact an oil paint. In South China, beginning in the sixteenth century, wooden and basketry containers are often decorated on the exterior with lacquer or with a combination of lacquer and oil paint, especially for polychrome decoration. In the present case, oil paint alone is used, and the gold decoration has been applied on the surface with a mordant—a possible indicator of European influence.
2. The author gratefully acknowledges the guidance of James David Draper in identifying the portrait on the box as a papal one, as well as in locating literature relating to Sixtus V. Dr. Draper also clarified the iconography of the scene of the Expulsion of Hagar for the author.
3. A lacquer box of this type, with gilt-bronze borders—two of which contain Buddhist sutras—was found in a pagoda in Suzhou dated 961; see *Wen Wu* 11 (1957), pp. 38–45, figs. 2, 3. A mural in the tomb of Zhang Shiqing (d. 1116) in Xuanhua, Hebei Province, depicts a storage box of similar shape.
4. For an illustration of one of the dated boxes, see *Chanoyu no shiki: Karamono* (Lacquer tea utensils: Chinese objects), exh. cat., Chadō Shirōkan, Kyoto (Kyoto, 1989), no. 64. Another box with the same inscription and date is in the Jōdoji temple in Onomichi, and an undated box is in the Daitokuji temple in Kyoto.
5. In 1586, Sixtus V received word that the Jesuits had entered China; see Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes*, ed. Ralph Francis Kerr (Saint Louis, Mo., 1952), vol. 21, p. 181. This news took nearly three years to reach the pope.
6. For an account of Chinese ivory carvings for the Spanish in Manila, see Derek Gillman, "Ming and Qing Ivories: Figure Carving," in *Chinese Ivories from Shang to Qing* (London, 1984), pp. 35–52.
7. C. R. Boxer, *South China in the Sixteenth Century* (London 1953), pp. xvii–xxxvi.
8. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, p. 183 and also p. 139.
9. Jonathan D. Spence, *The Memory Palace of Matteo Ricci* (New York, 1984), pp. 87–88.
10. Michael Sullivan, *The Meeting of Eastern and Western Art* (Berkeley, 1989), p. 44.
11. *Ibid.*, pp. 44 ff.

Miss America's Brother and His Club

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IN 1959, THE MUSEUM RECEIVED more than 150 objects of decorative and fine arts in practically all media—prints, ceramics, metalwork, glass, and textiles—as a gift from the estate of James Hazen Hyde. As a collector, Hyde had specialized in a particularly charming subject matter: allegorical personifications of the four parts of the world, Africa, America, Asia, and Europe.

As the continents bear female names (never mind that America was named after a man, Amerigo Vespucci), it is not surprising that most of the personifications are beautiful women. And it was therefore only natural that, when Clare Le Corbeiller published a significant selection of the James Hazen Hyde gift in the April 1961 *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, the delightfully whimsical title chosen was “Miss America and Her Sisters.”

One of the most alluring of the “Misses America” is on a relief plaque, one of a set of four from about 1580–90 by an unknown German medalist (Figure 1). She is a svelte Indian maiden, identified as an American by her feather headdress; otherwise she wears only lavish jewelry of shells and pearls, and a skimpy bustle of plumes. Clearly she is meant to be an Amazon from the Amazon River (discovered in 1541), because she is armed with bow and quiver and also carries a huge club. The grip of this long-shafted club is decorated with tufts of feathers, and its globular head is incised with a banded zigzag pattern.

Allegories of America also appear in a manuscript in the Department of Arms and Armor at the Metropolitan Museum; the volume contains 125 drawings in watercolor, arranged in five different sections. In the first section are knights in various tournament equipments copied from the woodcut series of *The Triumph of Maximilian I* (designed ca. 1515, printed 1526). The second section is a pictorial record of an undated costumed Shrovetide parade, while the third presents the participants of tournaments held at Nuremberg between 1446 and 1561. In the fourth section, on

pages 73 through 97, are fanciful designs for parade sleighs, but in the fifth, on pages 98 through 125, are shown sleighs that actually participated in a parade, in 1599. Like floats in the Mardi Gras of New Orleans and the carnival of Rio de Janeiro, all these sleighs compete in their inventiveness in depicting often exuberantly imaginative themes.

As is to be expected for a Shrovetide parade, many sleighs have good-naturedly bawdy themes, but many others—befitting a well-educated bourgeois society—take their cues from classical mythology and allegory, including the almost obligatory personifications of the four parts of the world. America, as the continent most recently discovered by Europeans, must have seemed the most excitingly new and romantically exotic part of the world and is therefore represented twice, on pages 86 and 116 (Figures 2, 3). Its representatives, however, are not beautiful “Misses America” but males characterized as Americans by their colorful costumes of feathers. As a hint at their lifestyle as hunters, they carry bows and arrows.

The driver of the sleigh in Figure 2 wears nothing but a multicolored feather skirt and a conical feather hat. Bashford Dean, in his essay about this tournament book in the Metropolitan Museum's *Bulletin* (1922), wondered about the scanty costumes of many of the participants in the sleigh parade, and whether they survived the ride. It is to be hoped that the “American” driver was permitted to wear at least a warm body stocking. Most intriguingly, this “American” is featured not as an *Indi-
aner* but as a coal-black *Neger*.

The sleigh in Figure 3—which did participate in the parade of 1599—has as a kind of figurehead a statuette costumed like the “American” driver of the sleigh in Figure 2. This figurine also is portrayed as a black man and is armed with bow and quiver, and it holds a long-shafted club that is practically a twin to the one borne by the Amazonian “Miss America” of Figure 1, with a tasseled grip and the head decorated with an intricate pattern of angular bands.

The designers—of both the “Miss America” plaque and the “America” statuette—did serious research to



Figure 1. Plaque with a representation of America, German, ca. 1580–90. Lead and gilding, diam. 6 7/8 in. (17.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1960 (60.70.4)

make their “Americans” look authentic. Their immediate source must have been the *Trachtenbuch* by Hans Weigel (Nuremberg, 1577). In this collection claiming to present “costumes of almost all the most important nations that are known today” is a picture labeled “man from Brazil in America” in feather cloak and feather breechclout (Figure 4). His shell necklace is exactly the same as the one “Miss America” is wearing. This “man

from Brazil” shoulders a long-shafted club with tasseled feather trim at its grip and angular banded decoration on its head. The caption says: “This is how men in America go about—with a club like this, so that they might slay their enemies and beat them dead.”

Other elements of costume worn by “Miss America” and the “Americans” in the sleigh parade appear in a second picture in the *Trachtenbuch* showing a family of “Sav-

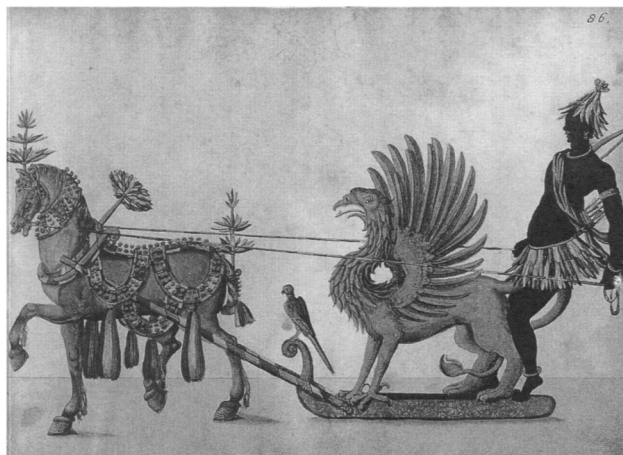


Figure 2. Watercolor drawing of a parade sleigh with a representation of America, German (Nuremberg), ca. 1600. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library (959.4 T64, p. 86)



Figure 3. Watercolor drawing of a parade sleigh with a representation of America, German (Nuremberg), ca. 1600. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Thomas J. Watson Library (959.4 T64, p. 116)



Figure 4. A Man from Brazil in America. Woodcut from Hans Weigel's *Trachtenbuch* (Nuremberg, 1577)



Figure 5. The Savage People from Brazil or the New Islands. Woodcut from Hans Weigel's *Trachtenbuch* (Nuremberg, 1577)

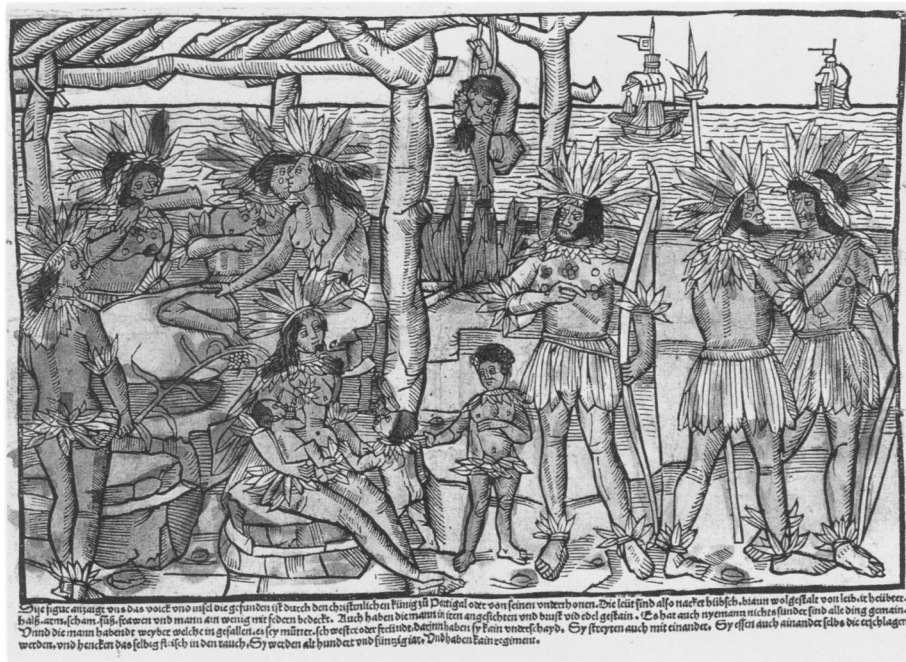


Figure 6. Colored woodcut of a New World scene, German (probably Augsburg), ca. 1505. The New York Public Library, Spencer Collection



Figure 7. Hans Burgkmair (German), *Folk from Far-off Lands*, ca. 1515. Woodcut, detail from the series depicting the Triumph of Maximilian I



Figure 8. Hans Burgkmair (German), *Folk from Far-off Lands*, ca. 1515. Woodcut, detail from the series depicting The Triumph of Maximilian I

age People from Brazil or the New Islands" (Figure 5). Here, the man wears a feather skirt with a large bustle of plumes, while the woman wears nothing but a coquettish little feather headdress and a rebozo in which she carries her baby. The medalist adopted as minimal clothing for his "Miss America" a drastically reduced version of the man's bustle, and the designer of the sleighs gave the three-tiered feather skirt to his two "Americans."

Both men in the *Trachtenbuch* figures shown here wear their hair cropped short, but the woman in the family of "Savage People from Brazil" has flowing locks. Her head was transplanted onto the shapely body of "Miss America" to leave no doubt about her gender in spite of bustle, bow, quiver, and club.

Lastly, the sources for the feather costumes of these Brazilians go back to a broadsheet (Figure 6), printed

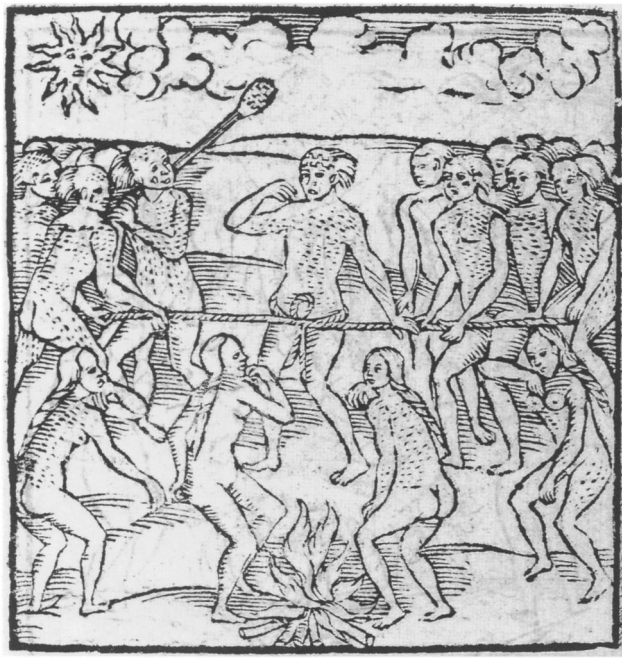


Figure 9. *How the Tupinamba Deal with Prisoners*, German, 1557. Woodcut, illustration to Hans Staden's *Wahrhaftige Historia* (photo: © the British Library)

probably at Augsburg, in about 1505. Here is presented the idyllic life of the “Folk of the Island Recently Found by the Christian King of Portugal.” The caption describes them as “naked, handsome, brown, good-looking of body and face; men and women [have] neck, arms, private parts, [and] feet bedecked with a few feathers.” Incongruously, two of these “wild men” from the New World have full beards like the hirsute wild men of European folklore. The caption informs us further that “they fight among themselves; and those slain they eat and hang the meat in the smoke for curing.” As for weapons, the men are shown with bows and a spear; none has a club, though.

Among the 137 woodcuts of *The Triumph of Maximilian I* are three, by Hans Burgkmair, that represent “people from Calicut” and other “folk from far-off.” In the first of the three woodcuts is an elephant with a turbaned mahout on its back and a troop of East Indian warriors, naked in loincloths and armed with shields, swords, bows, and spears. They are followed in the second woodcut (Figure 7) by a group of men in feather skirts carrying paddle-shaped clubs with feather-tufts decorating their long shafts. These men are doubtless meant to represent people from the New Indies, that is, “Americans.” One of them wears a full beard like the men of Brazil on the broadsheet. After them, in the third woodcut (Figure 8), comes a group of Africans (South African Khoikhoi, judging from their animal-skin cloaks and sandals) herding goats, cattle,



Figure 10. Theodore de Bry (German), *How the Club Iwera Pemme Is Prepared* (detail), 1592. Engraving, illustration to Hans Staden's *Wahrhaftige Historia*, part 3 of *Historia Americae* (photo: courtesy of Collier County Museum, Naples, Florida)

and fat-tailed sheep; intermingled with this group are two more befeathered Americans, carrying a macaw, a monkey and stalks of maize, the first recognizable representation of this exotic grain in European art.

The source for the distinctively decorated clubs in the hands of the “man from Brazil,” “Miss America,” and her brother “American” on the parade sleigh, however, would have been a best-seller with the intriguing title *Wahrhaftige Historia und beschreibung eyner Landtschafft der Wilden Nacketen Grimmigen Menschenfresser Leuthen in der Newenwelt America* (Truthful history and description of a land of savage, naked, ferocious man-eater people in the new world America). Printed at Marburg in 1557, it reported in lurid detail the adventures of Hans Staden, a German sailor stranded among the Tupinamba of Brazil. The text was accompanied by powerful but crude woodcuts (Figure 9).

Here we find the explanation for the representation of the “Americans” on the parade sleighs as black, though the broadsheet describes them as “brown.” This change in color was evidently inspired by Hans Staden's report that the Tupinamba painted their faces and bodies black to appear more fearsome in warfare. The bustles of plumes as attire of the Tupinamba warriors appeared for the first time in the woodcuts of the Marburg edition of the *Wahrhaftige Historia*. The woodcuts of the Marburg edition of the *Wahrhaftige Historia* were reshaped in a more polished style by the celebrated illustrator Theodore de Bry, in



Figure 11. Theodore de Bry (German), *King Satourioua Addressing His Warriors*, 1591. Engraving, illustration to *Brevis Narratio*, part 2 of *Historia Americae* (photo: courtesy of Collier County Museum, Naples, Florida)

his *Historia Americae* (Frankfurt am Main, 1590–92). The third part of this ambitious, multivolume work about the inhabitants of the New World is dedicated to Hans Staden’s tale. According to Hans Staden, the decorated club, first seen in the Marburg woodcuts, was a revered ceremonial object that bore the personal name Iwera Pemme. It was decorated with feather tassels, painted with its distinctive angular banded pattern by a woman (a shamaness?), and used for the ritual killing of a captive enemy, who then was eaten at a festive banquet (Figure 10).

In the second part of his *Historia Americae*, the *Brevis Narratio* (1591), De Bry depicted natives of Florida, Timucua, and Tequesta (Figure 11), whose piled-up hairdos with topknots seem to have been the models (although by misinterpretation) for the conical feather hats of the “Americans” in the sleigh parade depicted in the tournament volume. The Floridian war clubs, too, were paddle-shaped and plain, but the club that caught the fancy of Europeans as the fearsome weapon of the wild men of the New World was the unique, ceremonial Iwera Pemme of the *grimmige Menschenfresser*.

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Some Seventeenth-Century French Painted Enamel Watchcases

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THE WATCHCASES MADE BY FRENCH enamellers of the seventeenth century include some of the most magnificent examples of the art ever produced. The technique involves coating the various parts of a gold case, including the cover and the center of the dial, with a pure white enamel ground and then applying opaque colored enamels in such a way that the resulting image closely resembles miniature painting on paper, parchment, or ivory.¹

The invention of the technique has long been credited to Jean I Toutin (1578–1644) of Châteaudun (and, after 1632, of Paris). The earliest watchcases with this type of enameling probably originated in Blois, a city known for both enameling and watchmaking,² but Paris, too, was an early and important center of production.³ While the skill of the painters varied, some were capable of exquisite work. An increasing number of sources from which these enamel painters took their designs have been identified, and it now seems safe to say that most if not all were content to reproduce in miniature the work of other artists. Prints were often the medium of transmission, but in some cases it seems that the enamelist must have had direct access either to an original painting or to a colored drawing of it.

One of the painted enamel scenes on a gold watchcase at the Metropolitan Museum depicting Europa and the Bull (Figure 1)⁴ was recognized a few years ago as a remarkably faithful representation of a painting (Figure 2)⁵ by the French *grande manière* artist Simon Vouet (1590–1649). While an engraving of Vouet's painting was made by his son-in-law Michel Dorigny (1617–1665), the facts that the figures on the cover of the watch are not reversed as are those in the engraving and that the colors of the painting, with the exception of one detail, closely match those of the enamel suggest that the enamel painter either had access to Vouet's painting or was acquainted with someone who did. This assumption is further sup-

ported by the circumstance that the man who commissioned the watch, Louis Hesselin (1602–1662), is known to have been a patron of both Dorigny and Vouet and even to have been a witness at the baptism of Vouet's son.⁶

Vouet spent the years between 1612 and 1620 in Italy; when he returned to his native Paris, he was given the privilege of a lodging, or studio, in the Grande Galerie du Louvre, and he received numerous commissions from the French court.⁷ His paintings characteristically depicted beautiful and statuesque figures in brilliant colors and thus were ideally suited to the enamelist's medium, which was not lost on the painters of enameled watchcases. At least seven additional seventeenth-century French enameled watchcases with subjects derived from Vouet's oeuvre have been identified.⁸ Others were later enameled in Geneva, and at least one of the Vouet scenes was still being used as a model by a French enameler in the middle of the eighteenth century.⁹

To this growing list can be added another watch at the Metropolitan Museum, with a movement signed "Goullons Paris" on the back plate, that has enamels inspired by Vouet on the back of the case and on the exterior of the cover.¹⁰ The scene on the back of the case, of the Virgin and Child with an Angel (Figure 3), reproduces, with certain modifications chiefly as a result of the circular shape of the watch, an engraving (Figure 4) by Pierre Daret (1605–1678).¹¹ As the watchcase figures are oriented in the same direction as the figures in the print, it seems safe to conclude that the enamelist who painted the watchcase was working from an engraving by Daret. Indeed, the original Vouet painting still exists (it is now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Caen)¹² and provides proof that the Daret engraving does, in fact, reverse the composition (Figure 5).¹³ While the colors of the painting and those on the watchcase are comparable, they are not exactly the same, offering strong evidence that this enamel painter worked from a hand-colored engraving rather than from the original painting.

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The notes for this article begin on page 104.



Figure 1. Watchcase with a scene depicting Europa and the Bull, French (probably Paris), ca. 1645. Painted enamel on gold, diam. 2 1/4 in. (6.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.1413)



Figure 2. Simon Vouet (French, 1590–1649), *Europa and the Bull*, ca. 1641–42. Oil on canvas, 70 1/4 x 55 1/4 in. (179.1 x 141.6 cm). Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Lugano (photo: Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection)



Figure 3. Back of a watch with a scene depicting the Virgin and Child with an Angel, French (probably Paris), ca. 1645–50. Case of painted enamel on gold; movement signed “Goullons Paris,” diam. 2 1/4 in. (6.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.1557)

Figure 4. Pierre Daret (French, 1605–1678), *Virgin and Child with an Angel*, dated 1642. Engraving (after the painting in Figure 5), 9 1/4 x 7 in. (24.8 x 17.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1945 (45.97)





Figure 5. Simon Vouet (French, 1590–1649), *Virgin and Child with an Angel*, ca. 1641–42. Oil on canvas, 32 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 25 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (81.5 x 64.5 cm). Musée des Beaux-Arts, Caen (photo: Martine Seyve, Musée des Beaux-Arts, Caen)



Figure 6. Front cover of the watch in Figure 3, with a scene depicting Joseph Awakened by the Angel

The scene on the front of the watch cover, which depicts Joseph Awakened by the Angel (Figure 6), preserves the same orientation of the two figures found in another engraving after a Vouet painting, this one by Michel Dorigny (Figure 7).¹⁴ Two other religious scenes, the Rest on the Flight into Egypt and a Virgin and Child with Saint John the Baptist, are represented on the interior of the case and on the cover of the watch, respectively. The origin of the composition of the Rest on the Flight into Egypt so far remains unidentified, but the Virgin and Child with Saint John will be discussed later in connection with a scene on another watch in the Museum's collection.

Initially, the two infants enameled on the center of the dial of the watch (Figure 8) seemed strangely incongruous with the religious nature of the other scenes, but an etching of the Infant Saint John the Baptist Embracing the Christ Child (Figure 9) helps to explain their significance. The etching, by the Parisian artist Laurent de La Hyre (1606–1656)¹⁵—who, in 1648, became one of the founding members



Figure 7. Michel Dorigny (French, 1617–1665). *Joseph Awakened by the Angel*, dated 1640. Engraving (after a lost painting by Simon Vouet), 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 8 in. (31.1 x 20.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1945 (45-97)



Figure 8. Watch in Figure 3, with the cover open to show the center of the dial with a scene of the Infant Saint John the Baptist Embracing the Christ Child



Figure 9. Laurent de La Hyre (French, 1606–1656). *The Infant Saint John the Baptist Embracing the Christ Child*, ca. 1628–30. Etching with engraved details, 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (16.1 x 12.3 cm). Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris, Da 27, p. 29 (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)



Figure 10. Watch with a scene depicting the Virgin and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist, French (Paris or Blois), ca. 1645–50. Case of painted enamel on gold; movement signed "Goullons Paris," diam. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (5.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.1627)



Figure 11. Watch in Figure 10, with a scene on the back of the case depicting the Holy Family with the Infant Saint John the Baptist. See also Colorplate 4, right



Figure 12. Gilles Rousselet (French, 1610–1686). *Holy Family with the Infant Saint John the Baptist*, possibly ca. 1635–38. Engraving (probably after the painting in Figure 13), 17¼ x 11⅞ in. (45 x 30 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Harry G. Friedman, 1961 (61.663.96)

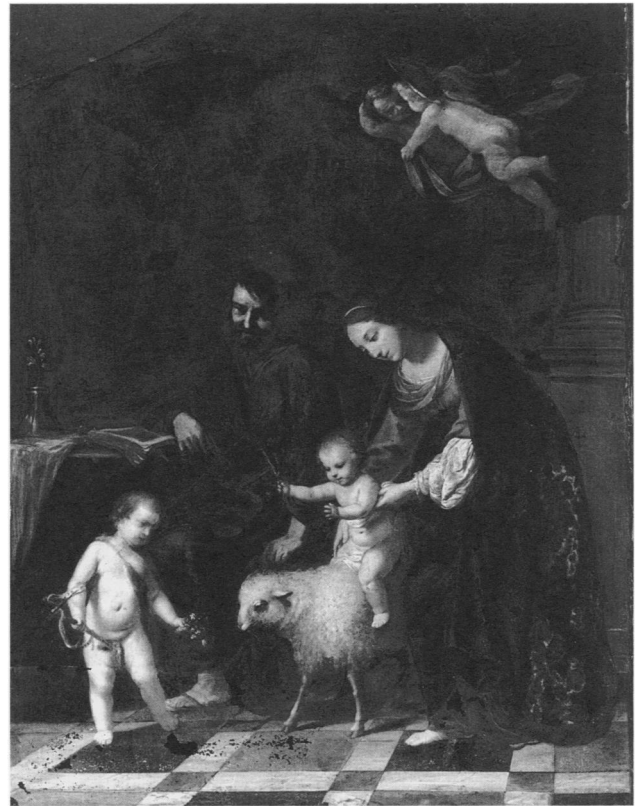


Figure 13. Jacques Stella (French, 1596–1657). *Holy Family with the Infant Saint John the Baptist*, possibly ca. 1635–38. Oil on slate. Musée Thomas Henry, Cherbourg (photo: Réunion des Musées Nationaux)



of the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture—is far from an exact prototype of the enamel, but a comparable print must have provided the inspiration. The movement of the watch, about which more will be said, is typical for the second quarter of the seventeenth century.

Another watch in the Metropolitan Museum's collection with a movement by the same watchmaker has an enameled gold case depicting the Virgin and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist (Figure 10) on the cover and the Holy Family with the Infant Saint John the Baptist (Figure 11 and Colorplate 4, right) on the back.¹⁶ The level of artistry of these two enamels is comparable with that of the two enamels derived from the engravings after Vouet just discussed; however, they are quite different in character. The figures

Figure 14. Gilles Rousselet (French, 1610–1686). *Virgin and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist*, possibly ca. 1633–38. Engraving (after a painting by Jacques Stella), 16¼ x 11⅞ in. (41.3 x 30.2 cm). Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)

after Vouet's prototypes are painted in glowing flesh tones; they wear clothing of rich vermilion, golden yellow, pale lavender, pale blue, and cornflower blue. The flesh tones of the figures on the second watch are much drier looking; the same basic colors were used for the clothing, with the addition of olive green for the belt and the inside of the sleeve of the Virgin's robe, echoing the color of the fabric of the table cover in the scene of the Holy Family, but these colors, too, are drier than those of the Vouet-inspired watch.

Most immediately noticeable are the large areas of the pure white enamel of the underlying coat left visible in the clouds and in the wool of the sheep in the scene of the Virgin and Child with Saint John (Figure 10), and on the sleeves of the Virgin's robe, the sheep, the pages of the book, and the base of the second column behind Saint Joseph in the scene of the Holy Family (Figure 11). Here, the use of the white enamel ground corresponds with the technique employed by the enameler of the watchcase with the Vouet-inspired scene of Europa and the Bull (Figure 1), but the similarity ends with the handling of the white ground: the figures in the mythological scene are softly modeled in colored enamel using hundreds of tiny dots rather like those in a Pointillist painting. The figures on both sides of the watch with the Virgin and Child with Saint John are hard-edged, in contrast to the reproduction both of Vouet's mythological painting and of his religious scenes.



Figure 15. Watchcase in Figure 10, with a scene of a landscape and tower on the interior of the case

When compared with religious figures inspired by Vouet, those on this watch display a sweetness of character that is quite unlike the gravity of Vouet's figures. In the scene of the Holy Family with Saint John (Figure 11), a delightfully domestic vignette, Saint Joseph looks up from his book toward the Christ Child astride a lamb being enticed by the handful of flax proffered by the infant Saint John and urged on with a twig wielded by the Child, who is steadied by the Virgin's protective hand. The scene recalls an engraving (Figure 12) by Gilles Rousselet (1610–1686)¹⁷ that, in turn, reproduces a painting by another French artist of the generation of Vouet, Jacques Stella (1596–1657), probably the version now in the Musée Thomas Henry in Cherbourg (Figure 13).¹⁸ Like Vouet, Stella spent the early years of his career in Italy before returning to France in 1635. As *peintre du Roi*, he was given the twenty-fifth lodging in the Grande Galerie du Louvre, which he occupied until his death in 1657;¹⁹ although less well known than Vouet, he was among the proponents of the French classicizing style that ultimately distinguished the work of the artists who in 1648 founded the Académie Royale de Peinture et de Sculpture.

In the enameled Virgin and Child with Saint John (Figure 10), the playful gesture of the Child and the sweetness of the Virgin, as well as their straight noses—which one associates with antique sculpture—strongly suggest their origin in another of Stella's images. In fact, an almost identical figure group exists in an engraving, again by Gilles Rousselet (Figure 14),²⁰ after a painting by Jacques Stella that was published as recently as 1960 but is now not to be found.²¹ In neither case has the engraver reversed the

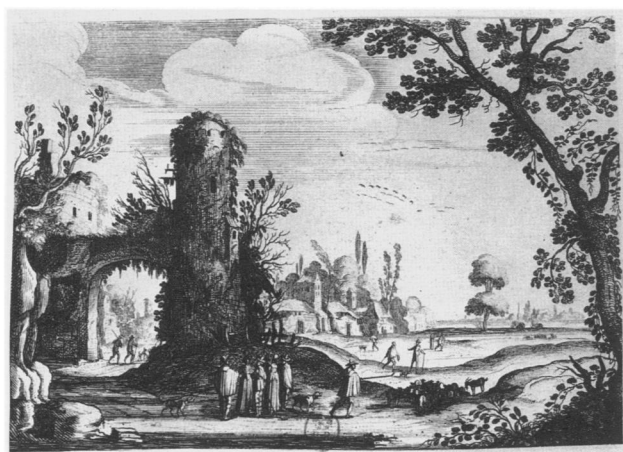


Figure 16. Nicolas Cochin (French, 1610–1686). *Landscape with a Tower*, possibly ca. 1640–45. Engraving, 4 1/4 x 6 1/4 in. (11.5 x 15.6 cm). Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris (photo: Bibliothèque Nationale)



Figure 17. Back of a watch with a scene depicting Meleager and Atalanta, French (probably Paris), ca. 1645–50. Case of painted enamel on gold; movement signed “Auguste Bretoneau Paris,” diam. 2½ in. (5.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.1626)

images in the Stella paintings, but the engravings and the paintings differ from the miniatures on the watchcase in one very striking way: both the Holy Family with Saint John and the Virgin and Child with Saint John have been given quite different settings. It is tempting to think that the enamel painter dispensed with the relatively dark interiors in favor of light-filled landscapes in order to permit the exposure of large areas of his pristine white enamel ground.²² The style here, however, is largely that of Stella, just as the enamels on the first two watches largely reflect the style of Vouet. This effacement of the enameler’s own artistic personality would seem to be characteristic of the best French enamel painters of the period, making it very difficult to associate individual watchcases with any known enameler except in the extremely few instances in which the watchcases are signed.

The enamel painters of the watchcases discussed thus far achieved a certain unity of style—at least for the enamels on the backs of the cases and on the exteriors of the covers—by utilizing the work of a single artist. Since the work of different artists provided the prototypes for the enameler, the enamels on the insides of the cases and covers are often stylistically unrelated to the exterior enamels. Sometimes the subject is quite unrelated as well. For example, the two religious scenes that were adapted from engravings based on paintings by Jacques Stella or engravings of



Figure 18. François Chauveau (French, 1613–1676). *Meleager and Atalanta*, dated 1643. Etching (after a painting by Laurent de La Hyre), 12 x 15½ in. (30.5 x 39 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953 (53.600.294)



Figure 19. Cover of the watch in Figure 17, with a scene depicting Meleager and Atalanta

them are accompanied inside the case by a landscape with a tower (Figure 15) taken from a print (Figure 16) by Nicolas Cochin (1610–1686).²³

This enamel, which functioned as a particularly beautiful counter-enamel, would have been visible whenever the movement, hinged to the top of the case, was lifted to permit the winding of the main-spring of the watch; this was achieved by means of a hollow-barreled key that fit over a post, or square, which projected through the back plate of the mechanism. As these watches usually kept time for little more than a day, the enameled scene inside the case was quite regularly seen by the owner or whoever may have observed the watch being wound.

While the practice of employing a single artist's designs for the exterior of a watchcase was often the rule, it was far from invariable. The painter of the case of still another watch in the Metropolitan Museum's collection²⁴ chose to unify the exterior of his watchcase by subject alone, excerpting Meleager and Atalanta (Figure 17), of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, from an etching (Figure 18) by François Chauveau (1613–1676), a pupil of Laurent de La Hyre, after a presumed-lost painting by La Hyre.²⁵ The cover (Figure 19) is a highly condensed version of an engraving (Figure 20) of 1609 from a series illustrating Ovid's *Metamorphoses* by the Italian artist Antonio Tempesta (1555–1630).²⁶ The enamel painter has shown more



Figure 20. Antonio Tempesta (Italian, 1555–1630). *Meleager and Atalanta*, 1609. Engraving, 4¼ x 4¼ in. (10.6 x 12.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Elisha Whittelsey Collection, The Elisha Whittelsey Fund, 1951 (51.501.3942)

than a little ingenuity in modifying his prototypes to fit the circular shape of the watchcase, leaving out the entire left side of La Hyre's scene as well as the putti playing at the feet of Atalanta, and, instead, inventing a putto to fill the empty space behind her right shoulder. The figures in the rectangular Tempesta print, too, have been consolidated quite cleverly to fit the circle and given greater immediacy than in Tempesta's energetic representation of the killing of the Calydonian boar. The enamelist also managed to blend fairly satisfactorily the very different styles of the two prints. Still another type of adaptation of an engraving can be found on the interior of the watchcase (Figure 21) that reproduces Vouet's religious scenes on its exterior (Figure 3). The Virgin and Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist can be recognized as having been derived from an engraving, after Jacques Stella, of the Holy Family with Saint John (Figure 12)—the same print that was a model for Figure 11. Here, Saint Joseph has been eliminated from Stella's scene and an airy landscape with mountains in the distance has been substituted for the base of the column that defines the space inhabited by the Holy Family with Saint John in Stella's composition. In all but the first of these four watchcases, the enamelists have not hesitated to crop their figures whenever it was necessary to fit them into the circular format, in the way that modern photographers crop their prints.



Figure 21. Interior of the watchcase in Figure 3, with a scene of the Virgin and Christ Child with the Infant Saint John the Baptist



Figure 22. Watchcase, French (Blois or Paris), ca. 1645–50. Painted enamel on gold, diam. 2¼ in. (5.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.1583)



Figure 23. Front cover of the watchcase in Figure 22. See also Colorplate 4, left

More ingenious are the well-integrated designs of diverse floral specimens that appear on the back of the case (Figure 22) and on the front of the cover (Figure 23 and Colorplate 4, left) of still another watchcase in the Metropolitan Museum's collection.²⁷ Individual flowers have been adopted from examples

found in a series of thirteen engravings signed "Cochin" and thought to be the work of either Nicolas (1610–1686) or Noël (1622–after 1685). The series was published in Paris in 1645 with the title *Livre nouveau de fleurs tres vtil pour l'art d'orfevrerie, et autres* (New book of flowers [that are] very useful for the art of goldsmiths' work and other [things]; Figure 24).²⁸ Several prints from the series provided individual models for two flowers on the bottom of the case and five on the cover. The designs on both the case bottom and cover were arranged so that if a line were drawn through the diameter of the circular case from the loop at the top to a point directly below the loop, but on the opposite edge of the case, that line would pass through the center of three flowers, one painted above another. Four large flowers and several small ones flank those on the central axis of the cover, and six large flowers and a number of smaller ones flank those on the central axis of the back of the case. The peony in the center of the cover as well as the flower at the top right come from one of the engravings (Figure 25). On the back of the case, models for the poppy at the bottom and for the rose on the lower left side were provided by two other prints, while the iris at the top is taken from a fourth Cochin print (Figure 26) and the carnation in the center of the back from a fifth (Figure 27). Whether or not the enamel painter invented the remaining flowers in the design or used



Figure 24. Nicolas Cochin (French, 1610–1686) or Noël Cochin (French, 1622–after 1685). Title page of the *Livre nouveau de fleurs tres-util pour l'art d'orfeverie, et autres* (Paris, 1645). Engraving, 3¼ x 4¼ in. (8.4 x 12 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1953 (53.600.261 [1])

Figure 25. Third leaf from the series of engravings in Figure 24. The peony on the right and another flower, second from the right, appear on the cover of the watch in Figures 22 and 23 (53.600.261 [3])



Figure 26. Ninth leaf from the series of engravings in Figure 24. The iris on the right appears on the top back of the watchcase in Figure 22 (53.600.261 [9])



Figure 27. Thirteenth leaf from the series of engravings in Figure 24. The third carnation from the left appears at the center back of the watchcase in Figure 22 (53.600.261 [13])

models from other Cochin engravings, he combined them into an extraordinarily pleasing design.

The painting of the Massacre of the Innocents on the interior of the watchcase in Figure 28 is another example of the skill with which this enamelist took elements from prints and incorporated them into what are presumably his own compositions. In this enamel he has adapted an architectural setting from a print of the same subject (Figure 29) by Jacques Callot (1592–1635)²⁹ as well as three of Callot's figural groups: a soldier swinging his sword above his head, at the lower left; a helmeted soldier tearing a child from the arms of its kneeling mother, at the lower center; and a mother attempting to restrain a soldier who is slinging an infant in the air by its foot, at the lower right of the enamel. The origin of the Rest on the Flight into Egypt painted on the interior of the cover has thus far eluded identification.

The colors employed in the enameling of this watchcase are the by-now familiar vermillion, brilliant blues, golden yellow, olive green, and pale manganese purple that contrast with the pristine white ground. The outlines of the floral, figural, and architectural elements are linear and they are drawn in color, a technique that is wholly different from those employed in the enamels on the three other watches from the Metropolitan Museum discussed here.

The enamels on this watchcase are not signed, and the movement was missing at least as long ago as when J. Pierpont Morgan acquired the case. George C. Williamson, the author of the catalogue of Morgan's collection of watches, attributed the watchcase to

Christophe Morlière (1604–1643/44), one of the best of the acknowledged masters of enameling, who worked in Blois. Perhaps Williamson's attribution was based upon the supposition that only one of the finest enamel painters in Blois could have been responsible for a watchcase of this quality, but it presents an object lesson in how difficult it can be to match unsigned enamels with recorded enamel painters. Morlière died before October 1644—or at least a year before the publication of the floral designs by Cochin that are so skillfully depicted in the enamels on this watchcase.³⁰ Even if the painter of this case remains anonymous, he undoubtedly was one of the more accomplished French enamelists working either in Blois or in Paris, probably in the 1640s. In the last quarter of the seventeenth century Geneva became the center of watchcase enameling, but the Swiss rarely achieved the excellence of their French predecessors.

Three of the five watchcases in the Metropolitan Museum's collection discussed above still contain their original movements,³¹ and all typify the work of the leading French watchmakers of the second quarter of the seventeenth century. The engraved signature "Auguste Bretonneau Paris" appears on the back plate of the movement of the watch with enamels depicting Meleager and Atalanta (Figure 30). The signature "Goullons Paris" is engraved on the back plates of the movements in the cases with enamels based on Vouet's religious imagery (Figure 31) and on Stella's (Figure 32).

More is known about the watchmakers than about the enamelists, but still it is not a great deal. Auguste

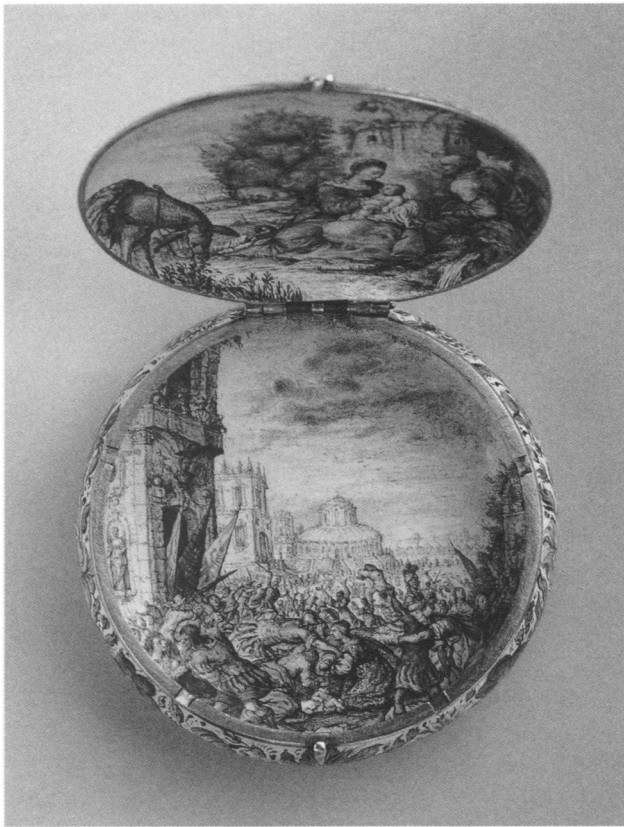


Figure 28. Interior of the watchcase in Figure 22, with a scene of the Massacre of the Innocents



Figure 29. Jacques Callot (French, 1592–1635). *The Massacre of the Innocents*, ca. 1617–18. Etching with engraved details, 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (13.5 x 10.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bequest of Edwin De T. Bechtel, 1957 (57.650.376)



Figure 30. Auguste Bretonneau (French, recorded 1638–58). Movement of the watch in Figure 17. Gilt brass; steel, partly blued; and silver, diam. of back plate 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (4.4 cm)



Figure 31. Jacques Goullons (French, recorded 1626–d. 1671). Movement of the watch in Figure 3. Gilt brass; steel, partly blued; and silver, diam. of back plate 2 in. (5 cm). The balance spring and the figure plate used to regulate it are later additions



Figure 32. Jacques Goullons (French, recorded 1626–d. 1671). Movement of the watch in Figure 10. Gilt brass and steel, partly blued, diam. of back plate 1 7/8 in. (4.9 cm)



Figure 34. Auguste Bretonneau (French, recorded 1638–58). Movement of the watch in Figure 33, with a late-seventeenth-century balance spring and balance bridge. Gilt brass; steel, partly blued; and silver, diam. of back plate 3 3/4 in. (8.2 cm)

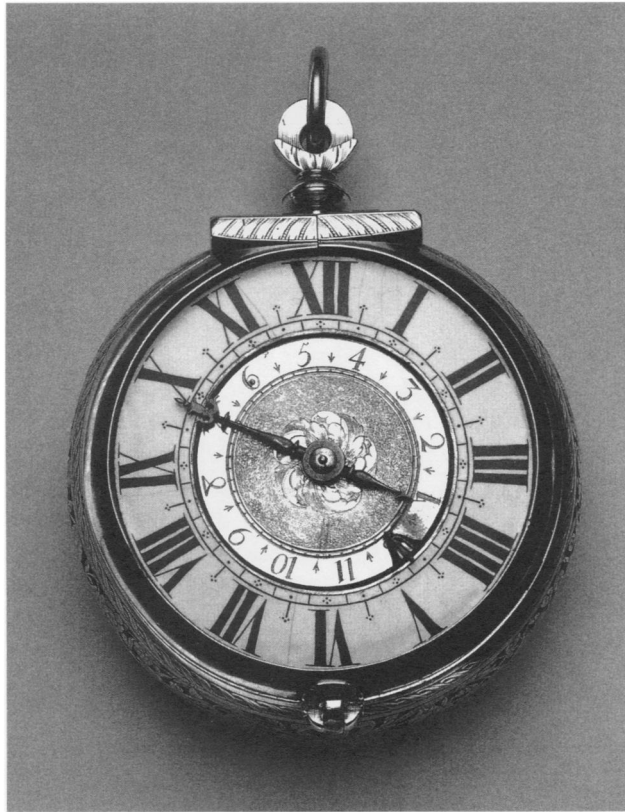


Figure 33. Traveling watch with alarm, French, ca. 1650–60. Pierced and engraved silver case, white enamel dial with black numerals, central alarm disk of gilt brass, and blued-steel hand, diam. 4 1/8 in. (11.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.1628)

Bretonneau is recorded as having worked in Paris between 1638 and 1658.³² Aside from the Metropolitan Museum's *Meleager* and *Atalanta* watch, examples by Bretonneau with painted enamel cases exist in the collection of the Ashmolean Museum in Oxford,³³ in an Italian private collection,³⁴ and in the Museum der Zeitmessung Beyer in Zürich.³⁵ Still another was formerly in the Howard Marryat collection in the 1930s.³⁶ A very small watch (diam. 3.1 cm) formerly in the Luigi delle Piane collection in Milan, signed on the back plate "A. Bretonneau Paris,"³⁷ represents a somewhat later period of seventeenth-century watchmaking, as does a small square watch with a gold-and-enamel case, now in the Historisches Museum, Basel, that can be dated not long before about 1660 on stylistic grounds.³⁸ Finally, the Metropolitan Museum owns a large (diam. 11.1 cm) silver-cased, hour-striking, traveling, or coach, watch with an alarm (Figure 33), which probably dates to somewhere between 1650 and 1660.³⁹ Like the other watches by Bretonneau, this one has only a single hand. The chapter ring on the dial is divided into hours and quarters, rather than into the hours and half hours of the earlier watches, and the movement (Figure 34) has a technical improvement: a tangent screw and wheel setup for the mainspring (at the top of the back plate), rather than the earlier type of ratchet wheel and click setup that is visible at the top of the backplate of the Museum's *Meleager* and *Atalanta* watch (Figure 30).⁴⁰

In the same decade, an item in an inventory of the possessions of Louis XIV's minister Cardinal Mazarin (1602–1661) states that a large striking watch by Goullons, with a red leather carrying case, was owned by the cardinal.⁴¹ Goullons was also the maker of movements for a number of watches with painted enamel cases besides those mentioned earlier, including a watch in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, with portraits of Louis XIII and Cardinal Richelieu;⁴² one now in the Musée International d'Horlogerie, La Chaux-de-Fonds, Switzerland, discussed above;⁴³ one now in the Historisches Museum, Basel;⁴⁴ and one in the Musée d'Horlogerie, Le Locle, Switzerland.⁴⁵ Another was in the Luigi delle Piane collection in Milan in 1954,⁴⁶ and the Metropolitan Museum has an additional two.⁴⁷ Still another enamel-cased watch, in the collection of the State Hermitage Museum in Saint Petersburg, is smaller in diameter than the others (4.2 cm) and has an enameled case believed, perhaps mistakenly, to be Swiss.⁴⁸

Other watches signed "Goullons *Paris*" that do not belong to the same category include one, in the collection of the Worshipful Company of Clockmakers in London, that has a relief-ornamented gold case enameled predominantly in opaque white and black. The movement of the Clockmakers' Company watch has a tangent screw and wheel setup for the mainspring, and is considerably smaller in diameter (3.1 cm) than most of the watches with painted enamel miniatures on their cases.⁴⁹ A similarly small watch with a comparable movement, but with a painted enamel case, was formerly in the collection of Lord Sandberg.⁵⁰ In addition, there is a large (diam. 40.4 cm) coach watch in a gilt-brass case, with a movement signed "Goullons *Paris*," now in the Historisches Museum, Basel, that apparently dates from somewhat later in the seventeenth century,⁵¹ and another, in a silver case, with a dial and hands modernized in the eighteenth century, formerly in the Sandberg collection.⁵²

All of the aforementioned watches are signed only with the surname of the maker, but a small watch with a gold case ornamented with *champlevé* enamel and with a pre-spring balance movement (indicating that the latter was made sometime before about 1675) bearing the signature "Josias Goullons *Paris*" on the back plate appeared at auction in 1971.⁵³ While at first it seemed plausible that the maker who signed his name "Goullons *Paris*" was the same one who signed himself "Josias Goullons," further reflection suggested that perhaps by the time the watch auctioned in 1971 was made, there were two watchmakers in Paris named Goullons, thus necessitating that the second use his full name in his signature.

Unfortunately, there is no written document that records the existence of Josias Goullons, but a Jacques Goullons, or Coullons, is documented several times. Jacques is mentioned in 1626; in 1656 as "Coullons, horloger du duc d'Orléans" (clockmaker to Philippe, the duc d'Orléans [1640–1701], the brother of Louis XIV, who was known as Monsieur); and again in 1698, as the late Jacques Goullons, "horloger du Monsieur."⁵⁴ The probable date of the watch in the Victoria and Albert Museum is not much earlier than 1642. The two portraits on the case are of Louis XIII, who died in 1643, and of Cardinal Richelieu, who died in 1642; the watch was quite likely a present from the former to the latter. The two prints after Vouet's paintings that are reproduced on one of the Metropolitan Museum's watches are helpful, too, in the dating process; the engravings are dated 1640 and 1642, and that watch probably was not made very much later. Finally, all of the watches signed "Goullons *Paris*" predate the introduction of the balance spring in 1675; now, whenever balance springs are found in them, they are recognized as later additions, introduced because of the enormously improved timekeeping properties of the device. Thus, from the evidence provided both by the watch movements and their cases, a work period from about 1640 to 1660 can be proposed for the watchmaker who signed himself "Goullons *Paris*." He was probably a certain Jacques Goullons, or Coullons—or, as cited in the inventory of Cardinal Mazarin's possessions, Goulons. It is highly likely that he was the same man mentioned as early as 1626, and who died in 1671.⁵⁵

Although there is firm evidence that Bretonneau and Goullons were established watchmakers in Paris, it cannot be assumed that the enameled cases of their watches were necessarily made there. A surviving document records the discovery of a stockpile of more than thirty watch movements signed with the names of some of the best watchmakers in both Blois and Paris that was found in 1636 in the possession of a certain Isaac Gribelin, a goldsmith and enamel painter in Blois.⁵⁶ Gribelin probably was not the only one who fit ready-made movements into enameled-gold cases of his own manufacture.

If, as a rule, it is not possible to identify the individual who enameled a given watchcase or even to determine with certainty whether it was painted in Blois or in Paris, one can make some pertinent observations about the way in which these enamel painters worked. When a patron commissioned a watch, the subject of the enamel was probably chosen as well and the enamel painter given access either to an original work of art or to a very close copy to use as a model. More

often the enamelist worked from prints, perhaps sometimes even hand-colored examples, and produced fairly faithful reproductions in miniature of the original artwork. Occasionally, however, the source did not lend itself to more or less exact reproduction, and the enamelist was required to make extensive modifications to the design. Finally, some enamelists borrowed elements from prints that they modified or rearranged quite radically to meet the demands of their format, either by themselves or by relying on another artist or copyist to supply the requisite designs, though there is no evidence to support the latter supposition. Further study of these enamels and their sources will undoubtedly provide new insights into the working methods of the seventeenth-century French painters of these pocket-sized masterpieces.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I thank Maxime Préaud of the Cabinet des Estampes at the Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Gail Davidson of the Cooper-Hewitt National Museum of Design, and Jean-Pierre Cuzin and Jacques Foucart of the Musée du Louvre for their assistance in establishing the existence and location of Jacques Stella's paintings and prints. Both Keith Christiansen and Perrin Stein at The Metropolitan Museum of Art were very helpful as well. I am also indebted to J. H. Leopold and David Thompson of The British Museum for their thoughts about why a watchmaker might record his full name on the movement of a watch when a surname alone had formerly been the established signature. Finally, I am particularly grateful to Mr. Leopold for calling my attention to the references to both Jacques Goullons and Auguste Bretonneau in the Archives Nationales in Paris.

ABBREVIATIONS

- Bibliothèque Nationale 1939–54
Bibliothèque Nationale. *Département des estampes: Inventaire du fonds français. Graveurs du XVII^e siècle*. By Roger-Armand Weigert. Vols. 1–3. Paris, 1939–1954.
- Brusa 1978
Giuseppe Brusa. *L'Arte dell'orologeria in Europa*. Milan, 1978.
- Camerer Cuss 1998
Terence Camerer Cuss. *The Sandberg Watch Collection*. Geneva, 1998.
- Cardinal 1984a
Catherine Cardinal. *Catalogue des montres du Musée du Louvre*. Vol. 1, *La collection Olivier*. Paris, 1984.
- Cardinal 1984b
Catherine Cardinal. *Watchmaking in History, Art and Science: Masterpieces in the Musée International d'Horlogerie, La Chaux-de-Fonds, Switzerland*. Trans. Marilyn Gill. Lausanne, 1984.
- Cardinal 1989
Catherine Cardinal. *The Watch from its Origins to the XIXth Century*. Trans. Jacques Pages. Bristol, 1989.
- Cardinal 2000
Catherine Cardinal. *Les montres et horloges de table du Musée du Louvre*. Vol. 2. Paris, 2000.
- Déville 1913
E. Deville. *Les horlogers blésois au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle*. Blois, 1913.
- Galleries Nationales 1990
Galleries Nationales du Grand Palais. *Vouet*, exh. cat. by Jacques Thuillier, Barbara Brejon de Lavergnée, and Denis Laval. Paris, 1990.
- Galleries Nationales 2002
Galleries Nationales du Grand Palais. *Un temps d'exubérance: Les arts décoratifs sous Louis XIII et Anne d'Autriche*, exh. cat. Paris, 2002.
- Leopold and Vincent 1993
J. H. Leopold and Clare Vincent. "A Watch for Monsieur Hesselin." *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 28 (1993), pp. 103–19.
- Parisi 1954
Bruno Parisi. *Catalogo descrittivo della Collezione della Piane di Orologi da Petto e da Tasca*. Milan, 1954.
- Rosenberg and Thuillier 1988
Pierre Rosenberg and Jacques Thuillier. *Laurent de La Hyre, 1606–1656: L'homme et l'oeuvre*. Geneva, 1988.
- Williamson 1912
George C. Williamson. *Catalogue of the Collection of Watches: The Property of J. Pierpont Morgan*. London, 1912.

NOTES

1. Some authorities prefer to call the technique "painting on enamel," in order to distinguish these seventeenth-century enamels from earlier forms of enamel painting, but the distinction seems more than a little forced. For a spirited defense of the term "painting on enamel," however, see Cardinal 1989, p. 138. See also Catherine Cardinal, *Splendeurs de l'émail: Montres et horloges du XVI^e au XX^e siècle*, exh. cat., Institut l'Homme et le Temps (La Chaux-de-Fonds, Switzerland, 1999), pp. 33–35.
2. See Deville 1913, pp. 26–27; Cardinal 1989, p. 140; Galeries Nationales 2002, pp. 295–96.
3. Jean Toutin's son Henri (1614–1683) had settled in Paris by 1636, as we know from an inscription on the reverse of an enameled portrait of Charles I of England that is now in the Dutch royal collection on exhibit at the Mauritshuis, The Hague. See Karen Schaffers-Bodenhausen and Marieke Tiethoff-Splithoff, *The Portrait Miniatures in the Collections of the House of Orange-Nassau* (Zwolle, 1993), pp. 19–20, fig. 12. A gold watchcase with painted-enamel scenes alluding to the marriage of Stadtholder William II of Orange and Mary Stuart in 1641, now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, was signed by Henri. See Cardinal 1989, pp. 138–39, 141, figs. 104a, 104b; Brusa 1978, p. 105, nos. 17–20, colorpls. 17–20. Jean Toutin's son Jean II (1619–after 1660) signed a painted-enamel watchcase that is now in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. no. OA 7075). See Cardinal 2000, p. 130, no. 116; Galeries Nationales 2002, p. 313, no. 204.
4. See Leopold and Vincent 1993, pp. 103–6, figs. 2, 3, 6; Galeries Nationales 2002, p. 311, no. 201.
5. See Galeries Nationales 1990, pp. 320–21, no. 55.
6. See Leopold and Vincent 1993, p. 117 n. 35. The scene on the back of the case is also based on a Vouet painting, now lost, of Mercury and the Three Graces. The image preserved in reverse can be found in an engraving by Michel Dorigny. See Leopold and Vincent 1993, pp. 104, 106, 107, figs. 8, 9.
7. See Galeries Nationales 1990, pp. 111–20.
8. These include a watch with a movement by Johann Jacob Muller of Strasbourg (inv. no. 18.231) now in the Musée Paul Dupuy in Toulouse (see Ville de Toulouse, *Horlogerie et instruments de mesure du temps passé* [Toulouse, 1978], pp. 68–70, no. 56); two watches, one with a movement signed "Goullons Paris" (inv. no. 551) and the second with a movement by Barthélémy Mace of Blois (inv. no. 10), both in the Musée International d'Horlogerie in La Chaux-de-Fonds, Switzerland (see Cardinal 1984b, pp. 22–23; Collections du Musée International d'Horlogerie, *Une sélection parmi 3100 objets* [La Chaux-de-Fonds, 1974], p. 21, no. 551, p. 25, no. 10; and Hans Boeckh, *Emailmalerei auf genfer Taschenuhren vom 17. bis zum Beginnenden 19. Jahrhundert* [Freiburg im Breisgau, 1982], p. 443, pl. 6, figs. 10, 11); two watches in the Musée du Louvre, one (inv. no. OA 8428) with a movement by Josias Jolly of Paris (see Cardinal 1989, pp. 146–47) and one (inv. no. OA 6224) with a movement by David Bouquet of London (see Cardinal 2000, p. 138, no. 122); one (inv. no. E. Cl. 20901) with a movement by Guillaume Ferrier of Paris, in the Musée National de la Renaissance (see Musée National de la Renaissance, Château d'Écouen, *Catalogue de l'horlogerie et des instruments de précision du début du XVI^e au milieu du XVII^e siècle* by Adolphe Chapiro, Chantal Meslin-Perrier, and Anthony Turner [Paris, 1989], p. 69, no. 53; Galeries Nationales 2002, p. 308, no. 198.); and one with a movement by François Baronneau, formerly in the collection of Lord Sandberg (see Camerer Cuss 1998, pp. 68–69).
9. See Cardinal 1984a, pp. 120–21, no. 114, for a watch with a movement signed "Le Roy Paris" in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (inv. no. OA 8335).
10. See Williamson 1912, pp. 47–48, no. 45.
11. See Bibliothèque Nationale 1939–54, vol. 3, pp. 256–57 no. 60; Galeries Nationales 1990, p. 316, no. 53. The same scene is repeated on the interior of the cover of a watch, with a movement by Baronneau, in Blois that appeared in an advertisement for an auction in Hong Kong held on May 24, 1982, by Antiquorum (see *Apollo*, May 1982, p. 29).
12. Inv. no. 80.g.2. See Galeries Nationales 1990, p. 316, no. 53, p. 317, fig. 53.
13. While prints usually reverse the images on which they are based, the rule is not infallible. In fact, a copy of the engraving of this same painting exists in which the composition is again reversed, in effect preserving the orientation of the painting. An example in the Cabinet des Estampes at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (inv. no. Est. Ed 107, I, p. 3) is signed "Paris Chez Bazin" (probably Nicolas Bazin [1636–1710]). See Bibliothèque Nationale 1939–54, vol. 1, p. 312, no. 9. As the Daret engraving is dated 1642, it is evidently the earlier of the two. In addition, artists sometimes made prints after their own paintings and did not reverse the compositions. For instance, Laurent de La Hyre (1606–1656) produced an etching of his own painting of the Virgin and Child, now in the Musée du Louvre (inv. no. 5355), that is not reversed. An enameled medallion in the Musée Paul Dupuy in Toulouse depicts the subject in reverse, unlike either the painting or La Hyre's etching. See Rosenberg and Thuillier 1988, pp. 235–37, nos. 193, 193c(f), 194. The answer probably lies in the fact that at least two other prints exist that are copies of the subject and reverse the composition (Bibliothèque Nationale, inv. no. Da 26, in-fol., fol. 1 verso, fol. 20 recto). Perhaps one of these copies provided the model for the enamel.
14. See A.P.F. Robert-Dumesnil, *Le peintre-graveur français*, vol. 4 (Paris, 1839), p. 277, no. 72.
15. See Rosenberg and Thuillier 1988, p. 123, no. 17.
16. See Williamson 1912, p. 46, no. 43, where it is noted that the watch was previously number 1,388 in the Marfels collection before being acquired by J. Pierpont Morgan. For more about Carl Heinrich Marfels, the German dealer and collector, see J. H. Leopold and Clare Vincent, "An Extravagant Jewel: The George Watch," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 35 (2000), pp. 146, 149, n. 29.
17. See Véronique Meyer, "Gilles Rousselet (1610–1686), un graveur d'interprétation," *Nouvelles de l'estampe*, 82/3 (October 1985), p. 6, where the author notes that Rousselet worked until 1638 for the publisher of this print, Jean Leblond.
18. There are minor differences in the pose of the lamb and of the infant Saint John, but the painting in the Cherbourg museum is much closer to the engraving than is another painted version of the subject in which Saint Joseph leans on a piece of paper rather than on an open book and in which a genre detail of a woman by a fireplace has been added at the right side of the composition. This painting is now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts in Dijon (see *Century of Splendour: Seventeenth-Century French Painting in French Public Collections*, exh. cat., Montreal Museum of Fine Arts; Musée des Beaux-Arts, Rennes; and Musée Fabre,

- Montpellier [Paris, 1993], p. 248, fig. 1). A third version of the subject, but with the Virgin holding the Child in her lap, Saint Joseph standing behind the Virgin's chair, Saint John and the lamb in altogether different positions, and an added putto, is reputed to be signed "Ja . . . es Stella fecit/1633." The painting appeared in *Old Master Paintings*, sale cat., Sotheby's, London, July 5, 1984, lot 387; and again in *Old Master Paintings*, sale cat., Sotheby's, London, July 4, 1990, lot 70.
19. See J. J. Guiffrey, "Logements d'artistes au Louvre: Liste générale des brevets de logement sous la grande galerie du Louvre," *Nouvelles archives de l'art français* 2 (1873), p. 134.
 20. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, inv. no. Da 20 [vol. I], p. 24. See Véronique Meyer, "The Inventory of Gilles Rousselet (1610–1686)," *Print Quarterly* 2, no. 4 (December 1985), p. 305, fig. 190. In the inventory, which was made on July 22, 1686, the print is described as "John the Baptist Presenting a Sheep to Little Jesus Accompanied by the Virgin."
 21. See George Isarlo, *La peinture en France au XVII^e siècle* (Paris, 1960), p. 188, fig. 42.
 22. There exists another watchcase with enameled scenes taken from the same paintings by Jacques Stella but with stagelike settings of draped curtains quite similar to those in the original paintings, as illustrated by T. P. Camerer Cuss, *The Camerer Cuss Book of Antique Watches*, rev. ed. (Woodbridge, Suffolk, England, 1976), p. 67. The movement, signed "A. Hoevenaer, Arnhem," is said to have been made for the case in the early eighteenth century. An additional example, with the Virgin and Child and Saint John, signed "Goullons Paris," is in the Musée d'Horlogerie in Le Locle, Switzerland (see Catherine Cardinal and François Mercier, *Museums of Horology: La Chaux-de-Fonds, Le Locle* [Zürich, 1993], p. 111). Still another enamel of the Virgin and Child and Saint John in a setting similar to that depicted on the Metropolitan Museum's watch appears on the cover of a watch with a movement signed "Solomon Plaivas"—a Blois watchmaker unknown to Deville 1913—that was formerly in the Howard Marryat collection (see Frederick J. Britten, *Old Clocks and Watches and Their Makers*, 3rd ed. [London, 1911], pp. 176, 179, fig. 218; Howard Marryat, *Watches*, vol. 1, *Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* [London, 1938], pp. 50–52, fig. E3).
 23. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Cabinet des Estampes, inv. no. Ed 23 in. fol., fol. 97. The print is from a group of twenty-four landscapes designed and engraved by Nicolas Cochin. (See Bibliothèque Nationale 1939–54, vol. 3, pp. 45–46, nos. 575–99.)
 24. See Gustav Speckhart, *Kunstvolle Taschenuhren der Sammlung Marfels* (n. p. [1904]), pl. XIII, nos. 1–3; Williamson 1912, pp. 45–46, no. 41.
 25. See Rosenberg and Thuillier 1988, p. 238, no. 196; Bibliothèque Nationale 1939–54, vol. 2, p. 414, no. 162. Chauveau also made an engraving of a circular composition—a variant of the subject in its condensed form—that, in turn, provided the model for an enameled watchcase now in the Musée du Louvre (inv. no. OA 6224). See Cardinal 2000, p. 159, no. 149.
 26. See Sebastian Buffa, *The Illustrated Bartsch: Antonio Tempesta, Italian Masters of the Sixteenth Century* 36 (New York, 1983), p. 47, no. 713.
 27. See Williamson 1912, p. 84, no. 78, pl. XXXIV; Galeries Nationales 2002, p. 314, no. 206.
 28. See Bibliothèque Nationale 1939–54, vol. 3, p. 76, nos. 879–90.
 29. See Ibid., vol. 2, p. 200, no. 278; Paulette Choné, Daniel Ter-nois, Jean-Marc Depluvrez, and Brigitte Heckel, *Jacques Callot*, exh. cat., Musée Historique Lorrain, Nancy (Paris, 1992), p. 445, nos. 541, 540, the latter entry for a drawing now in the Musée du Louvre (inv. no. 25060) made in preparation for the engraving.
 30. See E. Deville, *Peintres en émail de Blois et de Châteaudun* (Blois and Orléans, 1894), p. 36, and p. 36, n. 1. A few years later Deville gives the date of Morlière's death as 1643, this time without documentary support. See Deville 1913, p. 91.
 31. The watchcase with the miniature version of Vouet's *Europa and the Bull* now has a mid-eighteenth-century movement made in The Hague by Lambertus Vrijthoff (recorded 1724–d. 1769). See Leopold and Vincent 1993, p. 114, fig. 26.
 32. Tardy, *Dictionnaire des horlogers français* (Paris, n.d.) vol. 1, p. 98, lists him as working in Paris between 1638 and 1643. He is mentioned in the Archives Nationales, Paris, Minutier Central, fichier in 1638, 1647, 1650, 1653, 1654, 1656, 1657, and 1658.
 33. Inv. no. 1958, 1201.02282. See David Thompson, "Watches in the Ashmolean Museum Oxford, Part I," *Antiquarian Horology* 25 (September 2000), pp. 515–16, figs. 33–36.
 34. See Fulgido Pomella, *Orologi dal 1500 al primo '900* (Ivrea, 1986), pp. 58–59, fig. 5.
 35. Inv. no. 4063.37. See Das Museum der Zeitmessung Beyer Zürich, *Antike Uhren* (Munich, 1982) pp. 78–79; Institut l'Homme, *Splendeurs de l'émail*, p. 70, no. 62.
 36. See Marryat, *Watches*, pp. 46–50, fig. 2-E; Cecil Clutton and George Daniels, *Watches*, rev. ed. (London, 1965), pl. I, position E (but described in the caption for position D), pl. XVI, position E (but again described in the caption for position D).
 37. See Parisi 1954, pp. 21–22, no. 22, pl. X.
 38. See *Montres françaises, French Watches, Französische Uhren, 1580–1680*, intro. by Fabienne Xavière Sturm (Basel, 1983), no. 28.
 39. See Williamson 1912, p. 45, no. 42.
 40. The original balance for this watch has been replaced by a spring balance, held in place by a circular balance bridge with tripartite, pierced, foliate scroll ornament that can be dated to the late 1670s or 1680s—a substitution that would have enormously improved the accuracy of the watch.
 41. See Philabiblon Society, *Inventaire de tous les meubles du Cardinal Mazarin (1653)* (London, 1863), p. 62. "Une grosse monstre sonnette de cabinet faict par Goulons dans son etui de cuir rouge (200L)."
 42. Inv. no. 75.43.61. See T. P. Camerer Cuss, *Camerer Cuss Book*, p. 66, pl. 18; Cardinal 1989, pp. 152–53; Galeries Nationales 2002, p. 310, no. 200.
 43. See Cardinal 1984b, pp. 22–23.
 44. See *Montres françaises*, no. 26.
 45. See Cardinal and Mercier, *Museums of Horology*, p. 111.
 46. See Parisi 1954, pp. 19–21, pl. 1, figs. 20a–20d. The case of this watch is signed "Vauquer Fe" (probably the enamel painter Robert Vauquer). The scene on the front of the cover is a direct copy of the central portion of the fresco, after a design by Raphael, of the Victory of Constantine over Maxentius, in the Sala di Costantino in the Vatican. The miniature on the back of the case is a somewhat freer adaptation of the left side of the fresco. Robert Vauquer (1625–70) was an apprentice in the workshop of Christophe Morlière and is believed to have spent his entire working life in Blois. See Deville 1913, pp. 92–93.
 47. Acc. no. 17.190.1556, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917; acc. no. 1975.1.1244, Robert Lehman Collection.
 48. Inv. no. 3–17137. See Larissa Yakovleva, *Swiss Watches and Snuff-*

- boxes: 17th–20th Centuries* (Saint Petersburg, 1997) p. 16.
49. See *Catalogue of the Museum of the Worshipful Company of Clockmakers of London*, 2nd ed. (London, 1902), p. 34, no. 133, where it is stated that the watch has been in the collection since 1828. See also Cecil Clutton and George Daniels, *Clocks and Watches: The Collection of The Worshipful Company of Clockmakers* (London, 1975), p. 14, no. 32, colorpl. II.
50. See Camerer Cuss 1998, pp. 70–71.
51. See Hans Christoph Ackerman, *Die Uhrensammlung Nathan-Rupp im Historischen Museum Basel* (Munich, 1984), pp. 242–43.
52. See Camerer Cuss 1998, pp. 80–81.
53. See *Uhren-Auktion*, sale cat., Galerie am Neumarkt, Zürich, October 8, 1971, lot 159, pl. 33, fig. 159; Richard Meis, *Les montres de poche: De la montre-pendentif au tourbillon* (Paris, 1980), p. 80, figs. 76–77.
54. Paris, Archives nationales, Minutier Central, ficher, 1626, 1656, and 1698. There is also a Jacques Goulon listed as working in Paris in 1643, according to Tardy, *Dictionnaire*, vol. 2, p. 682.
55. In the exhibition catalogue entry for a watch by Goullons (see Galeries Nationales 2002, p. 310, no. 200), Catherine Cardinal states that he was a master clock maker in Paris from 1626 and that he died in 1671. Her information is based on an unpublished manuscript about the artist Sébastien Bourdon (1616–1671) by Jean Rivet.
56. See Deville 1913, pp. 70–71.

Migration and Metamorphosis: The Transformation of Shapes, Ornaments, and Materials

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THE REALM OF THE DECORATIVE ARTS IS so vast and varied that collectors and amateurs generally limit themselves to a single area. It is unusual for a porcelain collector, for example, to have an equal interest in glass, goldsmithing, enamel work, or textiles. Connoisseurship in a number of fields is not expected even of experts; to work most effectively in his field, the art historian tends to concentrate on a specific medium. Occasionally, however, an object presents such obvious borrowings that one needs to consider their original effect in other materials. I would like to illustrate this with a few examples.

The nineteenth-century lavabo garniture by the silversmith François-Désiré Froment-Meurice (Figure 1), acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1999,¹ occasions particular interest because it stands out, with its clear lines and restrained decoration, from the bulk of Froment-Meurice's oeuvre. With their serene shapes and uniform surface ornament, a trellis and flower-head pattern, this ewer and basin avoid the excess often seen on objects from this period. The handle, full of energy despite its gentle curves, provides a welcome contrasting element.

The latticework or grid pattern of the present set recalls the surface of cut glass,² but its two-color gilding suggests the painted ornamentation of a porcelain set. This grid pattern, enclosing circles and rounded forms, can be found in designs developed much earlier. A comparable version appears on the floor and ceiling of the tomb chapel of Diane de Poitiers (d. 1566).³ More than a century later, in 1696, Nicodemus Tessin the Younger, from the workshop of Jean Berain, had a series of drawings sent to Stockholm, among them a design for a state coach for Charles XI of Sweden that presents a similar pattern in a cartouche (Figure 2).⁴ The translation of this ornament into metalwork is not the only historicist element; the shape of the ewer itself has a very long tradition.⁵

To find precedents for the shape, we need look no further than the many washbasin sets produced in varied ceramic materials, especially those in porcelain, whose sinuous lines and relative heft are echoed, in vermeil, in Figure 1. The potbellied swelling above the tight constriction between the foot and body of the vessel and the elongated, spindle-shaped neck ultimately derive from water jugs common in the Ottoman world. The shape had been familiar to Western craftsmen for centuries. In Italy, especially, it had long been part of the traditional canon of vessel types and was used in the eighteenth century in the design of coffeepots to the virtual exclusion of all other shapes. Carl Hernmarck points this out, without speculating further about the shape's derivation.⁶ Yet one need only recall how important the Arab influence once was in southern Italy—Frederick II did what he could to attract Arab scholars to his court in Apulia—to recognize that such strong cultural connections would have left their traces on the decorative arts (Figure 3). In Froment-Meurice's time there was, in addition to this tradition, a further impetus behind the adoption of foreign shapes. This was the period's fascination with the exotic, especially the customs and distinctive styles of North African and Near Eastern peoples. Thus the ewer and basin reflect not only contemporary objects in porcelain and glass but the original metal shape from Islamic art.

The Near East was also the source of a variety of candlestick widespread, in a number of shapes, in central Europe in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. This was the bell-footed type, whose conical drum or bell shape probably goes back to Syrian designs in metal as represented in opulently damascened examples in many collections.⁷ The West came to know this candlestick shape through its close contact with the Near East following the Crusades, but the Chinese were inspired by it as well. As an example, one might cite a lampstand with a polygonal foot made of porcelain and decorated in underglaze blue produced in the Xuande era of the Ming period (1426–35),⁸ an object that was appar-

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The notes for this article begin on page 116.



Figure 1. François-Désiré Froment-Meurice (French, 1802–1855). Ewer and basin, Paris, ca. 1850. Silver gilt, ewer H. 15 in. (38.1 cm), basin L. 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (47.6 cm), W. 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (34.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Friends of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts Gifts, 1999 (1999.271.1,.2)

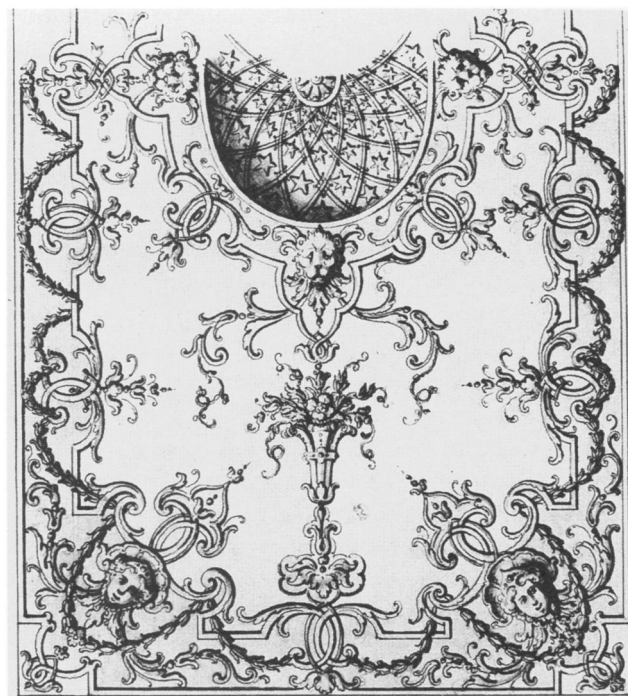


Figure 2. Workshop of Jean Berain. Drawing for the ceiling of a state coach for Charles XI of Sweden, 1696. Pen and black ink, watercolor, 7 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (19.8 x 20.8 cm). Stockholm, Nationalmuseum (photo: after *Royal Treasures from Sweden*, exh. cat., National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., and the Minneapolis Institute of Arts [Washington, D.C., 1988], no. 63)

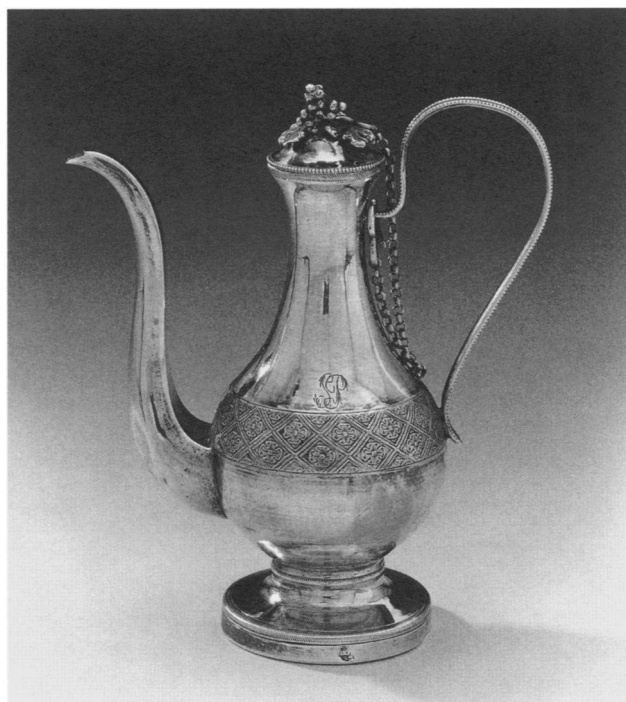


Figure 3. Wine jug from altar cruets, Naples, 1798. Silver, H. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (13.7 cm). Private collection, Hamburg



Figure 4. Candlestick, one of a pair, Florence, ca. 1520. Bell metal, H. 7¼ in. (18.5 cm). Private collection, Hamburg

ently not made for export to Asia Minor but remained in China.

The European version is much simpler and more sparing in its use of material than the Near Eastern original, but the design of the foot clearly distinguishes it, in its heft and massiveness, from the traditional medieval candlestick: a shallow saucer with a pricket in the center to support the candle. The number and rich variety of examples of this utensil introduced to Europe show how eagerly its craftsmen expanded their modest repertoire of shapes with inspiration from abroad. This occurred during the High and late Middle Ages, when demand for quality furnishings increased throughout the Continent.

In Italian Renaissance bronze work, a type of table candlestick was developed that also adopts the Islamic pattern, presumably by way of late-medieval design. In it the proportions are varied in a wholly new way, and the surface is exploited for the pictorial and ornamental conventions of the time. An example is the pair probably made in Florence about 1520. The material is light bell metal, and the quality of the casting is excellent. The decoration, ornamental friezes and a parade of grotesque sea creatures in horizontal rows, is distinguished by its sharp edges and considerable



Figure 5. Peter Klüver. Pair of candlesticks, Hamburg, 1690–1700. Silver, H. 5½ in. (14 cm). Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg (1999.5a,b)

subtlety, endowing the piece with the sculptural presence and animation typical of Italian bronze objects of the period (Figure 4).

In the seventeenth century the same form took on a new importance in north-central Europe, specifically Friesland and Schleswig-Holstein. Here we find massive bell-footed candlesticks, either round or polygonal, plain or decorated with relief friezes and sculptural ornaments like angel's heads. These represent a flowering of brass casting in the Baroque era that was supported by a wealthy bourgeois culture. At the time they were made, they were luxury articles; their weight alone gave them considerable value. It must be noted that the evolution of this type of candlestick in the north was a late and independent regional development, one not seen in southern Germany, for example. Within a short time, utensil shapes and their decoration would begin to become standardized as court centers increasingly dominated artistic production.

After this stage in its evolution, the candlestick was further developed into a design that was quite uniform from Augsburg to Hamburg. In the late Baroque period there was a revival of both flat and bell-shaped styles; the saucer-footed version now had a pronounced upward curve at the edge. A pair of silver candlesticks with gadrooning friezes by Peter Klüver of Hamburg (Figure 5) are clearly still recognizable variants of the Islamic pattern but also prefigure, with their baluster shaft and socket, the candlestick type that would reign unchallenged through the entire Régence generation. The clear layering of the individual components, evident in the bell-footed type, is preserved in the Régence model. This venerable tradi-



Figure 6. Andreas Bergmann. Cup, Nuremberg, ca. 1670–80. Silver gilt, H. ca. 6¼ in. (16 cm). Private collection, Hamburg



Figure 7. Double cup from the Pfreimd Treasure, Augsburg, 1576–80. Silver gilt, H. 4¾ in. (11 cm and 11.2 cm), together 8¾ in. (21.8 cm). Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg (1929.41)

tion came to an end only when the Rococo, with its wealth of curving forms, created an entirely new style.

One isolated instance of the playful translation of a shape from one material to another is a piece of Nuremberg metalwork, the small cup (Figure 6) by the master Andreas Bergmann (1651–1688). It illustrates excellently how difficult it is to capture a vessel's character in a material different from the one in which it was first developed. Bergmann was attempting to execute in precious metal a Venetian winged glass. Glassblowers had no difficulty forming the foot, shaft, and cup into an organic whole, but the metalworker was forced to shape each part separately, transferring the ornamental forms of the High Baroque onto an earlier vessel type. The foot is a flat disk engraved with a Baroque floral design. The shaft, formed as a conical spiral, could obviously not be twisted in a single step, as the craftsman in glass was able to do. The complicated intertwining wing ornaments of the original are replaced in the silver vessel by grotesque ornaments of the sort familiar, in countless variations, as the brackets applied to stems of cups. These were precast elements available in every Nuremberg workshop. The metalworker chose not to try to imitate in metal the airy tangle of glass rods, yet the appearance of the original is suggested. For the cup, finally, the metalworker reverted to his standard repertoire of shapes and ornaments, producing a tumbler with Baroque flowers in repoussé covering the entire surface up to the lip, which is left plain. Such charming inventiveness is unusual, and comparable

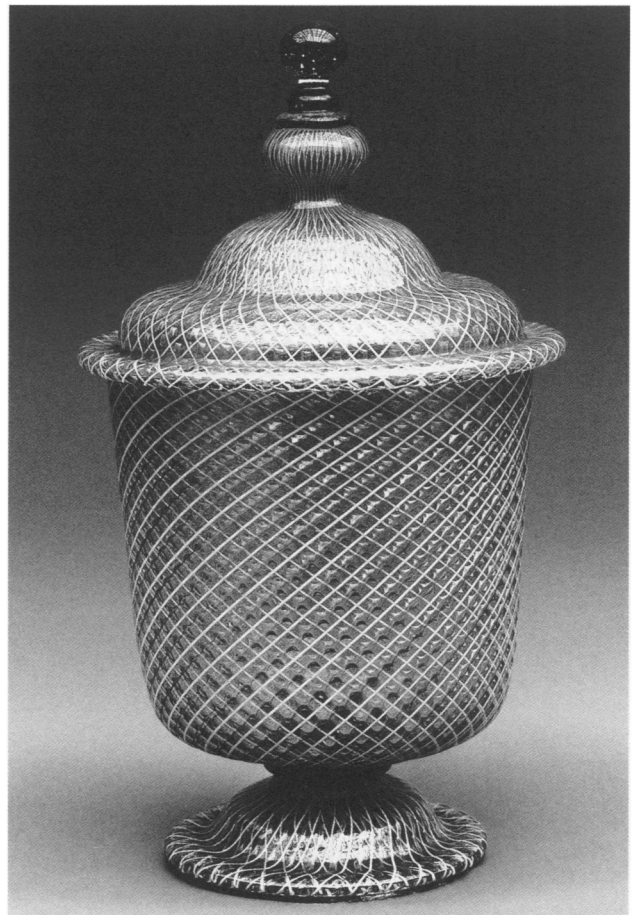


Figure 8. Beaker, Venice, 16th century. Glass, H. 7¼ in. (18.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Edward C. Moore Collection, Bequest of Edward C. Moore, 1891 (91.1.1475a,b)

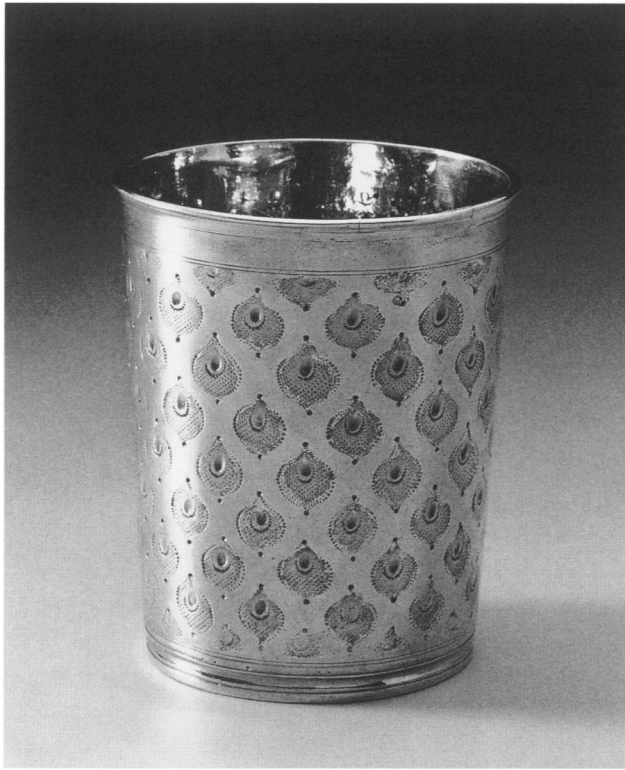


Figure 9. Johann Adolf Lambrecht. Beaker, Hamburg, ca. 1670. Silver, partly gilt, H. 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (9.1 cm). Private collection, Hamburg

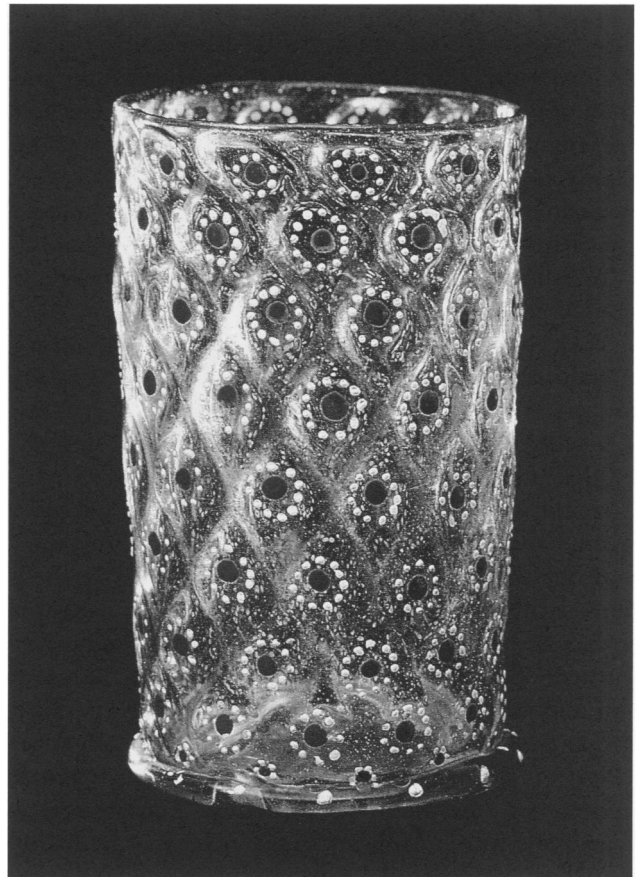


Figure 10. Beaker, northern Bohemia, early 17th century. Glass, red-and-white-dotted, partly gilt, H. 4 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (11 cm). Strasser Collection, Vienna (photo: after Rudolf von Strasser, *Die Sammlung Rudolf von Strasser*, ed. Wilfried Seipel, *Schriften des Kunsthistorischen Museums* 7 [Vienna, 2002], p. 113)



Figure 11. Beaker (small Römer), Nuremberg, mid-17th century. Silver, partly gilt, H. 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (8.6 cm). Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg (1895.206)

pieces are extremely rare. I have included the cup as testimony to the Baroque metalworker's imaginative approach and love of experimentation.

One of the most interesting adaptations of glass decoration in metal is the small double chalice from the Pfreimd Treasure,⁹ produced in the late sixteenth century (Figure 7). The two interlocking chalices are patterned after a widespread type of stem glass. The feet and cups are covered with a regular overall design by no means typical of metalwork. Even on silver pieces it is most uncommon. It imitates a type of glass ornamentation developed in Venice: thin threads of milk glass are laid down in a mold—one layer of parallel threads running perpendicular to another to produce a grid or reticello pattern—then clear glass is blown on top and bonds with them. Ideally, each of the resulting small cells contains a tiny air bubble that enhances the delicacy of the decoration. A covered beaker in the Metropolitan Museum illustrates the technique superbly (Figure 8).

Unlike the glassblower, the metalworker can decorate only the surface of his work. In this instance he engraved the grid pattern with sharp-edged lines and then approximated the air bubbles with tiny circular indentations. The delicate, transparent network of the glass is replicated as a delightful pattern of light reflections on the gilt surface. Something altogether new and different has been created in the process of imitation.

Another ornament adopted from glass—a peacock-feather pattern that is most uncommon in metalwork—decorates two silver beakers by the Hamburg metalworker Johann Adolf Lambrecht. One is in the armory of the Kremlin in Moscow,¹⁰ the other in a private collection (Figure 9). A dense pattern of smooth-edged, stippled lozenges circles each cup. At the top of each of them a tear-shaped indentation has been produced with a punch, and the whole is enlivened with the partial gilding. What at first appears to be a whimsical variant of the common snakeskin beaker is in fact the appropriation of a glass decoration apparently developed in the area of present-day Belgium but also discovered on a small Bohemian goblet with red-and-white rosettes from the Strasser Collection (Figure 10).¹¹ The red glass dots of the original appear in the metal as punches. The design is extremely rare, even in glass, and was probably derived from a textile pattern. Its use on the Lambrecht beakers is a distinct rarity and is almost certain to have been requested by his patron. The reproduc-

tion of the glass beaker goes so far in its details that even the band of molding on which it stands is faithfully reinterpreted in silver.

Another accurate reproduction of a vessel is a still-unpublished Königsberg silver tankard from 1700 (private collection, Hamburg), a precise copy of a southern German barrel-stave tankard; even the laborious fitting of the wooden lid from the original is painstakingly reproduced in the metal. It belongs in the same category as the common double beakers made in the form of wooden casks. The interest of Königsberg goldsmiths in such barrel-stave objects is documented in another example, a coffeepot made in 1770 by Christian Vogel; the curiosity of this object is the combination of the correctly copied vessel with the compulsory spout of a coffeepot.¹²

One type of glass allowed its imitators greater formal freedom and inventiveness and is found throughout Germany's seventeenth-century metalworking centers. Examples from Nuremberg and Aachen are perfectly representative of the type. The glass is the so-called *Römer*, a chalice-shaped cup atop a thick, often conical, trunklike base (Figure 11). The metal surfaces that took the place of transparent glass lent themselves to all manner of designs and patterns.

It was not only a desire for innovative decoration that led to the migration of shapes and designs from one material to another. One thinks of the early years of the eighteenth century, when porcelain was rediscovered in



Figure 12. Johann II Pepfenhauser. Tureen, Augsburg, 1731–33. Silver, interior gilt, H. 13¾ in. (35 cm). Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg (1993.446). Eigentum der Stiftung zur Förderung der Hamburgischen Kunstsammlungen, no. 397



Figure 13. Tureen, Meissen, ca. 1735, from a service belonging to Count Christian von Hennicke. Porcelain, H. 12¾ in. (31.5 cm). Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg (1908.388)



Figure 14. Tureen with cover, one of a pair, Austria, Vienna, Du Paquier period, ca. 1725–30. Hard-paste porcelain, H. 6 in. (15.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.246a,b)



Figure 15. Workshop of the Füssli family, Zurich, end of 16th century, so-called Spanish soup tureen. Bronze, W. 8 1/4 in. (22.5 cm). Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg (1957.162a,b). Eigentum der Stiftung zur Förderung der Hamburgischen Kunstsammlungen, no. 58

Europe and seized upon as a new medium. The shapes and designs that were not prefigured in the porcelains of the Far East needed to be developed. These were not snatched out of thin air but, rather, borrowed from what already existed. Since the process has been discussed in adequate detail in recent literature, I confine myself to a few examples. One is a tureen by Johann II Pepfenhauser, of Augsburg, from 1731–33 (Figure 12).¹³ This design in silver was imitated in both porcelain and faience before porcelain artists created designs that were more appropriate to the medium.

A comparison of the silver tureen and the Meissen transformation (Figure 13) reveals the very different effects produced by metal and ceramic versions of the same shape. While the silver version has an elastic tension, a vitality enhanced by the light reflections, the same vessel in porcelain, with its straight lines and sharp divisions, projects a serene calm. It is much easier to imagine warm, nourishing soup in the Meissen tureen than in the cold, austere silver vessel from Augsburg. The imitation in Thuringian faience is of interest because of the delicacy with which it reproduces the silver shape. Compared with the first two tureens, with their voluminous presence, the faience version seems like a fragile, whimsical centerpiece.

Its impressive appearance made the Pepfenhauser tureen particularly important pattern for ceramists; the vessel is perhaps the most notable example of silver-smithing from Augsburg's Régence. Like many of the city's works in silver, it radiates an almost lifelike physicality and seems perfect in itself. Its harmony of shape

and decoration, the latter somewhat restrained for all its richness, invited attempts to translate it into porcelain and other ceramic media. Its importance as a pattern piece was surely enhanced by its curving shape, which reflects the period's fascination with chinoiserie.

A pair of porcelain tureens from Vienna's Du Paquier period, whose shapes are obviously borrowed from a metalwork piece, illustrate an entirely different phenomenon (Figure 14). The basic shape is that of the so-called Spanish soup tureen, represented in many collections by Swiss examples (Figure 15). The vessel type, generally massive and heavy, was widespread about 1600.¹⁴ The Meissen porcelain works were still producing it, in the same dimensions, in the first half of the eighteenth century. Yet the Du Paquier version, while true to the traditional shape, is characterized by a lightness and delicacy that belie the weight of the original. The delicate panels of Régence ornament reflect the taste of a period that valued the human scale in all forms of artistic expression, that avoided unnecessary ostentation and oppressive heaviness, and that prized finesse and grace. The two tureens may represent the translation of a metalwork shape into porcelain; their reduced dimensions alone give them a different character. Other Du Paquier porcelains in the Metropolitan Museum borrow directly from silver shapes. Particular examples are a pair of candlesticks in the Régence style and a round bowl with grotesque handles that are almost precisely prefigured in a Hamburg brandy cup made in 1675 by one of the leading masters of the city, Leonhardt Rothaer I.¹⁵

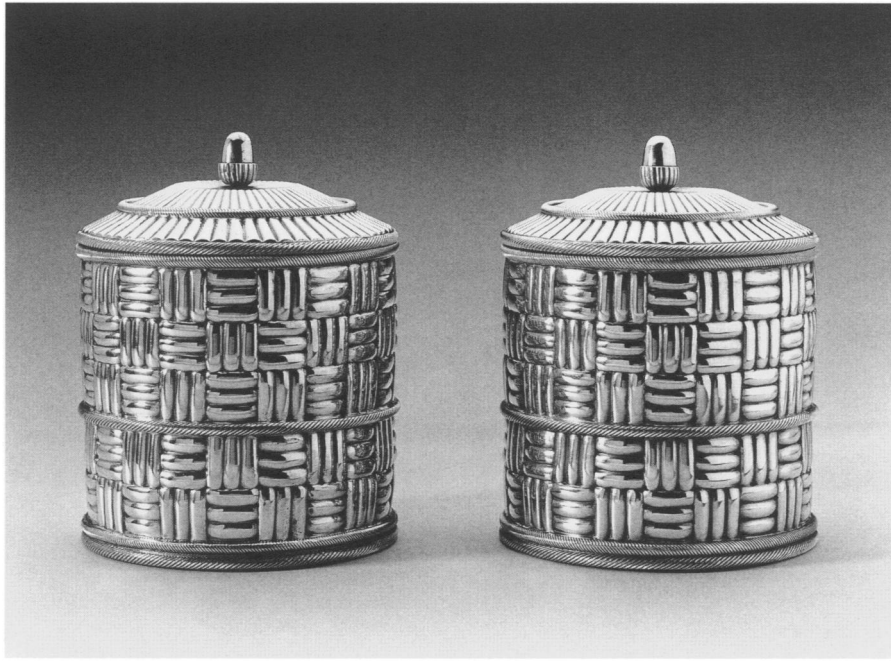


Figure 16. Jean-Jacques Godet.
Pair of boxes, Berlin, ca. 1810.
Silver, H. $6\frac{1}{4}$ (16 cm) each. Private
collection, Hamburg

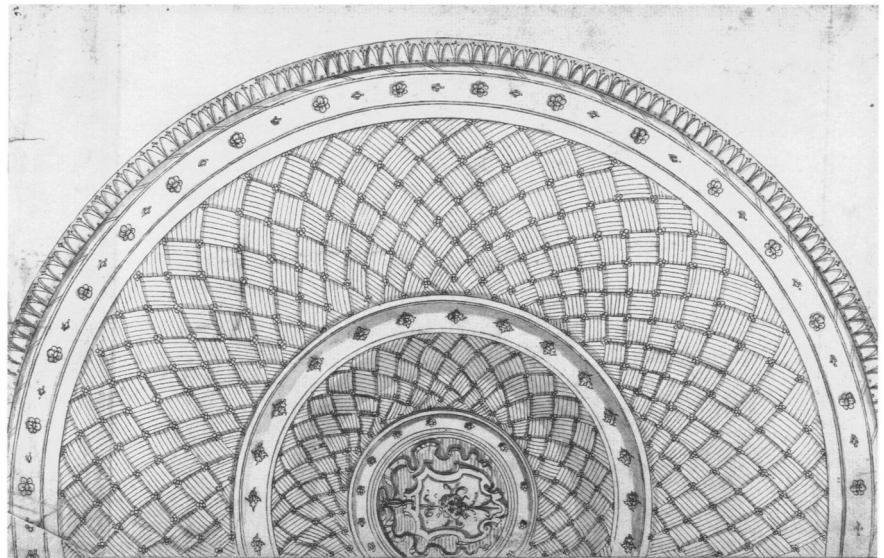


Figure 17. Erasmus Hornick (about
1520?–1583). Antwerp or Nuremberg,
3rd quarter of 16th century, *Parade Basin*.
Goldsmith's design from the *Lichtenstein
Codex* formerly in the collection of
Emperor Rudolf II in Prague. Pen, ink
and wash on paper, $17\frac{1}{4} \times 11$ in. (43.8 x
28 cm). Private collection

A decorative pattern that has been used to strikingly different effect in various materials over the ages is the basket weave, seen in two canisters made by the Berlin master Godet about 1810 (Figure 16). They take the form of woven baskets, and the lids with acorn handles suggest flat disks of bamboo. This translation of simple basket weave into lavishly chiseled silver vessels is remarkable in two respects, though the pattern, familiar from repeated variations between 1800 and 1830 in ivory, tortoiseshell, and woodcarving, was a standard component of the formal repertoire of the time. In these cake canisters it is significantly enhanced by the silver cord or twine that

encircles it, a common motif especially in Renaissance silver. The regular verticals and horizontals of the weaving are set off in their static calm by the faceted reflections on the cords. Unknowledgeable viewers tend to believe these pieces, created in the Neoclassical style, to be late Art Nouveau or even Art Deco works. This adds an additional, delightful dimension of uncertainty to the already intended charm of imitating the look of one material in another. In choosing to render one medium in another, the artist has robbed his work of a clear tie to a specific style, surely an unintended feature, but one that adds to its appeal.



Figure 18. Giovanni Antonio da Brescia, after Andrea Mantegna. Fountain surmounted by a statue of Neptune, ca. 1500. Engraving, 13 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (33.2 x 23.4 cm). The Trustees of the British Museum, London (photo: after *Andrea Mantegna*, exh. cat., Royal Academy of Arts, London, and The Metropolitan Museum of Art [New York and London, 1992], no. 153)

Here the basket weave is rendered as a tight, closed surface, but loose weaves in pierced patterns are common in metalwork. A silver basket by the Berlin artist Christian Lieberkühn the Younger, which was auctioned in London in June 2001,¹⁶ is a superb example. Yet the ornament seen in the Berlin canisters derives from earlier work. Erasmus Hornick, long active in Nuremberg, repeatedly used the ornament before 1600. For example, a ewer and basin from his drawings and engravings are entirely covered with a basket weave like that of the canisters (Figure 17).¹⁷

The earliest example I know of is funereal in nature. It is the marble sarcophagus, of 1464, of Niccolò and Fioretta Martelli, linked to the name of Donatello, in the Cappella Martelli of San Lorenzo in Florence. The sarcophagus takes the form of a monumental oval basket and, with the exception of the lid, represents a realistic copy of such an object. As Charles Avery mentions, there are precedents for it in antiquity.¹⁸

About 1500 the pattern appears on a drawing by Giovanni Antonio da Brescia after Mantegna (Figure 18).¹⁹ It reproduces the design for a fountain crowned by a figure of Neptune enthroned on a vase-

shaped vessel, which appears to be formed of wickerwork. The design, intended either for execution in bronze or as a detail study for a painting, was possibly inspired by bottles cushioned in a protective covering of woven raffia or cane (like that long used for bottles of Chianti). The vase that serves as a throne can also be interpreted as a basket of the type employed to trap lobsters and crabs, a reference to the sea god.

A surprising use of the basket-weave motif is found on a putto sculpted by Hans Daucher about 1525–26 to decorate a balustrade in the Fugger Chapel at the church of Saint Anna in Augsburg.²⁰ The boy wears stockings or little boots with open toes in a basket-weave pattern. The unusual costume detail, along with the pose and other attributes characterizing the putto as an “Ercoletto,” or little Hercules, is so striking that visitors to the chapel always remark on it. Here the pattern was used on a much larger scale than it could ever have been in actual basketry or another material, and it is perceived in a different way.

Examples from metalwork are numerous. Even a work by Giulio Romano (1499–1546) can be mentioned here: a drawing after him shows a basket

wherein two infants emerge from eggshells while playing with a swan.²¹ The object represents the birth of Castor and Pollux, sons of Leda, who was seduced by Jupiter in the guise of a swan. Wenzel Jamnitzer used basketwork simply as a decorative element on a knob under the basin of his Merckelsche centerpiece, executed about 1548–59.²² A silver bowl as a basket was made between 1670 and 1675 by the Augsburg goldsmith Samuel Schneeweiss.²³ A more spectacular basketwork invention is a writing box, the exterior of which, executed as wickerwork, takes the shape of a Victorian-looking pavilion.²⁴ The horror vacui that overpowers the object rather than only adorning it is not found in another example, the spherical knob of a salver's, preserved as a drawing in Stockholm.²⁵

Basketry is not a demanding craft. On the contrary, it is achieved with the simplest and least spectacular of techniques, traditionally producing unassuming objects of a practical nature. Yet the basket-weave pattern presents an image of clarity and order quite unlike the exquisite complexity of intertwining ironwork, for example. However, the simple pattern takes on a refinement in the Berlin canisters, as the reflections from the hundreds of separate facets emphasize the containers' shape and volume and give them a festive appearance.

After studying a few such examples of the migration and metamorphosis of forms and ornaments through the ages and from one material to another, the eye becomes attuned to their constant occurrence. They attest to the freedom of imagination with which artists and craftsmen create as they borrow from one another.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I thank Clare Le Corbeiller, to whom this study is dedicated, James David Draper, and Wolfram Koeppe, all of The Metropolitan Museum of Art. They generously shared their knowledge with me and helped in many different ways. I am most grateful to Dietrich and Janet Hölz, Hamburg, for bringing some of the objects discussed here to my attention.

NOTES

1. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (Fall 2000), p. 40, entry by Clare Le Corbeiller, ill. in color.
2. See Walter Spiegl, *Glas des Historismus, Kunst- und Gebrauchsgläser des 19. Jahrhundert* (Braunschweig, 1980), fig. 92; see also the drawings of shapes in *Ehrenfelder Glas des Historismus*, ed. Werner Schäfke (Cologne, 1979), pp. 126, 130, and passim.
3. Wladimir d'Ormesson et al., *Merveilles des châteaux de l'Île de France* (Paris and Lausanne, 1993), p. 155.
4. See *Royal Treasures from Sweden*, exh. cat., National Gallery, Washington, D.C., and Minneapolis Institute of Arts (Washington, D.C., 1988), no. 63.
5. For the ewer shape in porcelain, see *Chefs-d'œuvre de la porcelaine de Limoges*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1996), no. 100 (Buire Renaissance).
6. Carl Hernmarck, *Die Kunst der europäischen Gold- und Silberschmiede, 1540 bis 1830* (Munich, 1978), p. 153.
7. Eric Turner, *An Introduction to Brass* (London, 1982), p. 29, ill. p. 28.
8. See *Jadequell und Wolkenmeer: 5000 Jahre chinesischer Kunst aus dem Museum von Shanghai*, exh. cat. (Hamburg, 1988), no. 67.
9. Bernhard Heitmann et al., *Die Goldschmiede Hamburgs*, ed. Erich Schliemann (Hamburg, 1985), vol. 1, p. 181, vol. 2, no. 73.
10. *Ibid.*, vol. 1, p. 181, ill. vol. 2, no. 73.
11. Rudolf von Strasser and Walter Spiegl, *Dekoriertes Glas, Biedermeier, Meister und Werkstätten* (Munich, 1989), p. 202, no. 49.
12. See Wolfgang Scheffler, *Goldschmiede Ostpreussens: Daten—Zeichen—Werke* (Berlin, 1983), ill. no. 13.
13. Bernhard Heitmann, "Erwerbungen für die Europäischen Sammlungen in den Jahren 1993 und 1994," *Jahrbuch des Museums für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg* 13 (1994), pp. 144–46; idem, *Stiftung zur Förderung der Hamburgischen Kunstsammlungen Erwerbungen 92/93* (Hamburg, 1994), pp. 29–30.
14. For the vessel type, see Hans Ottomeyer, "Olla Podrida und Pot d'Oille: Leitfossilie europäischer Tafelkultur," in *Tafeln bei Hofe — Zur Geschichte der fürstlichen Tafelkultur*, ed. I. Barta Fliedl, A. Gugler, P. Parenzan (Vienna, 1998), pp. 33–41, esp. p. 35.
15. See Heitmann et al., *Goldschmiede Hamburgs*, vol. 1, ill. p. 35.
16. *Important Silver*, Christie's, London, sales cat., June 13, 2001, pp. 146–51, lot 213.
17. For the ewer, see John Eayward, "The Drawings and Engraved Ornament of Erasmus Hornick," *The Burlington Magazine* 110 (July 1968), no. 784, fig. 29. See also C. G. Boerner, *Neue Lagerliste* 55 (Düsseldorf, 1970), no. 31.
18. Charles Avery, *Donatello: Catalogo completo delle opere* (Florence, 1991), p. 139, no. 80.
19. *Andrea Mantegna*, exh. cat., Royal Academy of Arts, London, and The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York and London, 1992), pp. 465–66, no. 153.
20. Bruno Bushart, *Die Fuggerkapelle bei St. Anna in Augsburg* (Berlin, 1994), p. 315, ill. p. 205, pl. 26. The putto is illustrated in Wolfram Koeppe's article in this volume.
21. John Forrest Hayward, *Virtuoso Goldsmiths and the Triumph of Mannerism* (London, 1976), pl. 73.
22. See Klaus Pechstein et al., exh. cat., *Deutsche Goldschmiedekunst vom 15. bis zum 20. Jahrhundert aus dem Germanischen Nationalmuseum* (Nuremberg, 1987), no. 7, pl. p. 61.
23. See *Weltliche und Geistliche Schatzkammer*, Bildführer (Vienna, 1991), 2nd ed., pp. 313–14, no. 149.
24. Hernmarck, *Die Kunst*, ill. p. 568.
25. *Ibid.*, ill. p. 477.

Japanese Porcelain at Burghley House: The Inventory of 1688 and the Sale of 1888

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THE CELEBRATED INVENTORY OF THE household goods of the fifth earl and countess of Exeter taken in 1688¹ includes pieces of Japanese porcelain that are still in Burghley House. This makes those pieces, the earliest recorded Japanese porcelains in Europe, the earliest examples where we can confidently equate a seventeenth-century description with a specific extant object. As the inventory has not been published, it seems worth while to list here those pieces of porcelain that are inventoried. It will rapidly be seen that this list is not extensive and that by far the majority of Japanese porcelains that are in, or that have been in, the house are not included. This fact has sometimes been ignored and a false assumption made that all the porcelains at Burghley that are of seventeenth-century date are inventoried.

The seventeenth-century Chinese and Japanese porcelains at Burghley can be divided into four groups if we consider their arrival in the house only. The first group consists of the Chinese and Japanese porcelains that are inventoried, that were in the house before 1688; those will be discussed here. Second is the group of porcelains, nearly all Chinese, that came to the house in 1690 under the will of the countess of Devonshire to her daughter Ann, the countess of the fifth earl. These were carefully itemized in a list referred to here as the Devonshire Schedule.² This is a large group and needs consideration elsewhere; here we will mention only the sole Japanese piece. Note that this gift arrived after the 1688 inventory. Third is a group of Japanese porcelains, the majority blue and white, that were mostly not made specifically as export pieces and therefore must have been collected as “curiosities” in Japan by some Dutch trader, who sold them in turn to a British retailer; as we shall see, this unknown retailer seems to have sold them on to three houses, Burghley, Drayton House, and Welbeck Abbey (he has been called “the A1 dealer”, as all three houses are off the modern A1 road). The date of these

sales is unfortunately not recorded; they may have occurred as early as the last decade of the seventeenth century. Fourth are all the pieces that are not accounted for above; this may be or have been the largest group.³

The collection at Burghley House is extensive, but it was once larger; there was a sale at Christie’s in London on June 7 and 8, 1888, that included a considerable amount of “old Oriental porcelain.”⁴ From the descriptions in that sale catalogue one can deduce the identity of some of the pieces that were sold, and from that one can determine that there were many pieces of seventeenth-century date that were not included in the 1688 inventory, even though many of them were surely made earlier. This either confirms continued acquisition by the Exeters, as one would expect, or implies that not all the porcelain was included in the inventory, which seems unlikely—or both.

There was another sale at Christie’s on July 13, 1959, of English, Continental, and Oriental porcelain, all from Burghley House.⁵ This included three lots described as Japanese.

This paper discusses the 1688 inventory and its contents, and the sole Japanese item in the Devonshire Schedule; barely mentions the fascinating “nonexport group”; and analyzes the Japanese porcelain sold in 1888 and in 1959. It is an appropriate homage to Clare Le Corbellier because of her interest in the field and as a demonstration of how the Burghley, Drayton, and Welbeck collections provided the kind of material from which museums have eventually benefited through acquisition.

“An inventory of the Goods in Burghley House belonging to the Right Honble John Earl of Exeter and Ann Countesse of Exeter Taken August 21th 1688” was drawn up by the earl’s steward, Culpepper Tanner. The contents of each room are described sequentially, beginning at the Gothic Hall, in the center of the West Range of the house, and then the main entrance to the courtyard. To the north lay the earl’s suite of rooms, to the south, the countess’s. The living rooms were on the first floor; the State Apartments,

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 37

The notes for this article begin on page 130.

still unfinished, were on the second floor. What is found in each room suggests the use of the room and the esteem in which the contents were held; thus it is worth recording in which room each piece of porcelain stood. Usually one can be fairly sure whether a piece is Chinese or Japanese from the description, but for the sake of accuracy all pieces described by Tanner will be recorded here. While a number of pieces can be recognized in the house today, it should be said immediately that some identifications are more secure than others. Thus some descriptions are unequivocal (for example, "2 China boyes wrestling"), others much less so, where there may be several options (for example, "2 wt Lyons"). Nearly all numbers of items in each room are odd numbers; this was, of course, for the sake of symmetry; most arrangements centered on a single item. Most of the porcelain was placed over the chimney or on cabinets; frequently it was arranged with other things, such as small items of sculpture. These are not listed here (though they would have been vital to the symmetry of arrangement), for this paper is concerned with identification rather than habitat. One further caveat: Culpepper Tanner may not have excluded European ceramics, majolica, delft, or other earthenwares; no specific example is known, but it is a possibility.

In Lord Exeter's Anty Room (anteroom) were thirteen pieces of porcelain:

China over ye Chimney

- 1 Indian queen, 2 wt fryars, 2 hawkes, 2 Dogs blue,
- 2 Red Dogs,
- 2 Birds upon Rocks, 2 wt Lyons

In Lord Exeter's Bedd Chamber were seventeen:

China over ye Chimney

- 2 large Ellephants, 2 large hundes, a preist on a Bufalor
- 1 large Rabitt browne, 4 litle Swallowes, 2 litle Swans
- 2 litle figures with froggs on their shoulders
- 1 Painted Cupp & Cover, 2 large blue and wt Coffe Dishes

In Lord Exeter's Dressing Roome were eleven:

China over ye Chimney

- 2 Doggs, 2 Lyons, 2 Staggs, 2 blue & wt Birds
- 1 heathen Godd with many Armes
- 2 figures with Juggs att their backs

In Lady Exeter's Anty Roome and Clossett were five:

Over the Chimney

China

- 1 Red little wrought Tea pott, [2 Jappan Beakers]
- 1 browne 1 wt Coffe Dishes, 2 litle fruit Dishes

In Lady Exeter's Bed Chamber were seventeen:

China over ye Chimney and in ye Roome

- 1 Large wt Bason Guilt Rimm & foott
- 2 Blue and wt Juggs Guilt Covers & feete
- 2 wt Nunns Sitting, 2 Rocks & figures under them
- 5 large blue & wt Coffe Dishes & salvers to them
- 1 Philligrin China Sugar Cupp
- 1 Large Brown Bason
- 1 Blue & wt Jarr & Cover, & 2 Beakers to itt

In Lady Exeter's Dressing Roome were nine:

China over the Chimney & other Things

- 2 large wt Doggs
- 2 wt Lyons with figures on Them
- 2 Brown & blue Coffee Dishes & Salvers
- 2 litle wt painted Coffe Dishes & Salvers
- 1 balld fryer sitting

In Lady Exeter's Clossett were seventeen:

China & other things over the Chimney

- 1 Brown & white relev'd Tea pott with Guilt handle, Spout Top & bottome & a litle figure & Chaines on the Topp of itt
- 1 white Tea pott & Cover, Guilt Spout & Chaine to itt
- 2 white Criples, & 2 white Nunns
- 1 Browne Coffe Dish Guilt foott
- 4 wt & painted Coffe Dishes, & 6 wt & painted Salvers

In the Best Bedd Chamber were twenty-five:

China & other figures etc. over ye Cabinett & Chimney

- 1 large Jarr & 2 large Beakers blue wt & painted
- 2 blue & wt botles & 2 litle Beakers
- 1 Coffe Dish with a foott, 1 Japan large Bowldish
- 1 large wt Indian Queene, 2 white Cocks
- 2 wt Sugar Cupps relev'd worke
- 5 pa[i]nted Coffe Dishes & 6 Salvers

In the Drawing Roome were twenty-four:

China etc. over ye Chimney & in the Chimney

- 1 Large Jarr & 2 Large Juggs painted China

1 large Blue & wt Bason
 2 painted fryors, 2 painted Cocks, 2 faulcons
 2 painted Relev'd brown Juggs with handles GUILT
 Rimms
 2 Red Tea potts relev'd, 2 wt high Cups relev'd
 2 Green Scollupt Dishes, 2 larger wt painted Dishes
 2 Brown Dishes, 2 litle wt painted Dishes

In the Marble Salloon Roome were four:

4 China ffaulcons on ye Like pedestalls

In the Dininge Roome were thirteen:

China & other Things over the Chimney
 2 browne painted Staggs, 2 wt ffryars
 1 Madona, 2 figures Sitting in Chaires
 2 wt Lyons with figures on Them
 2 large B[l]ue & white Dishes, 2 Lesser Dishes

In the Tea Roome were eleven:

China over the Chimney
 1 Large Motled Mastife Dogg
 1 white Cock, 1 Turk painted, 2 laughing fryars
 2 Juggs like Rocks
 1 White Tea pott & Cover litle
 1 wt Sugar Cup relev'd
 2 painted Coffe Dishes & Salvors

All these rooms are on the first floor, the last five in the South Range. In the Wardrobe or Closet Chamber, probably on the first floor in the East Range, was one piece of porcelain: "2 China boyes wrestling." The total number of pieces, taking pairs or sets to be one item, is eighty-three.

ANALYSIS OF THE 1688 INVENTORY

The porcelain is discussed room by room, as in the inventory, in the cause of clarity.

In Lord Exeter's Anty Room:

"1 Indian Queen" is perhaps the most contentious item in the list. No figure now in the house except blanc de chine could fit this description. It is often claimed that this is the famous figure bought by Augustus Franks and formerly at The British Museum,⁶ which is said to come from Burghley House. The size given by Jenyns and that in the 1888 catalogue, 12 inches or 30.2 centimeters, fit. But in the 1888 sale, lot 206 is of a pair of figures, and there is only one mentioned here. As it is not



Figure 1. Figure of a woman, possibly "1 Indian queen." H. 11 7/8 in. (30.2 cm). Possibly sold from Burghley House in 1888. Stolen from The British Museum (Franks 1214+). (photo: courtesy of The British Museum)

recorded how Franks acquired it, it may have been purchased from the marquess privately, though there is no record of this, and it is unlikely. The case remains open (Figure 1).

"2 wt fryars" were surely blanc de chine, possibly Lohan.

"2 hawkes" do not give enough information.

"2 Dogs blue" more than likely represent the single Japanese *shishi*⁷ still in the house (Figure 2).

"2 Red Dogs" might have been Yixing.

"2 Birds upon rocks" might have been blanc de chine or, equally likely, have resembled the Japanese figure of a bird on a rock in The British Museum and its pair in the Ashmolean Museum.⁸

"2 wt lyons" may refer, as Lang suggests, to the blanc de chine *shishi*⁹ now in the house; I think this unlikely, as these figures are more likely to be those ("2 large wt Doggs") in Lady Exeter's Dressing Roome; see below. But they were surely blanc de chine.



Figure 2. Probably one of "2 Dogs blue." H. $4\frac{1}{4}$ in. (11.5 cm). Burghley House Collection

In Lord Exeter's Bedd Chamber:

"2 large Ellephants" are both still in the house (Figure 3).¹⁰

"2 large hindees" One of these may have been sold at Christie's, July 13, 1959, lot 22; see under the Dining Room, "2 browne painted Staggs."

"A preist on a Bufalor" is surely the celadon and biscuit figure still in the house. It is included here, as it may be Japanese (Figure 4).¹¹

"1 large Rabitt browne" may have been Japanese (Arita), but there is no evidence.

"4 litle Swallowes" and "2 litle Swans" seem more likely to be blanc de chine than anything else.

"2 figures with with froggs on their shoulders" must have been Chinese figures of Gama Sennin with his familiar, a three-legged toad.

"1 Painted Cupp & Cover" and "2 large blue and wt Coffe Dishes" do not give enough information.

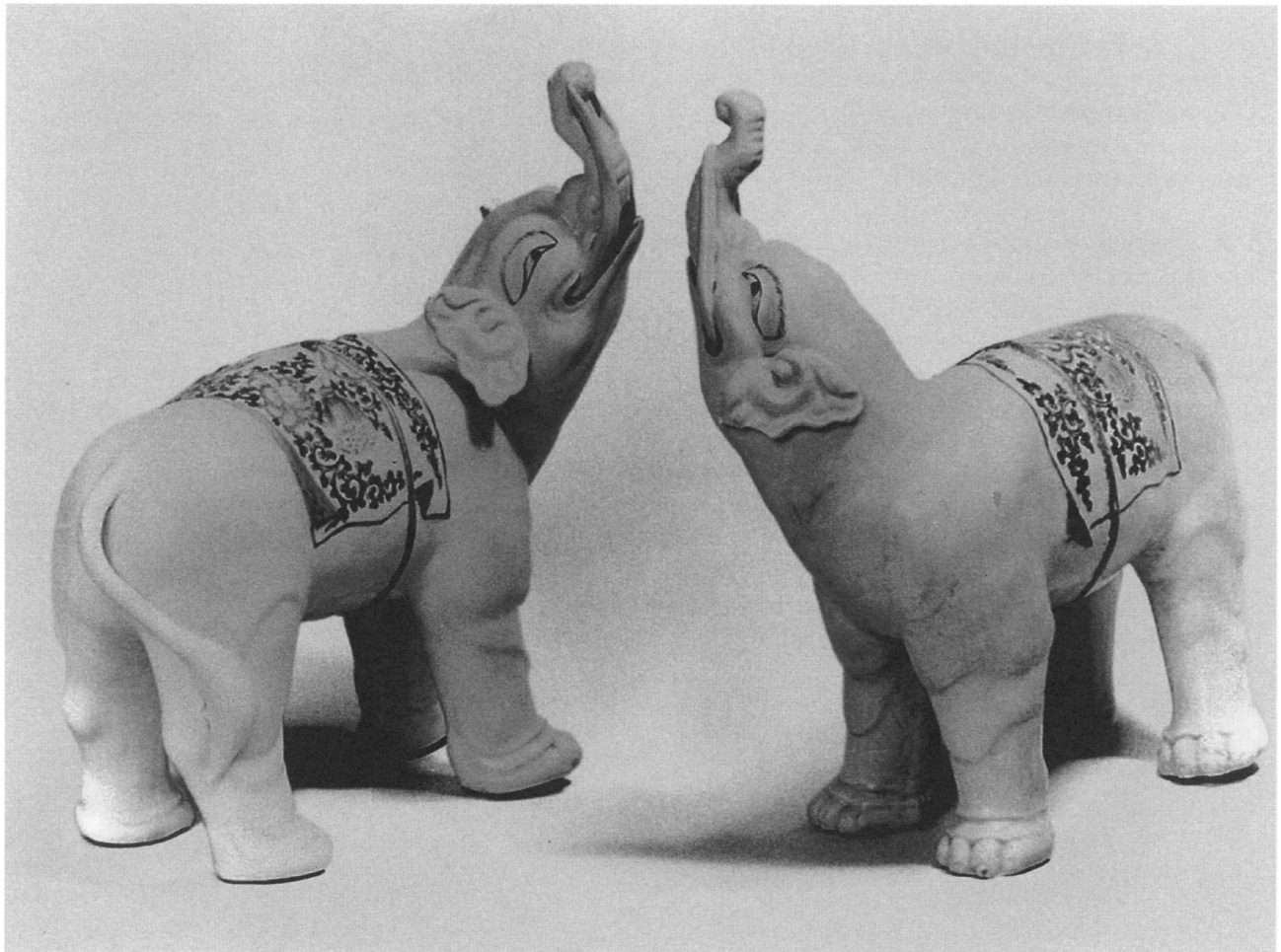


Figure 3. "2 large Ellephants." H. $11\frac{1}{4}$ in. (28.5 cm). Burghley House Collection

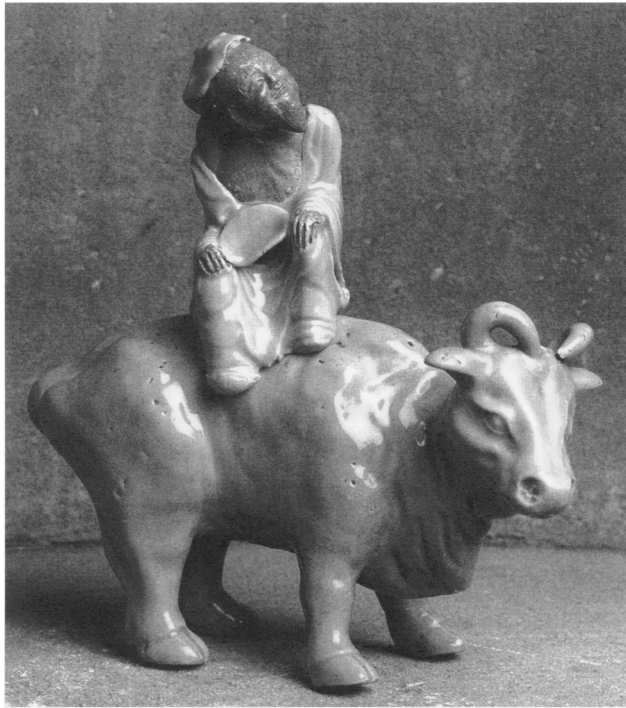


Figure 4. A "preist on a Bufalor." H. 9 7/8 in. (25 cm). Burghley House Collection



Figure 5. Probably one of "2 blue and wt Birds." H. 7 7/8 in. (18 cm). Burghley House Collection

In Lord Exeter's Dressing Roome:

"2 Doggs" or the "2 Lyons" may be the pair of small Japanese colored *shishi* both still in the house, though this is contentious.¹²

"2 blue and wt Birds" must be the now single figure still in the house (Figure 5).¹³

"1 heathen Godd with many arms" would have been a blanc de chine figure of the Taoist divinity Tou-Mu.¹⁴

"2 figures with Juggs att theire backs" are clearly the pair of figures both still in the house (Figure 6).¹⁵

In Lady Exeter's Anty Roome and Clossett:

"1 Red litle wrought Tea pott" was probably Yixing.

"2 Jappan Beakers" were probably lacquered and are included here only in case they were not.

"1 browne" and "1 wt Coffe Dishes" and "2 litle fruit Dishes" might be anything.

In Lady Exeter's Bed Chamber:

"1 large wt Bason Guilt Rimm & foott" was probably blanc de chine mounted in silver gilt.

"2 Blue and wt Juggs Guilt Covers & feete" have not enough information.

"2 wt Nunns Sitting" were probably blanc de chine Kuanyin figures.

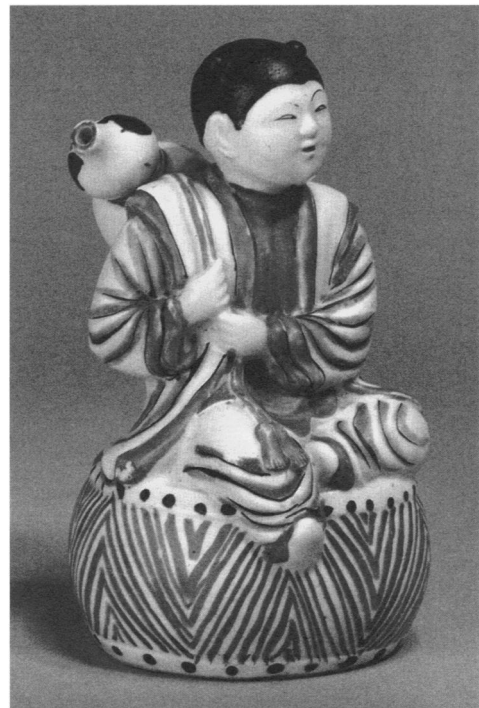


Figure 6. One of "2 figures with Juggs att their backs." H. 5 1/4 in. (14 cm). Burghley House Collection



Figure 7. One of “2 Rocks & figures under them.” H. approx. 7 1/8 in. (18 cm). Sold from Burghley House in 1888. The British Museum (1216+)

“2 Rocks & figures under them” were sold in 1888 as lot 198, and one is now in The British Museum (Figure 7).¹⁶ These closely resemble the figures with tigers still in the house.¹⁷ One would expect to find these in Tanner’s inventory, but they do not seem to appear, unless, and this is unlikely, they are the “2 Jugs like Rocks” in the Tea Roome (see below).

“5 large blue & wt Coffe Dishes & salvers to them” cannot be identified.

“1 Philligrin China Sugar Cupp” of unknown shape was mounted in filigree gilt-metal mounts.

“1 Large Brown Bason” might be Chinese or South-east Asian.

“1 Blue and wt Jarr & Cover, & 2 beakers to itt” suggest the remnants of a garniture, Chinese or Japanese.

In Lady Exeter’s Dressing Roome:

“2 large wt Doggs” may well be the pair of *shishi* on pedestals,¹⁸ both still in the house, rather than the

“2 wt lyons” in Lord Exeter’s Anty Roome discussed above, simply because we know of no other figures that could be described thus, no white dogs big enough.

“2 wt Lyons with figures on Them” are surely represented by the blanc de chine figure,¹⁹ one of which is still in the house.

“2 Brown and blue Coffe Dishes & Salvers” and “2 litle wt painted Coffe Dishes & Salvers” are unidentifiable.

“1 balld fryer sitting” must be the blanc de chine figure of the sitting Budai,²⁰ still in the house. There is a similar figure in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. 32.100.422; see Figure 11 in Daniëlle Kisluk-Grosheide’s article in this publication.

In Lady Exeter’s Clossett:

“1 Brown & white relev’d Tea pott with Guilt handle, Spout Top & bottome & a litle figure & Chaines on the Topp of itt” is unidentified.

“1 white Tea pott & Cover, Guilt Spout & Chaîne to itt” was surely mounted blanc de chine.

“2 white Criples” must have been blanc de chine, possibly Taoist immortals.

“2 white Nunns” are likely to have been blanc de chine Kuanyin figures.

“1 Browne Coffe Dish Guilt foott” is unidentified.

“4 wt & painted Coffe Dishes, & 6 wt & painted Salvers” would have been a set of six, possibly early famille verte, possibly Imari.

In the Best Bedd Chamber:

“1 large jarr & 2 large Beakers blue wt & painted” was probably an Imari garniture, which may be represented in the house by single jars,²¹ though both have covers and no cover is mentioned by Tanner.

“2 blue & wt botles & 2 litle Beakers” possibly, but not necessarily, en suite, could have been Chinese or Arita.

“1 Coffe Dish with a foott” may have been a stem-cup.²²

“1 Japan large Bowldish” is of an unknown shape and may have been lacquered.

“1 large wt Indian Queene” would have been a blanc de chine figure,²³ possibly still in the house.

“2 white Cocks” must be the blanc de chine rather formalized figures both still in the house.²⁴ Other versions in the house are in the inventory: the Japanese white version, with some enameled details, in the Tea Roome; the enameled Japanese version in the Drawing Roome. Which is the earliest version is not known.

"2 wt Sugar Cupps relev'd worke" would have been blanc de chine modeled in relief.
 "5 pa[i]nted Coffe Dishes & 6 Salvers" would have been a set of early famille verte or Imari.

In the Drawing Roome:

"1 Large jarr & 2 Large Juggs painted China" were not necessarily Chinese, but more likely Imari.²⁵ It is here assumed that "painted" means "enameled," but this may be misleading. There is not enough evidence to decide.

"1 large Blue & wt Bason" might have been a Wanli bowl,²⁶ but this cannot be ascertained.

"2 painted fryors" must be enameled, but there is little else to go on.

"2 painted Cocks," one of which, in early Kakiemon

style, is still in the house.²⁷ For a similar model in white, see the Best Bedd Chamber (Chinese), above, and the Tea Roome (Japanese), below (Figure 8).

"2 faulcons" both Arita and blanc de chine hawks of this period are known.

"2 painted Relev'd brown Juggs with handles Guilt Rimms" are the pair of mostly biscuit, iron-washed, modeled, and partially enameled mugs or tankards,²⁸ both still in the house (Figure 9).

"2 Red Tea potts relev'd" were probably Yixing with raised decoration.

"2 wt high Cups relev'd" were probably blanc de chine, with raised decoration.

"2 Green Scollupt Dishes" may have been celadon, or possibly monochrome green-enameled Chinese.

"2 larger wt painted Dishes" are likely to have been Japanese. Could there be a distinction between

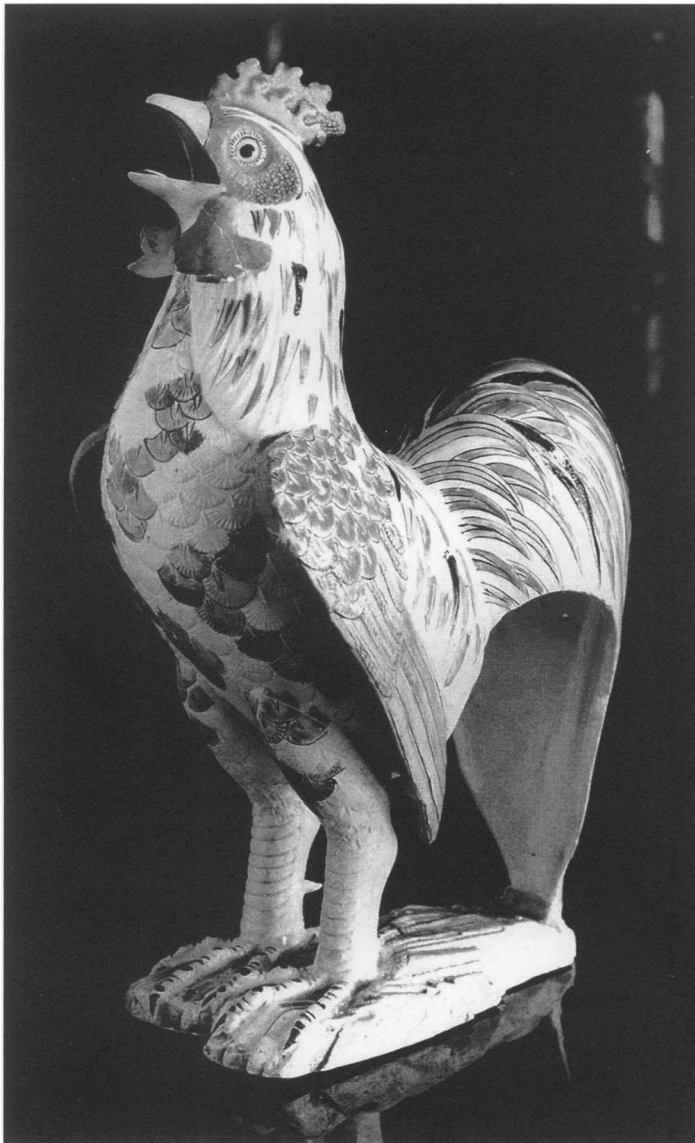
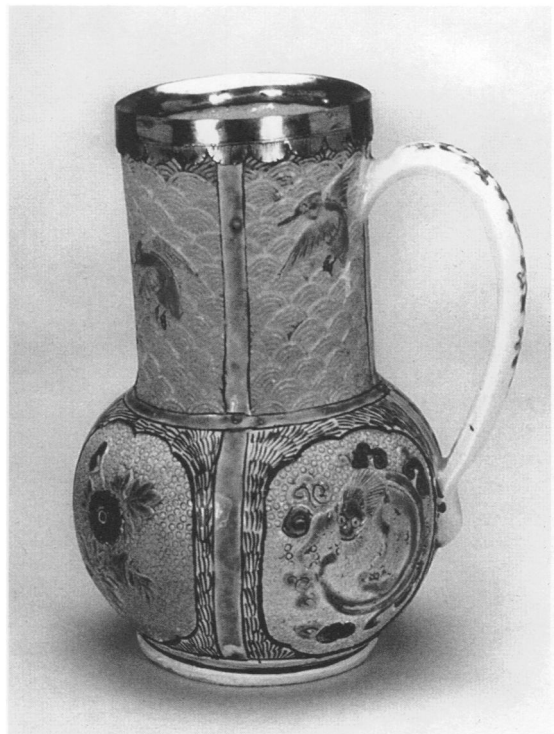


Figure 8. One of "2 painted Cocks." H. 11 in. (28 cm). Burghley House Collection

Figure 9. One of "2 painted Relev'd brown Juggs with handles Guilt Rimms." H. 5 3/4 in. (15 cm). Burghley House Collection



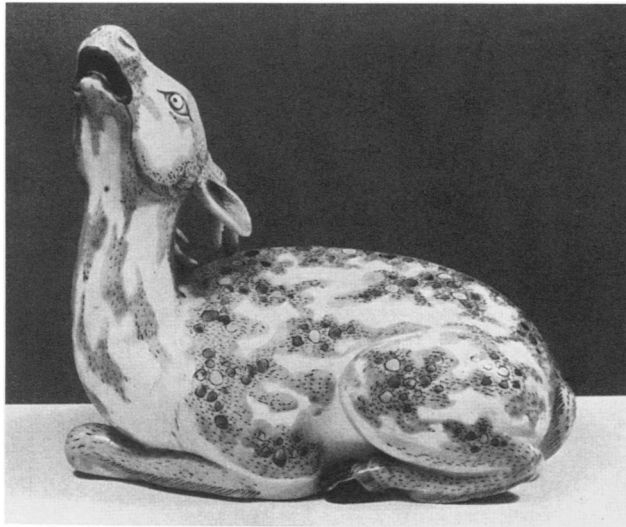


Figure 10. Probably one of “2 browne painted Staggs.” L. approx. 9 in. (23 cm). Sold from Burghley House in 1959 (lot 22) (photo: after Soame Jenyns, *Japanese Porcelain* [London, 1960])



Figure 12. Probably “1 white Cock.” H. 8 7/8 in. (22.5 cm). Burghley House Collection

“wt painted” and “wt & painted” (see Lady Exeter’s Clossett)? Could one be Kakiemon and the other Imari, and if so, which is which?

“2 Brown Dishes” are, again, possibly Yixing.

“2 litle wt painted Dishes” are probably Japanese (see above).

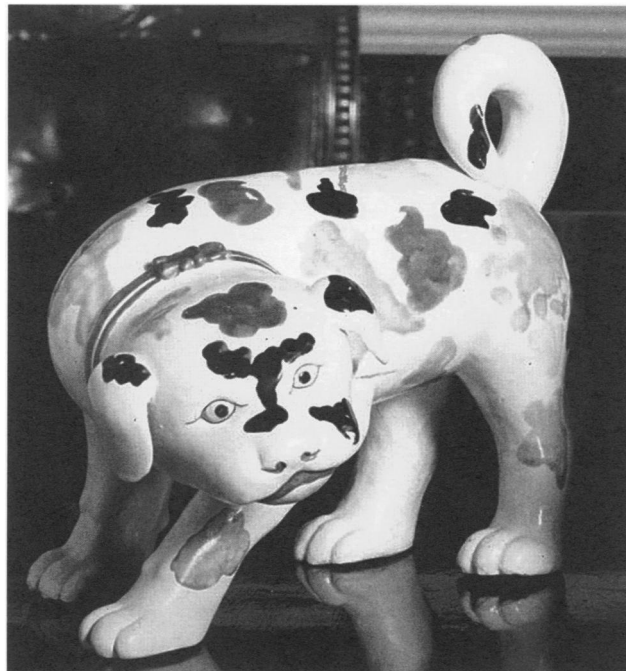


Figure 11. Probably “1 Large Motled Mastife Dogg.” L. 9 1/4 in. (24 cm). Burghley House Collection

In the Marble Salloon Roome:

“4 China ffaulcons on ye like pedestalls” are quite probably the set of four blanc de chine small hawk models,²⁹ all four still in the house.

In the Dininge Roome:

“2 browne painted Staggs” may well have been the pairs to the “2 large hinde” in Lord Exeter’s Bedd Chamber (see above). Two among these four, making a pair, may have been sold at Christie’s, July 13, 1959, lot 22, though Culpepper Tanner would certainly have known the distinction between the sexes, unlike, apparently, Christie’s cataloguer (Figure 10). “2 wt ffryers” were, again, probably blanc de chine. “1 Madona” was probably a blanc de chine Kuanyin figure; these were frequently mistaken for, or appropriated as, the Madonna.

"2 figures Sitting in Chaires" are fortunately both still in the house, for in the absence of the qualifying abbreviation "wt" we would not know they are blanc de chine.³⁰

"2 wt Lyons with figures on Them" are blanc de chine;³¹ one is still in the house.

"2 large B[l]ue & white Dishes" might be Wanli *kraak*, as there are several in the house, but there is not enough information.

"2 lesser Dishes" are likely to have been of the same pattern as the above.

In the Tea Roome:

"1 Large Motled Mastife Dogg" so exactly describes the dog in the house (Figure 11) that it is difficult to believe it cannot be so, in spite

of the fact that there are today two such figures still in the house, and only one appears in Tanner's inventory.³² There is a similar example in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. 1975.268.529).

"1 white Cock" is probably the Japanese version of this model (see under the Best Bedd Chamber and the Dining Roome, above),³³ still in the house (Figure 12).

"1 Turk painted" and "2 laughing fryars" are unidentified, the latter possibly figures of Budai.

"2 Juggs like Rocks" might be the figures of tigers on trees (see above, in Lady Exeter's Bedd Chamber) in the house³⁴ (Figure 13).

"1 White Tea Pott & Cover litle" must be blanc de chine.

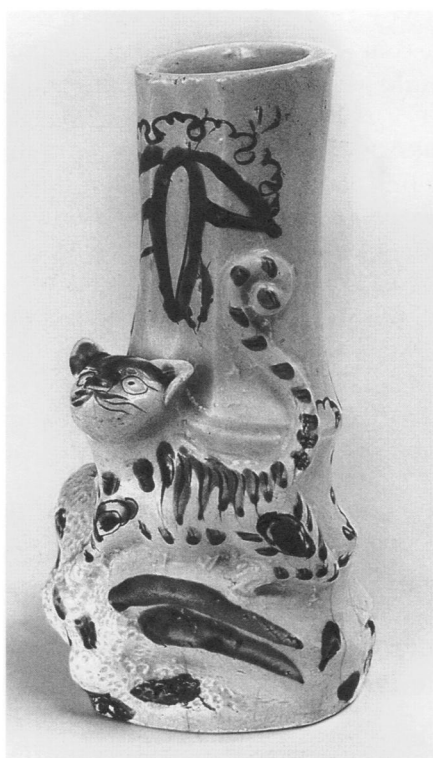


Figure 13. Possibly one of "2 Juggs like Rocks." H. 6¼ in. (16 cm). Burghley House Collection



Figure 14. "2 China boyes wrestling." H. 12½ in. (30.7 cm). Burghley House Collection



Figure 15. A "pair of Boxes of three pieces Each painted in colours garnisht with philgrin Top Bottoms Hinges and Clasps." H. 2¼ in. (6.5 cm). Burghley House Collection

"1 wt Sugar Cup relev'd" must have been blanc de chine with raised modeled decoration.

"2 painted Coffe Dishes & Salvers" are likely to have been enameled Japanese.

In the Wardrobe or Closet Chamber:

"2 China boyes wrestling" is actually a single figure of two wrestlers, one of the most famous Japanese porcelains still in the house (Figure 14).³⁵

Ten pieces of Japanese porcelain still in the house may be among those listed in the 1688 inventory. Of these, five are almost certain: the "2 large Ellephants" (Figure 3); the "2 figures with Juggs att their backs" (Figure 6); the "painted Cock" (Figure 8); the "2 painted Relev'd brown Juggs with handles Guilt Rimms" (Figure 9); and the "2 China boyes wrestling" (Figure 14). There is much less certainty over the other five, though it can be stated that they were probably in the house: the "2 Dogs blue" (Figure 2); the "preist on a Bufalor" (Figure 4); the "blue and wt Bird" (Figure 5); the "Large Motled Mastife Dogg" (Figure 11); and the "white Cock" (Figure 12).

THE DEVONSHIRE SCHEDULE

For the sake of completeness, the sole Japanese porcelain identifiable in the Devonshire Schedule of 1690 is included here:

"A pair of Boxes of three pieces Each painted in colours garnisht with philgrin Top Bottoms Hinges and Clasps," still in the house, are a pair of miniature

jubako, or tiered boxes, of blue, white, and red enameled Imari,³⁶ exactly like the pair from the collection of Sir Hans Sloane, which in 1723 became the foundation collection of The British Museum (Figure 15).³⁷

THE SALE OF 1888

Catalogue of OLD ORIENTAL PORCELAIN and Objects of Art, and ancient and modern plate, the property of the MARQUIS OF EXETER, from Burghley House: which will be sold by auction, by Messrs Christie, Manson & Woods . . . on Thursday, June 7, 1888, and following day . . .

FIRST DAY'S SALE

OLD JAPAN PORCELAIN

- 119 A PAIR OF ROUND DISHES, enamelled and painted with flowers in the centre, and flowers in red medallions on the border—18½ in. diam.
- 120 A PAIR OF DEEP DISHES, with vases of flowers in the centre, and flowers in compartments on the border; and a dish, with flowers in the centre, and openwork border—10¾ in. diam.
- 121 A PAIR OF DISHES, with fluted borders, painted with birds, flowering plants, and rocks—12 in. diam.
- 122 A SET OF SIX DISHES, with vases of flowers in the centre, and chrysanthemums and foliage in gold, on black ground, on the borders—10¾ in. diam.
- 123 A PAIR OF BASINS, with fluted borders, and painted with flowers—6 in. diam.; and a smaller fluted basin, with figures on circular red medallions
- 124 A PAIR OF ROUND DISHES, with flowers and birds in the centre, and openwork white borders—10 in. diam.
- 125 A PAIR OF SMALL DOUBLE GOURD-SHAPED BOTTLES
- 126 A FLUTED VASE, painted with flowers, and flowers in compartments on the neck—20½ in. high
- 127 A PAIR OF LARGE BEAKERS, with kylin in medallions, and flowers and ornaments in blue, red, and gold—23 in. high
- 128 A PAIR OF SQUARE BOTTLES WITH STOPPERS, painted with flowers in colours, on pale blue and white ground—10½ in. high
- 129 A PAIR OF CISTERNS, with foliage and flowers in red, blue gold, and chrysanthemums inside—15½ in. diam.
- 130 ANOTHER, with two ladies in a garden, and flowering shrubs, borders of ornaments inside—18 in. diam.
- 131 A TALL VASE, painted with landscapes in two oval-shaped medallions, and flowers in upright

medallions in dark-blue borders with scroll foliage in gold — 24 *in. high*

SECOND DAY'S SALE

- 192 A PAIR OF ROUND DISHES, with fluted borders, painted and enamelled with flowers and ornaments in compartments 10¼ *in. diam.*
193 ANOTHER, with chrysanthemums in the centre and on the border — 10¾ *in. diam.*
194 A DISH, with circular ornament in the centre, and fan-shaped ornaments and flowers on the border; and a pair of ditto, with landscapes and buildings in the centre, and flowers on fluted borders
195 A PAIR OF SPIRALLY FLUTED BASINS, painted and enamelled with flowers inside and out
196 A PAIR OF HEXAGONAL BOXES AND COVERS, with hawthorn foliage and flowers
197 A PAIR OF FLUTED BASINS, with foliage and flowers in compartments, and with flowers and raised chrysanthemums inside; and a pair of fluted stands, with flowers
198 A PAIR OF CURIOUS MATCHPOTS, formed as trunks of trees, with female figures, flowers, and foliage in relief in colours — 7¼ *in. high*
199 A TEAPOT AND COVER, with upright handle, painted with trellis and chrysanthemums in red and gold
200 ANOTHER, with ladies and children in a garden
201 A PAIR OF EWERS, with waves in low relief, and enamelled borders, spout and handle — 8 *in. high*
202 A PAIR OF SHELL-SHAPED BOXES AND COVERS, on three feet, with flowers in colours, and shells and marine plants in white and gold, or red ground
203 A PAIR OF FIGURES OF DUCKS, with coloured plumage
204 A PAIR OF FIGURES OF TIGERS, on pedestals painted with plants — 9¼ *in. high*
205 A HEXAGONAL URN AND COVER, with raised coloured figures and flowers in five medallions, on feet formed as children — 16 *in. high*
206 A PAIR OF FIGURES OF LADIES, with coloured drapery — 12 *in. high*

MOUNTED ORIENTAL PORCELAIN

- 221 A PAIR OF OLD JAPAN BEAKERS, painted and enamelled with birds and flowers, the feet and necks mounted with old chased and pierced silver gilt — 9 *in. high*

ANALYSIS OF THE 1888 SALE

- Lot 127 The large beakers might have resembled the florid Imari pair in the house,³⁸ but could not have

been the “2 Jappan Beakers” in Lady Exeter’s Anty Roome, as they are surely too late in date, and those were probably lacquer.

Lot 128 The square bottles probably resembled those from Blenheim Palace now in the Salting Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum (ca. 1508–1910).³⁹

Lot 129 The pair of cisterns sound very similar to the Imari pair still in the house.⁴⁰

Lot 131 The tall vase almost certainly belonged to a group of finely decorated Imari wares with painted decoration in oval or otherwise-shaped medallions and poem-slip (*tanzaku*) medallions on a blue ground overpainted in gold. An example from the Salting Collection is in the Victoria and Albert Museum (ca. 1508–1910)⁴¹, and a covered vase of this type is in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (inv. 23.225.115).

Lot 197 Could the fluted stands with flowers have been Kakiemon salts, similar to the one in the house?⁴²

Lot 198 The matchpots must be the “2 Rocks & figures under them” listed in the 1688 inventory in

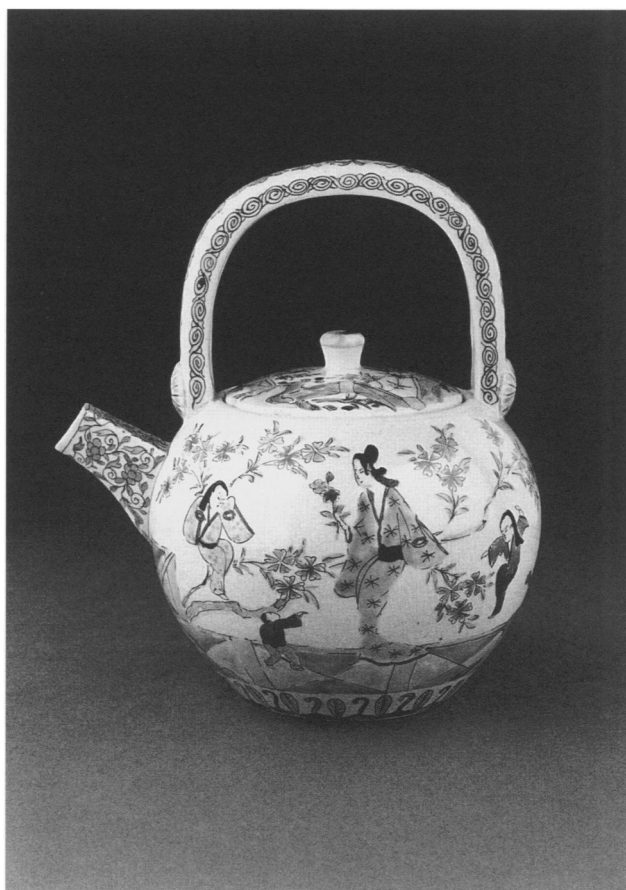


Figure 16. The teapot sold from Burghley in 1888 (lot 200) may have been this model. H. 6½ *in.* (16.4 *cm.*). The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Reitlinger Gift, 1978.451)

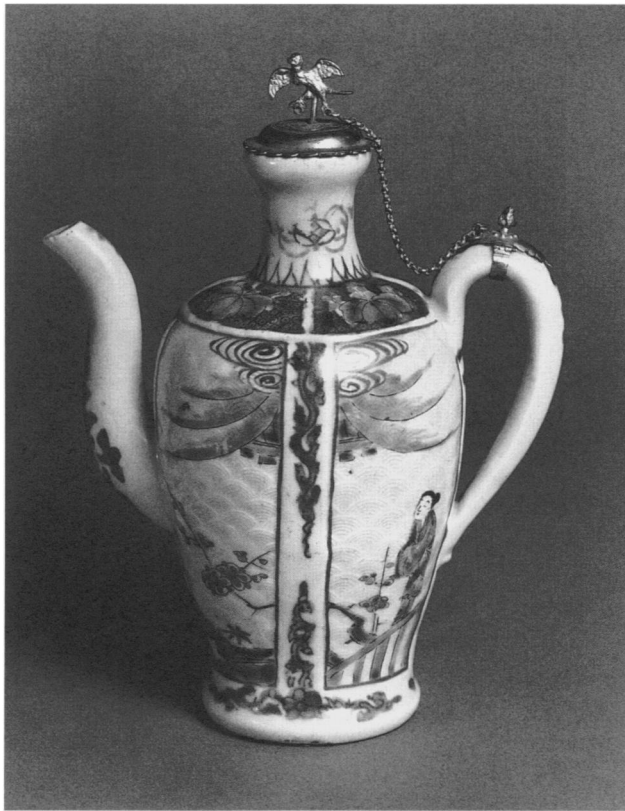


Figure 17. The pair of ewers sold from Burghley in 1888 (lot 201) may have been this model. H. 7 in. (17.7 cm). The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Reitlinger Gift, 1978.638)



Figure 18. The pair of figures of ducks sold from Burghley in 1888 (lot 203) almost certainly resembled this model. L. 4 5/8 in. (11.7 cm). The Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (1983.242)

when he saw one, even such an exotic one as a mandarin. This means that they were probably acquired later (Figure 18).⁴⁹

Lot 204 The pair of tigers, instantly recognizable, and quite distinct from dogs or *shishi* or "lyons," probably date from the very end of the seventeenth century or possibly even the early eighteenth century. There was a pair at Drayton House.⁵⁰ The presence of tigers at Drayton and their absence from Tan-

Lady Exeter's Bed Chamber (see above), one of which is now in The British Museum (see Figure 7).⁴³ Similar figures with tigers instead of ladies, probably not listed by Tanner, are now in the house.⁴⁴

Lot 200 The other teapot sounds like one in the Reitlinger Collection in the Ashmolean Museum (Figure 16).⁴⁵

Lot 201 The pair of ewers sound like the one in the Reitlinger Collection at the Ashmolean Museum (Figure 17).⁴⁶

Lot 202 Shell-shaped boxes are known on white grounds, on celadon grounds, and on the biscuit; red-ground examples appear to be unrecorded.

Lot 203 The pair of figures of ducks might be two figures of either sex or a true pair, a duck and a drake. There are Early Enamelled figures of exotically painted mandarin ducks and drakes in the Gubbay Collection at Clandon Park⁴⁷ and a smaller version of the drake in the Ashmolean Museum.⁴⁸ No duck (or drake) is mentioned in the 1688 inventory; while these are certainly earlier in date than that, we can rely on Tanner to have recognized a duck



Figure 19. The pair of tigers sold from Burghley in 1888 (lot 204) almost certainly resembled this pair. H. 9 1/2 in. (24 cm). (photo: courtesy of Christie's)

ner's inventory; their presence later at Burghley; and the presence at both Drayton⁵¹ and Burghley⁵² of the otherwise unrecorded figure of a bird on a branch confirm our post-1688 dating of the blue-and-white series mentioned above—which also extends to some colored pieces apparently found only at Burghley, Drayton, and Welbeck Abbey (Figure 19).

Lot 205 The hexagonal urn was surely the same as that illustrated here as Figure 20.⁵³

Lot 206 The pair of figures of ladies with colored drapery cannot have been the familiar Kakiemon *bijin* figures, like the one in the Metropolitan Museum,⁵⁴ for they are too tall. Nor can they have been the slightly earlier figures like those formerly at Drayton,⁵⁵ for these are too short. The figure in The British Museum⁵⁶ is the correct size and may well be one of these figures, which are not, as seen above, identifiable with certainty in the 1688 inventory.

THE 1959 SALE

Catalogue of an important collection of ENGLISH, CONTINENTAL AND ORIENTAL PORCELAIN, sold by order of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Exeter, K.C.M.G.

Removed from Burghley House, Stamford which will be sold by Christie, Manson & Woods, Ltd. . . . on Monday, July 13, 1959.

- 1 Twenty-three Japanese circular plates painted in blue, red and gold with fan-pattern panels and flowering plants—8½ in. diam.
- 2 A pair of Japanese circular bowls and covers, decorated with circular chrysanthemums on rouge-de-fer grounds within trellis-pattern borders, the interiors with flowering branches to the borders—4 in. diam.
- 22 AN IMPORTANT PAIR OF JAPANESE FIGURES OF A STAG AND A DOE, recumbent with their heads turned, partly decorated with medallions and hair markings on a pale aubergine ground—9 in. long—Arita—late 17th century.

Almost certainly the "Two Staggs" mentioned in the 1688 inventory of Burghley House.

ANALYSIS OF THE 1959 SALE

Lot 22 The stag and doe were probably one of the "2 large hindes" in Lord Exeter's Bedd Chamber in 1688, and one of the "2 browne painted Staggs" in the Dining Roome, in spite of the zoological inexactitude at Christie's (see Figure 10).



Figure 20. The hexagonal urn sold from Burghley in 1888 (lot 205) almost certainly resembled this model. H. 15¾ in. (40.3 cm). (photo: courtesy of Barry Davies Oriental Art)

CONCLUSION

The 1688 inventory of the contents of Burghley House lists several Japanese porcelains still in the house; these are the earliest recorded pieces in Europe, so far as is known, where there is a secure correlation between inventory and the actual pieces. Thus at least five pieces are securely datable to before 1688 and several others possibly so. But there is more to be seen in this inventory. The earliest piece

of colored Japanese porcelain in the house is surely the figure of an immortal riding on a tortoise.⁵⁷ This can be tentatively dated to 1665, when such a figure appears in the Dutch shipping lists,⁵⁸ and yet it does not appear in Tanner's inventory. Either it was not in the collection and arrived later, or Tanner missed it. Tanner may not have been infallible; it has, for instance, been suggested here that the "Large Motled Mastife Dogg" (Figure 11) may be one of two now in the house, whereas Tanner lists but one. The tortoise figure has enamels that are clearly earlier than those on any other piece in the house; it is closely followed by the "2 figures with Juggs att theire backs" (Figure 6). The bird on a tree, not in the 1688 inventory,⁵⁹ is probably contemporary, from a different enameling workshop, possibly that ancestral to the Kakiemon.

Most importantly, this inventory proves that the Kakiemon palette of enamel colors was fully developed before 1688, for the elephants (Figure 3) are enameled in the Kakiemon palette. This has usually been assumed to be the case; here is hard evidence that it was so.

Japanese porcelain contributed an important part of the decoration of many rooms in the house, in particular those rooms used every day by Lord and Lady Exeter. When the State Apartments on the second floor were completed by the ninth earl, many of these porcelains migrated into these grand rooms, upwardly mobile. Ranked, perhaps, with Chinese porcelain and small sculpture in symmetrical arrangements in tiers over the chimney (chimneys mostly occupied the corners of rooms in the seventeenth century) or on Japanese lacquer cabinets, these provided an exotic and prestigious show.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author wishes to record his thanks to Lady Victoria Leatham and to Jon Culverhouse.

NOTES

1. Culpepper Tanner, "An inventory of the Goods in Burghley House belonging to the Right Honble John Earl of Exeter and Ann Countesse of Exeter Taken August 21th 1688." MS, Burghley House. Transcribed by Jon Culverhouse, Oliver Impey, and Mimi Morris.
2. Will of Elizabeth, countess of Devonshire, "Conveyance and Schedule of Gift," April 18, 1690, MS, Burghley House.
3. The books cited here describing or illustrating the Japanese porcelain in Burghley House are: [Gordon Lang], [*The Wrestling*

- Boys*], exh. cat., Burghley House (Stamford, 1983); *The Burghley Porcelains*, exh. cat., Japan House, New York, and High Museum of Art, Atlanta (New York, 1986); John Ayers, Oliver Impey, and J.H.V. Mallett, *Porcelain for Palaces*, exh. cat., British Museum (London, 1990); Oliver Impey, *Four Centuries of Decorative Arts from Burghley House*, exh. cat., Cincinnati Art Museum; Society of Four Arts, Palm Beach; New Orleans Museum of Art; Santa Barbara Museum of Art; and Columbia Museum of Art, South Carolina (Alexandria, Va., 1998).
4. *Catalogue of OLD ORIENTAL PORCELAIN and Objects of Art, and ancient and modern plate, the property of the MARQUIS OF EXETER, from Burghley House: which will be sold by auction, by Messrs Christie, Manson & Woods . . . on Thursday, June 7, 1888, and following day . . .* (London, 1888).
 5. *Catalogue of an important collection of ENGLISH, CONTINENTAL AND ORIENTAL PORCELAIN, sold by order of the Most Honourable the Marquess of Exeter, K.C.M.G. Removed from Burghley House, Stamford which will be sold by Christie Manson, & Woods, Ltd . . . on Monday, July 13, 1959* (London, 1959).
 6. Ill. in Soame Jenyns, *Japanese Porcelain* (London, 1960), fig. 55B; Ayers, Impey, and Mallett, *Porcelain for Palaces*, fig. 164 (British Museum acc. no. JA Franks 1214+).
 7. Ill. in Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 55.
 8. Oliver Impey, *Japanese Export Porcelain: Catalogue of the Collection of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*, forthcoming, fig. 125.
 9. Ill. in Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 245.
 10. Ill. inter alia in Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 92; *The Burghley Porcelains*, fig. 93; Ayers, Impey, and Mallett, *Porcelain for Palaces*, fig. 160; Impey, *Four Centuries*, fig. 76.
 11. Ill. in Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 170, as Chinese, and in *The Burghley Porcelains*, fig. 96, as Japanese.
 12. Ill. in Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 87; *The Burghley Porcelains*, fig. 87; Ayers, Impey, and Mallett, *Porcelain for Palaces*, fig. 167.
 13. Ill. in Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 54; *The Burghley Porcelains*, fig. 81; Ayers, Impey, and Mallett, *Porcelain for Palaces*, fig. 156.
 14. P. J. Donnelly, *Blanc de Chine: The Porcelain of Tehua in Fukien* (London, 1969), pl. 99.
 15. Ill. in Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 95; *The Burghley Porcelains*, fig. 89; Ayers, Impey, and Mallett, *Porcelain for Palaces*, fig. 162.
 16. British Museum acc. no. Franks 1216+. Illustrated in Jenyns, *Japanese Porcelain*, fig. 53A. The pair to this figure was on the art market in 2002 (Dreweatt Neate, Donnington, July 26, 2002, lot 90, unsold). It had belonged to Sir Hercules Read, keeper of the Department of British and Medieval Antiquities and Ethnography at The British Museum at the time of the 1888 sale.
 17. Ill. in Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 86; *The Burghley Porcelains*, fig. 85.
 18. Ill. in Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 245; *The Burghley Porcelains*, fig. 9.
 19. Ill. in Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 241. See the Dining Room, below.
 20. Ill. in Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 234; *The Burghley Porcelains*, fig. 13.
 21. Ill. in Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 119 or 121; for the latter, see also *The Burghley Porcelains*, fig. 7.
 22. Probably not one of the Kakiemon goblets in the house. See Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, figs. 84, 85; *The Burghley Porcelains*, fig. 107; Ayers, Impey, and Mallett, *Porcelain for Palaces*, fig. 89.
 23. Possibly Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 240, but as there is no mention of the acolyte figure, more likely the large Kuanyin figure; see *ibid.*, no. 236 (unillustrated).
 24. Ill. in *ibid.*, fig. 244.
 25. If "painted" also includes blue and white, might the Juggs have

- been Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 49; *The Burghley Porcelains*, fig. 45; Impey, *Four Centuries*, fig. 87?
26. Ill. in Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 128.
 27. Ill. in Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 88; *The Burghley Porcelains*, fig. 90; Ayers, Impey, and Mallett, *Porcelain for Palaces*, fig. 169; Impey, *Four Centuries*, fig. 79.
 28. Ill. in Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 83; *The Burghley Porcelains*, fig. 98; Ayers, Impey, and Mallett, *Porcelain for Palaces*, fig. 87; Impey, *Four Centuries*, fig. 75.
 29. Ill. in Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 243; *The Burghley Porcelains*, fig. 11.
 30. Ill. in Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 235; *The Burghley Porcelains*, fig. 12.
 31. Ill. in Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 241. See Lady Exeter's Dressing Room, above.
 32. Ill. in Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 91; *The Burghley Porcelains*, fig. 92; Ayers, Impey, and Mallett, *Porcelain for Palaces*, fig. 175; Impey, *Four Centuries*, fig. 78.
 33. Ill. in Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 89; *The Burghley Porcelains*, fig. 91.
 34. Ill. in Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 86.
 35. Ill. inter alia in Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 96 and cover; *The Burghley Porcelains*, fig. 95; Ayers, Impey, and Mallett, *Porcelain for Palaces*, fig. 163; Impey, *Four Centuries*, fig. 77.
 36. Ill. in Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 97; *The Burghley Porcelains*, fig. 73; Impey, *Four Centuries*, fig. 73.
 37. Oliver Impey, "[Sir Hans Sloane as a collector of] Oriental Antiquities," in Arthur MacGregor, ed., *Sir Hans Sloane: Collector, Scientist, Antiquary. Founding Father of the British Museum* (London, 1994), pp. 222–27.
 38. Ill. in Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 122.
 39. Ill. in Ayers, Impey, and Mallett, *Porcelain for Palaces*, fig. 222.
 40. Ill. in Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 116.
 41. Ill. in Ayers, Impey, and Mallett, *Porcelain for Palaces*, fig. 223.
 42. See Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 76; *The Burghley Porcelains*, fig. 99.
 43. British Museum acc. no. Franks 1216+. Ill. in Jenyns, *Japanese Porcelain*, fig. 53A.
 44. Ill. in Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 86; *The Burghley Porcelains*, fig. 85.
 45. Ill. in Impey, *Japanese Export Porcelain*, fig. 361.
 46. Ill. in Jenyns, *Japanese Porcelain*, fig. 59B; Impey, *Japanese Export Porcelain*, fig. 89.
 47. See Ayers, Impey, and Mallett, *Porcelain for Palaces*, fig. 171, for a drake.
 48. See Impey, *Japanese Export Porcelain*, fig. 184.
 49. Ill. in Ayers, Impey, and Mallett, *Porcelain for Palaces*, fig. 168. See also Impey *Four Centuries*, Appendix 1.
 50. See Ayers, Impey, and Mallett, *Porcelain for Palaces*, fig. 168.
 51. Formerly Drayton House, now Ashmolean Museum; see Impey, *Japanese Export Porcelain*, fig. 72.
 52. Ill. in Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 90.
 53. Barry Davies, *Oriental Art Ltd, Ko-Imari from the Collection of Oliver Impey*, exh. cat. (London, 1997), no. 124.
 54. Ill. in Barbara Ford and Oliver Impey, *Japanese Art from the Gerry Collection in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1990), fig. 50.
 55. See Impey, *Japanese Export Porcelain*, fig. 72.
 56. British Museum acc. no. Franks 1214+. See Jenyns, *Japanese Porcelain*, no. 55B.
 57. Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 93; *The Burghley Porcelains*, fig. 88; Ayers, Impey, and Mallett, *Porcelain for Palaces*, fig. 158; Impey, *Four Centuries*, fig. 74.
 58. T. Volker, "Porcelain and the Dutch East India Company," *Mededelingen van het Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde* 11 (1954), p. 152. The cargo of the ship the *Nieuwenhoven* included "295 small statuettes on tortoises."
 59. Ill. in Lang, *Wrestling Boys*, fig. 90, with its counterpart formerly at Drayton, Impey, *Japanese Export Porcelain*, fig. 70.

Meissen Porcelain for Sophie Dorothea of Prussia and the Exchange of Visits between the Kings of Poland and Prussia in 1728

MAUREEN CASSIDY-GEIGER

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ONE OF THE HIGHLIGHTS OF THE R. Thornton Wilson collection at the Metropolitan Museum is a Meissen porcelain standing cup and cover (*Pokal* in German) topped by a figure of Minerva and bearing the cipher of Queen Sophie Dorothea of Prussia (1687–1757) (Figures 1–4; see also Colorplate 5). Essentially a Renaissance form, the standing cup was a ceremonial vessel—in the tradition of the German *Kunstammer*, *Schatzkammer* and the *Silber Buffet*—that was produced into the eighteenth century in various materials, including silver, ivory, serpentine, and glass. The Meissen manufactory responded to the lingering taste in Saxony for such traditional display pieces by producing related models in stoneware and porcelain fashioned after examples in the Electoral collections in Dresden.¹ When the Museum's version and its accompanying stand appeared on the art market in 1931, Otto von Falke suggested that it was presented to the queen by Augustus the Strong (1670–1733), elector of Saxony and king of Poland, during a state visit to Berlin in 1728, together with an en suite tureen and cover once owned by the great Berlin collector Hermine Feist, but destroyed in World War II (Figures 5, 6).² The queen's ownership is suggested by the cipher "SD" which appears four times on the Museum's ensemble. It is drawn in gold on a luster ground on Minerva's shield, and on two shields found in cartouches on the cup. (In one instance, the shield is raised on a pedestal with trumpeting attendants, framed by palm fronds and topped with a crown.) The fourth cipher appears in a cartouche on the cover, in gold on a drapery held before the seated calligrapher shown with brush in hand. Photographs of the tureen from the Feist collection show at least one cipher in a cartouche on one side, on a framed panel held by two standing figures (Figure 5). The *Pokal* itself is depicted on the Museum's set twice: in a cartouche on the cup, where it appears near a seated female with attendants, pre-

sumably a reference to the queen; and in another cartouche on the cover, shown carried in a procession with trumpeters (Figure 4).

The exchange of visits between the rulers of Saxony and Prussia in 1728 has not yet been a subject of serious study by historians in the United States or abroad, nor has the Meissen porcelain in the Prussian royal collection been documented. This article presents research in both of these areas.³ It is now possible to confirm Sophie Dorothea's ownership of the covered cup and stand through the 1738 inventory of her residence on the Spree, called Monbijou. The inventory lists "Ein Pocal nebst Unter-Schale und Deckel, worauf die Göttin Pallas, in der einen Hand ein Schild, und in der andern Hand einen Spieß haltend, inwendig ganz verguldet, und auswendig mit Feldern, Gold und miniature gemahlet" among the hundreds of porcelains exhibited in the queen's *Holländische Küche*, or Dutch kitchen, as such spaces displaying ceramics were termed following the introduction of Dutch-style porcelain rooms in Germany in the late seventeenth century.⁴ And while the model has been traditionally attributed to the Meissen sculptor Johann Gottlieb Kirchner, about 1728, this is a pivotal moment within the manufactory that deserves fresh attention.

A daughter of the first Hanoverian king of England, George I (1660–1727), Sophie Dorothea was the domineering wife of Friedrich Wilhelm I (1688–1740), king of Prussia, and the mother of several children, most notably Frederick the Great (1712–86) (Figure 7). Baron von Pölnitz characterized her in his famous memoirs:

Not many Days after my Arrival here, the King being gone to visit his Kingdom, I had the Honour of waiting on the Queen. This Princess, whose Name is Sophia Dorothea, is Sister to the present King of Great Britain, being the Daughter of George I, the late King, and of Sophia Dorothea Princess of Brunswic-Zell. And she does every thing that is worthy of her August Extraction; for surely never did Daughter more resemble a Father; she has the same Benignity and Wisdom, the same Equity and Justice, and

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The notes for this article begin on page 164.



Figure 1. After a model by Johann Gottlieb Kirchner (German, b. ca. 1706). Covered cup, ca. 1728. Meissen porcelain, Gr. H. 15 1/4 in. (39.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of R. Thornton Wilson, in memory of his brother, Orme Wilson, 1966 (1966.63a-c). See also Colorplate 5

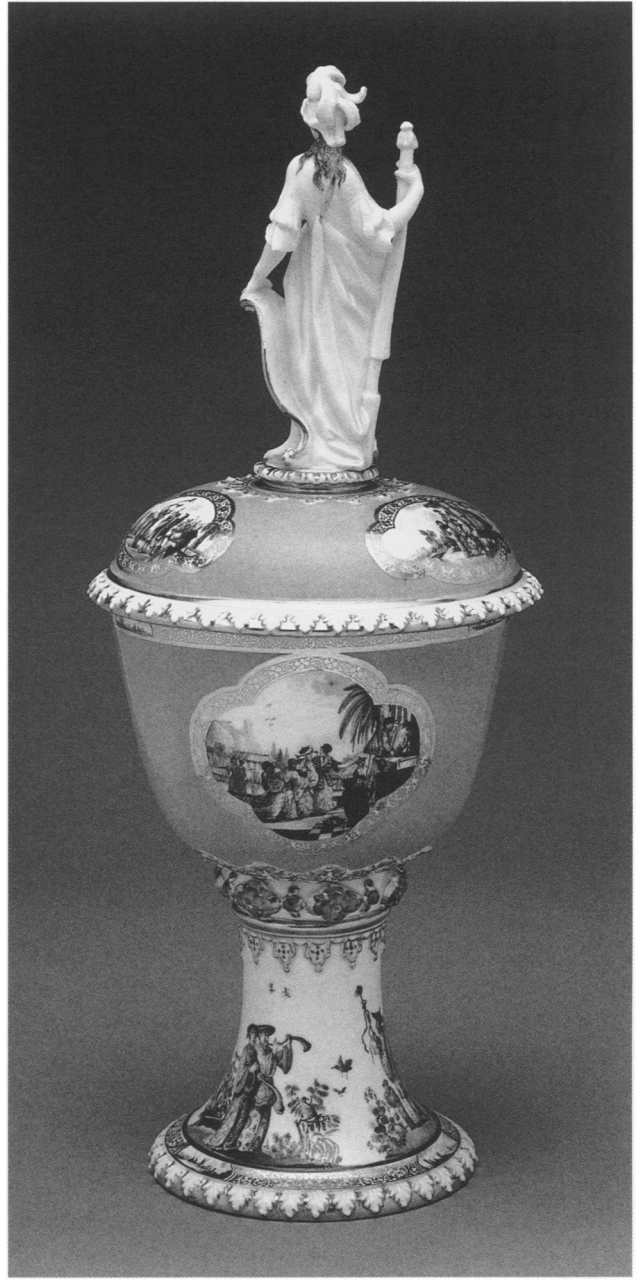


Figure 2. Reverse of covered cup in Figure 1

Sweetness of Temper. Like him she knows the Charms of a private Life, and Friendship, on a Throne: Like him she is ador'd by her Subjects and her Domestics, and is the chief Blessing and Darling of both. To extend Goodness and Affability farther, were possible; there being no Foreigners but what are charm'd with the gracious Manner in which this Princess receives them. To a thousand Virtues worthy of Veneration, she has added the singular Talent

of speaking the Language of several Countries which she never saw, with as much Delicacy as if they had been her Mother Tongues. The *French* Language especially, is so familiar to her, that one wou'd take her to be a Princess of the Royal Family of *France*; and the Grandeur and Majesty that accompany all her Actions, induce those even who don't know her, to be of Opinion that she was born to reign.⁵



Figure 3. Stand for covered cup in Figure 1. Diam. 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (30.3 cm)



Figure 4. Detail of Figure 1, showing painted depiction of covered cup

He captured the king's opposite nature, while describing the queen's love of court society and parties:

Berlin is not a City where you ought to look for the most lively Diversions; the King, to whose Will every body conforms, not being fond of them himself. . . . When the King is absent, the Queen has a Drawing-Room every Night, from seven o'clock till ten; when



Figure 5. Tureen with cover, German, Meissen, ca. 1728. Porcelain, Gr. H. 10 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (27 cm). Feist Collection, Schlossmuseum, Berlin (destroyed)



Figure 6. Alternate view of tureen in Figure 5

her Majesty sups with the Princes and Princesses of her Family, and other Persons of Distinction of both Sexes. But when the King is in *Berlin*, the Queen keeps no Drawing-Room, unless some Foreign Prince happen to be there.⁶

The small pleasure palace of Monbijou was constructed in 1703 by Count Johann Kasimir von Wartenberg, after plans by Johann Eosander von

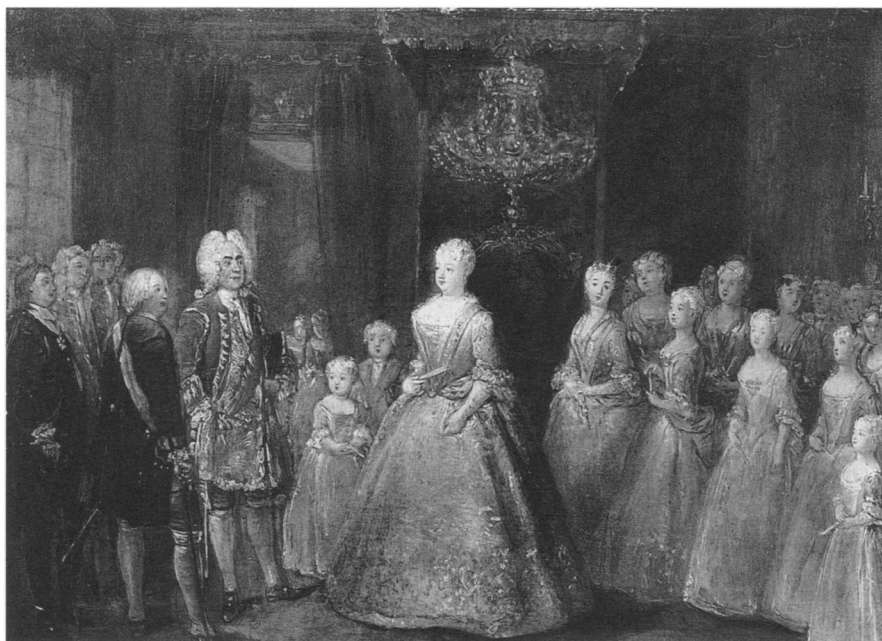
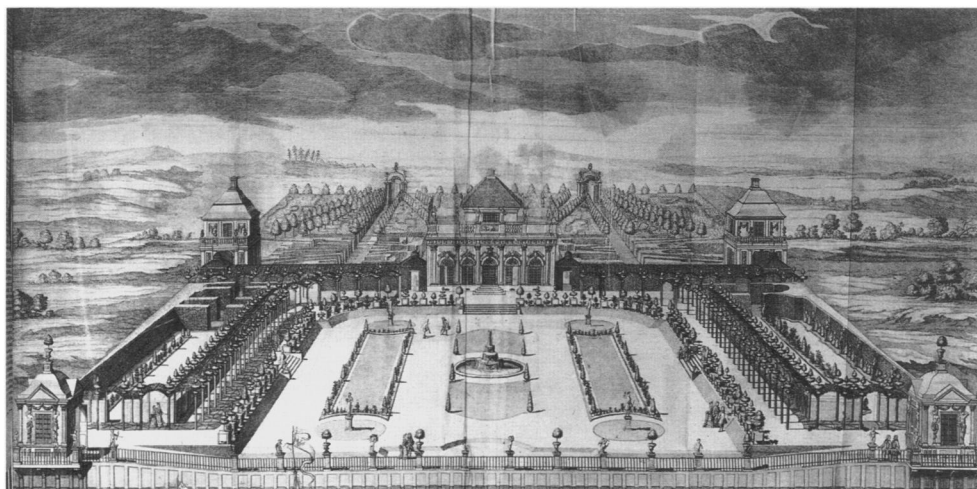


Figure 7. Antoine Pesne. *Entrance of Augustus the Strong into the Berlin Schloss in 1728, 1728*. Oil on canvas. Stiftung Preussischer Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg (GK I 968)

Figure 8. *Vue General de la Maison du plaisir de Sa Majesté Le Roy de Prusse, nommé Mon Byoux, Batie devant Berlin sur la Sprée*. After Eosander von Göthe. Published in 1718 in *Theatrum Europaeum*, part XVII (for the year 1704), between pp. 108 and 109



Göthe (1669–1728), architect of the celebrated and influential porcelain room at Charlottenburg, and was presented to Sophie Dorothea by her father-in-law, King Frederick I, in 1710 (Figures 8, 9).⁷ Baron von Pöllnitz gave a short history of the palace:

In the Suburb of *Spandau* the Queen has a delightful House and Gardens. The House is called *Monbijou*; a very proper Name for it, because 'tis really a Jewel. 'Tis a Pavilion, the Apartments of which are laid out with Art, and furnish'd with great Judgement and Elegance. The Gardens are charming, and lie finely open to the River. This House was built by the Countess de *Warttemberg*, Wife to the Prime Minister of King *Frederic* I.

As her Husband's Power and Favour were at that time so great, that he did whatever he pleas'd, all the King's Workmen and Architects us'd the utmost Diligence to serve her well. But she did not enjoy this fine House long; for it was scarce completed when the King removed the Count from all his Employments, and banish'd him to *Francfort* on the *Maine*. However, he settled a Pension upon him and his Lady of 24000 Crowns, and the Countess by way of Acknowledgement gave the King this House, which of all the immense Treasure that she has amassed, was the only Piece she cou'd not carry with her. The King gave this House to the Princess Royal now Queen, who has added great Embellishments to it, and brought it to its present State of Perfection.⁸

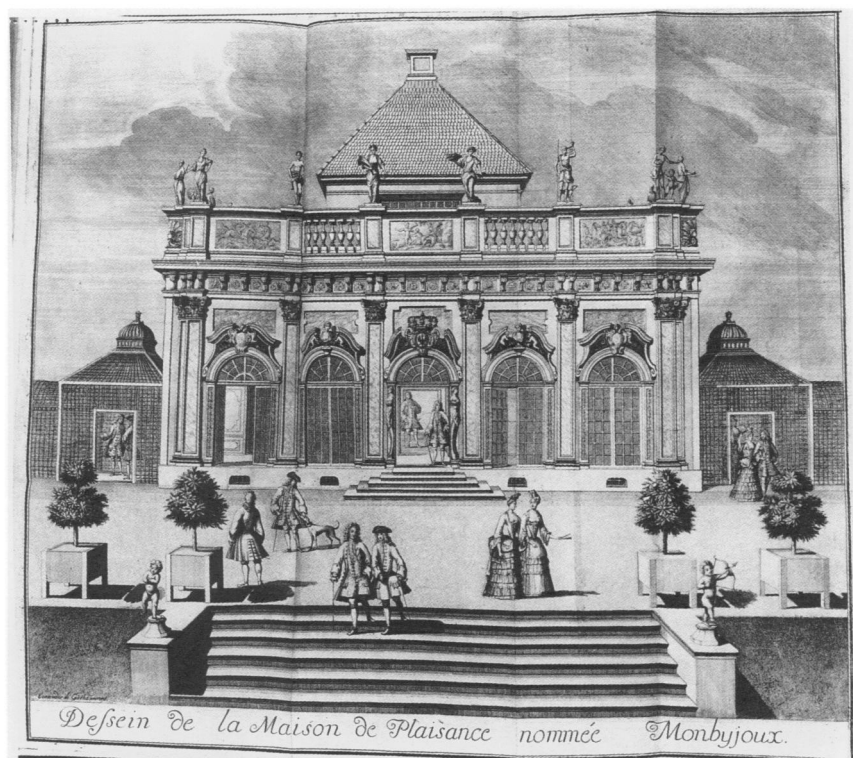


Figure 9. *Dessein de la Maison de Plaisance nommée Monbijoux*. After Eosander von Gôthe. Published in 1718 in *Theatrum Europaeum*, part XVII (for the year 1704), between pp. 108 and 109



Figure 10. After a model by Johann Gottlieb Kirchner. Table fountain, ca. 1732. Meissen porcelain, 25 1/4 x 18 3/8 in. (64.8 x 47.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of R. Thornton Wilson, in memory of Florence Ellsworth Wilson, 1954 (54.147.65a-c)

At the end of the Northern Wars in 1717, Monbijou served as the temporary residence of Peter the Great and his entourage, who reportedly trashed the original interiors. It was redecorated after their departure and was enlarged by the queen in 1726 and again in 1738.⁹

Situated near the palace of Charlottenburg, Monbijou was equally famous for its porcelain rooms and the ceramics collected there by Frederick I's daughter-in-law, the future queen. A visitor to Berlin in August 1750 noted the Meissen porcelain among the ceramics she had assembled in Monbijou, writing, "MON BIJOU is appointed for the residence of the queen mother, who is a sister of his majesty the king of GREAT BRITAIN. This is a little palace on the SPREE; the apartments of which are small, but elegantly furnished. There is a pretty gallery of blue and white CHINA porcelain, and an apartment called the kitchen, with several rich pieces of SAXON porcelain."¹⁰ More than four hundred pieces of Dresdner Porcelain (like Saxon, one of the contemporary terms for the hard-paste products of the Meissen manufactory) are listed in the 1738 inventory of Monbijou. Some decorated a room called the Gelbe Cammer or Yellow Cabinet, but most were displayed in the Dutch kitchen, alongside Asian wares and other ceramics from Bayreuth, the Du Paquier manufactory in Vienna, and the French soft-paste manufactory at Saint-Cloud.¹¹



Figure 11. After a model by Johann Gottlieb Kirchner. Basin from a table fountain. Meissen porcelain, ca. 1728. Schlossmuseum, Berlin (destroyed)



Figure 12. After models attributed to Johann Gottlieb Kirchner. Two covered cups with mounts, ca. 1733–35. Meissen porcelain, H. 17 1/2 in. (44.5 cm) and 18 1/2 in. (46 cm). Porzellansammlung, Dresden (P.E. 418 and 419)

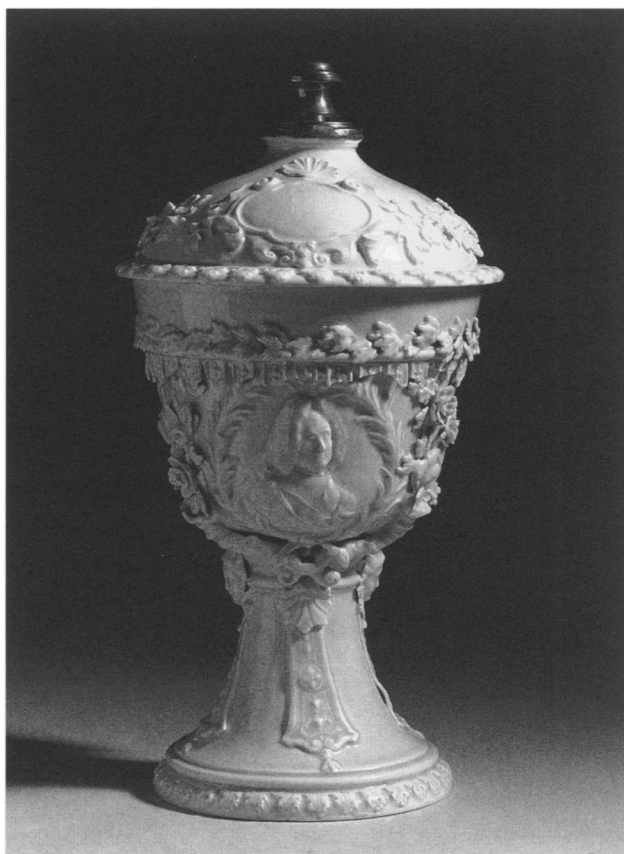


Figure 13. Covered cup (finial figure missing, replaced by metal knob). Meissen porcelain, ca. 1733–35. H. 12 3/8 in. (31.5 cm). Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg (LGA 4022)

The first entry in the 1738 inventory of Monbijou, perhaps executed in conjunction with the construction undertaken that year, is for a table fountain attributed to Kirchner and known also by an example in the Museum's collection: "Ein Bassein, der Grund weiß, mit Gold und Japanischen Figuren gemahlet, nebst Piedestal, woran ein Satyren, oben ein wilder Mann, auf dem Nacken eine Muschel haltend, welche inwendig gantz verguldet" (Figure 10).¹² Another example of the shell-shaped basin, in the Berlin Schlossmuseum, was perhaps part of the fountain originally owned by the queen (Figure 11); this was destroyed in World War II. Another *Pokal* with stand, crowned by the trumpeting figure of Fame and decorated with applied leaves, Oriental figures, and gilding, is described as "Ein Pocal inwendig verguldet nebst Deckel und Unter-Schale, und stehet auf dem Deckel ein Engel, in der einen Hand eine Trompete und in der andern einen Lorbeer-Crantz haltend, alles mit erhabenem Laubwerck, Gold und Japanischen Figuren."¹³ This must resemble the two examples in the Porzellansammlung in Dresden, which probably have the same figure on the cover but have relief portraits of Augustus III among the vines in



Figure 14. After models by Johann Joachim Kändler and Johann Friedrich Eberlein. Parts of a service for the toilette table (?). Meissen porcelain, ca. 1735. Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin (inv. nos. 748, 750, 752, 758, 759)

relief on the bowl and stem of the cups (Figure 12). A variant cup with some related molded ornament but missing its finial figure is in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum (Figure 13). It is also possible to recognize in the inventory list twenty-one pieces from a service of about 1735 decorated with applied natural flowers; traditionally cited as belonging to one of Sophie Dorothea's daughters, it was apparently produced for the queen (Figure 14).¹⁴ The tureen acquired from Hermine Feist for the Schlossmuseum may be one of two listed in the section "An grün Dressdner Porcellain" as "Zwey ovale Terrinen mit Feldern in miniature und Gold gemahlet."¹⁵

Impossible to identify with certainty in the 1738 inventory are the ecuelle, cover, and stand in The British Museum that were made for the queen, although several individual soup tureens with covers and stands likewise decorated with chinoiserie figures are listed (Figure 15).¹⁶ Sold from the collection of the duke of Hamilton in 1882, and a part of the Franks collection when it was donated to The British Museum, the connection to the queen is demonstrated by the use of the name (Sophie) to form anagrams, arranged like the points of a star around the



Figure 15. Ecuelle and cover and stand, German, Meissen, ca. 1728. Porcelain, W. 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (25.7 cm), H. with cover 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (13 cm), L. of stand 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (28.3 cm). British Museum, MME Franks 67 (photo: British Museum)

Prussian eagle, on each part of this set. The set is, however, easily located in the inventory of the queen's possessions made in 1758, a year after her death (Figure 16).¹⁷ The chapter devoted to *Dresdner Porcelaine* has 381 entries representing more than a thousand pieces of Meissen porcelain that were left to her

Titulus VII. A.		18
An Porcelaine		Taxa.
Or.	Or.	
25.	2. Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen, Chieriffen Figuren und Gold mit 2 goldenen Ringen	77 12
26.	2. Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen, Chieriffen Figuren und Gold mit 2 goldenen Ringen	69
27.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	80
28.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	12
29.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	12 12
30.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	37
31.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	12 12
32.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	20
33.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	20
34.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	20
35.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	16
36.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	38
37.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	40
38.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	40
39.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	24
40.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	18
41.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	12
42.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	30
43.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	20
44.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	16
45.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	40
46.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	40
47.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	40
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67.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	40
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80.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	40
81.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	40
82.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	40
83.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	40
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86.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	40
87.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	40
88.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	40
89.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	40
90.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	40
91.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	40
92.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	40
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96.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	40
97.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	40
98.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	40
99.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	40
100.	2. Terrinen mit 2 goldenen Terrinen mit 2 Pfeilen	40

Figure 16. *Inventarium* 1758, fol. 18a.

daughters.¹⁸ Perhaps by tradition, the ensemble was described as “38. eine auf der Königin Geburts-Tag gemachte Suppen Schaafe mit der Unterschaafe,” though for which birthday is uncertain.¹⁹ In the same inventory, the standing cup and cover with the trumpeting figure of Fame is carefully described in entry twelve as “ein großen Becher mit Fama und einen Schüssel weiss und chinesischen Figuren,” but the Museum’s cup is elusive; it may be the object listed as “22. ein großen grünen Becher mit einer Schaafe.”²⁰

Easily overlooked is the mounted Meissen porcelain included in the *Inventarium von der Königin Frau Mutter May. Gold- und Silber-Geschirr, Tabattieres, Uhren und andere Sachen*, from 1742.²¹ The section for gold vessels contains the following entries:

25. Ein Presentir Teller mit Füssgen, worauff Messer, Löffel und Gabel, ein Eyer-Löffel, Eyer-Schälgen, ein Etui zum Zahnstocher, ein Saltzfaß mit 2. Fächern, und ein Deckel darin wieget zusammen mit der Messer-klinge 4. Marck 11 1/2. Loth.

[in the margin] Gehöret zu des Königs von Pohlen August des ersten Präsent. . . .

40. Eine Chocoladen Tasse von Dreßdner Porcelain, mit einem goldenen Deckel und Fuß, wieget ohne die Tasse 9. Loth.

41. Ein Becher von Dreßdener Porcelain, der Deckel und Fuß mit Goldt eingefabet, wieget 14 1/4. Loth. mit dem Becher.

42. Eine Suppen-Schale mit einem Deckel, von Dreßdener Porcelain, so mit Goldt eingefabet, wieget zusammen 3. Marck 2 1/4. Loth.

43. Zwei Fläschgen, von Dreßdener Porcelain, mit goldenen Schrauben.

[in the margin] Was unter No. 40, 41, 42, 43 gehört zu dem Präsent so Augustus der erste König in Pohlen geschenkt, Item die vier Christl. de Roscher Flaschen u. Becher so Pag. 91. under der No. 16. 17. stehen wie auch Pag. 7. unter der No. 25.

These entries provide clear evidence of a gift of Meissen porcelain, albeit mounted, from Augustus the Strong to the queen, probably in 1728 but maybe later. This gift may be the “sehr kostbahren Aufsatz von Dressdner mit massiv Gold gearbeitetem Porcelain” cited in the published record of Augustus the Strong’s 1728 visit to Berlin, *Das frolockende Berlin*. According to this account, the king secretly left it at Monbijou on June 1 while the queen was out, gaining access through the housekeeper:

Dienstags den 1. Junii Vormittage fuhren Ihrö Königl. Majestät von Pohlen auf einer gantz neuerfundenen kostbahren Sommer-Kutsche in der Stadt herum. Zu Mittage speiseten dieselben denst Ihrö Majestät dem König von Preussen, Ihrö Durchl. Dem Printzen von Weissenfels und Lubomirsky, dem Cabinets-Minister Lagnasco, dem General Lottum und dem Graf Dohnhof bey Ihrö Excellence dem Staats-und Kriegs-Minister und General Lieutenant von Grumblow. Nach der Tafel beschenckten Ihrö Königl. Majestät von Pohlen dessen Frau Gemahlin mit einem sehr kostbahren Ring, und dessen altesten Herrn Sohn machten sie zum Rittmeister unter Dero Leib-Garde zu Pferd. Sie begaben sich hierauf nach Ihrö Majestät der Königin Lust-Hauss Mon-Bijou, und liessen daselbst unvermerckt auf dem Nacht-Tisch einen sehr kostbahren Aufsatz von Dressdner mit massiv Gold gearbeitetem Porcelain setzen, und verehren der Castellanin dieses Gartens 12. Ducaten.²²

The term *Aufsatz* was commonly used in the eighteenth century to indicate an assembled set of objects that together formed a showpiece or centerpiece. In the 1742 inventory, the objects presented by the king are

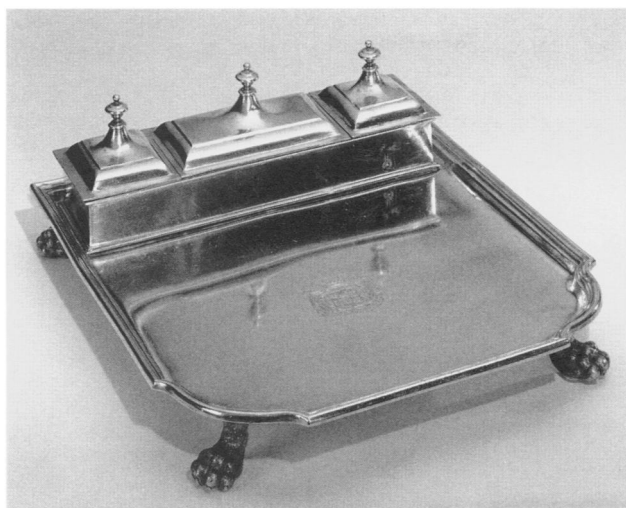


Figure 17. Gottlieb Menzel, German, Augsburg. Caddinet, 1718. Silver gilt, 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (24.8 x 21 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Lesley and Emma Sheaffer Collection, Bequest of Emma A. Sheaffer, 1973 (1974.356.775)



Figure 18. Ecuelle and cover with silver-gilt mounts, German, Meissen, ca. 1725. Porcelain, W. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (19.1 cm); mounted in Augsburg by Samuel Schneeweiss. Private collection (photo: courtesy of Sotheby's)

listed separately according to material, as was customary, but as a group they probably constituted an individual table service for the queen's apartment. A caddinet in the Metropolitan Museum's collection, engraved with the Saxon and Polish arms, bears an unidentified inventory number and is dated 1718; it suggests the sort of compartmented salver that was presented to the queen, minus its cutlery and etui (Figure 17).²³ Attributed to the Augsburg goldsmith Gottlieb Menzel (1676–1757), this type of individual table silver was used particularly in court table ceremony.²⁴ A Meissen ecuelle and cover mounted in Augsburg by Samuel Schneeweiss represents the type of individual soup tureen presented by the king to the queen (Figure 18).²⁵ There are also several known examples of mounted Meissen flasks and beakers, like those described in the inventory.²⁶

Baron von Pöllnitz describes the likely first encounter between Sophie Dorothea and Augustus the Strong, during the meeting of the "Three Fredericks" in Berlin in June 1709.

The eldest of the King's Children is Frederica-Sophia-Wilhelmina, the Princess Royal; who was born in 1709. I was at Berlin at the Ceremony of her Baptism, which was performed in the Chapel of the Castle, in presence of *Frederic IV. King of Denmark, Frederic Augustus King of Poland, and Frederic I. King of Prussia*. The Birth of this Princess, and the Circumstances of three Kings and a Queen attending her Baptism, gave occasion to a great many Copies of Verses. All the Poets said that the Presence of these three Kings, was a Sign that she wou'd one day have Possession of three

Crowns. They had then in view the Crowns of *Great Britain*, that were to devolve to the Family of *Hanover*, which there was a young Prince.²⁷

Despite Sophie Dorothea's efforts to fulfill these predictions by marrying her eldest to Frederick, prince of Wales (1707–1751), or even to Augustus the Strong, newly widowed in 1727, Princess Wilhelmine was married finally in 1735 to Friedrich, margrave of Bayreuth (1711–1763), and presided over the flowering of the court of Bayreuth.²⁸

The 1709 meeting of the three kings in Berlin celebrated the victorious alliance of Denmark, Brandenburg, Saxony, and Russia against Charles XII of Sweden.²⁹ The royal trio is the subject of a painting by Samuel Theodor Gericke (1665–1730) (Figure 19).³⁰ Frederick IV and his cousin Augustus the Strong traveled together to Berlin on June 29, following Frederick's monthlong stay in Dresden. The festivities held in Dresden for Frederick's visit celebrated not only the victory over Sweden but also Augustus's certain restoration to the Polish throne. The hunts and combats, tournaments, banquets, and illuminations staged during this period mostly used equipment already on hand, for programs that were largely familiar from previous pageants, such as the "Carousel of the Four Continents" and the "Procession of the Gods" from Augustus's first carnival in 1695 (Figure 20). Some new equipment was quickly ordered in 1709 from the court workshops, however (Figure 21). This was reused in 1719 for the celebrations held in Dresden for the marriage of the crown prince to Maria Josepha of Austria, but an enormous investment in new equip-



Figure 19. Samuel Theodor Gericke. *Alliance of the Three Kings*, 1709. Oil on canvas 95 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 74 in. (243 x 188 cm). Stiftung Preussischer Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, Schloss Charlottenburg, GK 3414 (photo: Stiftung Preussischer Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg)

Figure 20. Martin Klötzel. *The Chariot of Apollo in the Procession of the Gods Held on February 7, 1695, in Dresden, 1695?*, Brush with watercolor, gouache, gold, 18 x 22 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (45.6 x 57.9 cm). Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett Ca 190, Bl. 35 (photo: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden)





Figure 21. Johann Melchior Dinglinger. So-called Inventions equipment, produced for the Carousel of the Four Continents held in Dresden on June 19, 1709, for the visit of Frederick IV. Copper, embossed, chased, and gilt, set with glass stones. Helmet H. 11 in (28 cm), shield L. 19¼ in. (49 cm), W. 11¼ in. (30 cm). Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Rüstkammer (N 164, N 169 and T 309)

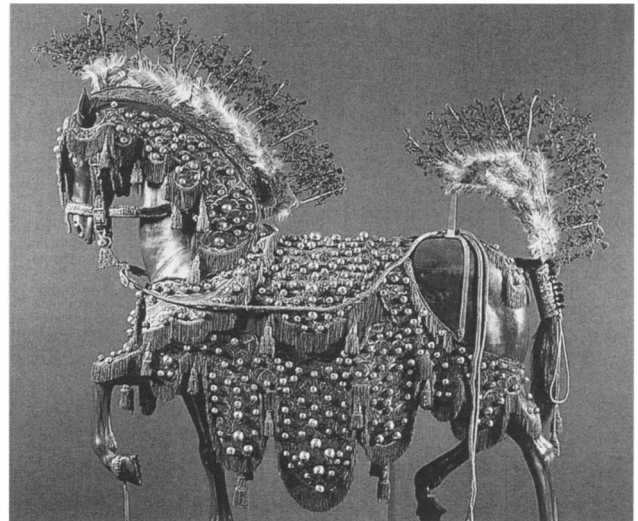
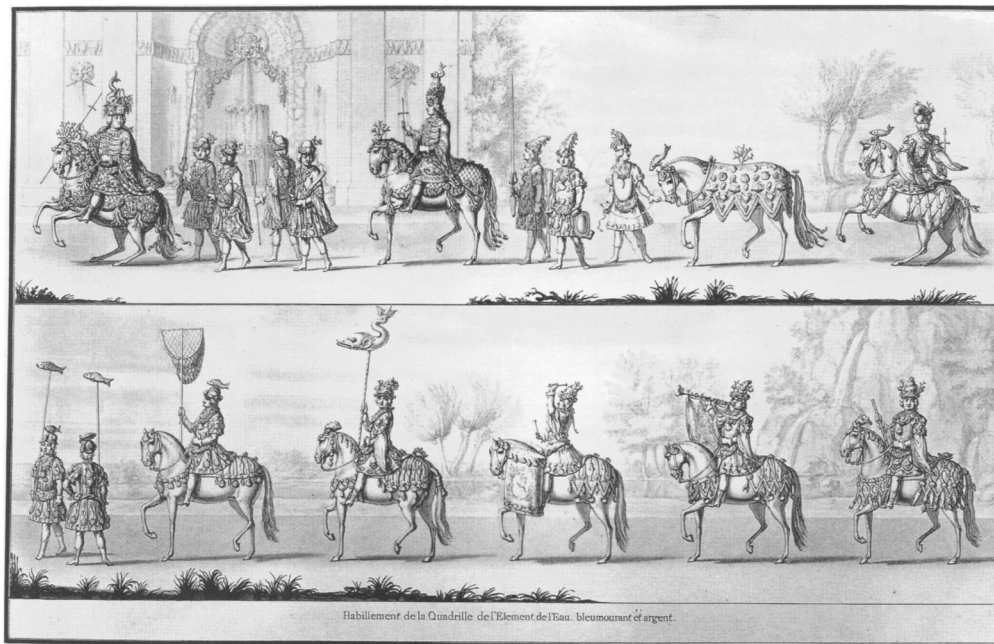


Figure 22. Sleigh equipment, Vienna, before 1719. Leather, velvet, gold and silver thread, ostrich feathers, brass, iron, and gilding. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Rustkammer (L 15)

ment and costuming was also made especially for this event, politically the most important of the king's reign (Figures 22, 23). As Monika Schlechte has shown, the elaborate iconographic program devised for the wedding was a model for other courts throughout Europe into the nineteenth century.³¹

Pageants and tournaments involving carefully structured iconographic programs were traditionally devised for important court celebrations, such as mar-

riages, births, and state visits, or for the pre-Lenten carnival celebrations. According to Julius Bernhard von Rohr, these entertainments were intended to divert the court as much as to flatter visitors from other courts, and provided the king with a break from court ritual and daily rule.³² The members of the court were typically assigned certain roles and were recognizable in these roles according to their costumes and those of their entourage. The program or



23. Carl Heinrich Jacob Fehling, *Habillement de la Quadrille de l'Element de l'Eau . . .* from the Carousel of the Four Elements held in Dresden on September 15, 1719. Dresden, 1731. 23 x 34¾ in. (58.4 x 87.3 cm). Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett C 6675, from Ca 200, Bl. 31 (photo: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden)



Figure 24. Louis de Silvestre, *Alliance of King August II. Of Poland and King Friedrich Wilhelm I of Prussia*, ca. 1728. Oil on canvas. Formerly Potsdam, Stadtschloss, Bronzesaal (destroyed)



Figure 25. *Augustus the Strong as Innkeeper*, for the *Wirtschaft* "zum Weissen Adler" held in Dresden on February 9, 1728, ca. 1728. Brush with watercolor and gouache, ca. 13¼ x 9 in. (35 x 23 cm). Sächsisches Haupt-Staatsarchiv, OHMA F 2 1 b.

event often required each group or team to wear costumes of the same color, variously detailed according to rank.³³ The standard colors seem to have been blue, green, red, and yellow, which could be assigned meanings according to the iconography of the program (for example, blue for air or water; red for fire or the morning sky). Ideas and models for costuming were derived from prints, drawings, and books of designs in the royal library and print collection. Traditionally these collections were available to artists attached to the court; under Augustus the Strong, much new material was acquired to provide court designers with fresh inspiration.³⁴ To contain the expense of new costumes and props, a collection of pageantry equipment was maintained to be reused annually. The surviving material from this collection belongs chiefly to the Rustkammer in Dresden today.

While the motivation for the visit of the Prussian King Friedrich Wilhelm I to Dresden was entirely political, it coincided with carnival, so the entertainments were mostly masked events and tournaments

without obvious political implications (Figure 24). This must have eased the burden for the Polish king, who also staged some military exercises and parades to please his guest. Specialized illuminations, poetry, and verse were also prepared for the Prussian visit, and huge *Wirtschaft* signs were created, by order of the king, to turn the residence palace into an inn or public house for the evening (Figures 25–28). The inventories of the court pantry (*Hof-Conditorei*) indicate that special molds with the cipher and armorial bearings of the Prussian monarch were acquired for the occasion, for the creation of table decoration in sugar paste.³⁵

The Prussian king traveled to Dresden with an entourage of forty-one, mostly servants, but without the queen or the crown prince. According to the court calendar (*Hof- und Staats-Kalender*), first published in 1729 to record the events of the previous year, he traveled from Potsdam on January 14 and was met at the border by Count Flemming, who accompanied him to Dresden (Figure 29).³⁶ He entered the city about 4 o'clock in the afternoon to a cannon



Figure 26. *Wirthschafts Schildt*, 1728, ca. 1728. Brush with watercolor and gouache, ca. 13 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 9 in. (35 x 23 cm). Bound with Figure 25



Figure 27. "Zum Weissen Adler," ca. 1728. Oil on wood, 78 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 55 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (200 x 140 cm). Property of the House of Wettin, formerly Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Mo2285 (photo: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden)

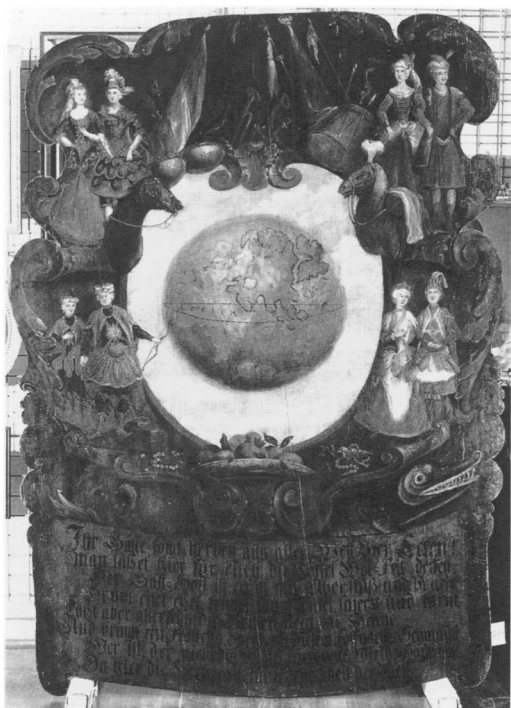


Figure 28. Sign (a companion to Figure 27), ca. 1728. Oil on wood, 94 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 63 in. (240 x 160 cm). Formerly Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Mo2284 (photo: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden)

salute and within an hour was on his way to the first masked ball, traveling by *porte-chaise*. When the two kings met, they embraced: "Wie holdselig beyde Konige einander umarmet, ist keine Feder vermögend auszudrucken." Though even a cursory discussion of the cast of characters and program of events is impossible here, a summary of the key events staged during his stay provides something of an idea :

Weds. Jan. 14: Masked ball

Thurs. Jan. 15: Tour of the armory; state procession, with coaches and *porte-chaises*; dinner in the queen's apartments; French comedy troupe in the opera house; nighttime shoot with prizes

Fri. Jan. 16: Visit to the stables; masked ball; arrival of the crown prince of Prussia with an entourage of 25 persons³⁷

Sat. Jan. 17: Racing at the ring (Ringrennen) in sleighs in the Altmarkt;³⁸ the kings dine at the *Maschinen-tafel* in the residence; ball; early morning fire in Count Wackerbarth's rooms, with loss of life

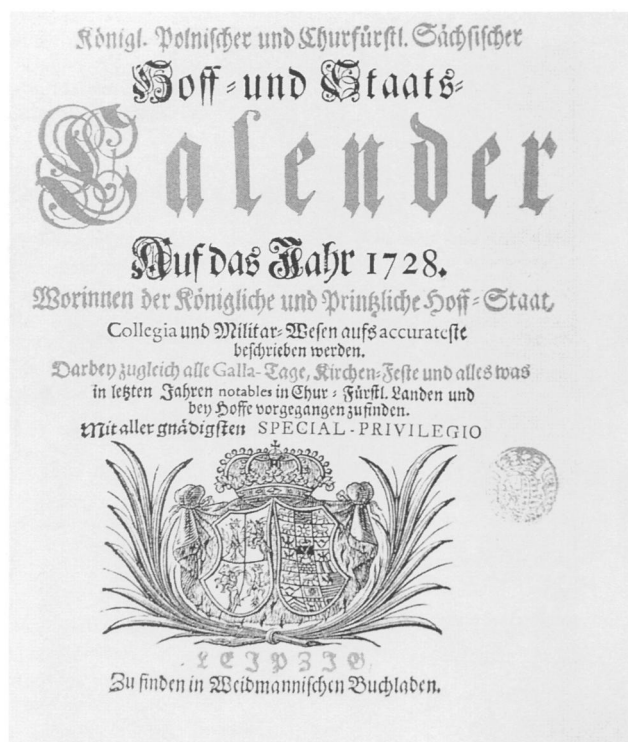


Figure 29. Title page of the Dresden court calendar of 1729 (for the events of 1728)

Sun. Jan. 18: Mass; visit to the Green Vaults; French comedy troupe
 Mon. Jan. 19: Military exercises and parade; masked ball
 Tues. Jan. 20: Visit to the Naturalienkabinet, print collection, library, and orangerie; masked ball
 Weds. Jan. 21: Visit to the Jägerhaus (menagerie); animal combat; the kings dine at the *Maschinen-tafel*; masked ball
 Thurs. Jan. 22: Visit to the Japanese Palace;³⁹ ball
 Fri. Jan. 23: Carousel in the Zwinger court; dinner in the Zwinger pavilions with entertainment by the French comedy troupe
 Sat. Jan. 24: Tour of the Turkish garden, the Hert-zogin garden, to observe the rare animals and trees; dinner with presentation of emblematic engraved glass (Figure 30)
 Sun. Jan. 25: Mass; visit to the Green Vaults; dinner in the Lusthaus; shoot with prizes
 Mon. Jan. 26: Shoot in the Grosse Garten; dinner and court comedy troupe performance
 Tues. Jan. 27: Visit to the Art- and Model-Collection; masked ball
 Weds. Jan. 28: Hunt (boar) with more than 1,000

riders; dinner in the Jagd-Haus; French comedy
 Thurs. Jan. 29: Military parade; visit by ship to the palace on the Elbe in Übigau
 Fri. Jan. 30: Visit to the fortress of Königstein; supper at the palace on the Elbe in Grosssedlitz
 Sat. Jan. 31: Visit to the palace on the Elbe of Pillnitz; return to Dresden by ship accompanied by drums and trumpets; ball
 Sun. Feb. 1: Mass; French comedy troupe; supper with the French ambassador
 Mon. Feb. 2: Feast day celebrated; hunt (fox) and animal combat; ball
 Tues. Feb. 3: Hunt; death of Countess Cosel
 Weds. Feb. 4: Military parade with uniformed regiments; ball
 Thurs. Feb. 5: Visit to the Plauensche Grund; dinner with Count von Loss; visit to the Royal Academy of Painting and Sculpture, guided by court painter and director of the Academy, Louis de Silvestre (observe preparation of drawings of the occasion [Figure 24]);⁴⁰ French comedy troupe; ball and comedy troupe
 Fri. Feb. 6: Shoot (birds) with prizes; peasant-costume court procession
 Sat. Feb. 7: Visit to the court apothecary; dinner with Count Lagnasco; comedy troupe; ball
 Sun. Feb. 8: Mass; dinner at the *Maschinen-tafel*; costumed procession to the Stallbahn for a nighttime tournament with prizes (as in Figure 31); *mercerie* (marketplace with luxury goods for the court) with



Figure 30. So-called friendship glass presented to Friedrich Wilhelm I in Dresden in 1728. Formerly Schloss Monbijou, Berlin (photo: after *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 8 [1954], p. 103, fig. 7) (destroyed)

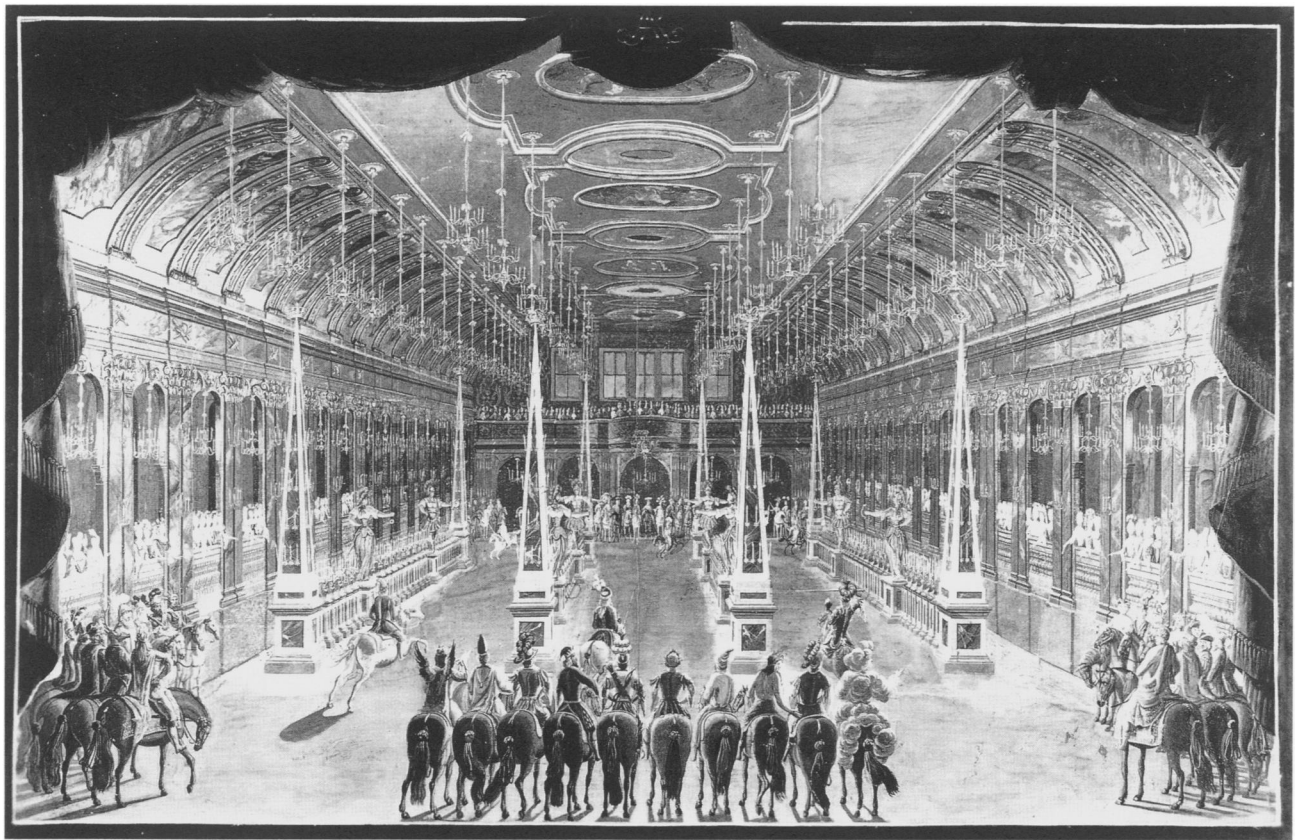


Figure 31. Johann Samuel Mock, *Nighttime Ringrennen Held in Dresden on June 22, 1709*, ca. 1709. 22 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 35 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (57.6 x 90.9 cm). Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett C 1968-797, from Ca 198, Bl. 33 (photo: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden)

illuminations and musicians (as in Figure 32); procession from the Stallbahn with the kings in an open coach, to view dedications and illuminations on buildings, tableaux vivants and painted scenes, live musicians, singers and dancers along the route; supper and masked ball

Mon. Feb. 9: *Wirtschaft* masquerade in the castle, with members of the court and visitors costumed as French peasants, commedia dell'arte characters, servants, miners, shepherds, Norwegian peasants (Figure 33),⁴¹ etc.; marketplace for the court

Tues. Feb. 10: Dinner with Count Flemming; opera (masks required for members of the audience); masked ball

Weds. Feb. 11: Visit to Moritzburg

Thurs. Feb. 12: King of Prussia, the crown prince, and their entourage return to Potsdam.

Among the prizes awarded to winners of the tournaments and hunts were wreaths of marzipan, sometimes with fresh flowers and fruit, once on a silver-gilt salver; glasses of wine or mugs of beer, at times with bread or cookies; boxed sets of writing or dental instruments; a gold sword; silver and silver-gilt *Pokal* with or without

stands; silver baskets with purses; and gold etuis and boxes, often set with precious stones. Also noted in the court calendar were a silver-gilt hot-chocolate traveling service and a silver sweetmeat stand with gilded porcelain, both produced in Augsburg.⁴²

A sixty-eight-page account of the reciprocal visit (*Gegen-Visite*) of Augustus the Strong to Berlin was published in Berlin in 1728, titled *Das frolockende Berlin, Oder Historische Nachricht Dererjenigen öffentlichen Freudens-Bezeugungen und sinnreichen Illuminationen, Die bey hoher Anwesenheit Ohro Konigl. Majestat in Pohlen, Und Dero Konigl. Printzens Hoheit Daselbst angestellet worden, Nebst einem Anhang aller auf diese froliche Begebenheit verfertigter Gedichte* (Figures 34, 35). (The Dresden court calendar reported only the king's departure from Dresden on May 20 and his return June 11 at Charlottenburg, with his reentry to Dresden on June 22.) As the following summary of the events shows, the actual festivities were few, dominated by the military displays favored by the Prussian king. This set the stage for the next meeting of the kings in Dresden in 1730, however.⁴³ The king of Poland traveled with an entourage of 316, including the jester Joseph Fröhlich, doubtless to keep him occupied and amused at the Prussian court.

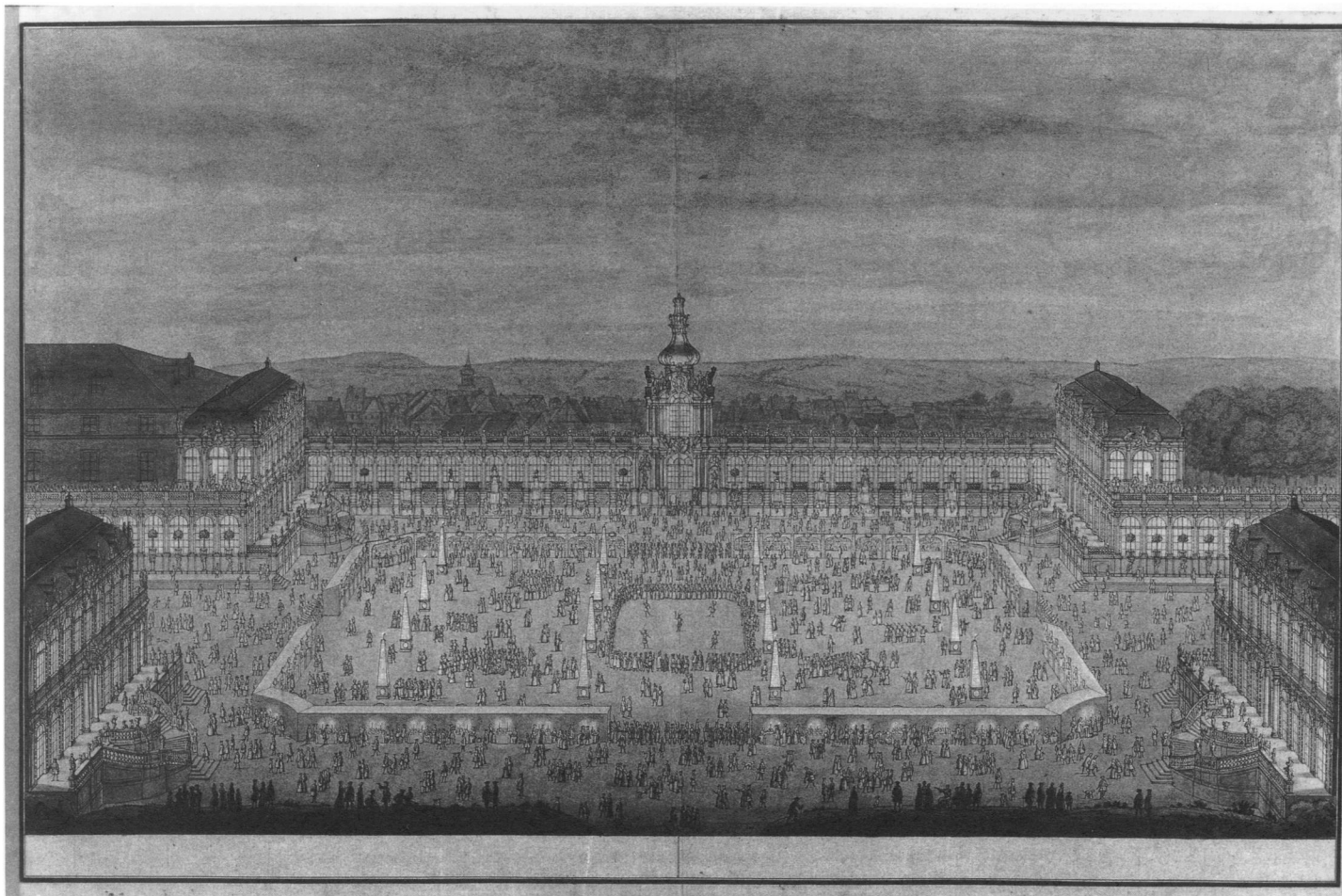


Figure 32. Carl Heinrich Jacob Fehling, *Drawing of the Mercerie during the 1719 Celebrations in Dresden*, for a never-executed print series, after 1719. 22 x 34 3/8 in. (56 x 88 cm). Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett, without inv. no. (photo: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden)

Thurs. May 20: The king and crown prince and their preliminary entourage travel by ship from Dresden, stopping overnight at Übigau

Fri. May 21: Overnight stop at Pretsch

Sun. May 23: To Wittenberg

Mon. May 24: Arrival of Countess Orselska, Count and Countess Bilinski, and others, for a total of 316 in the entourage, including Fröhlich

Weds. May 26: Depart Saxony for Potsdam; meeting of the kings and crown princes; dinner in the Red Chamber followed by a walk; supper with the court

Thurs. May 27: Military review and parade; ball

Fri. May 28: Tour of the city and arms manufactory, with presentation of a flintlock rifle to the kings, used later in a shoot with prizes; state dinner with emblematic sugar sculpture in the center of the table; ball

Sat. May 29: To Berlin via Spandau, with cannon and gun salutes en route to the palace; a brief meeting with the queen

Sun. May 30: Half-hour meeting with the queen and the two eldest princesses; banquet with gold service and silver buffet; visit to the armory

Mon. May 31: Military review and demonstration of maneuvers

Tues. June 1: Tour of the city by coach; presentation of gifts; stop at Monbijou and another palace; supper in the Orangerie; ball

Weds. June 2: Military review; presentation of amber cabinet to Augustus the Strong (Figure 36)

Thurs. June 3: Ceremonial departure for Potsdam; tour of the garden of Count von Gersdorf and of the hospital; afternoon visit to Monbijou for supper and entertainments

Fri. June 4: Supper at the *Maschinen-tafel*; tour of the city at night by coach to view the illuminations, painted allegories, and dedications erected for the occasion

Sat. June 5: Military exercises; ball and supper

Sun. June 6: Visit to the stables, Raritäten-Cammer, zoo; supper and ball



Figure 33. A Norwegian, German, early 18th century. Drawing and watercolor, 11¼ x 7½ in. (29.9 x 19.1 cm). Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett inv. no. C 6120 in TZM 8 (photo: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden)

Mon. June 7: Dinner with the Dutch ambassador; ball and supper

Tues. June 8: Visit to Charlottenburg; ball, supper, and fireworks

Weds. June 9: Dinner at the "oval table"; supper in the Orangerie; ball; night shoot with prizes

Thurs. June 10: Ball; supper in the Orangerie

Fri. June 11: Hunt on the Jungfer Heide near Charlottenburg; dinner table with sugar sculpture of hunting trophies and the hunt; peasant entertainment

Sat. June 12: Dinner with military music; private supper with the royal family; presentation of jeweled portrait to the ministers and medals to members of the court; late departure for Frauenstadt

Sun. June 13: Departure from Prussia.



Figure 34. Title page of *Das frolockende Berlin, Oder Historische Nachricht . . .* (Berlin, 1728)

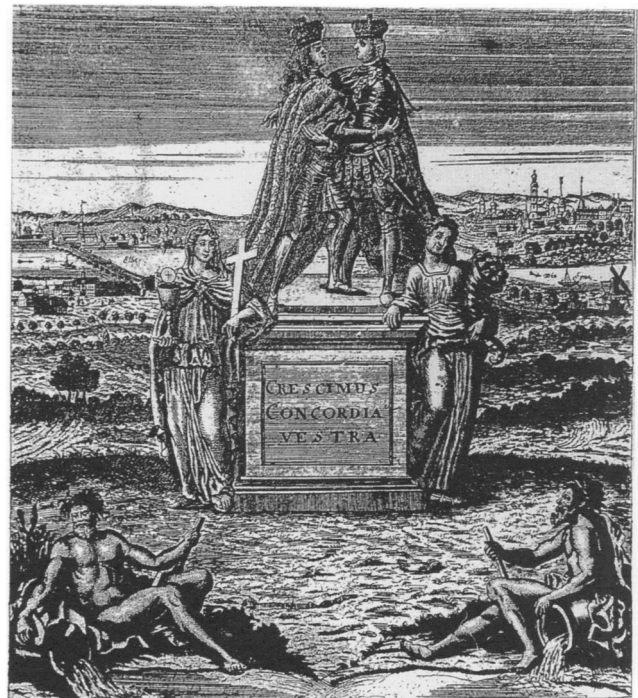


Figure 35. Frontispiece to Figure 34

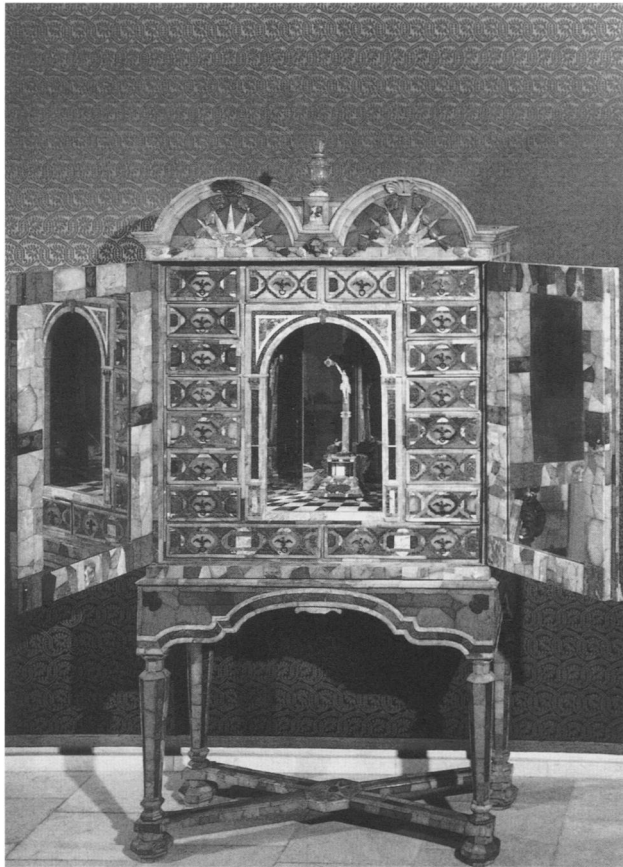


Figure 36. Cabinet on stand, Königsberg, first quarter of the 18th century. Amber. Presented to Augustus the Strong by the king of Prussia in 1728. Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe inv. no. III 88 (photo: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden)

The full report indicates that the visit to Berlin was starkly different from the earlier one to Dresden. For example, evenings were often quiet, with the guests dining alone in their rooms, and military events nearly outnumbered the balls. Table decorations featured prominently in the accounts, as did the nighttime illumination mounted for the occasion in Potsdam. The *Maschinen-tafel*, known also as the *table de confidence* for the privacy it afforded, or as a flying table, since it rose through the floor below, fully outfitted for a meal, was a gift to the Prussian king from Augustus the Strong.⁴⁴ The gifts exchanged between the two kings and their families are not, however, fully noted in the reports, with the exception of the *Aufsatz* left for the queen on June 1, the amber cabinet presented to Augustus the Strong on June 2, and the tributes of June 12.⁴⁵ Yet we know, by the Meissen made for the queen, for example, that other gifts were presented, even though documentation is scarce and the objects elusive.⁴⁶ Of the seventy-seven glasses sent to the Prussian king in March 1728, documented only by a note in the 1734 inventory of

Schloss Pillnitz, only three are known, including the one presented in Dresden on January 24 (Figure 30).⁴⁷

There are no factory records, either, for the Meissen porcelains with the cipher or name of the Prussian queen, though a dating to 1728 is plausible, given the ground color, the models, and the style of the painted decoration. Experiments resulting in a series of ground colors were first conducted about 1726 under the direction of Johann Gregorius Höroldt, head of the painting workshop at Meissen since his arrival in 1720. Documented by a series of bowls delivered in 1727 to the king, presumably for his approval, one with a so-called celadon ground is inscribed on the underside in underglaze blue “Meissen den 27. Augusti 1726.” and is listed in the first inventory of Augustus the Strong’s



Figure 37. Bowl, German, Meissen, 1726. Porcelain. Musée Nationale de Céramique, Sèvres, MNC 2274-9 (photo: RMN 00872251)

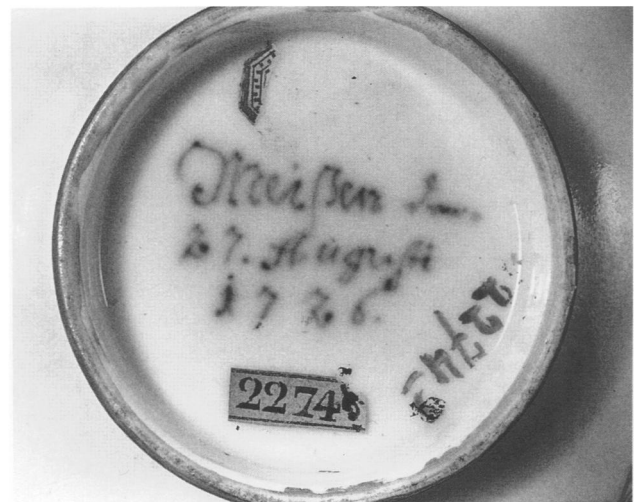


Figure 38. Underside of bowl shown in Figure 37. (photo: RMN 00872250)



Figure 39. Attributed to Paul Heermann (ca. 1673–1732) after an engraving by Robert Boissard, *Masquerades* (Strasbourg, 1597), pl. 6, ca. 1711–13. Figure from the Italian *Commedia*. Meissen stoneware, H. 8 7/8 in. (20.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.86)



Figure 40. So-called Wassermann teapot, ca. 1727–28. Meissen porcelain, decorated in Augsburg, H. 6 in. (15.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of R. Thornton Wilson, in memory of Florence Ellsworth Wilson, 1950 (50.211.247a,b)

Japanese Palace as “Ein dergleichen [Spuhl-Napf] Celadon Couleur, No. 105, gefertigt ao. 1726.” (Figures 37, 38). Porcelains with various ground colors were specified for the interior decoration of the king’s new Japanese Palace, which incorporated a smaller palace of the same name built around 1715 and contained a series of porcelain rooms in the prevailing Dutch style.⁴⁸ According to Samuel Wittwer, the new building was designed as a model of a “modern” residence palace, in contrast to the Renaissance-style Electoral palace on the opposite bank of the Elbe, and the rooms were assigned colors according to the hierarchical theories of Gérard de Laresse.⁴⁹ The king’s requirements for the porcelains to furnish the rooms of the palace occasioned the hiring of the factory’s first modeler, the term for a sculptor working in porcelain clay, Johann Gottlieb Kirchner (b. ca. 1706), on April 29, 1727.⁵⁰

Before Kirchner’s arrival, the factory was largely dependent on models supplied by court artists in Dresden, or on copies of models in various materials from the Dresden royal collections.⁵¹ The workers known as

formers were responsible for creating the plaster molds necessary to reproduce these forms and for molding, assembling, and finishing the porcelain products before firing. The weekly formers’ reports prepared by the factory’s inspector Johann Melchior Steinbrück between 1723 and 1728 show certain workers to have been concerned with the production of more complicated three-dimensional objects while others were engaged chiefly with handles and spouts, or with packing objects for shipment, or even with gathering firewood.⁵² Small sculptural figures attributed to leading court sculptors were produced in Böttger’s red porcelain, actually a stoneware, before the introduction of the white porcelain body in 1713 (Figure 39). From 1723, the work reports record the production of several recognizable small-scale figures by various formers (Wildenstein, Meissner, Haase, Krumbholz, Schmol), such as the Mater Dolorosa and Saint John, various Turkish and other national types, the dwarfs, and a pair of beggars.⁵³ Most of these can be linked to engraved sources, though it has been suggested that the dwarfs



Figure 41. Engraving by Françoise Bouzonnet from Jacques Stella, *Livre de vase* (Paris, 1667), pl. 17. (photo: Kunstbibliothek Berlin)



Figure 42. Plate 23 from Jacques Stella, *Livre de vase* (photo: Kunstbibliothek, Berlin)

and foreign types in particular derive from a delivery of plaster models to the manufactory in 1725.⁵⁴

Among the relatively small number of formers, George Fritzsche (probably 1697–1756) is the only one to whom various models are sometimes ascribed; certainly within the work reports, he is associated with the production of a distinctive group of important early figural models, for example the so-called Wassermann teapot (Figures 40–43),⁵⁵ the Venus Temple (Figure 44),⁵⁶ the table fountain (Figure 10), and various clock cases.⁵⁷ These models all follow the arrival of Kirchner in 1727, however, and may therefore demonstrate the immediate impact of the factory's first in-house sculptor, working in collaboration with a gifted former who could adapt his monumental forms to the porcelain medium. In some instances, this collaboration is confirmed by the work reports, as in the case of the Venus Temple in production in 1727.⁵⁸ In other instances, for example the Wassermann teapot or the Harlequin figure (Figure 45), these models seem classically conceived and are only loosely based on their graphic sources (Figure 46), unlike the national types or dwarfs that more or less

copy their recognized print sources. And given the nature of a factory operation, there is no reason to assign sculptural works of this originality solely to the former Fritzsche.

Until records for the production of the museum's *Pokal* are found, it may best be viewed as representative of this period of collaboration between Fritzsche and Kirchner, about 1727–28.⁵⁹ Kirchner's hand is clear in the monumental conception of the Minerva on the cover; its translation into porcelain adds a delicacy and softness to the figure that belies its source, probably the silver model by Philipp Küsel in the Green Vaults (compare Figures 1 and 47). Metalwork *Pokal* often carried allegorical figures from mythology on the covers, though whether the figure of Minerva has any relevance in terms of the recipient is uncertain.⁶⁰ The simple form and heavy ornamentation of the cup and stand must derive from metalwork as well. Unfortunately, there was no attempt to create the unified sculptural conception found in the table fountain, for example, though perhaps the idea was to reproduce the sublime effect of the silver-gilt coffeepot produced



Figure 43. Plate 44 from Jacques Stella, *Livre de vase* (photo: Kunstbibliothek, Berlin)

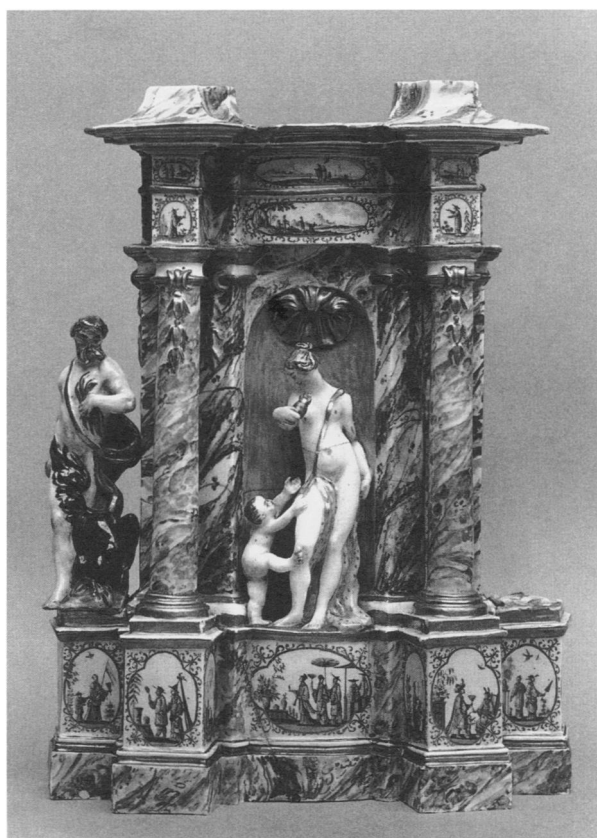


Figure 44. After a model by Johann Gottlieb Kirchner. So-called Venus Temple, ca. 1727. Meissen porcelain, H. 11½ in. (29.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of R. Thornton Wilson, in memory of Florence Ellsworth Wilson, 1950 (50.211.229)



Figure 45. Figures of Harlequin and two dwarfs, German, Meissen, probably ca. 1727. Porcelain, H. (Harlequin) 6¾ in. (17.1 cm), (male dwarf) 5 in. (12.7 cm), (female dwarf) 6 in. (15.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.72, 64.101.122, 64.101.123)



Figure 46. Salvator Rosa (Italian, 1615–1673). *Warrior Walking Holding Shield and with Left Hand on his Breast*. Etching, 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 3 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (14.3 x 9.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Joseph Pulitzer Bequest, 1917 (17.50.17–150)



Figure 47. Philipp Küsel (1642–1700). *Figure of Athena (Minerva)*, ca. 1670. Silver, H. 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (42 cm). Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe, IV 25. (photo: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden)

in 1722 for the crown prince, its sculptural elements set against a classically conceived form (Figure 48).

As with the architectural clock cases produced at Meissen during the same period, the *Pokal's* harmony of design is achieved chiefly through its decoration. And the style of the factory gilding and the chinoiserie decoration points to a dating in line with the royal visit in 1728. The pattern of the gold ornament is consistent with what we recognize to be factory work at a time of experimentation, when most gilding was still done outside the factory by goldsmiths in Dresden and Augsburg. The chinoiserie are in the factory style introduced by Höroldt in the early 1720s. The taste for these charming capriccios was at its height in the mid-1720s and waned only with the death of Augustus the Strong in 1733. It is not uncommon to find such subjects on royal gifts and commissions for foreign courts.⁶¹ The fancifully dressed characters, recognizable as servants and attendants or lords and ladies, could be compared with the costumed guests attending the balls

staged at court, while the landscape settings were familiar from popular seventeenth-century landscape paintings and prints, or from the actual landscape of the Elbe between Dresden and Meissen. Höroldt's designs may refer at times to the chinoiserie published from the late seventeenth century, mostly in Amsterdam and Augsburg, but he actually used a mix-and-match approach, blending Asian and European graphic sources to create original compositions. Thus it is not surprising that the scenes on the Museum's covered cup and stand cannot be easily traced either to the so-called Schulz Codex, as the set of surviving workroom sketches produced at Meissen during the 1720s is known, or to any of the numerous engraved ornamental sheets and genre subjects acquired by the factory from 1722 on.⁶²

Were the pieces owned by queen, and bearing her cipher or name, presented to her in 1728 during the king of Poland's visit to Berlin? This simple question remains unanswered. The large collection in Monbijou at the queen's death in 1757 included later acquisitions,



Figure 48. Johann Jacob Irminger and Balthasar Permoser. Coffeepot with burner and stand, 1722. Silver gilt, H. (of pot) 18 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (47.2 cm). Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe IV 251 (photo: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden)

such as the Meissen service with the applied flowers cited in the factory records for 1735, though it is not clear whether this was a gift. Relations between Prussia and Saxony were cordial until the reign of Frederick the Great, who twice occupied Meissen, in 1745 and during the Seven Years' War, appropriating hundreds of pieces of porcelain for himself and his courts in Potsdam and Berlin. Doubtless many of the later pieces in the queen's collection were trophies seized by her son.⁶³ It is to be hoped that the coming years will bring greater insight into Meissen porcelain in the Prussian royal collections, thereby placing Sophie Dorothea's pieces in a clearer light.

APPENDIX 1

GStA PK, I. HA, Rep. 21, Nr. 192 (Monbijou), Fasz. 14, *Inventarium von Ihro Majestät der Königin*

*Meubles und Sachen in dem Schlosse in Dero Garten Monbijoux 1738.*⁶⁴

[fol. 1] Inventarium von der Königin Maj. Meubles und andern Sachen in Monbijoux.

In der Holländische Küche

Ein großer Spiegel, so in der Wand befestigt, und einen Bruch hat, auf welchem ein alter gebrochener Stam-gemahlet.

An Dreßdner Porcellain

Ein Bassein, der Grund weiß, mit Gold und Japanischen Figuren gemahlet, nebst Piedestal, woran ein Satyren, oben ein wilder Mann, auf dem Nacken eine Muschel haltend, welche inwendig gantz verguldet.

Zwey große Tarinen nebst Deckel, und dazu gehörige Schüsseln, auf jedem Deckel eine Klocke mit Gold und Japanischen Figuren.

Vier hohe Tarinen mit Henckels und Deckels, imgleichen vier dazu gehörige Schüsseln, alles mit Gold und Japanischen Figuren.

Zwey kleinere Dito mit Deckels und Schüsseln, mit Gold und Japanischen Figuren.

Zwey große Dito nebst Deckels mit Gold, grün und weißen Feldern.

[fol. 2] Zwey Suppen Töpffe nebst Henckels und Deckels mit Gold und Japanischen Figuren.

Zwey große Suppen Schalen nebst Deckels und Schüsseln, mit Gold und Japanischen Figuren.

Vier dergleichen Dito, etwas kleiner, gleichfals jede mit Schüsseln.

Vier kleine Suppen Schalen nebst Deckel und vier Teller, mit Gold und Japanischen Figuren.

Sechs kleine Suppen Töpffgens mit Füßen nebst Deckel und Teller, alle mit Gold und Japanischen Figuren.

Zwey Bouillon Schalen mit Henckel und Deckeln, imgleichen nebst Unter-Schalen, alles mit Gold und Japanischen Figuren.

Zwey kleinere Dito von eben dieser Art und Gattung.

Ein Pocal inwendig verguldet nebst Deckel und Unter-Schale, und stehet auf dem Deckel ein Engel, in der einen Hand eine Trompete und in der andern einen Lorbeer-Crantz haltend, alles mit erhabenem Laubwerck, Gold und Japanischen Figuren.

Sechzehnen Becher nebst Deckels, worauff ein goldener Knauff, alle mit Gold und Japanischen Figuren von dem einen Becher aber ist der Knauff vom Deckel ab.

Ein gelber Becher nebst Deckel, mit zwey [fol. 3] weißen Feldern, worinn Japanischen Figuren mit Gold.

Zwey kleine Dito mit Gold und Japanischen Figuren.

Ein auf einem Piedestal stehendes Weintönischen, rother Couleur, mit goldenen Reiffen, oben darauff ist der Bachus, über dem Kopff eine Caffé-Schale haltend.

Ein dergleichen Dito, grüner Couleur, mit Reiffen und Feldern.

Zwey Butter Dosen nebst Deckel und dazugehörigen Tellers, mit Gold und Japanischen Figuren ausgezihret.

Zwey Suppen Schalen nebst Deckel und Teller, worinnen Felder mit Schwartz miniature und Gold gemahlt.

Eine Plat de ménage, in der Mitten eine Schale auf ein Pied d'estat, ein Möstrich Pott, Zucker Dose, zwey Caraffinen zu Baumm-Oehl und Essig, vier kleine dreyfüssige Muschelgens, alles mit Blumen und Gold bemahlet.

Eine Dito von eben dem Gemählde, bestehend aus zwey Zucker Dosen, eine Pfeffer Dohse, ein Möstrich Pott, und zwey Caraffinen für Baumm-Oehl und Essig.

Zwey Terrinen mit Henkel, item Deckels, und zu jeder eine Schüssel mit goldenen Ränden und naturellen Blumen.

Zwey dergleichen Dito ohne Schüsseln.

[fol. 4] Eine goldene Schale mit einem goldenen Rand, in- und auswendig mit naturellen Blumen.

Zwey Suppen Schalen mit Füsse, imgleichen mit Deckel und Tellers, die Schalen mit erhabenen Blumen und die Teller schlecht.

Zwey Dito Teller, geribbet und mit Blumen.

Eine Bouillon Schale mit Deckel und Teller weiss, Gold und Schwartz miniature.

Zwey Koch-Töpfe mit Gold und miniatur Arbeit.

Zwey Glocken nebst Unter Schalen mit Gold und miniatur Arbeit.

... ..

Vier Affen.

Vier Fasanen.

Zwey Löwen.

Zwey liegende Ziegen-Böcke.

Sieben stehende Ziegen Böcke.

Eine Ziege.

Eine Gemse.

Zwey Hirsche, wovon die eine ein Kalb bey sich hat.

Zwey bunte Ochsen.

Zwey weisse Dito.

Zwey Katzen.

Vier Mops-Hunde.

Zwey Bachstelzen.

Ein Canarien Vogel.

Ein Eis-Vogel nebst einem Nest, worinn Junge seyn.

[in the margin:] Alle die vorstehenden Sachen sind nach dem Schloss gebracht.

[fol. 5] Ein Eich-Hörnchen.

Ein Hase und eine Henne auf einem Pied d'estal sitzend.

Drey Klucken mit Kückels.

Zwey Hühner, so den Kopff nach dem Rücken gekehret.

Vier Hähne.

Vier Mägdchens mit einer Leyer.

Ein altes Weib mit einer Leyer.

Ein altes Weib mit einem gebrochenen Krug.

Drey Männer mit einer Leyer.

Drey Männer mit einem Pfeiff-Sack.

Ein Mann mit einem Pohnischen Sack.

[in the margin:] was vorgestrichen ist nach dem Schloss gebracht.

Ein Krug mit einem Messingen Deckel, mit Blumen gemahlt.

Eine dreyfüssige Vase gemuschelt, mit einem

Deckel, worauf ein Zweig mit Blumen.

Ein Spühl-Kump mit goldenen Blumen.

Ein dergleichen Milch-Töpfchen.

Eine dergleichen Zucker-Schale mit Deckel.

Eine dergleichen Thé-Büchse.

Eine dergleichen Caffé-Kanne.

Ein dergleichen Thee Töpfgen nebst Unter Schälén.

[fol. 6] An grün Dressdner Porcellain

Ein Pocal nebst Unter-Schale und Deckel, worauf die Göttinn Pallas, in der einen Hand ein Schild, und in der andern Hand einen Spieß haltend, inwendig gantz verguldet, und auswendig mit Feldern, Gold und miniature gemahlet.

Zwey Schalen nebst Teller und Deckel mit Feldern und Gold.

Zwey ovale Terrinen mit Feldern en miniature und Gold gemahlet.

Ein Dreyfüsiger Suppen-Topff nebst Teller und Deckel, mit Feldern en miniature und Gold gemahlet.

Zwey dergleichen Bouillon Schälchen nebst Teller und Deckel.

Ein dergleichen Thé-Töpfchen.

Zwey dergleichen Bouillon Schälchen Seladon

Couleur, nebst Unter-Schälgen und Deckel.

Ein dergleichen Milch-Töpfgen.

Eine Kaffé-Kanne mit grün erhabenen Blättern, goldenen Ränden und naturellen Blumen und Früchten.

Ein dergleichen Thé-Topff.

Ein dergleichen Spühl-Kume.

Sechs Paar dergleichen Thé-Tassen.

Eine dergleichen Zucker-Dohse.

[fol. 7] An weiß Dresdner Porcellain

Ein groß Butter-Faß, woran der Stiehl von schwarz Eben-Holtz, oben darauff ist ein verguldter Adler.

Ein Wasser Eymen mit einem verguldeten Rand und Messingen Rin, vorne auff dem Eymen stehet eine verguldete Schrift, imgleichen ist ein Messinger Haacken in der Wand eingeschraubet, woran der Eymen hanget.

Zwey ovale Terrinen mit Henkel und Deckel und erhabenen Blumen.

Zwey rund Dito nebst Deckel und Schüsseln mit erhabenen Blumen.

Zwey dergleichen Spühl-Kumpe.

Zwey The-Töpfe auf dergleichen Arth.

Eine Caffé-Kanne von dergleichen erhabenen Blumen.

Eine schlechte Caffé-Kanne.
 Ein Körbchen nebst Deckel.
 Zwey kleine Terrinen mit Deckels und erhabenen Blumen.
 Eine Zucker-Dohse nebst Deckel mit erhabenen Blumen.
 Sechs Paar Thé-Tassen mit erhabenen Blättern.
 Eine Thé-Dohse mit erhabenen Blumen.
 Eine weisse Schild-Kröte.
 Ein Schwan, worauff ein Bachus sitzt, welcher in der Hand ein Schälchen halt.
 [fol. 8] Zwey weiße sitzende Figuren.
 Zwey Pagoden.

An Dreßdner Porcellain mit Indianischen Figuren und Blumen gemahlet.

Drey ovale Terrinen nebst Deckeln und Schüsseln.
 Zwey Dito etwas kleiner ohne Schüsseln.
 Zwey runde Dito nebst Schüsseln und Deckeln worauf ein Hase sitzt.
 Zwey kleinere Dito nebst Schüsseln und Deckeln.
 Zwey runde Dito mit Henckels nebst Schüsseln und Deckeln.
 Zwey dergleichen Dito ohne Schüsseln.
 Zwey hohe Terrinen mit Deckel und Henckels, woran eine Indianische Figur.
 Zwey hohe Dito nebst Schüsseln und Deckels.
 Zwey runde Terrinen nebst Schüsseln und Deckels.
 Zwey dergleichen glatte terrinen nebst Deckel aber ohne Schüsseln.
 Ein Fisch-Kessel mit einem Messingen verguldeten Ring.
 Eine Castrole, woran ein Stiehl, von Messing und verguldet.
 Eine Molde {?} zum Butter Waschen {?}
 Zwey Kalte Schalen-Näpffe mit Deckels.
 Sechs Milch-Castrollen, jede mit Deckel, vier mit Teller, und zwey ohne Teller.
 [fol. 9] Zwey Schalen mit Henckel, nebst Deckels und Schüsseln, woran Ringe mit Crantzgens gemahlet.
 Zwey dergleichen ohne Henckels, jedoch mit Schüsseln.
 Zwey Schalen mit Teller und Deckels, worauf ein Eichhörnchen sitzt.
 Ein Blumen Korb mit Henckel, woran Figuren.
 Ein dergleichen etwas kleiner.
 Ein noch dergleichen etwas kleiner.
 Ein Paar rothe Bouillon Schälgen nebst Deckel und Unter-Schälgen, woran Felder mit miniature Mahlerey.
 Ein Paar Dito etwas dunckel roth mit Felder und Blumen.
 Ein Paar Dito aber gelbe mit Felder und Blumen.
 Vier Koch-Töpffe mit Blumen bemahlet.
 Zwey durchbrochene Körbchen mit Henkel und Deckel.
 Ein Wasch-Becken nebst Unter-Schale mit Blumen.
 Ein Caffé-Kännchen mit blauen und weissen Feldern und Blumen bemahlet.

Ein Möstrich-Fäßgen mit rothen Reiffen und Blumen bemahlet.
 Ein Dito mit braunen Reiffen.
 Eine kleine Wanne mit zwey Henckel.
 Zwey Butter Dohsen mit Blumen bemahlet.
 [fol. 10] Ein Caffé-Brett nebst fünff Tassen mit Deckels von unterschiedener Größe.
 Ein Thé-Brett.
 Ein bunte Schild-Kröte.
 Zwey Muscheln.

An Blau und Weiss Dresdner Porcellain

Vier Terrinen mit Henckel und Deckel.

Zwey Dito ohne Henckel.
 Ein Milch-Töpffen mit Deckel.
 Eine geribbete {?} Butter-Dohse.
 Ein Caffé-Brett, worauff vier Milch-Pöttchens.
 Zwey Paar Chocolate Schalen, die Ober- und Unter-Tassen mit Henckels, auswendig braun, und inwendig blau und weiß.
 Zwey Figuren, Ein Mönch und eine Nonne.

[fol. 11–10 concerns 'An Wienerschem Porcellain', 'An Wienerschem Porcellain', 'An Bayreuthschen Porcellain', 'An weiß Porcellain von St. Clous', and 'An Japanisch und Indianischen Porcellain'.]

[fol. 63] In der gelben Cammer

Diese is so wohl auf den Seiten herum als auch oben ins simß mit Spiegel Banden, imgleichen mit fünfzehn Banden von Indianisch Pappe, undt zweyen dergleichen Feldern über den beyden Thüren ausgekleidet, worauf Figuren, Bäume und Blumen von erhabener Pappe geklebt sind.
 Vier Fenstergardinen von weißem und gelbe gestreiftem Atlas mit Blumen, jede bestehet aus Drey Blatt, ist lang vier und drey viertel Ellen.
 Sechs Tabourets, wovon die Füße gelb laquirt und versilbert, mit dergleichen Atlas beschlagen und auf jedem eine gelbe Kappe von gelbem Bast, inwendig mit gelber Leinwand gefüttert.
 Ein großer Spigel über dem Kamin in der Wand befestiget, fünff Fuß Neuen Zoll hoch und 3. Fuß 5. Zoll breit.
 [fol. 64] Ein Camin Brett von Leinwandt, worauf ein Schwartz und weiß Hündchen, auf einem blauen Küssen liegt, gemahlet.
 Ein Aufsatz über dem Kamin von Dreßdner Porcellain, bestehend aus Sieben Stücken, wovon drey mit Deckel, und vier Becher gelb mit weißen Feldern und einem Bluhmen Crantz, worinn eine Indianische miniatur Mahlerey.
 Drey sitzende Pagoden von Dreßdner Porcellain, so gemahlet.
 Zwey weiße Canarien Vögel von Dreßdner Porcellain.
 Ein weiß marmorner Tisch, stehen auf zwey Geiß-Füßen von Bildhauer-Arbeit und versilbert, worauf sich befinden.
 Eine Suppen-Schale nebst Deckel und Teller Dres-

dener grün Seladon Porcellain, mit weißen Feldern
 und Gold, worin miniatur Mahlerey.
 Zwey dergleichen Teller.
 Zwey dergleichen Leuchter.
 Ein dergleichen Becher mit Deckel.
 Zwey dergleichen Messer-Schalen.
 Ein dergleichen Löffel.
 Ein dergleichen Saltz-Faß.
 Sechs Paar dergleichen Thee-Tassen.
 Ein noch dergleichen weiß marmorner Tisch auf
 zwey Geiß Füße von Bildhauer-Arbeit und versilbert,
 auf diesem befindet sich
 Ein Spühl-Kump von grün Seladon Dresdener Porcel-
 lain mit weißen Feldern, worinn Indianische Blumen
 gemahlet.
 Ein dergleichen Thee-Topff.
 Ein dergleichen Thee-Dose.
 Sechs Paar dergleichen Tee-Tassen.
 Eine länglichte Unterschale mit einem braunen
 Rand, weiß Dreßdner Porcellain, mit roth, grün und
 blauen Indianischen Blumen, worauf eine Glocke,
 ein Tinten-Faß und eine Streu-Büchse von dergle-
 ichen Porcellain stehet.
 Sechs Paar Chokolade-Taßen von Wienerschen Por-
 cellain, weiss, grün roth naturellen Blumen und etwas
 Gold gemahlet.

Ein schwartz und weißer marmorner Tisch, stehet auf
 zwey Geiß-Füße von Bildhauer-Arbeit und versilbert
 darauf befindet sich
 Ein Spühl-Kump von Dreßdner Porcellain, gelb mit
 weißen Feldern, worinn naturelle Bluhmen.
 Eine dergleichen Caffé-Kanne.
 Ein dergleichen Thee-Topff.
 [fol. 66] Eine dergleichen Zucker Dose mit Deckel.
 Eine dergleichen Thee-Dose.
 Sechs Paar dergleichen Thee-Taßen.
 Ein kleiner Tisch auf vier Füßen, das Blatt von Kupf-
 fer und emailirt mit einer großen Bluhme, in der
 Mitte darauf befindet sich
 Ein Spühl-Kump von Dreßdner Porcellain, dunkel
 blau mit Gold und weißen Feldern, worinn miniatur
 Mahlerey.
 Ein dergleichen Caffé-Kännchen.
 Ein dergleichen Thee-Topff.
 Eine dergleichen Thee-Dose.
 Eine dergleichen Zucker-Schale mit Deckel nebst
 Unter-Schale, welche etwas gemuschelt.
 Sechs Paar dergleichen Chokolade Taßen die Ober-
 Taßen jede mit 2. Henckel.
 Sechs Paar dergleichen Thee-Taßen.
 [... ...]

APPENDIX 2

*Inventarium der Verlassenschaft an d. 28ten. Junii
 1757. . . Sophia Dorothea verwitweten Königin von
 Preussen . . . vom 27ten Februari bis April 1758.*⁶⁵

[fol. 17b] Titulus VII. A.
 An Porcelaine.

A. Dresdner Porcelaine

1. Ein Aufsatz von 7 Stück gelb mit Indianische Figuren.
2. Ein Aufsatz von 5. Stück mit Blumen und Vögeln.
3. ein dergleichen von 5. Stück weiß und blau davon 1. Stück beschädigt.
4. ein kleiner Aufsatz von 7. Stück a jour mit Gold.
5. ein Aufsatz von 9. Stück gris de lin mit Chinesischen Figuren.
6. ein Aufsatz von 5. Stück weiß und goldene Figuren, wovon eines beschädigt.
7. 13. Becher weiß und Gold mit paÿsagen wovon 2. Stück etwas kleinen.
8. 6. Bouillon Töpfe mit Schaaen weiß und gold.
9. 2. kleine Töpfe mit henckeln weiß und gold Chinesischen Figuren.
10. ein kleine potpourri mit erhabenen Blumen.
11. ein Becher gelb mit chinesischen Figuren.

12. ein grosser Becher mit Fama und einen Schüßel weiß und chinesischen Figuren.
13. eine Glocke mit einen Teller bunt und Gold.
14. eine Glocke mit einen Teller beschädigt.
15. 2. Töpfe weiß und Gold mit chinesischen Figuren.
16. 4. Töpfe ohne Gold.
17. ein Bouillon Topf mit Füßen und Deckel.
18. ein kleiner Krug ohne Deckel.
19. ein Bouillon Topf grün und Gold.
20. 2. kleinen grünen potpourris
21. ein kleinen Bouillon Topf mit einen Schüßel gris de lin und Gold.
22. ein großen grünen Becher mit einen Schaale.
23. 2. Terrinen mit Gold und Paisagen ohne Schüßeln.
24. 2. Terrinen weiß und Gold mit Chinesischen Figuren mit Schüßeln. [fol. 18a]
25. 2. Terrinen mit Schüßeln Chinesischen Figuren und Gold und weißen Knöpfen.
26. 2. Terrinen mit Schüßeln, Chinesischen Figuren und Gold und grünen Knöpfen.
27. 2. grünen und goldenen Terrinen mit Schüßeln.
28. eine Terrine a jour mit erhabenen Figuren und einen Schüssel.

29. 2. Terrinen Gold und weiß mit Unterschaalen.
30. 2. Terrinen etwas kleiner wie die vorigen.
31. 2. Terrinen wie die vorigen Gold und weiß etwas kleiner
32. 2. Schaalen mit Unterschaalen, Gold und Indianischen Figuren.
33. 2. dergleichen runde Schaalen.
34. 2. Bouillon Schaalen mit Henckel und Unterschaalen
35. 2. dergleichen Bouillon Schaalen etwas kleiner.
36. 2. dergleichen mit erhabenen Blumen.
37. 2. Töpfe mit Henckeln und Unterschaalen weiß und Gold mit Chinesischen Figuren.
38. eine auf der Königin Geburts-Tag gemachte Suppen Schaale mit der Unterschaale.
39. 2. Suppen Schaalen mit Unterschüßeln grün und gold mit Chinesischen Figuren.
40. 2. etwas kleinere.
41. 2. kleine Suppen-Schaalen mit Unterschaale, weiß mit Europaischen Figuren.
42. eine Suppen Schaale mit einer Unterschaale und mit Schleh-Blüte umgeben
43. 2. runde Terrinen mit Schüßeln und Deckel.
44. 2. dergleichen ohne Schüßeln.
45. 2. eben dergleichen ohne Schüßeln.
46. 2. Terrinen mit Schüßeln und Henckeln, weiß mit Blumen.
47. 2. etwas kleinere mit Indianischen Drachen. [fol. 18b]
48. 2. runde Terrinen mit Schüsseln und Vögel auf den Knopf.
49. 2. ordinaire Eiß-Töpfe mit Deckeln.
50. eine Terrine ohne Schüssel mit Blumen Weiß
51. 2. Terrinen mit Henckel ohne Unterschaale.
52. 2. runde Terrinen ohne Schüßel.
53. 2. dergleichen.
54. 2. Schaalen mit Schüßeln.
55. 2. Schaalen mit Henckeln und Schüßeln.
56. 2. Schaalen mit Henckel mit Schüßeln.
57. 2. Schaalen ohne Henckel mit Schüßeln.
58. 2. dergleichen ohne Henckel mit Schaalen.
59. 2. kleine Töpfe mit Feuillagen.
60. 3. Terrinen blau und weiß mit Henckel ohne Schüßeln.
61. 2. weisse Terrinen mit Schüßeln und erhabenen Bouquetten.
62. 2. weisse kleinere Terrinen ohne Schüßeln und Henckel.
63. ein Tiegel mit einem Deckel worauf ein erhaben Bouquet.
64. 2. Tiegels mit Ast-Henckels.
65. eine Suppen Schaale mit Schüßel und Henckel blau mit paisagen.
66. 2. Suppen Schaalen mit Schüßel und Deckel purper und tuschene paisagen.
67. 2. dergleichen etwas kleiner purper Grund und Blumen.
68. 2. dergleichen gelben Grund und Blumen.
69. 2. dergleichen grünen Grund und Blumen.
70. 2. dergleichen rothen Grund und paisagen.
71. eine kleinen Suppen-Schaale, Henckel und Deckel mit purper Figuren.
72. 2. Suppen Schaalen mit Schüßeln und deckel Chinesische Art.
73. eine Suppen Schaale mit Schüßel und deckel gris de lin gemahlet auf gelben Grund. [fol. 19a]
74. 6. Rändel mit Schüßel und Deckel verschiedenen größe.
75. eine Plat menage bestehend aus 10. Stück weiß mit bunten Blumen, worunter eines entzwey
76. eine dergleichen Plat Menage bestehend aus 5. Stück.
77. einen Castroll mit Henckel ohne Deckel.
78. 2. große Butter-Schaalen mit Schüßeln in Form einen Melone.
79. 2. etwas kleiner.
80. 2. Butter Büchsen in form einen Schild-Kröte.
81. 2. drinsel [?] Kästchens weiß mit Gold.
82. 2. ovale Butter-Büchsen Chinesische Art
83. 2. Butter-Fäßgen weiss mit Gold und Chinesischen Figuren und Teller darunter.
84. Achteckigte Körbchen à jour gearbeitet mit Henckeln.
85. ein länglicher Korb mit Henckel.
86. ein dergleichen ohne Henckel.
87. ein kleines ovales Körbchen mit Henckeln.
88. ein länglicher Korb mit Henckeln.
89. ein dergleichen etwas kleiner
90. noch etwas kleiner.
91. 2. kleine Körbchenes à jour mit Deckel.
92. 2. runde weiße Kohlrabbennen à jour.
93. 2. länglichte Unterschaalen.
94. eine große Punsch-Schaale weiß mit golden und bunten Blumen.
95. ein kleine Wanne mit metallenen Henckel.
96. eine weißer Figuren mit metallenen Henckel worauf Verse auf die Königin.
97. eine Butter-Malle.
98. eine kleine Wanne mit bunten Blumen.
99. ein weiß Butter-Fäß. [fol. 19b]
100. ein weissen Vogel-Bauer.
101. eine Fontaine nebst Bassin weiß und Gold mit Figuren.
102. 2. Lavoirs Melonen Farbe.
103. ein grün Wein Fäß mit postament.
104. ein dergleiches Wein Fäß purper und Gold.
105. ein Wein Fäß weiß und Gold.
106. ein Achteckigt Wasch-Becker mit Gieß-Kanne
107. ein Chocolate Topf mit Unterschale.
108. eine Wurffel Machine so entzwey.
109. ein presentir Teller mit Henckel.
110. ein viereckigter Credentz-Teller
111. eine Butter-Büchse auf Melonen Art
112. 2. Sand- Fäßgen in Form von Tänchens.
113. 1. Nadel-Teller.
114. 5. Pomade-Büchsen.
115. ein Schreib-Zeug mit einen Glocke bestehend aus 4. Stück
116. 7. Hühner

117. 8. Hunde
118. eine Groupgen mit einem Mops und 2. Bologneser, auf dem einen Halsband der Königin Nahmen.
119. 6. Vögel.
120. eine grosse Schilderey
121. 4. dergleichen etwas kleiner.
122. 8. Figuren Gärtner und Gärtnerin
123. 4. Figuren Nuditäten
124. 10. Figuren von verschiedener Sorte
125. 6. Figuren.
126. 7. Groupgen.
127. eine weißes Thee Servis von 10. Stück nebst einen der . . . gemachten Tisch mit hölzernen vergoldeten Füßen.
128. Ein Thee Servis blau mit Gold und Paisagen. [fol. 20a] von 6. Chocolate Taßen mit Henckel, 6. paar ordinaire Taßen; Thee-Kanne, Zucker-Dose, Milch -Kanne, und Spühl-Napf mit Deckel.
129. ein presentir Teller ein Chocolate Becker ein Zucker Schälchen und ein biscuit Schälchen.
130. 24. Taßen 2. Thee-Töpfe, 1 Thee-Buchse, 1 Zucker Dose, Milch Kanne, 1 Spühl-Napf, 1 Boutillon Topf mit Deckel und Unter-Schaale, weiß und Goldt mit Landschaften.
131. ein Thee- und Coffée-Servis goldener Grund mit blauen Blumen, bestehend in 6. paar Taßen, 1 Spühl-Napf, 1 Coffee Kanne, 1. Thee-Topf, 1 Thee Buchse, 1 Zucker Dose.
132. ein Thee-Servis, grün und Gold mit Landschaften bestehet in 6. paar Taßen, 1 TheeTopf mit Deckel und Unterschaale, 2. Leuchter, 1 Bouillon Napf nebst Deckel, Unterschaale und Löffel, 1 Becker mit Deckel und Unterschaale, 1. SaltzDose und 2 Löffel und Meßer und Gabel.
133. ein Thee Servis grün eben Gold mit Blumen, bestehend in 6. paar Taßen, 1. Spühl Napf, 1. Thee-Topf, 1. Milch-Kanne und 1 Thee Büchse.
134. ein Thee Servis und Coffée Servis gelb eben Gold mit Blumen, 6. Taßen, 1. Spühl. Napf, 1. Coffée Kanne, 1. Thee-Kanne, 1. Zucker-Schaale.
135. ein Thee-und Coffée-Servis Erd-farben mit blauen Blumen bestehend in 6. paar ordinaire Taßen, 6. paar mit Henckeln, 1. Coffée Kanne, 1 Spühl Napf, 1 Milch-Kanne, 1 Thee Kanne, 1 Thee-Büchse, 1 Zucker Dose mit Schaale
136. 10. Ober Taßen 14 Unterschaalen weiss mit erhabenen Blumen.
137. ein Thee und Coffée Servis braun mit blauen [fol. 20b] Blumen, 6 paar Taßen, 2 Chocolate Taßen, 1 Spühl-Napf und 1. TheeTopf.
138. 3. Milch-Kannen verschiedener Art
139. eine große weiße Plat menage
140. ein Taffel-Servis weiß und chinesischen Drachen, Vögeln und Blumen, bestehend aus 1 plat menage mit 8 Stück, 6 Terrinen, 8. dutzend Teller, 2. großen Schüsseln, 6. kleinern, 8. noch kleinern, 6. Saladieres, 12 Assietten 4. Milch Schaalen, 5 kleine Frucht-Schaalen, 2 Saucieren, 2. Butter-Schaalen, 6. SaltzDosen, 8. Leuchter und 8 geborstene, und einer depareillirten Schüssel.
141. ein weiß Taffel Servis, bestehend in 14. dutzend Teller, 4. Terrinen, 17. großen Schüsseln, 7. kleinern und 10. noch kleinern, 1. runde Terrine, 3. Salatiers, 3. Braten Schüsseln, 6. Saltz-Fäßern, 4. glatte ohne Füße, 5. Saucieren, 10. Frucht-Schaalen, 2. ovale Terrinen, Schüsseln nebst 3. schadhafften Brathen-Schüsseln, 1 runde Terrine, und 10. schadhafften Tellern.
142. einen Girandole mit 9. Leuchtern mit bunten und goldenen Figuren
143. ein pot de chamber
144. eine längliche Schaale mit Deckel und Unterschüssel
145. 2. Schaalen mit Henckeln und Deckeln.
146. 2. Thee Töpfe als Hüner
147. 1. Hahn
148. eine Gluck-Henne
149. 2. Vögel Master
150. 4. Fasanen
151. 5. Vögel
152. eine kleine Butter-Büchse in form eines Vogels [fol. 21a]
153. 6. Vieh Stück wovon 2. zerbrochen.
154. 10. dergleichen Vieh-Stücke wovon 4. schadhafft.
155. 3. kleine Vieh-Stücke
156. ein eingefasstes Driesel Kästchen weiß mit bunten Blumen
157. ein Thee Servis weiß und Gold mit natürlichen Blumen, bestehend aus 6. paar Taßen, 1 Spühl-Napf, 1 Coffée-Kanne, 1 TheePott mit Schalchen Thee Dose und Zucker Dose
158. ein Thee Servis weiß und Gold mit Chinesischen Figuren bestehend aus 6 paar Taßen, 1. Spühl Napf, 1 Coffée Kanne, 1 Milch Pott, 1 Thee Kanne, 1 Zucker und Thee Dose.
159. ein Thee Servis weiß mit Chinesischen Blumen bestehend aus 6. paar Taßen, 1. Spühl-Napf, 1 CofféeKanne, 1 Thee Kanne, 1 Thee Dose.
160. ein Thee Servis, weiß mit Chinesischen blumen Achtekigt, bestehend aus 6 paar Taßen, 4 Chocolate Taßen, eben Unterschaale, 1 Spühl-Kum, 1 TheeKanne, 1 Milch-Kanne, Zucker Dose und kleiner Büchse.
161. ein Schreib-Zeug weiß, mit golden Rand, bestehend aus 1 Teller, Dinten und Streu-Faß und einer Glocke
162. ein Marquen-Kästchen mit 4. Schaachteln und Marquen.
163. ein Credentz-Teller weiß mit purper und goldenen Rand.
164. ein Känchen, weiß und gris de lin
165. ein Thee-Servis weiß mit Chinesischen Blumen und Vögeln bestehend aus 6 paar Taßen, 1 Spühl Napf, 1 Caffée und Thee Kanne, 1 Thee und Zucker Dose.
166. ein Thee Servis weiß mit Chinesischen Blumen [fol. 21b] bestehend aus 6 paar Taßen, 1 Spühl-

- Napf, 1 Coffee Kanne, 1 Thee Kanne, und Thee-Büchse.
167. 6 paar Chocolate Taßen grün und goldenen randen eine gebrochen
 168. 6. paar Thee Taßen weiß und Gold mit Chinesischen Figuren und Calender
 169. 6. paar Thee Taßen, 1 Spühl Kump, und 1 Teller weiß mit Tusch
 170. ein Confitur Schaale in form einer Sonnen Blume mit einen Unterschaale a feuille
 171. 3. Confitur Schaale als Artischocken
 172. ein kleinen Pot Pourri mit erhabenen natürlichen Blumen
 173. einer weisse Caffetiere
 174. 2. Vieh-Stück davon eines beschädigt
 175. ein Thee Servis weiß mit Gold und grünen Blättern von 6. paar Tassen, 1. Spühl-Kume, Caffee Kanne, Thee Kanne, Zucker-Dose
 176. ein Thé und Coffee Servis weiß und Gold Chinesischen Figuren, 6 paar ordinaire Taßen, 6 Chocolate Taßen mit durchgebrachte Etuits a jour, 1 Coffée Kanne, 2 Thee-Kannen, 1 Zucker Dose.
 177. 2. Ober-Tassen und eine UnterTaße mit goldenen Figuren u. weiß
 178. ein Thee Servis weiß und Gold gesicht, inwendig verguldet, bestehend in 6 paar Chocolate Taßen, 6 paar ordinaire Taßen, 1 Spühl Napf, und Thee-Topf
 179. eine Schaale zu Butter nebst 2. Muscheln
 180. ein Thee und Coffée Servis weiß und gold mit bunten SeeStucken [?]; bestehend in 6 paar Thee Taßen, 6. Chocolate-Becker 1 SpühlNapf 1 Zucker-Schale [fol. 22a] mit deckle, 3 Schaalen, 1 Teller, 1 Thee-Kanne mit Unterschaale, 1 Thee-Buchse mit Unterschaale.
 181. 2. Spühl-Näpfe einzeln mit Landschaften.
 182. Ein Thee-Topf einzeln
 183. einen Butter-Buchse einzeln
 184. ein rundes Büchßen mit einem Portrait
 185. ein Thee und Coffee Servis weiß mit erhabenen Blumen, 9 paar Taßen, eine Ober Taße allein, 6. Chocolate Becker, 1 Thee Kanne, 1 Coffée Kanne, 1 Thee Büchse, 3 Zucker Dosen.
 186. 6. paar Thee Taßen, mit aufgelegten Blättern, ein Thee Topf, 1 Spühl Kump.
 187. 6 paar Thee Taßen in form von Wein Blättern un 1 Müschelgen Zucker Dose und 1 Thee Topf
 188. eine Bouillon Schaale weiss mit erhabenen Blumen nebst einer Unterschaale
 189. 6. paar Taßen, 1 Zucker Dose, eine Schaale, ein Deckel in form von Muscheln, weiß mit bunten Blumen, 1 Thee Topf, 2 Zucker Dosen, 2 Streu Zucker Dosen
 190. eine Bouillon-Schaale mit Figuren von Watteau
 191. 6 paar Taßen und ein Thee Topf weiß
 192. 1. Spühl-Kump, 6 paar Taßen und eine Zucker Dose mit Deckel Schlechtes Guth.
 193. 1 Spühl Kump 6 UnterTaßen, 4 Ober Taßen, braun von Boetchers ersten erfindung
- Vorstehende Stücke sind alle in Monbijou und die hier nachfolgende, auf dem Königl. Schloße gefunden worden.
194. ein durchgebrochenen Aufsatz mit belegten Blumen
 195. ein dergl. mit blauen Grund und Indianischen Gemählde 7. Stck. [fol. 22b]
 196. ein dergleichen von 7 Stück mit purpur Grund.
 197. ein gantz weißen Aufsatz von 5. Stück
 198. ein weißen dergleichen mit belegten Früchten von 5. Stück
 199. ein blauen Aufsatz von 5. Stück mit vergoldeten Feldern und Blümch. vergiß mein nicht
 200. ein Aufsatz von 5. Stück mit Blumen und Figuren belegt.
 201. ein Potpourri mit Weintrauben belegt
 202. ein dergleichen mit Tazetten und Auricule
 203. ein dergleichen mit blauen Einfaßung
 204. eine kleine Plat-Menage mit 2. Flaschen zu Eßig und Baum Ohl.
 205. 3 glatte Vasen an die Wand gemachen
 206. 2. dergleichen mit Vögeln eben Bouquets gemacht.
 207. ein Aufsatz von 4. großen Figuren, die Japan-Gotten verstellend
 208. 5. Stück große Figuren die 5. Sinne vorstellend
 209. Ein Aufsatz von 4. Figuren die 4 Erde-Teilen vorstellend, etwas kleiner als No: 207
 210. ein eben dergleichen
 211. 2. Postementer mit Confect-Schaale mit Blumen und Fruchte Belegt
 212. 2. Potpourri mit Figuren und Blumen auf Messing von goldeten Postament
 213. 2 Girandolen jede mit 2 vergoldeten Tüllen und eine Figur
 214. ein kleiner pot-pourri auf Messing vergoldeten Postament mit Figuren
 215. 3 Porcelainen Girandolen mit vergoldeten Tüllen und Figuren
 216. eine Groupe mit 2 Kindern
 217. eine kleinern mit dem Globo [fol. 23a]
 218. eine kleinern von 3 Figuren mit einem Tülle
 219. 2. Schreibers mit Girandolen von vergoldeten Meßing
 220. 2 Fuhr Leuthe mit aufgeschirreten Pferden reisend
 221. 2 Butter-Buchsen in form eines Schiffes
 222. 1. Figur mit einer Frucht-Schaale
 223. ein Türckischer Kayser auf einem Elephanten reitend
 224. 2 Figuren auf Hähnen reitend
 225. ein weißen Aufsatz von 5. Stück, worin eine Indianische Figure, 2 potpourri, und 2 Butter-Büchsen
 226. 2 große Girandolen von vergoldetge Meßing und einen großen Porcelainen Figur.
 227. 2 dergleichen etwas kleinere Figuren
 228. eine dergleichen zum Räuchern
 229. eine Girandole mit ein Licht Schirm und vergoldeten Postament

230. ein Aufsatz von 4. Groupen weißes Porcelain
231. eine Quadrillen Schachtel von Porcelain
232. eine Schachtel mit Spiel-Marquen zum Pantalon Spiehl
233. 2. Schildergen von Porcelain
234. ein Blumen Topf mit Bouquetter
235. 2 Wand Leuchter mit Bouquets aus Blumen
236. 4. etwas kleinern Wand Leuchter dergl.
237. 2 sitzende Figuren mit Gueridons
238. ein Schreib-Zeug mit einem Schiffe mit Segel und Mast
239. ein dergleichen mit einer Fahne
240. ein dergleichen ohne Fahne [fol. 23b]
241. ein Gärtner mit einer Haare
242. ein Schreib-Zeug mit einem Schirm
243. 2 dergleichen etwas kleiner
244. 6 große Figuren mit Blumen Körbchen zum Aufsatz
245. ein dergl. Aufsatz von 5. Stück weissen Vögeln
246. ein Aufsatz von 8. verschiedener Thiere darunter 2 etwas beschädigt
247. 4. Indianische Kindern
248. ein Aufsatz von 5. Figuren Schäfer und Schäferin
249. ein Aufsatz von 5. Groupen allerhand Kinder vorstellend
250. ein Aufsatz von 5. Stück Pilgrim und Frey-Maueres auf Postamentern
251. ein Aufsatz von 5. Stück Gropen mit Figuren
252. ein Aufsatz von 5. Stk.Groupen mit Figuren
253. 2. Figuren in der eine einen Korb und die 2te. eine Frucht hat
254. 2 Mohren mit aufgebrochenen Körben
255. 2 dergl. mit durchgebrochenen Körben
256. 2. dergl. mit durchgebrochenen Körben
257. ein Malabar mit seiner Frau, an dem ersten ist von dem Säbel etwas abgebrochen
258. 2. dergl. Figuren etwas kleiner
259. ein Bettler mit seiner Frau zwey Figuren
260. eine Groupe die Zeit vorstellend
261. ein Aufsatz von 5. Groupen, worunter dreÿ mit Baumen
262. ein Aufsatz von 6 Groupen, worunter einige mit Vogel Bauren
263. eine Groupe von 3 zusammen gesetzten Figuren, derunter eine Bachus [fol. 24a]
264. 5. Groupen auf deren einer ein Hahnrey, die übrigen Harlequins
265. ein Aufsatz von 3 Groupen aus 2 Figuren, darunter eine mit einem Baum
266. ein Aufsatz von 5. Groupen beÿ dem mittelsten ist ein blauen Korb
267. ein Aufsatz von 5. Groupen, so etwas kleiner derunter eine die Gerechtigkeit vorstellend
268. eine Freÿ-Mäuer Groupe
269. eine Grope einen Harlequin nebst 2. Verliebten vorstellend
270. 2. Groupen mit Figuren schäfer und Schäferin
271. 1. Groupe Venus und Cupido
272. eine kleine Groupe mit 2. Figuren davon eine ein Vögelbauer hat

273. 2 Stück Groupen mit einem Bauer der Gänse verkaufft
274. eine Schäfer Groupe mit Schafen
275. eine Venus ein Phaeton von Schwanen gezogen
276. ein Canapée worauf der Hund Firette sitzt.
277. eine Groupe von zwei Kindern, davon eines ein Muse
278. 2. Figuren auf Postamenten darunter die Diana
279. 2. Busten
280. 2. Figuren Nepomuc und noch 2 Heilige
281. ein Ziegenbock worauf ein Schneider reitet
282. ein Schreiber der Schreibend am Tische sitzt
283. ein Chineser nebst seinem Kinde auf einem Schiff
284. ein Aufsatz 5. Stück Figuren, Tablet Crämer und Bauern
285. ein Aufsatz 7 Stück Figuren Bauren und Fische vorstellend [fol. 24b]
286. 7. Stück Comiquische Figuren
287. 7. Stück Figuren Bauern und Spiel-Leuthe
288. 7. Stück kleine Figuren, Küche, Gärtner und Mägdchen vorstellend
289. 7. Stück Figuren von allerley sich zusammen schickenden Stellungen, dabey ein Türck jeder eine Laute
290. 7. Stück Comique-Figuren darunter 2 endomino
291. ein Aufsatz von 7. kleinen Figuren, darunter Sägers⁶⁶ [sic] sind
292. 7. Stück Figuren von solche Größe, darunter einige in Schlaf-Rücken
293. ein Frantzosischer Becker
294. Eine Dame
295. 2 Chineser mit Körben
296. 2 Vögel
297. ein Hirsch mit Hunden ein Jagd Stück etwas beschädigt
298. 13. Stück Affe-Figuren, Musicos vorstellend, mit 7 Stück Pulpetten
299. eine Dame mit der Evantaille
300. eine weiße Groupe
301. 2. Blumen Töpfe mit Tulpianen
302. 3. Grotte inwendig mit Figuren
303. 2. Wand Leuchter mit Figuren und 2. Tüllen
304. 6. kleiner weiße Figuren
305. 9. Verschiedene Thiere
306. ein Schreib-Zeug
307. ein hohe große Girandole mit 3 Tüllen
308. 2. Girandolen jede mit 3. Leuchter
309. die 4. Theils der Welt in 4. Groupen
310. eine Girandole mit einer stehenden Figur und 2 Tüllen
311. eine Schüssel mit Früchten [fol. 25a]
312. ein Teller mit Früchten
313. ein pot pourri mit ein Teller
314. ein Schreibzeug in form von Früchten auf einen Teller
315. eine Schaale mit eine Citrone
316. ein Spühl Kump nebst der Unterschaale in form eines Kohl-Kopfes
317. ein dergl. in allen Stücken egal mit den Vorigen

318. ein Blat mit einer Frucht
319. ein Blat mit einer Frucht
320. ein Blat mit 3 Früchten, der von eine ohne Deckel
321. eine Schaale mit einen Thee-Pott eine Zucker Schaale, Tasse und Glocke
322. ein Credentz Teller mit 2 Chocolate Tassen mit Deckeln
323. ein Credentz Teller mit 2 Chocolate Tassen ohne Deckel
324. 2. Blättern davon einen zerbrochen
325. eine zerbrochene Groupe
326. 10 differente Figuren
327. 10 differente Figuren
328. 10 differente Figuren
329. 10 differente Figuren
330. 10 differente Figuren
331. 10 differente Figuren
332. 10 differente Figuren
333. 10 differente Figuren
334. 10 differente Figuren
335. 10 differente Figuren
336. 10 differente Figuren
337. 10 differente Figuren
338. 10 differente Figuren [fol. 25b]
339. 10 differente Figuren
340. 10 differente Figuren
341. 10 differente Figuren
342. 6. kleine Figuren
343. 7. Stück die Musen vorstellend
344. 1. Thee Topf 5. paar TheeSchaalen, und eine Zucker-Schaale nebst Unterschaal
345. ein Thee-Topf mit vergoldeten Schnee Blumen
346. eine Bouillen Schaale mit 1. Teller, mit Landschaften gemahlet, ein klein wenig beschädigt
347. eine Bouillen Schaale nicht beschädigt
348. eine dergleichen mit Mosaic und Vögeln
349. 2. dergl. Mit Marseillen Grund und Blumen
350. ein dergleichen
351. eine kleine Chocolate Kanne, eine Milch-Kanne, eine Zucker Dose, ein Thee-Büchse, ein Thee-Topf, 4. paar Taßen, 2 Chocolate Becken weiß und grün mit Figuren gemahlt.
352. 2 Caffée Kannen, 2 Spühl Kümme, 2 Thee-Büchsen, eine Zucker Dose, ein Thee-Topf, und ein Milch-Topf, starck verguldet mit Figuren
353. eine Coffée Kanne, 2 Thee-Pöten, einen Thee-Buchsen, eine Zucker Dose, 6. Spühl Kump, 6 paar Chocolate Taßen worunter ein Becker ein wenig beschadigt, mit Figuren gemahlt, und starck verguldet
354. ein Bouillon Topf, und ein Thee Pott mit der Schaale, 6 Paar Chocolate Taßen [fol. 26a] blau und weiß erhabenen Blumen starck verguldet
355. 6 paar Chocolate Taßen dergleichen inwendig starck verguldet
356. 6 paar Thee Taßen mit Indianischen Figuren starck verguldet
357. ein Chocolate Becker nebst der Unterschaale starck verguldet
358. 6 paar Chocolate Becker mit Wein Trauben unterwelchen einer beschädigt ist.
359. eine Coffée Kannen, eine Milch-Kanne, 1. Thee Kanne, 1 Thee Büchse, 1 Zucker Dose, 1 Spühl-Kump, und 12 paar Taßen, Achteckigt, und mit 2 Henckel auf Japanische Art gemahlet
360. 6 paar Taßen mit kleinen Landschaften
361. 6 paar Taßen, 1 Becker, 3 Confect Schälgen von Boettchers Arbeit
362. ein dejeunir mit 2 Chocolate-Becker und einer Zucker Dose
363. 17 paar gantz weiße Chocolate Taßen von welchen eine Unterschaale beschädigt ist.
364. ein gantzes neues, und noch nicht gebrauchtes Taffel Servise bestehend als: 8 dutzend ordinaire Teller, 2 _ dutzend Suppen Teller, 2 dutzend Confect Teller, 4 Stück Terrinen nebst 4 Stück langen Schüsseln, 2 grosse lange Braten Schüsseln, 2. etwas kleinern Braten Schüsseln, 8. grosse runde Schüsseln, 8 kleinere runde Schüsseln, [fol. 26b] 8. noch kleine oder Assiettes, 8. Saladierer, 6. Saciers, alles mit natürlichen Blumen und braunen Rand gemahlet
365. Eine Plat de Menage woran auf kein Stuck fehlet, braun und starck verguldet.
366. eine Plat de Menage woran kein Stück felet mit Früchten nicht verguldet
367. ein gantzes Tafel Service bestehend als 4. Ovalen Terrinen nebst langen Molden [?], 2. runden Terrinen nebst Schüßeln, 4. gantz großen Schußeln, 8. etwas kleinern Schüßeln, 8. noch kleinern Schüßeln, 6. noch kleinern Schüßeln, 6. Assiettes, 8. Saladiers, 4. Saladiers, 4. Sauciers, 4. Butter Büchsen, 4. Saltz Fäßen, 2. durchgebrochenen Körben, 2. länglichen Braten Schüßeln, 8. [. . .] Teller, 4. Leuchter mit Girandolen, 47. Meßer, Gabel, und Löffel –Schaalen alles mit Blumen und Insecten bemahlet und einen goldenen Rand
368. ein Spühl Kump, 14 paar Taßen und 3 Ober Taßen
369. 3 paar und 2. entzelne Ober-Taßen blau und weiß
370. 6 paar und 2 einzeln Taßen gantz [fol. 27a] weiß figurirt mit Henckeln
371. 2 einzeln braune Unter Taßen
372. 4. Pomade Buchsen
373. 2. Terrinen von Dresdner Porcelain
374. 4. Stück Pagoden
375. 3 Gärtner mit Körbe stehende Figuren
376. 3. sitzende Figuren beschädigt
377. 7 Stück Figuren auf Portamenern
378. eine Groupe mit Vogel Bauer
379. 5 Figuren 2 davon beschädigt
380. 9 kleine Figuren
381. 24. Messer Schaalen.

[total value Rthlr. 12921 Gr. 16.]

1. For two examples in stoneware, see Rolf Sonnemann and Eberhard Wächter, eds., *Johann Friedrich Böttger* (Stuttgart, 1982), p. 169, fig. 99.
2. As reported in the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, August 10, 1931; from a transcription made in 1933, supplied to the author by Thomas Kemper. See also Otto von Falke, "Ein Meissener Porzellanpokal der Königin Sophie Dorothee von Preussen," *Pantheon* 8 (August 1931), pp. 331–337. According to the Museum's files, the cup, cover, and stand were owned by Dr. Albert Kocher and Baroness Leonino de Rothschild before being acquired for the Wilson collection. A sticker on the inside of the cup is inscribed "No. 8 Boudoir" and may reflect its location in the Rothschild home. The tureen owned by Hermine Feist was acquired by the Schlossmuseum between 1933 and 1935. It is not known when or how these pieces with royal provenance came onto the market.
3. One of the few articles on the relations between the two courts during Augustus the Strong's lifetime is by Paul Haake, "August der Starke, Friedrich Wilhelm I, und Kronprinz Friedrich von Preussen," *Velhagen & Klasings Monatshefte*, Jahrg. 40 (1925), vol. 1, pp. 297–312. Kornelia Bobbe of the Geheimes Staatsarchiv – Preussischer Kulturbesitz provided the author with a list of relevant documents in Berlin, such as the *Journal über den Besuch des Königs Friedrich Wilhelm I. am königlich polnischen Hofe zu Dresden . . . Februar 1728* (BPH rep. 46 C 2), and possible sources of information, such as the court expense registers and kitchen records for this period; these have not yet been examined.
4. GStA PK, I. HA, Rep. 21, Nr. 192 (Monbijou), Fasz. 14, *Inventarium von Ihro Majestät der Königin Meubles und Sachen in dem Schlosse in Dero Garten Monbijoux 1738* (hereafter *Inventarium 1738*), p. 6. From a transcription of the contents of this room provided to the author by Thomas Kemper; see Appendix 1 herein.
5. *The Memoirs of Charles-Lewis Baron of Pöllnitz* (London, 1737), vol. 1, p. 24.
6. Von Pöllnitz, vol. 1, p. 31.
7. Eosander wrote in the *Theatrum Europaeum* for 1703 (pt. 16 [1716], p. 252): "In diesem kleinen Hause findet man ein Vestibül, durch das man in ein Sallet a la grec kommt, welcher von oben das Licht empfängt; zur rechten und linken Hand ist auf jeder Seiten eine Schlafkammer. Die Schlafkammern haben diese Annehmlichkeiten, dass man im Bette kiegend, den Garten nach dem Strome hin übersehen kann." It was last used as a residence by Friederike Louise, second wife of Friedrich Wilhelm II, between 1789 and 1805, and in 1877 the Hohenzollern-Museum was established there. With the end of the monarchy in 1918, the museum was closed, reopening to visitors in 1927 after a reorganization and redistribution of its contents among other former royal properties in and around Berlin. Plans were in place to raze the building shortly before its destruction in 1943 in the bombing of the city. See Thomas Kemper, "Das Hohenzollern-Museum Schloss Monbijou," *Museums-Journal (Berliner Museen)* 12, no. 3 (1998) pp. 9–13; Dr. Kemper is completing a book on this subject.
8. Von Pöllnitz, vol. 1, p. 3.
9. For an amusing account of Peter the Great's stay in Berlin, see the *Memoirs of Wilhelmine, Margravine of Baireuth*, Princess Christian of Schleswig-Holstein, trans. (London, 1887), pp. 24–27. Parallels between the reports published by Wilhelmine and by Von Pöllnitz may indicate that one guided the other in some fashion.
10. Jonas Hanway, *An Historical Account of the British Trade over the Caspian Sea: With a Journal of the Travels from London through Russia into Persia; and back through Russia, Germany and Holland* (London, 1753), vol. 2, p. 187. A further comment on the palace is found in *A Compendium of the Travels of Mr. Hanway, Sir John Mandeville and Mr. Lionel Wafer* (Dublin, 1757), p. 116.
11. *Inventarium 1738*, fols. 63–66. See also Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, "Meissen and Saint-Cloud, Dresden and Paris: Royal and Lesser Connections and Parallels," *Discovering the Secrets of Soft-Paste Porcelain at the Saint-Cloud Manufactory*, ca. 1690–1766, exh. cat. (New Haven and London, 1999), p. 102.
12. *Inventarium 1738*, fol. 1. The design for the porcelain model seems to derive its inspiration from the fountains that ring the courtyard of the Zwinger. In a work report dated February 9, 1728, Kirchner's basin was designed with a ewer for the crown princess (Maria Josepha). The Neptune and satyr fountain element devised by Kirchner in 1732, paired with the same model basin, was likewise commissioned by Maria Josepha. See Rainer Rückert, *Meissener Porzellan 1710–1810* (Munich, 1966), cat. no. 194, p. 78, and no. 851, p. 164.
13. *Inventarium 1738*, fol. 2.
14. *Inventarium 1738*, fol. 7; Stefan Bursche kindly supplied copies of the 1735 manufactory reports citing work on these pieces by Kändler and Eberlein. See Gerhard Hojer, *Das vergessene Paradies—Galli Bibiena und der Musenhof der Wilhelmine von Bayreuth*, exh. cat. (Munich, 1998), cat. 104, p. 225, where it is called a breakfast service for the Prussian princess. Several pieces from the service were sold at Christie's, New York, Oct. 30, 1993, from the Kramarsky collection. The inventory of Meissen looted from the manufactory by Frederick the Great during his occupation of Meissen in 1745 indicates also several porcelains with applied flowers; see n. 63.
15. *Inventarium 1738*, fol. 6.
16. The bowl has the crossed swords mark in underglaze blue on the underside and measures W. 10 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (25.7 cm), H. 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (13 cm); the stand has no marks on the unglazed underside and is L. 11 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (28.4 cm).
17. *Inventarium der Verlassenschaft an d. 28ten Junii 1757 . . . Sophia Dorothea verwitweten Königin von Preussen . . . vom 27ten Februari bis April 1758* (hereafter *Inventarium 1758*); transcribed in Appendix 2 herein.
18. According to Thomas Kemper, her will instructed that her collections of ceramics pass to her daughters. Louisa Ulrike, who married Adolf Friedrich of Sweden in 1744, for example, might have inherited some of her mother's collection, but this cannot be easily determined given the records and minimal holdings of Meissen porcelain in the Swedish royal collections today, according to the author's correspondence with Ursula Sjöberg, curator of the Royal Palace in Stockholm.
19. *Inventarium 1758*, fol. 18a.
20. *Inventarium 1758*, fol. 17b.
21. GStA PK, BPH, Rep. 46, Nr. R. 10, *Inventarium von der Königin Frau Mutter May. Gold- und Silber-Geschirr, Tabattieres, Uhren und andere Sachen 1742*. I am grateful to Thomas Kemper for the transcription of the relevant entries from this inventory.
22. *Das frolockende Berlin* (Berlin, 1728), p. 23.
23. I am grateful to Lorenz Seelig for bringing this object to my attention, though its weight may not make it an apt comparison. My thanks also to Wolfram Koeppel for supplying further details and illustrations of the Museum's piece. The pair to this piece was recently acquired by the Gilbert Collection in London, according to Jeffrey Munger.
24. Consider, for example, the records of the royal table in Dresden during the 1719 wedding of the crown prince to Maria Josepha: "Auf die Tafel vor Ihro Mayt. Mayt. Wird ein sogenanntes Cadenas oder viereckichtes vergoldetes Besteck gesezt, darinnen Salz, Pfeffer, Zucker und dergleichen in gewissen Schachteln vorhanden"; from a transcription kindly supplied by Monika Schlechte from a document in the Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, OHMA B 20 C, fols. 13b–14a.
25. For another example, see Sotheby's, Monte Carlo, sale cat., May 26, 1980, lot 390.

26. For four mounted Meissen flasks, see Ulrike Grimm and Wolfgang Wiese, *Was Bleibt: Markgrafenschätze aus vier Jahrhunderten für die badischen Schlösser bewahrt* (Stuttgart, 1996), p. 65. For a Meissen chocolate service mounted as a *Tafelaufsatz* with one type of mounted and covered beaker, see Lorenz Seelig, *Silber und Gold* (Munich, 1994), cat. 113, pp. 427, 429.
27. Von Pöllnitz, vol. 1, pp. 25–26. An account of the visit, including the baptism, is provided in *Theatrum Europaeum*, pt. 8 (1720), pp. 119–22.
28. Wilhelmine herself believed that she was to be engaged to Augustus, as recounted in her memoirs, p. 70. Monika Schlechte has drawn my attention to the fact that Augustus arrived at the Prussian court with four of his illegitimate children among his entourage, unthinkable had he intended to arrange a marriage with a member of the Prussian royal family. See Karl Czok, *August der Starke und Kursachsen* (Leipzig, 1987), pp. 232–60.
29. Mara Wade, who has published extensively on various topics surrounding relations between the Danish and Saxon courts, will soon publish new material on the 1709 visits of Frederick IV to Dresden and Berlin. Until then, see her article “Politics and Performance: Saxon-Danish Court Festivals (1548–1709),” *Modern Languages*, no. 4 (2000), pp. 41–57, as well as Helen Watanabe-O’Kelly, *Triumphall Shews: Tournaments at German-speaking Courts in Their European Context, 1560–1730* (Berlin, 1992), Helmut Nickel, “Über einige Inventionsstücke zum Grossen Aufzuge des Caroussell-Rennens der Vier Weltteile zu Dresden im Jahre 1709,” *Waffen- und Kostümkunde*, Heft 2 (1982), pp. 81–94, and Dieter Schaal, “The Dresden Festivities of 1709,” *Livrustkamaren* (1993), pp. 121–30. See also *Royal Treasures from Denmark 1709: Frederik IV in Florence*, exh. cat., Palazzo Pitti (Florence, 1994).
30. Four versions of this painting by Gericke exist, two owned today by the Stiftung Preussisches Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg. The version illustrated here hangs in Schloss Charlottenburg but was missing from the Second World War until recently, when it was located and restored. In the interim, the version with the kings’ names painted in English above each crown was bought from the Andy Warhol Estate by the Freunde der Preussischen Schlösser und Gärten to replace the lost version, and in their booklet no. 9, published in 1994, the painting was incorrectly attributed to Friedrich Wilhelm Weidemann; the correct attribution to Gericke was given, however, when the painting was published by the KulturStiftung der Länder, “Ein Kabinettschrank mit Chinoiserien, um 1710,” *Patrimonia*, vol. 163 (Schleswig, 2000), p. 32. This version hangs today in Schloss Caputh.
31. This was the subject of Dr. Schlechte’s habilitation (1990), which she generously allowed me to use. See her paper, “Recueil des dessins et gravures représentant les solennités du mariage: Das Dresdner Fest von 1719,” in Bild, *Chloe* (Actes du XXXIIe Colloque International d’Études Humanistes du Centre d’Études Supérieures de la Renaissance, 1989), Bd. 15 (Amsterdam, 1989), pp. 117–69, as well as “Die Dresdner Planetenfeste,” *Kunst und Antiquitäten* (Sept. 1990), pp. 56–61, and “Saturnalia Saxoniae: Das Saturnfest 1719. Eine ikonographische Untersuchung,” *Dresdner Hefte* 21 (8 Jhrg., Heft 1), (1990), pp. 39–52.
32. See Watanabe-O’Kelly, *Triumphall Shews*, n. 29.
33. All aspects of court festival in Dresden are considered in Claudia Schnitzer and Petra Hölcher, eds., *Eine gute Figure machen: Kostüm und Fest am Dresdner Hof*, exh. cat. (Dresden, 2000).
34. See n. 33; also see Daniëlle Kisluk-Grosheide’s article in this volume, which reproduces one of the designs bought in France as a model for the collection. French designs were also acquired for the Swedish royal collections, as models for designers at that court; see Elaine Dee and Guy Walton, *Versailles: The View from Sweden*, exh. cat. (New York, 1988).
35. For more on this subject, see M. Cassidy-Geiger, “Hof-Conditorei and Court Celebrations in 18th-century Dresden,” *International Ceramics Fair and Seminar Handbook* (London, 2002), pp. 20–35.
36. The court calendar, not published prior to 1729, always covered the events of the previous year (i.e., 1728), including the weather and cycles of the moon; it also contained a complete listing of the members of the court and their retainers. The 1728 visit of the Prussian king and crown prince to Dresden was also recounted in verse by Johann Christian Trömer (known as Jean Chrétien Toucement), published with the title “Ein Curieuse Brief von Lustbarkeit in Dress [sic] by Boetio” (Leipzig, 1728). And the court calendar account was published separately as *Das fröhliche Dresden*. (A copy of this publication in the Dresden State Archives was kindly provided to the author by Monika Schlechte.)
37. Princes normally traveled to foreign courts as part of their princely education; see Cassidy-Geiger, “Meissen and Saint-Cloud,” pp. 98–99. Precisely why the crown prince of Prussia was left behind is not known. Was he so great a disappointment to his father, to be denied exposure to this neighboring court, or was the Prussian king worried about what his heir would learn there? In Dresden, he is thought to have had an affair with Augustus’s illegitimate daughter, Countess Orzelska, who also accompanied the Polish king on his return visit to Berlin.
38. According to the report, 300 wagons brought snow to the site for the sleigh tournament, as the weather had been mild and the snow in the city was melting early. The contest was run with four groups or quadrilles, dressed in blue, red, yellow, and green, each with 13 sleighs. Augustus the Strong rode alone in a small sleigh trimmed in purple.
39. “Allda Ihro Königl Maj. In Preussen über den grossen Vorrath daselbst befindlichen precieusen Porcellains eine grosse Admiration spruhren lassen.”
40. Obviously the preparatory work for the double portrait of the two kings was done during the visit (Figure 24). For more on the artist, see Xavier Salmon, *Louis de Silvestre: Un peintre français à la cour de Dresden* (Versailles, 1997).
41. The standard pairs represented in such festivities ranged from farmworkers, such as shepherds, shepherdesses, or vintners, to peasants from various states to various ethnic groups. One finds the same groups depicted in porcelain sculpture in the 18th century. For more, see Claudia Schnitzer, “Königreiche-Wirtschaften-Bauernhochzeiten: Zeremonieltragende und unterwandernde Spielformen höfischer Maskerade,” in Jörg Jachen Berns and Thomas Rahn, eds., *Zeremoniell als höfische Ästhetik in Spätmittelalter und Frühe Neuzeit*, Frühe Neuzeit, no. 25 (Tübingen, 1995), pp. 280–331.
42. “Gewinste haben erhalten: Den ersten Gewinn, ein silbern vergoldt Augspurg. Extra faconiert Chocolate-Servis im Futteral / Herr Ober-Stallmeister Baron zu Racknitz. Den andern Gewinn, ein Augsp. Faconirt extra matt vergoldt Confect-Teller, mit feinem vergoldten Porcellain, Herr Cammerherr von Sulkowsky,” according to the court calendar for 1728 (publ. 1729), p. 22.
43. The Zeitheiner Lager, as the military maneuvers held in Saxony from May 28–June 24, 1730, were known. The purpose was to demonstrate the modernization of the Saxon army of 30,000, undertaken following the king’s visit to Prussia in 1728, and influenced by this model.
44. Mogens Bencard has shown that this sort of dining table and tradition were probably introduced at the Danish court and probably came to Saxony through intermarriage. Augustus the Strong installed them in the royal palaces in Dresden and Warsaw, and one was ordered for Pillnitz, though it could not be installed due to the high water table near the Elbe, where the palace stood. The court architect Carl Friedrich Pöppelmann personally brought the *Machinentafel* to Berlin in 1728, where it was installed in the Stadtschloss, and he accompanied another to Paris in 1742 for Louis XV. Two models of these sorts of tables

- were sent from Dresden to Weimar in 1732. See Mogens Bencard, "Notes on the Table in the Late 17th and Early 18th Century Denmark," *Rosenborg Studier* (Copenhagen, 2000), pp. 228–56, nn. pp. 271–75; Gisela Haase, *Dresdner Möbel* (Leipzig, 1983), pp. 47, 230 n. 90, and her article "The Eighteenth-Century Interior Decorations of the Pillnitz Wasser- and Bergpalais," *Furniture History Society Journal* 21 (1985), p. 95. Claudia Sommer notes that there were two such tables in Prussian palaces, in Potsdam and Berlin; Ulrike Grimm provided a copy of the article, "Die Wohnungen Friedrich Wilhelms I," *Der Soldaten König als Maler* (Sanssouci, 1990), where this information appears on p. 24.
45. The amber cabinet (Green Vaults, III 88) was remarked upon in every published account of the Naturalienkabinet, where it was exhibited until 1789 before entering the Green Vaults, its home today. Consider the account of Jonas Hanway from 1750 (p. 225, n. 10). Also see Johann Georg Keyssler, who noted in 1737 that "Among the amber curiosities [in the Naturalienkabinet] are, a most beautiful little coffer and a draught board, &c. which was a present from the king of Prussia" (*Travels through Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Switzerland, Italy and Lorrain*, p. 112). Similarly, J. C. Hasch's comments in the *Umständliche Beschreibung Dresdens* (Leipzig, 1781), p. 315; "Das Bernsteinkabinet. Ein Prachtiger Anblick fürs Auge! besonders die zwey Schranke von dem ausserlesentsten Agtstein; der kleinere von des jetzigen Königs von Preussen Majestat der grossere von seinem Herrn Vater 1728 hieher geschenkt." Jutta Kappel kindly allowed me to study the inventory where the cabinet and its contents were listed and also gave me access to two newspaper articles on the amber cabinet, both published in 1932 in the *Dresdner Anzeiger* (July 10, by Rudolf Berge, and November 8, by Walther Fischer). I am also indebted to Dr. Kappel for directing me to *Das frolockende Berlin*.
 46. In the diplomatic correspondence between the king and the ministers in Berlin are some mentions of portraits of the royal princesses, Hungarian wine, and musicians being sent from Dresden to Berlin or vice versa. These are found in the Sächsische Hauptstaatsarchiv, Loc. 3379, Relations au Roy 1728, 1729. See also Paul Seidel, "Notizen über die Beziehungen der Königin Sophie-Dorothea zur bildenden Kunst," *Hohenzollern-Jahrbuch* 19 (1915), pp. 228–30; this article was kindly brought to my attention by Thomas Kemper.
 47. For more, see Walter Holzhausen, "Sächsische Gläser des Barock," *Zeitschrift für Kunstwissenschaft* 8, nos. 1–2 (1954), pp. 95–124; the gift of 77 glasses is noted on p. 113. For two more glasses, see Gisela Haase, *Sächsisches Glas* (Munich, 1988), figs. 188, 189.
 48. See M. Cassidy-Geiger, "Meissen Porcelain Ordered for the Japanese Palace: A Transcription of the Specification von Porcelan [sic] of 1736," *KERAMOS* 153 (July 1996), pp. 119–30.
 49. This is contained in Wittwer's dissertation (2001) now being readied for publication, which he generously shared; his ideas are summarized in his booklet, *A Royal Menagerie* (Zwolle [Netherlands], 2001).
 50. For a summary of his career, see Rainer Rückert, *Biographische Daten der Meissener Manufakturisten des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1990), p. 114.
 51. See M. Cassidy-Geiger, "The Japanese Palace Collections and Their Impact at Meissen," *The International Ceramics Fair and Seminar Handbook* (June 1995), pp. 10–19.
 52. This document is found in the Meissen archives: III H I *Convoluterer bey der Königl. Porcelain-Manufactur auf dem Schloss zu Meissen gehaltenen Dreher- und Former-Verzeichnisse, 1723–1728*.
 53. Some of these are known through examples in the Metropolitan Museum, such as the dwarfs (64.101.122, 123) and the male beggar (64.101.104a, b). See also T. H. Clarke, "Die Neueröffnete Welt-Galleria, Nürnberg 1703, als Stichvorlage für sogenannte Callot-Zwerge," *KERAMOS* 127 (Jan. 1990), pp. 3–28. For the Mater Dolorosa, see Andreina d'Agliano and T. H. Clarke, *Le porcellane tedesche di Palazzo Pitti* (Florence, 1999), cat. 1, pp. 36–37.
 54. Clarke, "Die Neueröffnete," p. 24. See also M. Cassidy-Geiger, "Graphic Sources for Meissen Porcelain: Origins of the Print Collection in the Meissen Archives," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 31 (1996), pp. 99–126.
 55. This model is known in numerous examples. As Clare Le Corbeiller has noted, almost all were decorated outside the factory, though those with gold decoration were probably done by order of the factory. Essentially a Mannerist design better suited to the Kunstkammer than to the tea table, it could be that these pots, like the small figures made at the same time, were made for display, perhaps in pairs. Meredith Chilton has suggested this model might derive from the plaster forms delivered in 1725. However, it does not appear in the work reports until October 1727, placing the model into the period of Kirchner's influence. The Museum owns two more examples of this model, both likewise decorated in Augsburg: inv. 1970.277.5a,b and 1982.60.327a,b.
 56. Several examples of this model, termed "Venus Temple" in the documents, were required for the decoration of the Japanese Palace; see Cassidy-Geiger, "Meissen Porcelain." The figures are modeled after garden sculptures by the court sculptor Balthasar Permoser: the Venus after Permoser's figure of 1724 for the park of Count Henricke's Schloss Wiederau bei Borna, the Jupiter after his Apollo produced in 1715 and displayed in the Zwinger's Grottensaal. The missing figure of Juno, known from the model in the Rijksmuseum, relates to Permoser's figure of Minerva dated 1716 and likewise shown in the Zwinger. Atop the pediment was perhaps the figure of Cronus, after Permoser's sculpture of 1695 for the gardens of Schloss Seerhausen. Other sculptures by Permoser for this garden have also been cited as sources of inspiration for the other porcelain figures on the Venus Temple. See A. L. den Blaauwen, *Meissen Porcelain in the Rijksmuseum* (Amsterdam, 2000), cat. 50, pp. 100–2, and Bärbel Stephan, *Balthasar Permoser hats Gemacht—Der Hofbildhauer in Sachsen*, exh. cat. (Dresden, 2001). Temporary architectural structures known as Venus Temples were features of the royal weddings held in Dresden in 1719, 1738, and 1747, and they were mirrored in miniature by table decorations in sugar paste and eventually in porcelain; for more, see Cassidy-Geiger, "Hof-Conditorei."
 57. For a discussion of the various clock cases and the involvement of Fritzsche and Kirchner in their execution, see Claus Boltz, "Eisbären und Polarfüchse: 16 Kästen sächsisches Porzellan," *KERAMOS* 148 (April 1995), pp. 3–36.
 58. For details, see Den Blaauwen, *Meissen Porcelain*, n. 56.
 59. The term *Pokal* appears 27 times in the work reports prior to Kirchner's arrival in 1727, according to Claus Boltz, who is preparing an analysis of these reports for publication in *KERAMOS*. The incised "N.6" in the paste inside the stem of the cup could indicate this was one of a series of models. On the two examples in Dresden, the bases are covered with gilt metal mounts, making it impossible to check for incised marks.
 60. For a discussion, see Ruprecht Pfeiff, *Minerva in der Sphäre des Herrscherbildes* (Münster, 1990).
 61. Examples include the service sent to the king of Sardinia in 1725 (see Metropolitan Museum, inv. 54.147.75, 76); that sent to Charles VI of Denmark about 1730 (Christie's, London, Dec. 1, 1986, lots 176–78); and that sent to the Russian court (see Boltz, "Eisbären," p. 20, figs. 10, 11).
 62. See M. Cassidy-Geiger, "Gestochene Quellen für frühe Höroldt-Malereien," *KERAMOS* 161 (July 1998), pp. 3–38.
 63. SHStA, loc. 1343, vol. 14, 1747, fols. 53–93.
 64. This transcription was kindly provided to the author by Thomas Kemper; throughout, all misspellings, queries and inconsistencies have been retained.
 65. This transcription was made from much-Xeroxed copies of the original document which vary in legibility from page to page; the inaccuracies and inconsistencies of the original have been retained, though some errors in transcription may have occurred due to the condition of the copies.
 66. Sängers

William Bradshaw: Furniture Maker and Tapestry Weaver

GEOFFREY BEARD

AMONG THE LEADING MAKERS of English furniture and tapestries in the early eighteenth century was William Bradshaw (1700–1775). He was probably the “Mr Bradshaw, tapestry weaver of Soho Square” mentioned by John Adam (elder brother of the architect and designer Robert Adam) when he visited London in 1748.¹ By that time Bradshaw had become one of the most important of the rare breed of English tapestry weavers, working after designs by Watteau and others.² He combined his talent for weaving with a rare skill in joinery and furniture making, achieving a success that enabled him, by 1743, to take his ease in semiretirement at Halton, near Lancaster in north-west England. Recent research³ has established new facts about this provincial side of Bradshaw’s life.

Bradshaw was the son of James Bradshaw and his wife Elizabeth (Clark) of Cockerham, five miles south of Lancaster. He was baptized in the Church of Saint Michael there on January 18, 1700.⁴ He was not apprenticed locally to any trade (unlike his friend Robert Gillow [1703–1772], the joiner and furniture maker), and may have served his time with a London tapestry weaver such as Joshua Morris, though there is no evidence for this. He must have inherited some money or enjoyed an influential patronage that enabled him to set up workshops and warerooms in Frith Street, Greek Street, and Hanover Square from 1728 to 1762.⁵

In 1727, Bradshaw’s adversary the painter and engraver William Hogarth sued the weaver Joshua Morris in the Westminster Court of Common Pleas for failing to pay for use of a tapestry design.⁶ Bradshaw gave evidence on behalf of Morris, which may indicate some arrangement over employment, and argued that “the painting [by Hogarth] was not performed in a workman-like manner and that it was impossible to make tapestry from it.” The judge disagreed and found in favor of Hogarth, who was awarded £30. The suit

paved the way for important legislation in 1735 that gave to designers a legal copyright over their designs.⁷

Broken by the suit, Morris moved in 1728 from Frith Street, and Bradshaw took over his workshops. Two years later, Bradshaw joined in partnership with Tobias Stranover (1684–1756), an artist who specialized in painting exotic birds. Their surnames have been linked formally since such birds were noted on the right corner of a tapestry-covered settee (with six chairs *en suite*), which was at Belton House, Lincolnshire, until sold from there by Lord Brownlow in 1929. The set was described in the sale catalogue as “A suite of Queen Anne walnut Furniture, on cabriole legs and club feet, the seats and backs stuffed, and covered with Soho tapestry, woven with vases of flowers, groups of flowers and fruit, and on the settee a medallion of poultry with parrots at the sides, and a medallion of Venus and cupids in strapwork borders.”⁸ The suite disappeared from sight until it was traced in 1996 by the writer to an English private collection.⁹ Apart from the makers’ surnames woven into them (Stranover over Bradshaw), the patterns on the settee back and seat are based on engravings by Jean-Baptiste Monnoyer. It is the exemplar by which other pieces are attributed to the partnership.

In The Metropolitan Museum of Art (66.71.1–4; Figure 1) is a set of four armchairs whose backs, seats, and armrests are upholstered in Soho tapestry, probably designed by Stranover and woven by Bradshaw.¹⁰ The chairs, originally at Chesterfield House (the fourth earl of Chesterfield’s important Rococo-style home in London), have prominent vases of flowers, as in the Monnoyer engravings. The settee design compares well with another design, found also on a settee, at the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham.¹¹ These further attributions were listed in 1985 by the late Edith A. Standen; in addition, there is a panel for a firescreen, about 1750, in the Royal Collection at Holyrood House, Edinburgh. This has the usual vase of flowers after Monnoyer, flanked by scrollwork incorporating bust heads in profile.¹²

In 1732 Stranover and Bradshaw separated, and

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 37

The notes for this article begin on page 169.



Figure 1. One of a set of four armchairs, English, 18th century. Mahogany and tapestry, 39 x 29½ x 30 in. (99.1 x 74.9 x 76.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Dannie Heineman, 1966 (66.71.1)

Bradshaw moved to 27 Soho Square, where he resumed his business as a furniture maker. (He presumably had his workshops there, though in 1748 he gave up the house in Soho Square and retained only the back premises. He was assessed for rates at 60 Soho Square from 1748 to 1751 and at number 59 from 1752 to 1754.) In 1736 Bradshaw supplied furniture to the second earl of Stanhope at Chevening, Kent. The extensive bill¹³ of some £1,200 was receipted by Bradshaw on February 2, 1737. It included two suites—a mahogany one, originally of twelve armchairs and two sofas (of which eleven chairs and one sofa survive at Chevening), covered with Soho tapestry (£65 and £29 13s. 10d.), and a gilt set of chairs, costing £3 15s. each. In addition he provided “12 Ells and 25/8 of tapestry [some 18 yards] in 3 Borders and two Additions, £37 16s.” Bradshaw also erected the great geometric staircase at Chevening, working to a design by the French Huguenot architect Nicholas Dubois.¹⁴ It is an outstanding example of the all-embracing skills of an eighteenth-century craftsman.

By 1743 Bradshaw was able to enjoy semiretirement at Halton, and he was appointed a freeman of nearby Lancaster in that year. He had acquired Halton Hall, its mill, and an iron furnace, and had purchased several estates in London and the south. By the time of a sale of Bradshaw properties in 1834, there were

“divers compact farms, water, corn, cotton and flax mills, woods, a stream, fisheries (including four miles of salmon fishing rights on the river Lune), stone quarries and beds of coal.”¹⁵

Bradshaw was a choleric, litigious man, but he had instincts of survival, and right as he saw it, when, as a Protestant, he captained a company of the First Royal Lancaster Militia in the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745. In his will of May 9, 1774, with codicils added the following February, he made provision for his heirs “to defend or obtain any title to his estates.”¹⁶ Bradshaw died on February 21, 1775, a bachelor aged 75 years. The family firm of Gillow, which Bradshaw had helped establish in London as one of the most successful furniture-making firms, supplied the lace-lined strong oak coffin. His family erected about 1795 an imposing mausoleum in the Halton churchyard, which still survives. On it was placed a tablet that reads, “Sacred to the memory of William Bradshaw, late of Halton Hall, Esquire, who Departed this life, 21 February, 1775, aged 75 years, sincerely lamented by all his friends and acquaintances. In grateful remembrance of whose many virtues William Bradshaw Esq., his nephew and successor erected this mausoleum as a proof of his great respect and dutiful attention.”¹⁷ Few furniture makers of any period have left as much evidence of their lives.

NOTES

1. Geoffrey Beard and Christopher Gilbert, eds., *Dictionary of English Furniture Makers, 1660–1840* (Leeds, 1986), p. 100.
2. “The Soho Tapestry Weavers,” app. 1 in *The Parish of St. Anne Soho*, vol. 34 of *Survey of London* (1966), p. 517.
3. Susan Stuart and Keith Horsfield, “Portrait of Squire Bradshaw,” *Contrebis* 8 (Lancaster Archaeological and Historical Society, 1997), pp. 12–19.
4. Parish register, St. Michael’s Church, Cockerham.
5. Beard and Gilbert, *Dictionary*, p. 100.
6. W. A. Thorpe, “Bradshaws and Their Connection,” *Country Life* (September 20 and 27, 1946), pp. 20, 27.
7. Ronald Paulson, *Hogarth: His Life, Art, and Times* (New Haven and London, 1971), pp. 164–65.
8. Christie’s, London, March 14, 1929, lot 78.
9. Geoffrey Beard, *Upholsterers and Interior Furnishing in England, 1530–1840* (New Haven and London, 1997), pls. 176–77.
10. Edith A. Standen, *European Post-Medieval Tapestries and Related Hangings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1985), vol. 2, no. 130.
11. Geoffrey Beard, “Some Eighteenth-Century Seats and Covers Re-Examined,” *Antiques* 145 (June 1994), p. 849, pl. 9.
12. Margaret Swain, *Tapestries and Textiles at the Palace of Holyrood House in the Royal Collection* (Edinburgh, 1988), p. 64.
13. Kent Archives Office, MS U1590, A20A.
14. H. M. Colvin, *A Biographical Dictionary of British Architects, 1600–1840*, 3rd rev. ed. (New Haven and London, 1985), p. 323.
15. *Lancaster Gazette*, August 9, 1834, cited by Stuart and Horsfield, “Portrait of Squire Bradshaw,” n. 41.
16. Lancashire Record Office, Preston. Will proved April 22, 1775.
17. The text of the tablet was given by W. O. Roper, *Churches, Castles and Ancient Halls of North Lancashire* (Lancaster, 1880), vol. 1, p. 34. The mausoleum was sealed in 1962 and, due to vandalism, the tablet removed.

A Pattern of Exchange: Jan Luyken and *Chine de Commande* Porcelain

CHRISTIAAN JÖRG

Groninger Museum, the Netherlands

CLARE LE CORBEILLER'S *China Trade Porcelain: Patterns of Exchange*¹ was the first monograph devoted to Western models used by Chinese potters and porcelain painters for their *chine de commande* products. In her publication, prints, drawings, glass, silver, delftware and other European ceramics were linked to their Chinese imitations, and other forms of influence were also explored. Besides offering fresh discoveries and suggestions as to which sources might have been used, Clare raised new questions, challenging the field. Some have been answered in the past decades, others still await research or just the happy find. In this essay I propose to discuss such a find.

In *China Trade Porcelain*, Clare discussed a plate in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum decorated in *encre de chine* with a scene of the Nativity of Christ, dated about 1740 (Figure 1).² The typical *Laub- und Bandelwerk* border invited a comparison with Viennese du Paquier porcelain, but for the scene itself she could trace no matching print or other model. Clare ended her survey of pieces painted with related religious scenes with the suggestion that such "carefully black-drawn scenes . . . were quite possibly meant originally to cater to a specifically Jesuit market." This is one of the very few cases where she was not right.

The Nativity is closely related to three other biblical scenes depicted on Chinese export porcelain, namely, the Crucifixion (Figures 3, 5), the Resurrection (Figure 6), and the Ascension (Figure 8). Like the Nativity, the Crucifixion and the Resurrection are carefully painted in *encre de chine* and heightened with some gold enamel. The Ascension is thus far known only in polychrome enamel colors, but an *encre de chine* version might be expected to come to light. Several border designs are known: some have the same *Laub- und Bandelwerk* as the plate in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 1), others have an elegant Rococo design of linked ribbons, cartouches, and flower sprays (Figure 3), and still others

have a simple spearhead border. Altogether eight border varieties are known.

The Nativity, the Crucifixion, and the Resurrection in *encre de chine* are relatively common and represented in several collections of *chine de commande* in the United States and in Europe.³ The polychrome Ascension, however, is encountered much less frequently. The first three scenes also exist in enameled versions, though examples are rare.⁴

Encre de chine, with its thin lines of black enamel, was an excellent medium for the Chinese painter copying European engravings and etchings. And these pieces of porcelain, with their comparable style of painting, subject matter, and border designs clearly were made after prints. But which prints? Many researchers have tried to find the sources for these decorations, but in vain.

Sometimes, however, one is lucky. A private collector in the Netherlands kindly shared with me his find of a small Lutheran Bible containing illustrations by the well-known engraver Jan Luyken that perfectly match the four decorations mentioned above (Figures 2, 4, 7, 9).⁵ There is no doubt: these were the prints that were copied onto porcelain. And it is clear how faithfully the Chinese painter followed these models.

Jan Luyken (1649–1712) and his son Caspar (1672–1708) were among the most prolific Dutch graphic artists in Amsterdam about 1700. The devout Jan illustrated many editions of the Bible and other religious publications.⁶ In 1680 he made a series of twenty-four prints of New Testament scenes that became very popular. In 1712 these were followed by eighteen prints illustrating scenes from the Old Testament, a series that was equally successful. Together the prints were used, with some minor alterations, to illustrate several editions of the Bible, among them a cheap octavo one. This became a sort of common people's Bible and was reprinted again and again, even into the nineteenth century. Therefore the copperplates for printing the illustrations from had to be reworked from time to time, explaining small differences in the prints.⁷ The first octavo Lutheran Bible with Luyken's illustrations

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 37

The notes for this article begin on page 175.

Figure 1. Plate decorated in *encre de chine* and gold with a scene of the Nativity, Chinese, European market, ca. 1740. Porcelain, diam. 8¾ in. (22.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Winfield Foundation Gift, 1965 (65.50)



Figure 3. Plate decorated in *encre de chine* and gold with a scene of the Crucifixion, Chinese, European market, ca. 1740. Porcelain, diam. 9 in. (22.8 cm). Groninger Museum (photo: John Stoel, Haren)

Figure 2. Jan Luyken, *The Nativity*. Engraving from the Lutheran *Nederduytsche Bijbel*, Amsterdam, 1750 (photo: John Stoel, Haren)



Figure 4. Jan Luyken, *The Crucifixion*. Engraving from the Lutheran *Nederduytsche Bijbel*, Amsterdam, 1750 (photo: John Stoel, Haren)

was printed in 1734. The title page of this and subsequent editions includes a portrait of Martin Luther above a cartouche showing Christ and his disciples (Figure 10). This title page was engraved not by Jan Luyken but by someone else, yet it is interesting to note that the portrait and cartouche motifs also occur on *chine de commande* plates (Figure 11). Thanks to the discovery of the Luyken prints, the source of this pattern can be traced as well.

Since the four designs on porcelain are based on Dutch prints, the supposed Jesuit connection is no longer valid. Although there is no mention of any contemporary orders for such plates in the records of the Dutch East India Company (VOC),⁸ it may be assumed that they were bought privately by Dutch traders, like so many other *chine de commande* designs. Reformed Dutch VOC officers always carried a Bible



Figure 5. Coffee or chocolate cup decorated in *encre de chine* and gold with a scene of the Crucifixion, Chinese, European market, ca. 1740. Porcelain, H. 2½ in. (6.3 cm). Groninger Museum (photo: John Stoel, Haren)



Figure 6. Plate decorated in *encre de chine* and gold with a scene of the Resurrection, Chinese, European market, ca. 1740. Porcelain, diam. 8¼ in. (22.6 cm). Groninger Museum (photo: John Stoel, Haren)



Figure 7. Jan Luyken, *The Resurrection*. Engraving from the Lutheran *Nederduytsche Bijbel*, Amsterdam, 1750 (photo: John Stoel, Haren)

in their ship's chest, preferably a small one to save space for other commodities. The octavo edition served their needs well, and it is likely that the prints used as models were taken from such a Bible. A series of Dutch orders could also explain why porcelain with these patterns remained relatively common in the Netherlands.

However, as usual, new answers raise new questions. Apart from these four designs, apparently no other Luyken prints were used for *chine de commande*. Furthermore, only plates and parts of tea, coffee, and chocolate services (Figures 5, 8)⁹ are known with these decorations. No similarly painted tureens, sauce boats, soup plates, or even large bowls¹⁰ seem to exist. Why?



Figure 8. Saucer decorated in polychrome enamels with a scene of the Ascension, Chinese, European market, ca. 1740. Porcelain, diam. 4 7/8 in. (12.4 cm) Museum Het Prinsessehof, Leeuwarden (photo: Johan van der Veer, Museum Het Prinsessehof)



Figure 9. Jan Luyken, *The Ascension*. Engraving from the Lutheran *Nederduytsche Bijbel*, Amsterdam, 1750 (photo: John Stoel, Haren)



Figure 10. Title page of the Lutheran *Nederduytsche Bijbel*, Amsterdam, 1750, with a portrait of Martin Luther and a cartouche showing Christ and his disciples (photo: John Stoel, Haren)



NOTES

Parts of this paper have been published before, in Dutch, in C.J.A. Jörg, *Wisselwerkingen*, inaugural lecture, Leiden University, June 12, 1998.

1. Clare Le Corbeiller, *China Trade Porcelain: Patterns of Exchange. Additions to the Helena Woolworth McCann Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1974).
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 67–70.
3. For a survey and discussion of these porcelains, see David Howard and John Ayers, *China for the West: Chinese Porcelain and*

It is also remarkable that no pieces are known depicting the Descent of the Holy Spirit. This could have been expected if one connects the four aforementioned scenes with the traditional high holy days of Christianity: Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, and Ascension Day. However, Pentecost is equally essential and there always is a print of the Descent of the Holy Spirit in the Luyken Bibles. But it seems never to have been copied onto porcelain.

The following is just a theory, based on the fact that Luyken's prints were used not only in editions of the Bible but also in other Dutch publications of a religious nature. In 1732, for instance, the theologian Lambert ten Cate published *The Life of Our Savior Jesus Christ*.¹¹ In that treatise Luyken's prints of the Nativity, the Crucifixion, the Resurrection, and the Ascension are illustrated, but not his Descent of the Holy Spirit, because this episode occurred later than the life of Jesus. When ordering the porcelain pieces, people might have had similar thoughts and wanted only those scenes that were related to Christ himself.

It is remarkable that these porcelains, being rarely abraded, apparently were not meant for regular use. Perhaps they were kept in a cupboard or cabinet and only taken out on special occasions. If so, an interesting connection can be made to a traditional Dutch name for these wares, *rouwgoed* (mourning ware). No less than black attire and other tokens of mourning, a series of plates or a tea and coffee set of this porcelain with its black painting could have marked a period of mourning. Displayed in the living room, it pointed to the incarnation of Christ and his defeat of death.

Figure 11. Plate decorated in *encre de chine* and gold with a portrait of Martin Luther and a cartouche with Christ and his disciples, Chinese, European market, 1740–50. Porcelain, diam. 9 in. (23 cm). Groninger Museum (photo: John Stoel, Haren)

- Other Decorative Arts for Export Illustrated from the Mottahedeh Collection* (London and New York, 1978), vol. 1, pp. 312, 318–321, and the references given there. For additional references, see Catherine Coleman Brawer, *Chinese Export Porcelain*, catalogue of the Elvehjem Museum of Art, University of Wisconsin-Madison (Madison, 1992), pp. 133–137; François and Nicole Hervouët, *La porcelaine des Compagnies des Indes à décor occidental* (Paris 1986), pp. 263, 266, 267.
4. Howard and Ayers, *China for the West*, pp. 318–21, nos. 313–15. In addition to their references can be mentioned the plates with the Nativity, the Crucifixion, and the Resurrection painted in enamel colors in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; see C.J.A. Jörg and Jan van Campen, *Chinese Ceramics in the Collection of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam* (London, 1997), p. 278. Hervouët, *La porcelaine*, nos. 11.27, 11.28, illustrates polychrome plates with the Resurrection and the Ascension. See Coleman Brawer, *Chinese Export Porcelain*, p. 137, for two coffee cups with the Ascension in enamels. A saucer with the Ascension is illustrated as Figure 8 in this essay.
 5. W. H. Witteveen of Apeldoorn discovered the prints and kindly gave me permission to publish and use his find. His octavo Bible is the Lutheran *Nederduytse Bijbel*, published in Amsterdam in 1750. The Luyken prints illustrated in this article are taken from this edition.
 6. The standard work on Jan Luyken's life and work is still P. van Eeghen and J. P. van der Kellen, *Het werk van Jan en Caspar Luyken* (Amsterdam, 1905), 2 vols. For the series of New Testament prints, see vol. 1, pp. 25–28; for the Old Testament prints, see vol. 2, pp. 701–9.
 7. The Resurrection scenes sometimes show three men at the background on the right, sometimes just shrubs; see Howard and Ayers, *China for the West*, vol. 1, p. 320. Further research is needed in order to clarify if the motif was derived from a print version or whether a liberty was taken by the Chinese painter.
 8. In 1778, the directors of the VOC, by way of an experiment, sent a Chinese saucer with a scene of the Crucifixion as a model to Canton, to be copied onto plates and tea sets. The Dutch merchants replied that plates would be too expensive and therefore they had not ordered them, but they did send twenty-two tea services decorated in *encre de chine*. They did not have high expectations about the profits but thought they would probably do well in the Catholic Brabant province. The comments of the directors immediately put an end to such orders: the design was regarded as "rather offensive." It is likely that these sets were of the simplified, later design as represented, for instance, in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. See C.J.A. Jörg, *Porcelain and the Dutch China Trade* (The Hague, 1982), pp. 108–10 n. 61; Jörg and Van Campen, *Chinese Ceramics*, p. 281.
 9. Although tea and coffee wares with these designs are now relatively rare, there must have been sets around. For instance, the catalogue for the auction of the Amsterdam porcelain shop of Martha Raap on August 24 and the days following, 1778, mentions, as lot 2232 on page 98, "An extrabeautiful tea set, black art, with the Passion of the Savior, consisting of 1 teapot and pat-typen, 1 spoon tray, 1 tea caddy, 1 large rinse bowl, 1 rinse bowl and saucer, 1 sugar bowl with lid and saucer, 6 pair of teacups and saucers and 6 chocolate cups." The set fetched thirty-four Dutch florins, quite a large sum at that time. The only extant copy of this catalogue is in the library of the Prinsessehof Museum, Leeuwarden.
 10. Smaller bowls are known that belonged to tea and coffee sets. However, there is an *encre de chine* punch bowl in the Reeves collection which has a scene of the Resurrection on one side and a scene of Neptune and Venus on the other. I agree with Howard and Ayers that this isolated anomaly had no religious meaning; see C. H. Efrid and K. C. Farnham, *Chinese Export Porcelain from the Reeves Collection at Washington and Lee University* (Lexington, 1973), p. 31, no. 123; Howard and Ayers, *China for the West*, vol. 1, p. 320.
 11. Lambert ten Cate, *Het Leven van onzen Heiland Jezus Christus* (Amsterdam, 1732).

The Reign of Magots and Pagods

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WITH THE LINSKY COLLECTION, a number of eighteenth-century “pseudo Orientals” entered the Metropolitan Museum in 1982. Expertly described by Clare Le Corbeiller in the Linsky catalogue,¹ these images of divinities and commoners from the Far East are made of European porcelain, with the exception of a pair of gilt-bronze andirons and a pair of kneeling male figures of lacquered wood (Figure 1). Set in gilt bronze and mounted as two-light candelabra, the latter statuettes prompted further research. Both are dressed in long black robes, finely painted with a pattern of overlapping chrysanthemums in gold, red, and brown. The lining of the robes, visible at the turned-up hems, low necklines, and inside the wide sleeves, is colored red, as are the sashes tied around the waists of the two figures. Their poses complement each other in mirror image; each has one arm outstretched in front and holds in that hand a cluster of three gilt-bronze oak leaves surrounding a central acorn. The other arm is bent upward, with the hand reaching back as if to touch one of the scrolling branches behind. Each figure has a shaved head, the skull beautifully patinated to simulate bronze, and a slightly uptilted face. Their brows are contracted, their glance is directed upward, and their open lips reveal traces of red paint. Their bare feet are partly visible beneath their robes, one foot in front and the other in back. The figures are placed on shaped and molded bases of gilt bronze, decorated with borders of stylized leaves. Attached to both bases at the back is a single tree trunk, which divides into three smaller curved branches bearing gilt-bronze leaves as well as blossoms of hard-paste porcelain and red-painted metal. Some of the porcelain flowers are now missing.² Each of the four side branches is fitted with a finely engraved candleholder and shaped drip pan of gilt bronze. These objects, formerly in the collections of Albert Lehmann and René Fribourg,³ are clearly the confections of a *marchand*

mercier, a dealer in luxurious wares and knickknacks, who commissioned or obtained the lacquered sculptures, flowers, and gilt-bronze branches from various sources, and then had them assembled into unique *objets de goût*.⁴

Belle and Jack Linsky were by no means the first collectors to take pleasure in such exotic figures. Already during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, objects of this kind, known in France as *pagodes* or *magots*, delighted distinguished *amateurs*, who eagerly acquired them. Although *pagode* appears to have been the more common name, both terms were widely and interchangeably used as general, and somewhat derisory, descriptions for images of mortals and immortals from the Far East.⁵ According to Denis Diderot’s *Encyclopédie* of 1765, the word *pagode* referred to a temple-like structure used by Indians and idolaters and, by extension, to the idols worshiped in these buildings.⁶ *Magots*, on the other hand, applied to heavy-set, bizarre figures of clay, plaster, copper, or porcelain that were regarded as representations of Chinese or Indians.⁷ The *Dictionnaire critique, pittoresque et sentencieux, propre à faire connoître les usages du siècle* (Paris, 1768) defined *magot* as a “nom qu’on donne à de petites figures de porcelaine ou d’émail, grossièrement travaillées, et qui convient à bien des personnes.”⁸ That *magot* is also the word for a small, capricious, and grimacing monkey is surely not accidental and can be seen as a depreciatory allusion to the grotesque nature of these figurines.⁹

Contemporary descriptions already point to the presence of pagods and magots in France as early as the second half of the seventeenth century when, as a result of a growing interest in and increasing trade with the Far East, examples were first shipped to Europe, mostly from China. The *Inventaire général du mobilier de la couronne*, for instance, drawn up in February 1673, included no fewer than 549 objects of this kind. Made of wood, paper, or silk, some figures were richly dressed in “robbes à l’indienne de brocat or, argent en soye.”¹⁰ The word *pagode* was defined only once: “une pacode ou figure des Indes de bois, sur un

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 37

The notes for this article begin on page 193.



Figure 1. Pair of candelabra, French, ca. 1740–45. Gilt bronze, lacquered wood, and hard-paste porcelain, each H. 6¼ in. (17.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.87,.88). See also Colorplate 6 and front cover

pied d'estal carré, qui tient une fiolle renversée, hault de 12 pouces." The majority of the figures consisted of rolled-up or twisted silk and the inventory referred to their fantastic nature: "cinq cens quinze petites figures crotiques de la Chine, faites comme les fleurs cy dessus d'un enroulement de cordonnet [de soye]." The 1689 inventory of the Chinese porcelain collection formed by Louis XIV's son, the Grand Dauphin, described some 381 objects, mostly blue and white, including two pagods. The first, with gilded head and hands, was described as seated and holding a small dog that pulled at a ring in its ear; the other figure had a pierced pyramid in its right hand.¹¹ The



Figure 3. *Habit de pagode*, French (?), ca. 1700. Black ink, watercolor, and graphite. Included in *Habits de masques*. Dresden, Kupferstich-Kabinett (Ca 102, Bl. II)

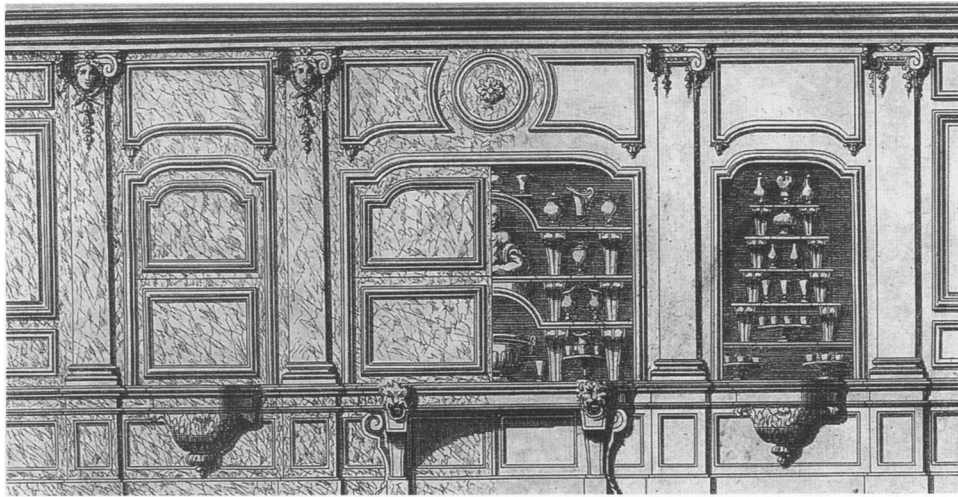


Figure 2. Buffet, based on a design by Jean Bérain, in the dining room of M. Begon's house, French, ca. 1700. Engraving included in *L'architecture à la mode, ou sont les nouveaux dessins pour la décoration des batimens et jardins* (Paris, n.d.). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1930 (30.60.1)

Parisian dealer Du Cauroy appears to have been one of the principal importers of such curiosities at the end of the seventeenth century. In his shop in the rue Briboucher he offered "bijouteries et coffres d'Angleterre, de porcelaines, pagottes, et terres cizelées et meubles de la Chine."¹²

Pagodas are also mentioned in the journal of the English doctor and naturalist Martin Lister (1638–1712), who recorded his 1698 journey to Paris. At Saint-Cloud, Lister visited the apartment of Philippe de France, the brother of Louis XIV. One of his cabinets was filled with costly artworks characterized by Lister as "bijoux, dont beaucoup d'un grand prix."¹³ He added, in a rather denigrating manner, that "des pagodes de Siam, & d'autres objets encore que j'y vis, me parurent fort baroques." Lister had a more favorable impression of the pagods in the collection of M.

de Viviers. The rooms of this officer of the French guard at the Arsenal were decorated with "porcelaine de Chine la plus variée & la mieux choisie que j'aye jamais vue, sans excepter les pagodes & les peintures du même pays."¹⁴ Michel Begon, an intendant of the French navy, apparently shared the predilection for this type of object since a large cross-legged pagoda formed the central element of the buffet display in the dining room of his Parisian residence (Figure 2). The appeal of these fancy figures was also clearly expressed by the appearance of musical entertainers and courtiers dressed as pagods at various festivities. For instance, at a magnificent ball held in January 1700 at Versailles in honor of Marie-Adélaïde de Savoie, duchesse de Bourgogne, daughter-in-law of Monsieur Philippe, there were "douze officiers de Monsieur le Prince dispersés pour servir et vêtus en

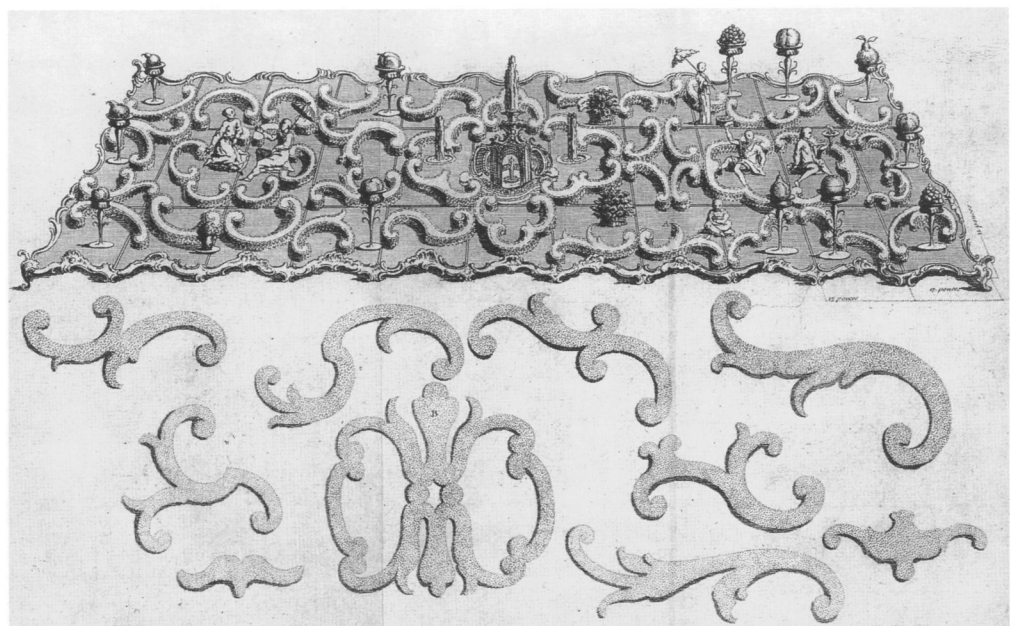


Figure 4. Sieur Gilliers (French, d. 1758). Design for a Table Centerpiece. Engraving included in *Le cannameliste français* (Nancy, 1768). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1934 (34.90.3)



Figure 5. François Boucher (French, 1703–1770). *The Element of Fire*, ca. 1740. Red chalk, 13¼ x 11¼ in. (35 x 28.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Van Day Truex Fund, 1984 (1984.51.1)

pagodes estaient assis entre chacune de ces tables. Il y avait au pied de la grande table du buffet trois pagodes jouant des instruments et, dans les deux bouts, deux autres pagodes chantant. . . . Quand Madame la duchesse de Bourgogne entra dans cette salle les pagodes vivantes et les postiches remuèrent toutes la teste également, comme pour saluer cette princesse et dans le même instant les douze officiers vestus en Chinois se levèrent et tirèrent de dessous le buffet plusieurs tables où la princesse et les principales dames de sa suite firent colation.”¹⁵ How delightful this type of masquerade must have been is revealed by a hand-colored design of about 1700 for a “habit de pagode,” showing a charming costume suitable to be worn at such court festivities (Figure 3).¹⁶

Pagods and magots also found their way on to the French dining table as part of the *surtout* that was placed in the center of the table during meals with holders for candles, spices, oil and vinegar, or during dessert with holders for fruit and sweets. Several

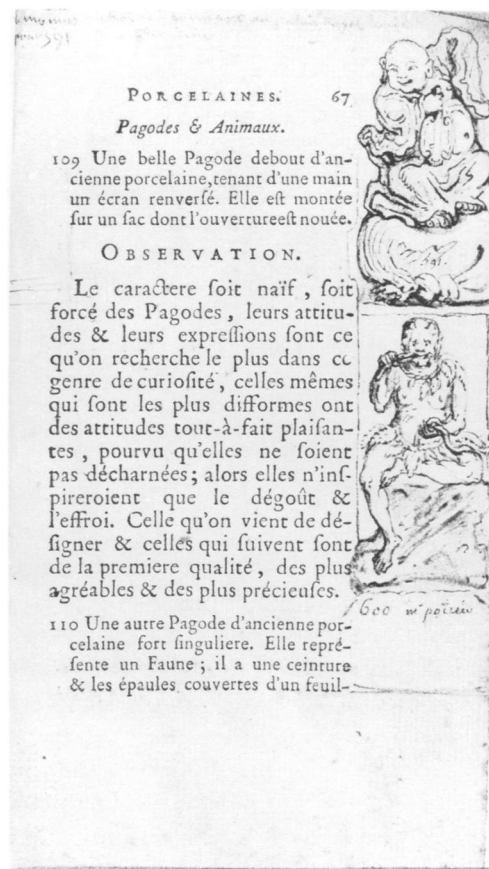


Figure 6. Page from the Gaignat sale catalogue, 1768, with a sketch by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin of a porcelain pagoda in the margin to illustrate lot 109 (photo: after Émile Dacier, *Catalogues de ventes et livrets de salons illustrés par Gabriel de Saint-Aubin*, vol. 11, *Catalogue de la vente L.-J. Gaignat* [Paris: 1921])

delightful designs for such elaborate table decorations incorporating exotic figures were published by Sieur Gilliers, *chef d'office* and *distillateur* to the former king of Poland, Stanislas Leszczyński, in his *Le cannameliste français* of 1751. One of the plates in this popular publication shows a formal garden composed of scrolling hedges, a fountain, baskets of flowers, and holders for fruit. An assortment of statues in the shape of seated, lounging, cross-legged, and parasol-carrying pagods populates the design (Figure 4). Unfortunately, Gilliers does not give instructions for the execution of these figures—probably of sugar?—and mentions only the panels of mirrored glass that form the base of the *surtout*.¹⁷ Constituting an important element of the chinoiserie style, pagods and magots enjoyed an immense popularity in France and other European countries¹⁸ throughout the eighteenth century, particularly during the 1740s and 1750s when references to such imported figures abound in correspondence and literature. Queen Marie Leszczyńska, for instance,



Figure 7. Seated pagod, formerly in the collection of Augustus II, elector of Saxony, German, Meissen, ca. 1710. Stoneware, H. 3¼ in. (9.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of R. Thornton Wilson, in memory of Florence Ellsworth Wilson, 1945 (45.81)

wrote to the marquis d'Argenson in 1745 that she felt at ease among her pagods in her private rooms.¹⁹ In his *Angola: Histoire indienne*, of 1746, the novelist and adventurer Charles-Jacques Rochette de la Morlière mentioned a richly furnished room with a garniture of "magots à gros ventre de la tournure la plus neuve & la plus bouffonne" on the mantelpiece.²⁰

Contemporary descriptions convey the impression that magots and pagods were literally everywhere, embellishing textiles, wall hangings, and lacquer ware. The informative account book of the *marchand mercier* Lazare Duvaux notes that he supplied Madame de Pompadour, one of his regular clients, with a support for a "cabinet formant un secrétaire revêtu en lacq à pagodes" in June 1751.²¹ More than twenty-five years later, a Japanese lacquered cabinet was described in the sale catalogue of the late M. Randon de Boisset's collection as "intéressant par ses divers sujets de pagodes, la richesse & la variété de leur draperie, d'un travail précieux, par la singularité des caracteres, le

plaisant des attitudes."²² Porcelain decorated in this manner was included in many eighteenth-century sales, such as the "deux pots à Tabac d'ancien, la Chine à fond bleu, & à Pagodes renfermées dans des cartouches" formerly in the possession of the vicomte de Fonspertuis.²³ Fonspertuis must have been passionate about such exotic figures since he had amassed nearly seventy pagods of porcelain, wood, or bronze. This astonishing number may have been an exception, but a variety of pagods and magots populated the homes of other *amateurs* as well. At the duc de Tallard's residence, for instance, visitors would have been greeted by several grinning porcelain figures, some sporting a capacious belly or large ears.²⁴ Certain collections contained objects that provided an element of surprise: pagods that nodded their heads and moved their hands as if to acknowledge passersby. Duvaux sold a number of these somewhat bizarre

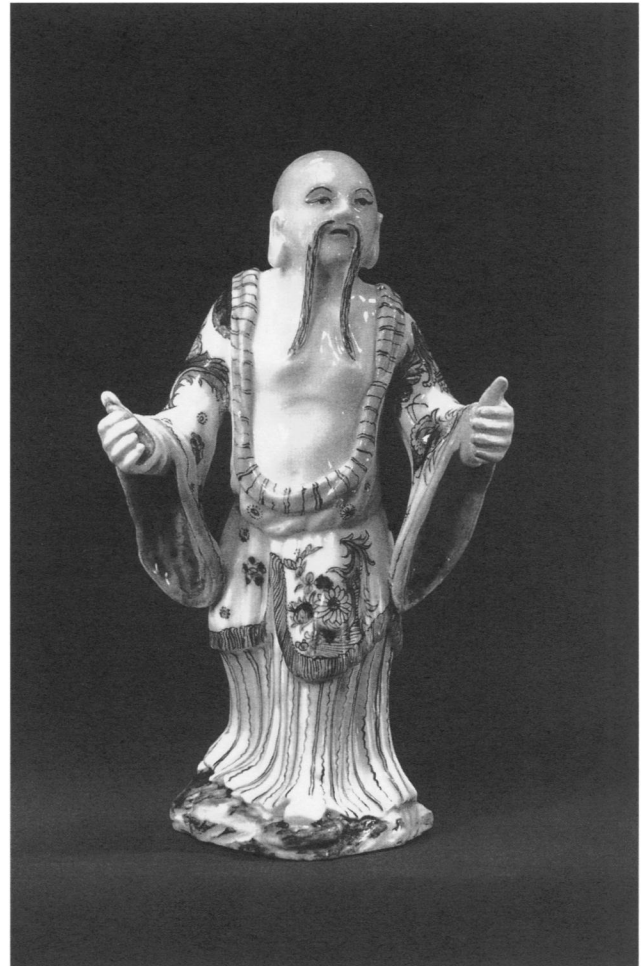


Figure 8. Standing pagod, French, Mennecy, ca. 1740. Soft-paste porcelain, H. 6¼ in. (15.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.273)

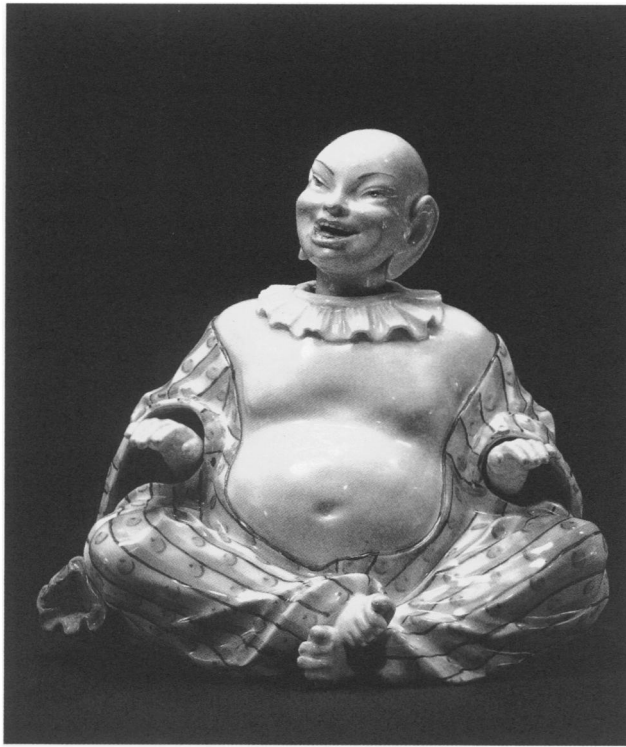


Figure 9. Nodding pagod, German, Meissen, ca. 1760. Hard-paste porcelain, H. 8 1/4 in. (21.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60. 325)



Figure 10. Attributed to Martin Schnell. Nodding *Hotei* (with movable hands and tongue), German, Dresden, after 1710. Lacquered lindenwood, 9 1/4 x 12 1/4 x 11 1/4 in. (24.5 x 32.4 x 28.4 cm). Museum für Lackkunst, Münster (EU-D-z-23)

figures, which also appeared in various sale catalogues.²⁵ The painter François Boucher owned seven such nodding figurines, including one that not only moved its head and hands but also its tongue, which must have added to its grotesque character.²⁶ Since Boucher was an avid collector of Oriental art it is not at all surprising that the artist featured similar objects in his work. For instance, a large pagod occupies an important place in one of his chinoiserie compositions, *The Element of Fire* (Figure 5).²⁷ On a smaller and more realistic scale, in the intimate painting of 1743 showing Mme Boucher reclining on a daybed (now in the Frick Collection, New York), Boucher represented a blue-and-white porcelain tea set as well as a cross-legged pagod on the hanging shelves.²⁸ These figures also could be displayed on a mantelpiece as part of a garniture,²⁹ or be housed in special cases or shrines.³⁰ In 1756, for example, the duc d'Aumont ordered from Lazare Duvaux "une châsse à moulures unies, en bronze doré d'or moulu, garnie de glaces, pour une pagode des Indes," for 192 livres.³¹ The role of dealers such as Duvaux and Edme-François Gersaint, whose shop bore the appropriate name "À la Pagode," was not restricted to merely selling works of art.³² They were often called upon to repair or refinish broken figurines.³³ More importantly, the *marchands*

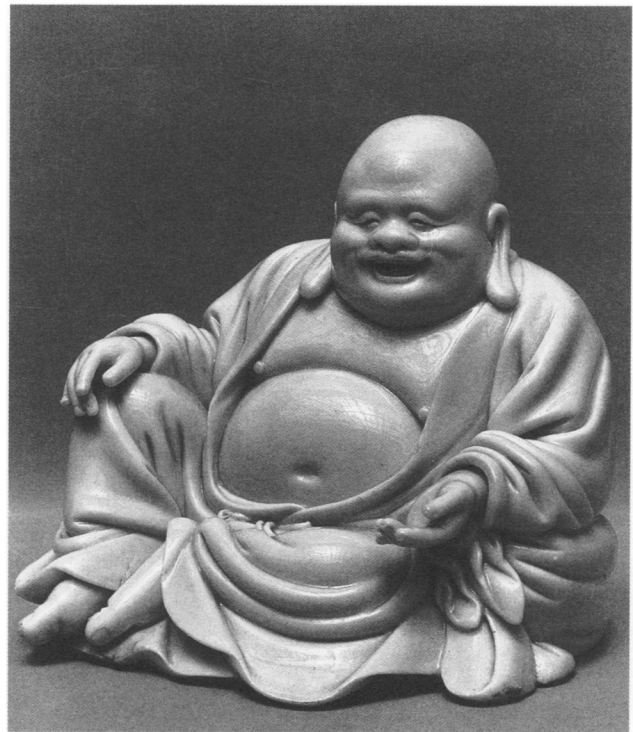


Figure 11. *Hotei*, Chinese, 17th century. Blanc de chine, H. 6 1/4 in. (17.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Friedsam Collection, Bequest of Michael Friedsam, 1931 (32.100.422)



Figure 12. Sake bottle in the form of a *Hotei*, Japanese, 17th century. Lacquered wood, $7\frac{1}{4} \times 9 \times 5\frac{1}{2}$ in. (18.5 x 23 x 14 cm). Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Braunschweig (Chi 681)

merciers invented new models for clocks, wall lights, inkstands, and other such luxury items by including pagods as part of their design, and had them mounted in gilt bronze and embellished with porcelain flowers.³⁴

During the eighteenth century the majority of these imported pagods were made of stoneware, so-called *terre des Indes*, and porcelain—either blanc de chine, celadon, *bleu céleste*, or “porcelaine grise.” Soapstone, paper, bronze, and wood examples, some richly dressed, are also listed in contemporary documents. The manner of representation was as wide-ranging as the materials used. Old people and children, musicians, beggars, porters, and idols were depicted upright and seated on rocks or chairs, squatting, or recumbent, sometimes laughing, often riding buffalo, dragons, or tigers, and holding fans, parasols, sticks, and a host of other attributes. The quality of the figures was not always consistent. The dealer Gersaint suggested that, in general, male pagods were preferable “parce qu’il s’y trouve ordinairement plus d’action & de caractère,” whereas females could be “froid [et] désagréable qui diminue beaucoup leur mérite.”³⁵ In fact, the celadon porcelain figurines often were considered to be cold and emaciated.³⁶ Best liked of all were the somewhat naïve and well-fed-looking pagods that were “les plus difformes,” with “attitudes tout-à-fait plaisantes, pourvu qu’elles ne soient pas décharnées; alors elles n’inspireroient que le dégoût & l’effroi.”³⁷ The amusing porcelain that generated this last comment was sketched by Gabriel de Saint-Aubin in the



Figure 13. Mantel clock, with a movement by Étienne Lenoir, French, Paris, mid-18th century. Gilt and lacquered bronze and porcelain, 9×11 in. (23 x 28 cm). (photo: courtesy of Sotheby’s, Monaco)



Figure 14. Mantel clock, with a later movement by Benjamin Vulliamy, French, Paris, mid-18th century. Gilt and lacquered bronze, $11\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{1}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ in. (30 x 30 x 12 cm). H. M. Queen Elizabeth II, The Royal Collection, England (30237)



Figure 15. One of candelabra shown in Figure 1. See also Colorplate 6 and front cover

margin of the 1768 Gaignat sale catalogue (Figure 6).³⁸

Not surprisingly, the obsession with these knick-knacks and the amount of money spent on them inspired mockery in literature and on the stage.³⁹ Criticism also came from Diderot, who ridiculed the collecting of such trinkets in his *Encyclopédie*, where he

described the magots as “des colifichets précieux dont la nation s’est entêtée: ils ont chassé de nos appartemens des ornemens d’un goût beaucoup meilleur. Ce regne est celui des magots.”⁴⁰

Nevertheless, the popularity of pagods and magots remained entrenched in France and in neighboring countries throughout the eighteenth century, also stimulating the creation of mostly ceramic European imitations. Adapted from Chinese models, so-called Böttger stoneware pagods were made at Meissen from 1710 onward, while a variety of hard-paste porcelain models followed during the next decades.⁴¹ With their broad grins, these humorous figures not only were decorative but also functioned as covers for incense burners, the smoke issuing from openings in their ears and mouths (Figure 7). With the establishment of various French porcelain manufactories, similar “Oriental” figurines were produced at Chantilly, Saint-Cloud, Villeroy, and Mennecy (Figure 8). The “quatre magots blancs de Chantilly” formerly in the possession of Ulysse, comte d’Egmont, are good examples of this.⁴² Porcelain sculptures with nodding heads were made at Chantilly and at Saint-Cloud in the 1740s, and about 1760 also at Meissen: an example is the formidable white-and-pink-tinted figure in the Linsky Collection (Figure 9).⁴³ Even older is a group of lacquered-wood pagods with movable heads and hands, first recorded in the collection of the electors of Brandenburg in 1704 and still part of the wall decoration of the porcelain cabinet at Charlottenburg today.⁴⁴ Nearly identical lacquered sculptures were listed in the 1721 inventory of the Holländische Palais in Dresden, and they have now been attributed to the well-known lacquer master



Figure 16. Pair of candlesticks, French, Paris, 1740–45. Gilt bronze, lacquered wood, and soft-paste porcelain, each H. 8¼ in. (21 cm). Musée Carnavalet, Paris, Bequest of Henriette Bouvier (MB 425[1,2])



Figure 17. Mantel clock, with a movement by Julien Le Roy, French, Paris, mid-18th century. Gilt and lacquered bronze, 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 14 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (30 x 36 cm) (photo: courtesy of Sotheby's, Monaco)

Martin Schnell.⁴⁵ Another closely related example, also attributed to Schnell, is in the lacquer museum in Münster (Figure 10).⁴⁶ These corpulent sculptures, shown with big earlobes, naked bellies, and a large bag alongside them, are representations of one of the popular gods of good fortune, known as *putai* in Chinese and *hotoi* in Japanese. It is not clear what served as the immediate source for these jappanned imitations other than porcelain figurines (Figure 11). Perhaps they were inspired by Japanese lacquerware, such as the seventeenth-century sake bottle in the form of a *hotoi*, formerly in the collection of Herzog Anton-Ulrich von Braunschweig (Figure 12),⁴⁷ or the carved figurines known in Japan as *saga-ningyô*. The painted garments of these wood dolls, some of which have nodding heads, display rich polychrome patterns.⁴⁸ Imported soapstone figures were usually painted, too, and may have exerted an influence as well.⁴⁹

Small pagods, mostly of lacquered bronze but sometimes of wood, were also created in France during the first half of the eighteenth century, more precisely, between about 1735 and about 1745.⁵⁰ They nearly always served as the principal decorative components of elegant furnishings, as illustrated by the Linsky candelabra (Figure 1). The advantage of using French-made pagods rather than imported ones was

that they could be cast or carved in any desired pose to form a harmonious and integral element of the overall design. A number of clocks and other *objets de luxe* incorporating such “pseudo Orientals” have been on the art market in recent years, stirring a renewed interest in these exotic figures, which already appear to have enjoyed something of a revival during the nineteenth century.⁵¹ Among the most popular objects were mantel clocks with two or three pagods. The timepieces with two figures generally consisted of a reclining Chinaman resting the clock movement on his raised leg and steadying it with one arm while holding a gourd-shaped drinking bottle in the other hand (Figure 13) and an infant with arms outstretched, as if to help support the drum, standing on the opposite side. At least nine of these mantel clocks are extant, none identical, with movements by various clockmakers. The shape of the gilt-bronze base and the curving branches mounted with porcelain flowers varied with each clock. Although the figures are nearly always lacquered in black, with red, brown, and gold decoration, the floral patterns of their garments are similar but appear never to be exactly the same.

Several types of timepieces with three “Chinese” figures are known. The more common model appears to have had a pair of standing pagods in long flowing robes lifting the drum of the clock together, while a girl, seated on top, looks down upon them (Figure 14). These clocks sometimes were supplied with a rock-work base of gilt bronze and might be fitted with branches decorated with porcelain flowers. Some of them were sold en suite with a pair of two-light candelabra with whimsically curved arms supported by a “Chinese” couple seated on a gilt-bronze plinth. The female figures, despite their kimono-like dress,⁵² are distinctively more European in nature than their male



Figure 18. Pair of two-light candelabra, French, Paris, 1740-45. Gilt bronze, lacquered wood, and porcelain, each 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (16 x 16.5 cm). (photo: courtesy of Christie's, New York)



Figure 19. Decorative group or paperweight, French, Paris, mid-18th century. Gilt and lacquered bronze, H. 5 1/4 in. (14 cm). (photo: courtesy of Partridge Fine Arts PLC, London)

companions and have, in fact, been compared to French contemporary prints.⁵³ The exposed stomachs of the men suggest that they are slimmed-down and less bizarre versions of the popular *hotei*. All these sculptures, nevertheless, are delightful achievements of the chinoiserie style.

More serious in character are the kneeling men on the Metropolitan Museum's candelabra (Figures 1, 15). They are probably derived from images of arhats (lohas in Chinese, and *rakan* in Japanese), the legendary disciples of Buddha. Varying in numbers of 16, 18, or 500, they were generally depicted in the Far East as monks with shaved heads.⁵⁴ Since the arhats originated in India, Chinese and Japanese artists often depicted them with dark skin and with eccentric or even grotesque foreign features, and they were frequently shown dressed in robes that revealed their bare chests underneath.⁵⁵ The irregular chrysanthemum patterns on their garments most likely were based on Japanese lacquer ware, whereas the red sashes are a purely European addition. Although the Museum's lacquered figures appear to be unique, they are closest to those on a set of candlesticks in the Musée Carnavalet, Paris (Figure 16).⁵⁶ Also made of lacquered wood, these squatting "Chinese" men are

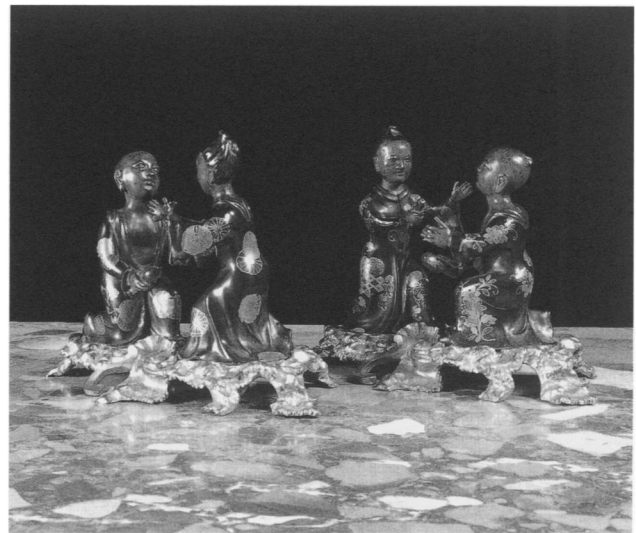


Figure 20. Pair of decorative groups or paperweights, French, Paris, mid-18th century. Gilt and lacquered bronze, each W. 7 1/4 in. (18.5 cm). (photo: courtesy of Christie's, London)

fitted with similar gilt-bronze bases and engraved candleholders and have nearly identical drip pans. In fact, several related single-pagoda candelabra are known, some of which have plinths and others drip pans, nozzles, or even metal flowers of exactly the same shape and decoration as those on the Linsky examples.⁵⁷ It is therefore quite possible that this group of objects went through the hands of one and the same *marchand mercier*.

The earliest references to lacquered pagods and

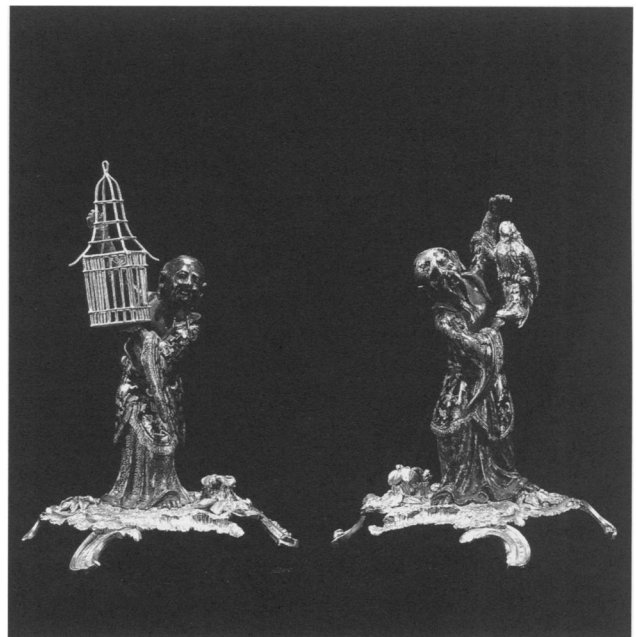


Figure 21. Pair of standing figures or paperweights, French, Paris, mid-18th century. Gilt and lacquered bronze, 9 x 6 1/2 in. (23 x 16.5 cm). (photo: courtesy of Christie's, New York)

magots date to inventory descriptions from the late 1730s and 1740s. In 1738, for instance, the porcelain cabinet of the maréchale d'Estrées included "un pot poury soutenu par deux pagodes, le tout de verny de Martin."⁵⁸ The inventory drawn up on January 15, 1743, after the death of the marquis de Breteuil listed "une pendule faite par Julien Le Roy de la Société des arts dans un cadran d'émail avec figures, façon de la Chine verni de Martin."⁵⁹ Similar listings in the following decade include, for instance, descriptions of the private rooms of the duchesse de Maine, which were furnished with two clocks and a pair of girandoles all mounted with *pagodes de verny de Martin*.⁶⁰ Such accounts not only give a clear indication of the date when these figures were fashionable but also shed some light on the artists responsible, since the lacquered pagods were frequently, but not always, said to be *par Martin* or decorated with *vernis de Martin*.⁶¹

Guillaume Martin (1689–1749) and his younger brothers, Étienne-Simon (1703–1770), Julien (d. 1765), and Robert (1706–1765), were leading *vernisseurs* in Paris who also repaired and reworked existing lacquerware.⁶² The Martin brothers had successfully developed a high-quality varnish that they—and, subsequently, their sons—applied to such small luxury items as toilet sets, boxes, and etuis as well as to furniture, sedan chairs, carriages, and paneling. Due to their formidable reputation, aristocratic clientele, and court connections—each of them was appointed *vernisseur du roi*—from about 1750 onward *vernis Martin* became, rather confusingly, the general term for French imitation lacquer.⁶³ Since none of the brothers signed his work, very few items can be attributed with certainty to any member of the Martin family, especially since there were a number of other *vernisseurs* working in eighteenth-century Paris as well.⁶⁴ However, some of the already quoted inventory descriptions were written by an individual whom today one would describe as an expert, Thomas-Joachim Hébert; a *marchand mercier*, Hébert had business dealings with the Martins.⁶⁵ Since he made a careful distinction between objects that were *verny de Martin* as opposed to *de verny commun* or *en verny de Paris*, it has been argued that Hébert, and various colleagues such as Duvaux and Poirier, did so with good reason.⁶⁶ References to pagods or magots explicitly said to be the work of the Martins can still be found in sale catalogues from the second half of the eighteenth century.⁶⁷ As a result, it is reasonable to conclude that a number (but probably not all) of the pagods were, indeed, lacquered by members of the celebrated Martin family, who may well have been the first to do so. Their competitors, trying to imitate the lucrative out-

put of the Martin workshops, decorated similar pieces, making it difficult, if not impossible, to differentiate their work from that of the Martins. Based on the fine quality of their lacquered surfaces, the Linsky pair of pagods could conceivably be the work of one of the Martin brothers and should be dated between about 1740 and 1745. They are excellent examples of the exotic figures that engendered widespread fascination in late-seventeenth- and eighteenth-century France, when a variety of pagods and magots imported from the Far East—and subsequently imitations from Europe, as well—became eagerly sought after by fashionable collectors and dealers alike.

The following appendices—records from contemporary documents and known extant examples—underscore the enormous popularity of eighteenth-century lacquered pagod figures in every imaginable pose and combination.

APPENDIX 1

Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century References to Lacquered Pagods

1738: Un pot poury soutenu par deux pagodes, le tout de verny de Martin.

Described by Thomas-Joachim Hébert in the inventory of the porcelain cabinet of maréchale V. Amédée d'Estrées. Paris A.N., MC, Et., LXXXVIII/558, January 13, 1738.

1740: [Dans un petit cabinet:]—un bureau a Ecrire de Verny ancien Japon a pieds de biches ornés de bronze dore d'or moulu et son dessus de Velours Vert avec Son Serre-papiers aussi de Verny du Japon et une pendule dessus faite par Jullien Le Roy à Paris dans sa boîte a Pagodes de Verny le tout orné de bronze doré d'or moulu prisés Ensemble 1000 livres.

—deux Pierres a papiers a Pagodes de Cuivre Verny sur leurs pieds de bronze doré d'or moulu prisées 90 livres.

[Dans une petite Chambre a coté dud. Cabinet dans laquelle est decedé mondit . . . Seigneur Le Duc]: —une pendule a repetiture[?] de Pierre Le Roy dans sa boîte a Pagodes de Verny garnie de bronze doré d'or moulu prisee 300 livres.

Listed in the inventory of Louis Henry, duc de Bourbon, prince de Condé, at the Château de Chantilly. Paris A.N., M.C., Et., XCII, 504, February 17, 1740. The presse papiers were fifty years later described as: orné[s] de deux magots vernissés en laque par Martin, haut et large de 6 pouces. Quoted by Wolversperges, "A propos d'une pendule aux magots," 2001, pp. 69, 77 n. 24. The clock by Le Roy as: un cartel de genre chantourné en bronze doré enrichi de trois

- chinois en laque de Martin avec mouvement de Pierre Le Roy. Ibid., pp. 69, 77 n. 28.
- 1743: Une pendule faite par Julien Le Roy de la Société des arts dans un cadran d'émail avec figures, façon de la Chine verni de Martin et orné de bronzes sur un pied de bois violet pareillement garni et orné de bronzes dorés 400 lt.
Inventory drawn up after the death of the marquis de Breteuil. Paris, A.N., M.C., Et., XXXIX, 370, January 15, 1743. Quoted in the unpublished catalogue of a private collection.
- 1751: La réparation d'une pendule que l'on a resaucée à neuf, fait repeindre les figures, fourni des branchages vernis, garnis de fleurs de Vincennes, 240 l.
On July 16, 1751, Duvaux charged M. de Genessin 240 livres for the regilding of a clock and the repainting of the figures. The clock was further supplied with lacquered branches and Vincennes porcelain flowers. Lazare Duvaux, *Livre-Journal de Lazare Duvaux*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1965), p. 89, no. 859.
- 1752: Une pendule à tirage faite à Paris par Lenoir dans sa boîte de vernis rouge portée et surmontée de trois pagodes, la pendule sur son pied de bronze doré, ornée de feuillage émaillé, 400 livres.
Inventory drawn up following the death of Charles, prince of Lorraine, in 1752. Quoted in the sale catalogue of the collection of M. and Mme Djahanguir Riahi, Christie's, New York, November 2, 2000, lot 8.
- 1752: [Dans la chambre à coucher]: Une pendule faite par Pierre Leroy soutenue par deux figures chinoises montées sur un pied le tout de bois verni de Martin 280 lt.
Inventory drawn up after the death of the comte de Ruppelmonde. Paris, A.N., M.C., Et., XCI, 885, June 6, 1752. Quoted in the unpublished catalogue of a private collection.
- 1753: [Dans la chambre à coucher à coté (de bibliothèque)]:
—[443] une pendule faite par Pierre Le Roy à Paris dans une boete de bronze doré avec trois pagodes et au bouquet verni de Martin prisee 400 livres.
[Dans la Chambre en suite ditte Cabinet de la Chine]:
—[521] deux girandoles à deux branches de cuivre doré portée sur deux pagodes de verni de Martin montées en bronze doré d'or moulu prisees 140 livres.
—[538] une pendule faite par Mesnil dans une boête de lac du Japon soutenue par deux pagodes de verni de Martin sur un plateau de verni du japon prisee 250 livres.
—[539] item deux pots pouris dont chacun en porté sur deux pagodes, le tout de verni du Japon prisés ensemble 180 livres.
Inventory of princesse Louise Benedicte de Bourbon, duchesse du Maine. Paris A.N., M.C., Et., XXXV, 673, February 19, 1753.
- 1753: Un Lustre Cristal de Roche avec une pendule dorée d'or moulu avec pagodes chinoises peintes.
List of goods supplied by Henry Le Brun to Jean-Charles Huet on March 23, 1753. Paris, A.N., MCN, CXIII, 373.
- 1758: Une petite pendule à tirage faite à Paris par Lenoir dans son cartel et supporté par deux magots, le tout de la Chine avec fleurs émaillés, 240 livres.
In the collection of the prince de Mérode in 1758. Quoted in the sale catalogue of the collection of M. and Mme Djahanguir Riahi, Christie's, New York, November 2, 2000, lot 8.
- 1766 Une petite pendule en oeil de boeuf à cadran d'émail portant le nom de Jean-Baptiste Baillon, orné de trois figures chinoises dont deux qui le supportent sur un plateau de bois de la Chine.
Formerly in the collection of M. de Brunoy. Quoted by Wolfesperges, "A propos d'une pendule aux magots," 2001, pp. 70, 77 n. 36. For a clock with three figures on a wooden stand and a movement by Baillon, see Appendix 2.
- 1767: Une Pagode de goût Chinois, en vernis de Martin fond noir & or de relief, garnie de terrasse en bronze, formant pierre à papier.
Pierre Remy, *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux, desseins & estampes et autres effets curieux après le décès de M. de Jullienne*. Paris, March 30–May 22, 1767, p. 61, lot 1613.
- 1768: Une très belle & grande Pendule, sonnante l'heure & la demi-heure, mouvement fait par Pierre le Roy. Elle est ornée de plusieurs figures de cuivre, représentant des magots vernis par Martin, imitant la laque: ils sont richement habillés & ouvragés de divers ors, sur une terrasse dont partie en rocher, & partie dorée & décorée de feuillages & de fleurs de Vincennes.
Une paire de Bras de cheminée, à trois branches, d'un beau modele bien ciselé & doré. Dans chaque bras est une figure de magot, vernie en laque & richement habillée dans le goût du Japon, par Martin.
Pierre Remy, *Catalogue raisonné des tableaux, groupes et figures de bronze, qui composent le cabinet de feu Monsieur de Gagnat*. . . . [porcelains and other decorative objects described by Simon-Philippe Poirier], Paris, February 14–22, 1768, pp. 83–84, lots 188–189.
- 1769 Un petit groupe de deux figures chinoises en cuivre peint sur pied doré d'or moulu.
Listed in the 1769 inventory drawn up after the death of Jean de Boullogne Paris, A.N., M.C., LIII, 446. Quoted by Wolfesperges, "A propos d'une pendule aux magots," 2001, pp. 69, 77 n. 26.

1769: Nächst der Thür ist 1 Laccirter Chinesischer Schreib Kasten mit Pronze d'orée auf das künstlichste garniret. Auf disen Kasten stehen zwischen verschiedenen ornamenten von Pronze d'orée 3 Chinesische figuren von Porcellain, welche eine runde Uhr halten, von Julien Le Roy zu Paris verfertigt; zween sitzende Chineser von Porcellain sind zu beyden seiten, und haltet jeder zwey Arm Leichter in denen händen, welche von Pronze d'orée gemacht sind.

Listed in the 1769 inventory of the Reiche Zimmer at the Residenz in Munich. Quoted by Brigitte Langer, *Die Möbel der Residenz München*, vol. 1, *Die französischen Möbel des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich and New York, 1995), p. 106, no. 19.

1780: Un Pot-pourri d'ancien laque de différentes couleurs, représenté par un fruit des Indes à côtés, soutenu par deux magots, vêtus & ornés de broderie en or; le tout posé sur un pied de laque. Hauteur 9 pouces 6 lignes. Largeur 9 pouces.

J.B.P. Le Brun, *Catalogue d'une belle collection de tableau . . .* Paris, December 11, 1780, p. 96, lot 269.

1781: [Dans le Sallon]: Une petite pendule du nom de Pierre Le Roy de la Société des arts dans sa boete et sur son socle de cuivre doré orné de figures chinoises peintes en façon de lac.

Inventory drawn up after the death of Olive Frottier Dela Coste, comtesse de Coubert. Paris, A.N., M.C., LXXXVIII/781, June 18, 1781.

1781: [Laque de Martin] Idem Quatre Bougeoires à deux branches, ornés chacun d'un magot, par Martin: ils sont posés sur des terrasses de bronze.

J.B.P. Le Brun, *Catalogue raisonné des marbres, jaspes, agates, porcelaines anciennes, laques . . . formant le cabinet de Madame la duchesse Mazarin*. Paris, December 10, 1781, p. 88, lot 305.

1782: Une pendule par Gault dans sa boîte sur un socle de cuivre doré surmonté de Chinois peints façon de la Chine.

Marquis de Courtanvaux collection, sale catalogue, Paris, n.d. [1782], lot 17. Quoted in the unpublished catalogue of a private collection.

1788: Deux Pagodes, genre de laque, par Martin, formant girandole à deux branches sur terrasse: hauteur 13 pouces.

Une Pendule, mouvement de Pierre le Roi, dans sa boîte, supportée par deux Magots de ton de laque en bronze, verni par Martin, sur sa terrasse.

Une Pendule en laque fond noir, le cadran rouge, garni de cercles & soutenue par deux pagodes assises, genre de laque. Hauteur 7 pouces.

J. Folliot, F. De la Lande, and Ph.-F. Julliot fils, *Catalogue des différents objets de curiosité du cabinet de M. le duc de Richelieu*. Paris, December 18–30, 1788, pp. 59, 118, nos. 265, 693–94.

1793: Un magot assis sur un rocher riant d'un autre petit magot vu debout à coté de lui et tenant une grenouille [de laque de Martin], 9 pouces de haut, sur 6 pouces de large.

Marchand Donjeux collection, sale catalogue, Paris, April 29 1793, lot 573. Quoted by Wolvesperges, "A propos d'une pendule aux magots," 2001, pp. 69, 77 n. 21.

1798: Un pot-pourri de laque par Martin soutenu par deux enfants.

In the collection of the marchand Duhamel at the time of the death of his wife. Paris, A.N., M.C., XCI, 1350, 8 Frimaire An 6. Quoted by Wolvesperges, "A propos d'une pendule aux magots," 2001, pp. 69, 77 n. 19. Compare to a potpourri holder described in Appendix 2.

1802: Une pagode en laque de Martin, imitant le Japon, avec un petit plateau.

Julliot fils, collection, sale catalogue, premier Germinal An 10, lot 279. Quoted by Wolvesperges, "A propos d'une pendule aux magots," 2001, pp. 69, 77 n. 22.

1823: An or-molu fourteen-day repeating Bracket clock by Le Roi of Paris decorated with three Chinese Figures in bronze, coloured, curious and valuable.

William Beckford collection, Fonthill Abbey, September 24, 1823, p. 132, lot 213.

APPENDIX 2

Lacquered Pagods in Private and Public Collections or Sold at Auction

Mantel Clocks with Two Figures

Clock, with a movement by Ransonet, on an open rockwork-and-foliate base of gilt bronze, the drum framed by rocailles of gilt bronze. The figures consist of a reclining, bearded pagod with a tuft of hair on his head and with the clock movement resting on his left knee and a bottle gourd in his right hand, and a child standing on the opposite side of the movement.

Mrs. Hamilton Rice collection, Palais Galliera, Paris, June 24, 1965, lot 46, pl. XIX.

Related clock with a movement by Benoist Gérard, on an open rockwork-and-foliate base of gilt bronze, mounted with branches and porcelain flowers.

Simon Fleet, *Clocks* (London and New York, 1972), p. 42, no. 61; *Christie's Review of the Year 1960–61* (London, 1961), p. 79.

Clock of the same model as above, also with a movement by Benoist Gérard, on an open rockwork-and-foliate base of gilt bronze, mounted with different branches and porcelain flowers.

Edey Winthrop, *French Clocks in North American Collections* (New York, 1982), no. 50 (said to be in a private collection).

Another, with a movement by Étienne Le Noir, on an open rockwork-and-foliage base of gilt bronze, mounted with different branches and porcelain flowers.

Giuseppe Rossi collection, Sotheby's, London, vol. 2, March 11, 1999, lot 755 (provenance: Marcel Bissey, Paris).

Another, with a movement by Étienne Le Noir, on an open rockwork-and-foliage base of gilt bronze, the base and drum mounted with porcelain flowers (see Figure 13).

Sotheby's, Monaco, June 18, 1999, lot 84 (provenance: Marcel Bissey, Paris).

Another, with a movement by Jean-Baptiste (?) Godefroy, on an open rockwork-and-foliage base of gilt bronze, mounted with branches and porcelain flowers.

Sotheby's, New York, October 4, 1988, lot 16.

Another, with a movement by Thiout, on an open rockwork base of gilt bronze, the drum and base mounted with porcelain flowers, and raised on a later wood plinth.

Jaime Ortiz-Patiño collection, Sotheby's, New York, May 20, 1992, lot 7. This clock is possibly the same as the one illustrated by Philippe Siguret, *Lo stile Luigi XV* (Milan, 1965), p. 129.

Related model, with a movement by Paul Gudin *le Jeune*, but with more space between the figures and the clock movement, on an open rockwork base, the drum surrounded by, and the base mounted with, porcelain flowers. The reclining pagod does not have a bottle gourd.

Lucy Morton, *Partridge Fine Arts PLC: Recent Acquisitions, 1998* (London, 1998), no. 45.

Related clock, with a movement by Balthazard, but with the figures a bit closer together, on a bronze base, placed on a gilt-bronze rockwork plinth. The drum and base are decorated with a few porcelain flowers. Martin and Pauline Alexander collection, Christie's, New York, April 30, 1999, lot 35.

Another clock, very similar to the previous one, with a movement by Pierre Le Roy and with an identical base—in this instance, of gilt bronze—mounted with a few porcelain flowers, the drum surrounded by two gilt-bronze branches also mounted with porcelain flowers.

Musée du Louvre, Paris, M. and Mme René Grog-Carven collection. Thibaut Wolvesperges, "A propos d'une pendule aux magots," *Revue du Louvre* 51, no. 4 (Oct. 2001), pp. 66–78.

Variation of the above model, with a movement by Charles Voisin resting on a tree trunk of gilt bronze, and with two figures: a male pagod, without a bottle gourd, seated next to the drum, and a girl standing on the other side. Porcelain flowers are mounted on the scrolled base and on the gilt-bronze branches surrounding the drum.

Sotheby Parke Bernet, Monaco, February 7, 1982, lot 323.

Variation of the above model, with a later movement by Benjamin Vuillamy, and with two figures: a male pagod, without a bottle gourd, seated next to the drum, which is supported on an elaborate gilt-bronze base of rockwork, scrolls, and foliage, and a child on its knees, on the other side. The drum is surmounted by a gilt-bronze rocaille vase.

H. M. Queen Elizabeth II, The Royal Collection, England (formerly at Brighton Pavillion).

Different model, with a later movement by Jean-Baptiste Delettretz, on a scrolled rockwork-and-foliage base, and with two standing pagods, with shaven heads and beards, holding the cartouche-shaped clock case between them.

Sotheby's, London, June 11–12, 1987, lot 387.

Same clock, or identical one without a movement.

Sotheby's, London, June 16, 1989, lot 36.

Different model with one seated male pagod with shaven head and a standing child with the clock on a tall gilt-bronze trunk between them. The dial signed *Gudin à Paris* (probably Jacques Gudin) with a later movement by James Grohe. On a scrolling rockwork base. Many curving flower stems mounted with Vincennes porcelain flowers sprout from base, trunk, and drum.

Lucy Morton, *Partridge Fine Arts PLC: Recent Acquisitions 1992* (London, 1992), no. 23.

Mantel Clocks with Three Figures

Clock, with a movement by Étienne Le Noir, on an open rockwork-and-foliage gilt-bronze base mounted with porcelain flowers. The figures consist of two clean-shaven standing male pagods lifting the movement up between them, and a seated female figure on top of the case. The movement is further supported by a gilt-bronze stem, the branches of which surround the case and are mounted with porcelain flowers.

George Blumenthal collection, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, December 1–2, 1932, lot 79.

Clock, with identical figures, also with a movement by Étienne Le Noir, on a closely related gilt-bronze base, similarly mounted with gilt-bronze branches and porcelain flowers.

M. and Mme Dajahanguir Riahi collection, Christie's, New York, November 2, 2000, lot 8. *Louis XV: Un moment de perfection de l'art français* (Paris, 1974), pp. 338–39, no. 442.

Another clock, with a later movement by Benjamin Vuillamy, embellished with gilt-bronze flowers, leaves, and rocaille scrollwork surrounding the movement, which rests on a gilt-bronze stem. Placed on an open rockwork base mounted with oak leaves (see Figure 14).

H. M. Queen Elizabeth II, The Royal Collection, England (formerly at Brighton Pavillion).

Another, with a movement by Paul Gudin *le Jeune*, on an open rockwork-and-foliage gilt-bronze base. The figures are gilt bronze and not lacquered.

Baron Cassel van Doorn collection, Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, December 6, 1958, lot 131; formerly in the collections of Philippe Wiener (Jacques Seligmann, *Catalogue de la Collection Philippe Wiener* [Paris, 1929], no. LIV) and of Mrs. Henry Walters (Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, part I, April 26, 1941, lot 689).

Another, with a movement by Étienne Le Noir, on a black-and-gold lacquered-wood base supported by four gilt-bronze lions'-paw feet.

Thelma Chrysler Foy collection, Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, part 2, May 22–23, 1959, lot 668.

Another, with a movement by Étienne Le Noir, on a kidney-shaped marble base.

Sotheby Parke Bernet, London, June 25, 1982, lot 113.

Another, with a movement by Jean-Baptiste Baillon, on a lacquered-wood stand.

Sotheby's, New York, October 13–15, 1983, lot 339.

Variation of the above models, with a movement by Jean-Baptiste Baillon, flanked by two seated figures, a woman and a child, and with a third seated figure on top of the movement. On a rockwork-and-foliage base ornamented with porcelain flowers.

Chefs-d'oeuvre de la curiosité du monde (Paris, 1954), no. 246, pl. 112 (said to be in the collection of René Weiller, Paris).

Mantel Clocks Supported by Three Pagods

Clock, with a movement by Julien Le Roy, on an open, scrolled rockwork-and-foliage gilt-bronze base, with three supporting figures: a standing female to the left, a crouching bald male figure underneath the drum, and a larger standing male pagod with a shaven head, mustache, and beard, to the right of the movement (Figure 17).

Sotheby's, Monaco, June 18, 1999, lot 79; sold previously at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 16, 1983, lot 64 (provenance: Étude Couturier-Nicolay).

Clock, with identical figures, also with a movement by Julien Le Roy, and with the same base but mounted with additional gilt-bronze branches and a bird surrounding the movement.

En suite with a pair of two-light candelabra, placed on top of a japanned secretary by Bernard van Risenburgh, in the Residenz, Munich; see Brigitte Langer, *Die Möbel der Residenz München*, vol. 1, *Die französischen Möbel des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich and New York, 1995), frontispiece, p. 106. Listed in the 1769 inventory of the Reiche Zimmer at the Residenz in Munich (see Appendix 1).

Mantel Clocks with Four or More Figures

Clock, with a movement by Louis Montjoye, in a gilt-bronze case consisting of shellwork, scrolls, leaves, and flowers, with a monkey on top, and two figures

flanking the dial. The scrolled base includes a third, larger figure seated on the back of a lion.

Sotheby Parke Bernet, London, June 25, 1982, lot 112 (previously in the collection of Mrs. Hamilton Rice, sale catalogue, Palais Galliera, Paris, June 24, 1965, lot 48, pl. XVIII). Same or identical clock sold again at Sotheby Parke Bernet, London, July 8, 1983, lot 19; and at Ader Tajan, Hôtel des Bergues, Geneva, April 28, 1992, lot 60.

Clock, with four figures, with a movement by Étienne Le Noir. The shaped case, outlined with scrolled symmetrical mounts, supports two seated pagods, a male and a female, each with a musical instrument on either side, and a pair of children at play on top. Placed on top of a japanned *cartonnier* by Bernard van Risenburgh, for which, however, the clock does not appear to have been specifically made. Gillian Wilson, *European Clocks in the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, 1996), pp. 78–85, no. XI.

Wall Clock with Two Figures

Clock, with a movement by Paul Gudin *le Jeune*, in a gilt-bronze case decorated with scrolls, rocailles, flowers, and leaf motifs, with two pagods among the scrolls.

Chefs-d'oeuvre de la curiosité du monde (Paris, 1954), no. 247, pl. 113 (said to be in the collection of René Weiller, Paris).

Wall Clocks with a Single Figure

Clock, with a movement by Baltazard, in a gilt-bronze case decorated with scrolls, acanthus leaves, flowers, and shells, on a gilt-bronze tapering bracket with a seated figure holding a gilt-bronze parasol.

Dr. Annabella Brown collection, Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, April 23, 1977, lot 123.

Nearly identical model, with a movement by Jean-Baptiste Baillon.

Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, May 7, 1983, lot 76. A related gilt-bronze clock is in the Musée Carnavalet, Paris, but with a seated gilt-bronze cupid in place of the lacquered pagod with a parasol. Henriette Bouvier, *La demeure parisienne au dix-huitième siècle: Collection Henriette Bouvier léguée au Musée Carnavalet* (Paris, 1968), no. 120.

Candelabra and Candlesticks

Pair of three-light candelabra each with a boy kneeling to a girl, both holding a fruit or rosebud. Placed on rockwork and foliate bases with three curving branches mounted with Vincennes porcelain flowers. *Partridge French & Continental Furniture & Works of Art 2001* (London, 2001), no. 13.

Pair of two-light candelabra, each mounted with a standing pagod with shaven head, long drooping moustache, and raised arms. Placed on a gilt-bronze rocaille base, with curved gilt-bronze branches mounted with porcelain flowers.

George Blumenthal collection, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, December 1–2, 1932, lot 79, pl. XXXIX.

Pair of two-light candelabra, each supported by a single seated figure, the woman holding a fan and her male companion a leaf, mounted on rockwork bases with curved gilt-bronze branches, decorated with porcelain flowers.

Lucy Morton, *Partridge Fine Arts PLC: Recent Acquisitions, 1998* (London, 1998), no. 44.

Similar pair, in mirror image, the female figure holding a fan, her male companion without an attribute. The curved gilt-bronze candlebranches are without flowers. Placed on similar rockwork bases.

Mrs. Hamilton Rice collection, Palais Galliera, Paris, June 24, 1965, lot 45, pl. XIX.

Similar pair, with figures, lacking attributes, clasping more elaborate gilt-bronze branches mounted with gilt-bronze flowers, and placed on similar bases.

Philippe Siguret, *Lo stile Luigi XV* (Milan, 1965), p. 129 (said to be in the collection of B. Fabre, Paris).

Same or identical pair, the branches decorated with gilt-bronze flowers, on similar bases mounted on later wood plinths.

Jaime Ortiz-Patiño collection, Sotheby's, New York, May 20, 1992, lot 7.

Identical pair, the branches having lost their flowers.

Brigitte Langer, *Die Möbel der Residenz München*, vol. 1, *Die französischen Möbel des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Munich and New York, 1995), p. 106, no. 19.

Identical pair, also having lost its flowers.

Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, October 13–15, 1983, lot 308 (provenance: Lafarge Collection); sold previously in Lyon, December 16, 1868, lot 534.

Pair of two-light candelabra, each with a figure of a standing woman bending over and touching a child, placed on an open rockwork gilt-bronze base, the twig-like candlebranches and base mounted with porcelain flowers.

Ader Picard Tajan, Hôtel Georges V, Paris, March 18–19, 1981, lot 226.

Pair of two-light candelabra, each with a single carved-wood kneeling male figure sporting a shaven head, lifting one arm, stretching the other frontward, and holding a cluster of gilt-bronze oak leaves. The curved gilt-bronze candlebranches are mounted with metal and porcelain flowers. Placed on molded gilt-bronze bases (see Figures 1, 15).

The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1984), pp. 246–47, no. 153 (formerly in the collections of Albert Lehmann [Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 4–5, 1925, lot 89] and René Fribourg [III, part 1, Sotheby & Co., London, June 28, 1963, lot 155]).

Pair of two-light candelabra, each with a slightly different wood pagod, one wearing a conical gilt-bronze hat, both without attributes. The candlebranches are mounted with porcelain flowers (Figure 18).

Placed on bases identical to those of the previous pair. Martin and Pauline Alexander collection, Christie's, New York, April 30, 1999, lot 43. Possibly the same pair as those

formerly in the collection of Florence Gould, Sotheby Parke Bernet, Monaco, June 25–26, 1984, lot 757, but with the figures mounted in reverse.

Pair of two-light candelabra, each with a pagod the same as the previous pair, with a gilt-bronze conical hat, and holding leaf clusters (?), the candlebranches mounted with red metal flowers and placed on identical bases.

Thelma Chrysler Foy collection, part 2, Parke-Bernet, New York, May 22–23, 1959, lot 666 (said to have come from the collection of the Royal House of Savoy, Turin).

Another pair of two-light candelabra, each with a kneeling pagod wearing a round gilt-bronze cap, and holding a stick, the candlebranches mounted with metal flowers, and on identical bases.

Thelma Chrysler Foy collection, part 2, Parke-Bernet, New York, May 22–23, 1959, lot 667 (also said to have come from the collection of the Royal House of Savoy, Turin).

Single two-light candelabrum, with a pagod of a related model, wearing a round gilt-bronze crown-like cap and holding a tall, shaped pleated-silk shade, the candlebranches mounted with porcelain flowers, on a similar molded base.

Louis Reau et al., *Catalogue de la collection Philippe Wiener* (Paris, 1929), no. XLIV.

Pair of candlesticks, each with a kneeling carved-wood pagod, without attributes, the candlebranches mounted with porcelain flowers, on a molded base similar to the previous one, decorated with oak leaves (see Figure 16).

Henriette Bouvier, *La demeure parisienne au dix-huitième siècle: Collection Henriette Bouvier léguée au Musée Carnavalet* (Paris, 1968), no. 123.

Pair of candlesticks, each with a kneeling pagod wearing a crownlike gilt-bronze hat, the candlebranches mounted with porcelain and metal flowers, on bases identical to those of the previous pair.

Louis Reau et al., *Catalogue de la collection Philippe Wiener* (Paris, 1929), no. XLIII.

Potpourri Holders Supported by Pagods

Pair of kneeling pagods, both with shaven heads and flowing beards, holding a ribbed, oval-fruit-shaped Japanese-lacquer potpourri between them, on a shaped lacquer tray with gilt-bronze mounts.

Sotheby's, Monaco, June 15, 1996, lot 183 (formerly in the collection of Florence Gould, Sotheby's, Monaco, June 25–26, 1984, lot 759). Possibly described in two sale catalogues of unidentified Parisian collections December 11, 1780, lot 269 (see Appendix 1), and March 12, 1782, lot 197.

Kneeling male pagod holding a fruit-shaped Japanese-lacquer (?) potpourri with a pierced gilt-bronze cover, on a shaped gilt-bronze base.

Sotheby's, Monaco, February 26–27, 1992, lot 239.

Pair of kneeling children, both wearing gilt-bronze caps, holding a fruit-shaped Japanese-lacquer

potpourri between them, on a shaped lacquered-wood base.

Sotheby's, New York, October 31, 1987, lot 32. For very similar figures without a potpourri, mounted on individual bases, see *Connaissance des arts* 453 (November 1989), p. 53 (advertisement for François Hayem, Paris). Possibly described in inventory of Marchand Duhamel in 1798 (see Appendix 1).

Decorative Groups or Presse-Papiers

Two groups of two figures, each consisting of a standing woman bending over and touching a seated child, on shaped gilt-bronze bases chased with foliage and rocks.

John Walker, *Experts' Choice: 1,000 Years of the Art Trade* (New York, 1983), p. 114 (Étienne Lévy collection, Paris). Two groups of this model, mounted as two-light candelabra and placed on open rockwork bases, were sold at Ader Picard Tajan, Hôtel Georges V, Paris, March 18–19, 1981, lot 226.

Same two groups, not lacquered but of gilt bronze, on identical bases.

Christie's, London, December 10, 1992, lot 3.

Identical single group, with the female figure standing to the right of the child, on the same type of gilt-bronze base (Figure 19).

Lucy Morton, *Partridge Fine Arts PLC: Recent Acquisitions, 1999* (London, 1999), no. 45.

Identical single group, not lacquered but of gilt bronze, with the female figure standing to the left of the child, on a rectangular gilt-bronze base cast with plant motifs.

Sotheby Parke Bernet, Monaco, June 24–25, 1984, lot 3119.

Identical single group with the female figure standing to the right of the child, with an additional kneeling child with tilted head and outstretched arms to the right of the woman, on a semicircular base of gilt bronze with rockwork, plants, and lizards.

Baronne Cassel van Doorn collection, Galerie Charpentier, Paris, May 30, 1956, lot 88.

Similar single group, with the female figure not standing, but seated to the left of the child, on a rectangular base identical to that of the group sold at Monaco in 1984.

Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.

Two groups of related figures, each with a boy kneeling next to a girl, on rockwork-and-foliage bases (Figure 20).

Christie's, London, June 21, 2000, lot 169. Previously sold at Christie's, London, June 23, 1999, lot 19. Two groups of this model with identical gilt-bronze bases, mounted as three-light candelabra and decorated with Vincennes porcelain flowers, are included in *Partridge French & Continental Furniture & Works of Art 2001* (London, 2001), no. 13.

Pair of standing pagods, with shaven heads and long drooping moustaches, one holding a birdcage, the other a parrot, on rocaille-and-foliage gilt-bronze bases (Figure 21).

Martin and Pauline Alexander collection, Christie's, New York, April 30, 1999, lot 36. Similar but not identical figures, mounted on a pair of two-light candelabra, were formerly in the collection of George Blumenthal, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, December 1–2, 1932, lot 79, pl. XXXIX.

Pair of lacquered-wood kneeling children, both with shaven heads and with their hands extended to the side, each on an octagonal gilt-bronze base.

Connaissance des arts 453 (November 1989), p. 53 (advertisement for François Hayem, Paris). Previously in the collection of Mme Louis Guiraud, Palais Galliera, Paris, November 26, 1975, lot 84. Very similar figures with gilt-bronze caps, holding a potpourri between them and placed on a wood base, were sold at Sotheby's, New York, October 31, 1987, lot 32.

Wall Sconces

Pair of two-light gilt-bronze wall sconces, the candle-branches formed of rococo scrollwork and foliage, each incorporating a seated figure of a child.

Sotheby's, London, November 24–25, 1988, lot 111.

Chenets

Pair of gilt-bronze chenets, each incorporating a seated female figure, one with a triangular head-dress, and each with a dog.

Lore and Rudolf Heinemann collection, Christie's, New York, October 21, 1997, lot 178 (previously in the collection of Mrs. Hamilton Rice, Palais Galliera, Paris, June 24, 1965, lot 47).

NOTES

1. See entries by Clare Le Corbeiller and William Rieder in *The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1984), pp. 238–41, 245–47, 256–59, 318–25, nos. 147–48, 151, 153, 165–72, 290–91, 293–304.
2. Most of the flowers are made of hard-paste porcelain and are presumably Meissen. Only the white flower on 1982.60.88 is soft paste. I am grateful to Jeffrey Munger for examining the porcelain with me. Pictures taken in 1925 and 1963 show that

most of the flowers now missing already were lost then. Richard Stone tested the paint on the metal flowers and concluded that it was vermilion (bright-red mercuric sulfide).

3. See the Albert Lehmann collection, sale catalogue, Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, June 4–5, 1925, lot 89 (sold to Arnold Seligmann). The figures were described as a “paire de petits candelabres en laque et bronze doré. Ils se composent chacun d’une figurine de Chinois assis, en laque, posée sur une base

- moulurée à ressauts, en bronze doré, d'où s'échappe l'arbuste portant les deux lumières. Époque Louis XV." The number 89 on the label pasted on the underside of the base of 1982.60.88 must be a reference to this sale. See also the René Fribourg collection, sale catalogue, III, pt. 1, Sotheby & Co, London, June 28, 1963, lot 155.
4. For general information about the role of the *marchands merciers*, see Carolyn Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets: The Marchands Merciers of Eighteenth-Century Paris* (London, 1996).
 5. See, for instance, Angran, vicomte de Fonspertuis collection, sale catalogue, Paris, March 4, 1748, p. 115, lot 339: "Trois autres Pagodes où Magots, aussi Bronze faits pareillement à la Chine." This catalogue describes some pagods as "divinités" or "idoles"; see pp. 85, 90, 92, lots 208, 229, 244. This appears to be an exception since distinctions between mortals and immortals generally were not made in contemporary catalogues.
 6. Denis Diderot, *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* (Neuchâtel, 1765), vol. 11, p. 746: "On appelle aussi pagode l'idole qui est adoré dans le temple élevé à son honneur . . . Ce nom pagode tire son origine des mots persans *pout*, qui veut dire une idole, & de *gheda*, un temple; de ces deux mots *pout.gheda*, on en formé en français celui de pagode." Philemon Louis Savary, *Dictionnaire universel de commerce* (Paris, 1723), vol. 2, p. 949, describes the pagod as a type of silver coin decorated on one side with "la figure monstrueuse d'une Idole Indienne, ce qui leur a donné le nome de Pagode, qui est le nom général de toutes les fausses Divinitez des Indiens, & des Temples où ils les adorent."
 7. Diderot, *Encyclopédie* (Neuchâtel, 1765), vol. 9, p. 861: "figures en terre, en plâtre, en cuivre, en porcelaine, ramassées, contrefaites, bisarres, que nous regardons comme représentant des Chinois ou des Indiens."
 8. Quoted by Henry Havard, *Dictionnaire de l'ameublement et de la décoration* (Paris, 1887–90), vol. 3, p. 591.
 9. Pierre Larousse, *Grand dictionnaire universel du XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1873), vol. 10, p. 929.
 10. Jules Guiffrey, *Inventaire général du mobilier de la couronne sous Louis XIV* (Paris, 1886), vol. 2, pp. 115–16, nos. 174–79, 182–83.
 11. Francis Watson and John Whitehead, "An Inventory dated 1689 of the Chinese Porcelain in the Collection of the Grand Dauphin, Son of Louis XIV, at Versailles," *Journal of the History of Collections* 3, no. 1 (1991), p. 40, no. 260: "Une Pagode de Porcelaine, assise dont la teste & les mains sont dorées tenant un petit chien qui tire un anneau passé dans son oreille. Elle est vestuë d'un habillement gridelin à fleurs vertes & par dessus d'une mante a carreaux verts blancs & gridelins. Haute de sept pouces & demi"; no. 261: "Une autre pareille tenant de la main droite une Pyramide à jour, vestuë d'un habillement noir à branchages de roses blanches & gridelines & par dessus d'une mante rayée de pareilles couleurs qu'à celle de la Pagode precedente."
 12. Havard, *Dictionnaire de l'ameublement*, vol. 4, p. 4, includes a 1692 reference to Du Cauroy.
 13. *Voyage de Lister à Paris en MDCXCVIII* (Paris, 1873), p. 182. The brother of Louis XIV seems to have had a strong predilection for such "Oriental" figures. According to the 1701 inventory of his apartment in the Palais-Royal, there were fifteen pagods in the first cabinet near the bedchamber and others in his antechamber. See Hélène Belevitch-Stankevitch, *Le goût chinois en France au temps de Louis XIV* (Geneva, 1970), pp. 94–95.
 14. *Voyage de Lister à Paris*, p. 46. Germain Brice, *Description nouvelle de la ville de Paris* (Paris, 1698), vol. 1, p. 376, calls M. du Vivier [instead of de Viviers] "un des plus curieux de Paris, & qui se connoît le mieux en bijoux de conséquence"; in addition to Viviers's collection of porcelains, bronzes, and paintings, Brice listed his "pagodes ridicules."
 15. Belevitch-Stankevitch, *Le goût chinois en France*, pp. 172–73.
 16. Claudia Schnitzer and Petra Hölscher, *Eine gute Figure machen: Kostüm und Fest am Dresdner Hof* (Dresden, 2000), pp. 25, 103, illustrates a French (?), 1700 (?), costume for a pagod taken from *Habits de masques*. I am grateful to Maureen Cassidy-Geiger for bringing this publication to my attention.
 17. Table decorations incorporating pagods were used at German courts. A series of engravings from 1730 by the Augsburg publisher Johann Christian Leopold records the table decorations used at the Chinese Feast given by Margravine Franziska Sybilla Augusta von Baden-Baden at Schloss Ettlingen near Rastatt on January 11, 1729; among the different Chinese figures are pagods or Chinese bird catchers. Georg Wilhelm Schulz, "Augsburger Chinesereien und ihre Verwendung in der Keramik," pt. 3: "Die Chinesereien des Verlages Johann Christian Leopold," in *Das Schwäbische Museum: Zeitschrift für Kultur, Kunst und Geschichte Schwabens* (1929), pp. 77, 80–81, 83, figs. IV, V, XV, XVI. An elaborate centerpiece depicting the court of the Great Mogul was used in 1742 at the court in Dresden. See Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, "Hof-Conditorei and Court Celebrations in 18th Century Dresden," in *The International Ceramics Fair & Seminar* (London, 2002), p. 29.
 18. Pagods were also collected in England. There are, for instance, fifty-four blanc de chine porcelains at Boughton House, including four seated *putais* and two standing Buddhist monks (Tessa Murdoch, ed., *Boughton House: The English Versailles* [London, 1992], pp. 148–51, fig. 153). At Burghley House there is a porcelain figurine representing an immortal as well as a blanc de chine *putai* figure that had been listed in the 1688 inventory as "1 ball'd fryor sitting [in] my Ladys Dressing Roome." The Arita porcelain figure of a gentleman riding a water buffalo in France would have been considered a *pagode* or a *magot*; see *The Burghley Porcelains: An Exhibition from the Burghley House Collection and Based on the 1688 Inventory and 1690 Devonshire Schedule* (New York, 1986), pp. 94–95, 218–19, 234–35, nos. 13, 88, 96. For the 1721 inventory of August the Strong's collection of blanc de chine pagods and other figures, see P. J. Donnelly, *Blanc de Chine: The Porcelain of Têhwa in Fukien* (New York, 1969), pp. 338, 340–41.
 19. René-Louis de Voyer, marquis d'Argenson, *Mémoires et journal inédit du Marquis d'Argenson* (Paris, 1858), vol. 4, p. 403. Letter of May 22, 1745: "et vous savez comme je suis à mon aise avec mes pagodes."
 20. Charles-Jacques Rochette de la Morlière, *Angola: Histoire indienne. Ouvrage sans vraisemblance* (Agra [Paris]: 1749), vol. 1, p. 94. This book, with its fictitious imprint, first published in 1746, enjoyed great popularity and was reissued a number of times.
 21. Lazare Duvaux, *Livre-Journal de Lazare Duvaux marchand-bijoutier ordinaire du roi 1748–1758* (Paris, 1965), vol. 2, p. 87, no. 841.
 22. M. Randon de Boisset collection, sale catalogue, Paris, February 27–March 25, 1777, pp. 106–7, lot 757.
 23. Angran, vicomte de Fonspertuis collection, sale catalogue, Paris, March 4, 1748, p. 90, lot 230.
 24. Duc de Tallard collection, sale catalogue, Paris, March 22–May 13, 1756, p. 262, lots 1056–59.
 25. Duvaux, *Livre-Journal*, vol. 2, pp. 9, 54, 72, 105, 107, nos. 83,

- 545, 695, 969, 980. See also the sale catalogues of the collections of M. de Jullienne, Paris, March 30–May 22, 1767, pp. 42–43, lot 1505, “Un Mandarin de pâte des Indes, remuant la tête”; of M. de Vieux Villier, Paris, February 18, 1788, p. 923, lot 441, “Deux Pagodes en terre des Indes, remuant la tête & les mains”; and of M. le duc de Richelieu, Paris, December 18–30, 1788, pp. 89, 97, lot 463, “Une Pagode assise [d’ancienne porcelaine blanche], remuant la tête & formant pot-pourri”; lot 525, “Deux Pagodes [de terre des Indes], debout, remuant la tête.”
26. François Boucher collection, sale catalogue, Paris, February 18, 1771, p. 92, lot 675: “Une pagode à tête, langue & mains branlantes”; see also pp. 89–91, lots 659, 661, 668. “Deux figures Chinoises dont les langues sont mobiles, formant une groupe avec des enfants”; these figures were part of the collection of Charles, duc de Lorraine, sale catalogue, Brussels, May 21, 1781, p. 94, lot 342.
 27. Jacob Bean, with the assistance of Lawrence Turčić, *15th–18th Century French Drawings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1986), p. 35, no. 26.
 28. See also Boucher’s painting *Le Dejeuner*, of 1739, in which a pagod is shown seated on a wall shelf next to the chimneypiece. This painting (Musée du Louvre, Paris) is illustrated in Pierre Verlet, *The Eighteenth Century in France: Society, Decoration, Furniture* (Rutland, Vt., and Tokyo, 1967), p. 203, pl. 174.
 29. The use of pagods as mantelpiece decorations is referred to in the sale catalogue of the collection of M. Cottin, Paris, November 27–December 22, 1752, p. 87, lot 974: “Dix Pagodes Chinoises, tant en Porcelaines, qu’en pierres de lard, deux petits Vases de Porcelaine, garnis en cuivre, & deux petites Pyramides de verre bleues, montées de même. Le tout propre à garnir une cheminée.” See also Duc de Tallard collection, sale catalogue, Paris, March 22–May 13, 1756, p. 261, lot 1051: “Une garniture composée de cinq pièces, d’une porcelaine singulière, noire & céladon, ornée de fleurs; savoir un grand cornet, deux Pagodes, & deux petites jattes.” This appears to have been fashionable elsewhere as well. See, for instance, a design by the Dutch artist Pieter Schenk of 1700–1710 that also gives a prominent place to a seated magot on the overmantel. Illustrated in C. Willemijn Fock, ed., *Het Nederlandse interieur in beeld 1600–1900* (Zwolle, 2001), p. 204, fig. 151. See also the overmantel painting by Pieter Jansz van Ruijven of 1719 with a trompe l’oeil depiction of porcelain and a display of stoneware pagods and other figures. *Ibid.*, pp. 214–15, fig. 165.
 30. Boucher had a similar case with figures described as “deux très petites divinités Indiennes & une pagode accroupie sur deux ballots, dans une niche de laque noire, ayant deux portes dorées en dedans, le tout sous case de verre.” François Boucher collection, sale catalogue, Paris, February 18, 1771, p. 92, lot 676. A dozen pagods, each in its own “niche à deux volets,” was included in the sale of the holdings of Charles, duc de Lorraine, sale catalogue, Brussels, May 21–June 27, 1781, pp. 52–55, lots 175, 206, 209, 255, 258. See also Ulrich Pietsch, *Meissener Porzellan und seine ostasiatischen Vorbilder* (Leipzig, 1996), p. 65, no. 5, which shows a Chinese porcelain pagod in his “house,” as well as a Böttger porcelain copy.
 31. Duvaux, *Livre-Journal*, vol. 2, p. 275, no. 2425.
 32. According to his 1740 trade card, designed by François Boucher, Gersaint offered, among other things, “Pagodes, Vernis et Porcelaines du Japon” and in general “toutes Marchandises Curieuses et Etrangères.” For an illustration of this trade card see Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets*, p. 81, pl. 47.
 33. Lazare Duvaux’s account book contains many references to the mounting and/or repair of broken pagods, as well as to supplying some figures with lacquered plinths. See Duvaux, *Livre-Journal*, vol. 2, pp. 15, 49, 119, 127, 139, 160, 180, 187, 197, 200, 215, 237, 289, nos. 156, 506, 1087, 1142, 1232, 1435, 1587, 1664, 1741, 1765, 1885, 2097, 2104, 2535. *Le Journal général de France*, July 28, 1782, advertised that “le sieur Camille, successeur du feu sieur Huit, rue de la Harpe, continue de raccommoder, de faire mouvoir et d’habiller dans le vrai costume, toutes sortes de magots, pagodes et figures chinoises,” as quoted by Havard, *Dictionnaire de l’ameublement*, vol. 4, p. 5.
 34. In November 1753, for instance, Madame de Pompadour was charged 192 livres for “La monture en cuivre doré d’or moulu, à feuillages & terrasses, de deux girandoles sur des magots gris”; Duvaux *Livre-Journal*, vol. 2, p. 177, no. 1576. Madame de Pompadour seems to have had a special liking for such objects; see also pp. 146, 196, 280, 294, nos. 1295, 1731, 2468, 2581. A Chinese *Putai* figure mounted as a candelabrum with porcelain flowers is illustrated in Francis Watson, *Mounted Oriental Porcelain* (Washington, D.C., 1986), p. 84, no. 28. See also D. F. Lunsingh Scheurleer, *Chinesisches und japanisches Porzellan in europäischen Fassungen* (Braunschweig, 1980), pp. 360–64, 371, 376, figs. 365–72, 381, 389.
 35. Comment in the sale catalogue of the collection of Angran, vicomte de Fonspertuis, Paris, March 4, 1748, p. 79, compiled by the dealer Edme-François Gersaint.
 36. Comment by the dealer Claude-François Julliot in the sale catalogue of the collection of M. de Jullienne, Paris, March 30–May 22, 1767, p. 21.
 37. The complete comment by the dealer Simon-Philippe Poirier as it appeared in the sale catalogue of the celebrated collection of L.-J. Gaignat, Paris, February 14–22, 1768, is as follows: “Le caractère soit naïf, soit forcé des Pagodes, leurs attitudes & leurs expressions sont ce qu’on recherche le plus dans ce genre de curiosité, celles mêmes qui sont les plus difformes ont des attitudes tout-à-fait plaisantes, pourvu qu’elles ne soient pas décharnées; alors elles n’inspireroient que le dégoût & l’effroi”; see Émile Dacier, *Catalogues de ventes et livrets de salons illustrés par Gabriel de Saint-Aubin*, vol. 11, *Catalogue de la vente L.-J. Gaignat, 1768* (Paris, 1921), p. 67 [of the facsimile catalogue].
 38. *Ibid.*, p. 68 [of the facsimile catalogue]; lot 111 of the Gaignat sale was described as “Une autre Pagode d’ancienne porcelaine, assise tenant un écran. Elle est richement habillée d’un vêtement en broderie bleue sur un fond vert, ayant à son côté un sac noué, mélangé de plusieurs couleurs faisant un pot pourri monté sur une terrasse dorée.”
 39. See, for instance, the monologue from *Les magots, parodie de l’Orphelin de la Chine en vers, en un acte à la Haye* (1758) spoken on a Chinese island by Sacripan, *chef de corsaire*, referring to knickknacks from the Far East: “Ces joujoux qu’on préfère aux chef d’oeuvres [sic] des Arts. Si le goût puéril est une extravagance, ce mauvais goût nous sert, il occupe la France. Que ce peuple poli nous donne ses lingots, conservons nos vertus, & vendons nos Magots”; included in *Nouveau théâtre de la Haye* (The Hague, 1761), vol. 6, p. 13.
 40. Diderot, *Encyclopédie*, vol. 9, pp. 861–62. *Spendthrift*, a painting, of 1741, by the Dutch artist Cornelis Troost, was inspired by a play of the same name. It depicts a woman who squandered her money on expensive clothes, blue-and-white porcelain, several pagods, as well as a pet monkey; the painting, in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, is illustrated in Nanne Dekking, ed., *Imita-*

- tion and Inspiration: *Japanese Influence on Dutch Art from 1650 to the Present* (Amsterdam, 1991), p. 11.
41. Pietsch, *Meissener Porzellan*, pp. 64–65, no. 4. Oriental porcelain figures from Augustus the Strong's collection were lent to Meissen in 1709, which suggests that the electoral holdings were, from the factory's beginning, the primary source for models. See Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, "The Japanese Palace Collections and Their Impact at Meissen," in *The International Ceramics Fair & Seminar* (London, 1995), pp. 10, 12, fig. 5.
 42. Listed in the July 6, 1743, inventory of the comte d'Egmont, together with soapstone and stoneware models. Geneviève Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre de Chantilly au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1996), p. 419.
 43. See Clare Le Corbeiller, "Oriental-Inspired Figure Sculpture," in *Discovering the Secrets of Soft-Paste Porcelain at the Saint-Cloud Manufactory, ca. 1690–1766*, Bertrand Rondot, ed. (New Haven and London, 1999), pp. 228–29, 293, nos. 175–176. See also Herbert Bräutigam, "Der Wackelpagode, seine chinesisch-japanische Doppelvaterschaft," *Kunst und Antiquitäten* 12 (1991), p. 25, fig. 7, for an illustration of a Meissen pagod with nodding head and movable hands and tongue; a similar Meissen pagod, formerly in the collection of the duc de Richelieu, was described as: "Une Pagode assise, les jambes croisées, remuant la tête & les mains, à draperies fond blanc & bouquets coloriés" (sale catalogue, Paris, December 18–30, 1788, p. 102, lot 551).
 44. Described in 1704 in *Theatrum Europaeum* (Frankfurt am Main, 1718), vol. 17, p. 108, as "des Pagods . . . der den Kopff und die Zunge bereget und denen herein kommenden gleichsam bewillkommen." Quoted by Monika Kopplin and Gisela Haase, "Sächsisch Lacquirte Sachen": *Lackkunst in Dresden unter August dem Starken* (Münster, 1998), p. 60. Two Putai figures of biscuit porcelain with moving teeth were recorded in the Kunstkammer of the Brandenburg electors in Berlin in 1688; see *China und Japan in der Kunstkammer der Brandenburgischen Kurfürsten. Ostasiatische Kunstsammlung* (Berlin, 1932), pp. 11–12, no. 4.
 45. Listed in the 1721 inventory of the Holländische Palais, under "lacquered wares": "Unter 4 Stück sizet ein mit dem Kopff wacklender Pagode"; quoted in Kopplin and Haase, "Sächsisch Lacquirte Sachen," p. 87.
 46. Monika Kopplin, *Europäische Lackkunst: Ausgewählte Arbeiten* (Münster, 1998), pp. 180–83, no. 29.
 47. Gunter Rudolf Diesinger, *Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum: Ostasiatische Lackarbeiten sowie Arbeiten aus Europa, Thailand und Indien. Katalog der Sammlung* (Braunschweig, 1990), pp. 217–18.
 48. Gunhild Avitabile, *Ningyô: The Art of the Human Figurine. Traditional Japanese Display Dolls from the Ayervais Collection* (New York, 1995), pp. 6, 18–19, 29, nos. 1, 2. The Saga dolls originated during the early Edo period (ca. 1620). Carved of wood, they had layers of *gofun* (pulverized oyster shells mixed with rice paste or starch) applied on top, after which they were richly decorated with gold leaf, gold paint, and mineral pigments. *Hotei* figures were widely produced, and the one illustrated by Avitabile on page 19 wears a low-fronted robe painted with floral patterns. The figures of young boys (cat. nos. 1, 2) not only are dressed in richly patterned garments of red, gold, and black but are also able to nod their heads and move their tongues.
 49. Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, "Changing Attitudes towards Ethnographic Material: Re-Discovering the Soapstone Collection of Augustus the Strong," *Abhandlungen und Berichte des Staatlichen Museums für Völkerkunde Dresden* (Frankfurt am Main, 1994), vol. 48, pp. 26, 28, fig. 18 a, b, which shows two Chinese seventeenth-century figures of immortals wearing decoratively painted robes.
 50. Wolvesperges argues convincingly that hardly any of the gilt-bronze mounts of these lacquered figures is marked with the crowned C mark, a French tax mark in use between February of 1745 and February 1749, which would indicate that they were made beforehand. Thibaut Wolvesperges, "A propos d'une pendule aux magots en vernis Martin du musée du Louvre provenant de la collection Grog-Carven," *Revue du Louvre* 51, no. 4 (October 2001), p. 68.
 51. A number of nineteenth-century clocks and candelabra with lacquered figures, usually tinted red, are known from auction records. See, for example, the following sale catalogues: Sotheby Parke Bernet, Monaco, May 26–27, 1980, lot 692; Sotheby's, London, June 12–13, 1986, lot 224; Étude Tajan, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 14, 1999, lot 150.
 52. The "kimonos" of these lacquered figures generally are closed the wrong way, not right over left—as in the Far East, making a proper Y shape—but left over right.
 53. To chinoiserie prints by François Boucher, Jean Pillement, and Jean-Antoine Watteau by Thibaut Wolvesperges. "A propos d'une pendule aux magots," 2001, p. 74.
 54. Blanc de chine figures representing lohans are illustrated by Donnelly, *Blanc de Chine*, plates 138 D, 140 D, 142 B, 157 (top right).
 55. Jan Fontein and Money L. Hickman, *Zen Painting & Calligraphy* (Boston, 1970), pp. xxiv, xxvi; Masako Watanabe, "Guanxiu and Exotic Imagery in *Rakan* Paintings," *Orientalism* 31, no. 4 (April 2000), pp. 34, 39, 40. I am grateful to Barbara Ford for pointing this out.
 56. Henriette Bouvier, *La demeure parisienne au dix-huitième siècle: Collection Henriette Bouvier léguée au Musée Carnavalet* (Paris, 1968), no. 123.
 57. The bases of 1982.60.87 and 1982.60.88 appear to be identical to those of two sets of candelabra formerly in the collection of Thelma Chrysler Foy, sale catalogue, part 2, Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, May 22–23, 1959, lots 666, 667. Unfortunately it is not said whether the lacquered figures on these candelabra are made of wood or bronze. The same bases are also found on a pair of candelabra with wood figures in the Alexander collection, sale catalogue, Christie's, New York, April 30, 1999, lot 43; this may well be the same pair as that formerly in the collection of Florence Gould, sale catalogue, Sotheby Parke Bernet, Monaco, June 25 and 26, 1984, lot 757, but with the pagods interchanged. The candleholders of 1982.60.87 and 1982.60.88 appear to be quite similar to those of lot 666 from the Chrysler Foy collection. Metal flowers were used on the Chrysler Foy candelabra sets as well as on a pair of candlesticks formerly owned by Philippe Wiener; see Louis Reau et al., *Catalogue de la collection Philippe Wiener* (Paris, 1929), no. XLIII.
 58. Thibaut Wolvesperges, *Le meuble français en laque au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris and Brussels, 2000), p. 107.
 59. Archives Nationales, Paris, M.C., XXXIX, 370; quoted in the unpublished catalogue of a private collection.
 60. In the room next to the octagonal salon was "une pendule faite par Pierre Le Roy à Paris dans une boîte de bronze doré avec trois pagodes et au bouquet verni Martin." The room en suite, called the *Cabinet de la chine*, was furnished with "une pendule faite par Mesnil dans une boîte de lac du Japon soutenue par deux pagodes de verni de Martin sur un plateau de verni du

- japon,” with “deux girandoles à deux branches de cuivre doré portée sur deux pagodes de vernis de Martin montées en bronze doré d’or moulu.” Archives Nationales, Paris, M.C., XXXV, 673, February 19, 1753. See also Anna Czarnocka, “Vernis Martin: The Lacquerwork of the Martin Family in Eighteenth-Century France,” *Studies in the Decorative Arts* 2, no. 1 (Fall 1994), p. 73 n. 51.
61. The first scholar to point this out was Pierre Verlet in *Les bronzes dorés français du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1987), p. 180. A reference to the Martin family is not always given nor is the term *verniss martin* always used. For instance, in July of 1751, Duvaux charged M. de Genssin 240 livres for “La réparation d’une pendule que l’on a resaucée à neuf, fait repeindre les figures, fourni des branches vernis, garnis de fleurs de Vincennes” (Duvaux, *Livre-Journal*, vol. 2, p. 89, no. 859). “Une pendule dorée d’or moulu avec pagodes chinoises peintes” was listed among the items sold by Henry Le Brun to Jean-Charles Huet on March 23, 1753 (A.N., Paris, MCN CXIII 373). I am grateful to Maureen Cassidy-Geiger for bringing this document to my attention.
62. Wolvesperges, *Le meuble français en laque*, pp. 96–120. On September 6, 1752, Lazare Duvaux charged Madame de Pompadour 175 livres for “Le raccommodage de deux commodes de lacq; rétabli les corps & tiroirs, regratté l’ancien vernis en aventurine & refait en noir à neuf par Martin, rétabli le lacq, & ajouté des reliefs pour cacher les défauts, resaucé les bronzes & rétabli à neuf” (Duvaux, *Livre-Journal*, vol. 2, p. 135, no. 1213); for further references to repairs of the lacquer by Martin see also pp. 87, 170, 290–91, nos. 841, 1513, 2547.
63. Michael Sonenscher, *Work and Wages: Natural Law, Politics, and the Eighteenth-Century French Trades* (Cambridge and New York, 1989), p. 226.
64. Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets*, pp. 88–89; Wolvesperges, *Le meuble français en laque*, pp. 122–29.
65. Hébert, for instance, drew up the inventories after the deaths of maréchale Amédée d’Estrées in 1738 and Louis-Henry de Bourbon, prince du Condé, in 1740. See Wolvesperges, *Le meuble français en laque*, p. 120.
66. See the discussion in Wolvesperges, *Le meuble français en laque*, pp. 113–20. The account book of Duvaux, *Livre-Journal*, vol. 2, also clearly distinguishes between works lacquered by Martin or of *verniss de Martin* on the one hand (pp. 10, 60, 97, 112, 113, 325, 334, nos. 93, 599, 909, 1018, 1036, 2828, 2888) and *verniss de Paris* (p. 194, no. 1719) and *verniss noir* (p. 113, no. 1034) on the other. See also Wolvesperges, “A propos d’une pendule aux magots,” 2001, p. 68.
67. M. de Jullienne collection, sale catalogue, Paris, March 30–May 22, 1767, p. 61, lot 1613: “Une Pagode de goût Chinois, en vernis de Martin fond noir & or de relief, garnie de terrasse en bronze, formant pierre à papier”; L.-J. Gaignat collection, sale catalogue, Paris, February 14–22, 1769, pp. 83–84, lot 188: “Une très belle & grande Pendule, sonnante l’heure & la demi-heure, mouvement fait par Pierre le Roy. Elle est ornée de plusieurs figures de cuivre, représentant des magots vernis par Martin, imitant le laque: ils sont richement habillés & ouvragés de divers ors, sur une terrasse dont partie en rocher, & partie dorée & décorée de feuillages & de fleurs de Vincennes”; Duchesse Mazarin collection, sale catalogue, Paris, December 10, 1781, p. 88, lot 305: “Quatre Bougeoirs à deux branches, ornés chacun d’un magot, par Martin: ils sont posés sur des terrasses de bronze”; Duc de Richelieu collection, sale catalogue, December 18–30, 1788, p. 59, lot 265: “Deux Pagodes, genre de laque, par Martin, formant girandole à deux branches sur terrasse.” Page 118 of the last catalogue lists as lot 694: “Une Pendule en laque fond noir, le cadran rouge, garni de cercles & soutenue par deux pagodes assises, genre de laque.”

The Development of Repertoire in Mennecy Porcelain Sculpture, circa 1738–65

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In 1988, Clare Le Corbeiller published “Porcelain as Sculpture,”¹ in which she speculated about the use of porcelain figures and groups in eighteenth-century Europe. In 1992, she collaborated on an exhibition curated by Cynthia Duval of the Museum of Fine Arts, St. Petersburg, Florida, entitled “Figures from Life: Porcelain Sculpture from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, ca. 1740–1780.”² How figures found their place in domestic or public interiors and the light they shed on contemporary life are topics of endless fascination that continue to deserve scholarly attention.³ However, they will not be pursued here. This essay is primarily concerned with the development of repertoire in French porcelain sculpture, in particular at the Villeroy/Mennecy factory in operation on the outskirts of Paris from about 1738 to 1765. It examines figures and groups made there that are part of the collections of the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts at the Metropolitan Museum, especially those pieces acquired during Clare Le Corbeiller’s curatorship, and notes their relationship to others.

The history of the Mennecy factory established by François Barbin and his wife, Marguerite, has not been fully explored, and Mennecy products are often incorrectly identified. This paper attempts to shed light on the range of its production of figures and groups, which often rival those of the better-known factory at Vincennes/Sèvres, and to situate them in the context of other contemporary porcelain factories, and, where possible, to note some of their print sources and their relationship to sculpture in other media. This subject has recently engaged Clare Le Corbeiller, whose entries in *French Eighteenth-Century Porcelain at the Wadsworth Atheneum: The J. Pierpont Morgan Collection*, published in 2000, have cast much light on Mennecy and other early French porcelain factories.

The Villeroy/Mennecy factory was not the first in France to manufacture figures and groups. The concern at Saint-Cloud, also on the outskirts of Paris, was

in full production by the late 1690s and making figures from the 1720s. It produced pieces that were heavily influenced by Chinese and Japanese prototypes⁴ as well as more original creations, such as the bust of an unknown man on a pedestal in the collection at Mawley Hall, Shropshire, England, which is truly Baroque in spirit.⁵ A glazed white figure of a seated milkmaid holding in her right hand a can she is about to use to take milk from a churn between her knees⁶ prefigures a whole series of French porcelain figures and groups depicting contemporary life—some, like this, in a realistic spirit, others in an idealistic manner. Especially ambitious is a glazed white group of two female figures sitting back to back, each wearing a strange peaked hat and with her right breast bared,⁷ which may be allegorical of France. Mennecy, too, would make figures of France, no doubt at about the same time that Vincennes put into production its own versions of the subject.⁸ The attribution of an unmarked, glazed white seated female figure with a globe ornamented in relief with fleurs-de-lis⁹ has been the subject of considerable discussion. This writer is inclined to believe that it was made at Mennecy

Groups combining a number of figures and animals were attempted about 1740–60 at Saint-Cloud;¹⁰ though charming in their naïveté, they cannot be considered wholly successful as works of art. None of these, except perhaps the Mawley Hall bust mentioned above, bears any direct relationship to marble, plaster, or terracotta works by contemporary Paris-trained sculptors. A factory operating in Paris in the 1750s under the aegis of François Hébert was responsible for a much more sophisticated group of a goat and kid playing with a dog.¹¹ Its modeler is unknown. Like many successful sculptural groups in porcelain, it was glazed but left undecorated. The factory also produced a figure of a warrior and a colored group, *Les enfants de Bacchus*,¹² incorporating a similar figure of a warrior. While the single figure is of some merit, the group remains an object only of interest, rather than of beauty. Another group—two glazed white figures of children with moving heads, seated on rocks and

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The notes for this article begin on page 208.

199



Figure 1. Inkstand, French, 18th century, 19th-century additions. Porcelain, gilt bronze, and glass, L. of tray 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (31.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Lesley and Emma Sheaffer Collection, Bequest of Emma A. Sheaffer, 1973 (1974.356.595.a-d)

accompanied by a dog and a disproportionately large vase,¹³ which was modeled by the sculptor Jean-Louis Balleur for Saint-Cloud in 1757—demonstrates the artistic aspirations of the factory, which by then had been established for more than sixty years, but was soon to be eclipsed by Vincennes/Sèvres.

During the 1740s the Villeroy/Mennecy factory and its rival at Vincennes/Sèvres began to explore in earnest the new territory of figure sculpture in porcelain. At Chantilly, also in operation from the 1730s in the Paris region, the range of figure sculpture was more limited, though from the mid-1740s it made the extremely sophisticated bust of Louis XV on its complex, Rococo pedestal¹⁴ and a holy-water stoup surmounted by a seated angel with huge wings and supported by a putto,¹⁵ both influenced by contemporary sculptural practice. The English porcelain industry was also developing fast in the 1740s and 1750s. Similarities between the production of the Bow and Mennecy factories have not gone unnoticed by English ceramic historians;¹⁶ included in a recent exhibition of Chelsea porcelain was a figure bearing a



Figure 2. Figures of Europe (with horse) and Asia (with camel), French, Mennecy, ca. 1755–60. Soft-paste porcelain, H. 5 in. (12.7 cm), 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (13.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Estate of James Hazen Hyde, 1959 (59.208.1..2)

remarkable similarity to a Mennecy example.¹⁷ Derby might also be compared with Mennecy in the type and range of its figure production.¹⁸ Likewise, figures made at the Tournai factory (in present-day Belgium) have been mistaken in at least one case for Mennecy examples. A glazed white figure of a huntsman, incised "Bernard" inside the base (now in The British Museum), is an example that has been reattributed to Tournai.¹⁹ Clare Le Corbeiller, in a tribute to Mireille Jottrand, explored the relationship between Tournai and Mennecy by way of Chelsea-Derby.²⁰ The interrelationships among these factories await further exploration and detailed discussion. For this writer, Mennecy figures and groups are the most original and most humorous of those made at all the factories mentioned above.

Like so many porcelain factories from the late seventeenth to the mid-eighteenth century, Mennecy was subject to outside influences: Chinese and Japanese porcelains, Dutch red earthenwares and delftware, soapstone carvings,²² Baroque ivories,²³ and Meissen porcelains all supplied numerous decorative motifs as well as sculptural inspiration. A series of diminutive Chinese-style figures decorated in the style of Arita porcelains, many of them marked "D.V." in black or blue enamel, have been said to be among the earliest of Villeroy/Mennecy figure productions and have been dated on stylistic grounds to about 1738–40. The sources for these figures have in many cases proved elusive. There is a distant relationship between the seated figure of a boy in Oriental style mounted in gilt bronze on a pair of candlesticks in the Metropolitan Museum collection²⁴ and a Japanese porcelain figure of a seated Chinese boy on a shogi table dating from about 1680 in the collection at Burghley House, Lincolnshire.²⁵ However, this writer has found no other Japanese figures corresponding to the series of small Oriental figures made in the early years of the Villeroy/Mennecy factory. Much work needs to be done on the links between Oriental works of art in France and early Mennecy figures. As Clare Le Corbeiller has remarked, variants of a figure of a seated Oriental are mounted in gilt bronze on candelabra/inkstands on shaped trays with four scroll feet.²⁶ A small boy with a sack over his shoulder on a shaped painted black-lacquer tray is in the Lesley and Emma Sheaffer Collection (Figure 1). A similar candelabra/inkstand was recently exhibited by the Paris trade.²⁷ Another bronze-mounted lacquer tray, this one fitted with three small white globular pots with decoration in relief (porcelain covers missing) and traceable to the Izabela Lubomirsky collection in 1793, is in the National Museum of Poland.²⁸

One unmarked figure of a seated Chinese man wearing a leaf hat and balancing a small bowl on his

left hand and two others on his knees, all connected by branches,²⁹ is decorated, not in pseudo-Oriental style, but in the palette of soft pink, pale blue, brown, yellow, and two shades of green typical of Mennecy. It is likely to have been made in the earliest years of the factory's activity, about 1750. The French taste for Oriental figures like these is not thought to have lasted into the 1760s.

The diminutive figures of dwarfs made over various periods at the Villeroy/Mennecy factory in which Clare Le Corbeiller has shown a continuing interest,³⁰ are not discussed here, except to say, as Clare herself has shown, that some of them are clearly based on engravings from an Augsburg edition of *Il callotto resuscitato* published about 1710. No explanation of how the factory might have come by the engravings, nor why it manufactured these idiosyncratic figures, can yet be made.

Among the documents providing the most information on the Mennecy factory is the series of inventories taken in the summer of 1754 after the death of Louis Evrard des Pitons, who kept a shop in the rue Saint-Honoré "vis-à-vis la Fontaine des Capucins" in a building belonging to "M. [?] Darnennton."³¹ A list of payments dated August 9, 1754, shows that the Mennecy factory sold to the following dealers or *marchands merciers*, among others: Sprote, Herbert, Langlois et Doublet, Godin, Bailly, and Bassire.³² At least one or all of these were in the business of assembling desk appointments. A number of figures provide evidence that these Oriental-style figures were expressly created to supply the market for decorative objects that also served a function in the boudoir or drawing room. One example, a standing figure of a sage, his left arm raised, from the bequest of Emma A. Sheaffer, is mounted in gilt bronze as a candelabrum with a small screen to protect the complexion from the effects of heat.³³ A pair of seated Chinese boys fitted up with ormolu mounts as candelabra, presented to the Metropolitan Museum by Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman in 1976,³⁴ is another of these assembled productions. Two more Oriental-style figures, these from the collection of Jack and Belle Linsky, are garnished with gilt-bronze stands: a seated Chinese³⁵ and a Buddhist ascetic, or lohan, standing on a rocky base, his right arm raised to reach arrows in a quiver over his shoulder.³⁶ The finer mount on the first piece is stamped twice with the crowned C, denoting that it was made in 1745–49. No other French porcelain factory seems to have manufactured any figures in this vein. To judge from the surviving number, they were successful. Perhaps the quirkiest and most charming of all are the two turquoise green monkeys seated in front of leafy tropical plants and mounted in gilt bronze, for which this writer has

found no parallel.³⁷ The (unmarked) seated monkey in the Musée du Louvre, Paris, evidently never came into the hands of a *marchand mercier*, perhaps because the cup it holds in its hands suffered in firing.³⁸ A document of August 1754 in the inventories mentioned above refers to a letter of exchange dated May 30, 1754, from “Saragoza en Espagne” in the name of “Desmonssay.” This casts new light on the sale of Mennecy porcelains outside France.

Allegorical figures were among the earliest of those in the European style made at Mennecy. Two glazed white groups presented by the estate of James Hazen Hyde in 1959 likely date from the 1750s (Figure 2). The first, a draped female figure wearing a helmet and standing next to a recumbent horse, rests her left hand on a shield decorated with three fleurs-de-lis in relief.³⁹ She symbolizes Europe, in particular, France. A second draped figure, holding a censer and standing in front of a recumbent camel, symbolizes Asia.⁴⁰ At Vincennes a group of personifications of Europe and Africa on an oval mound appears to have been modeled in 1752, judging from a payment made in November of that year to Claude Le Boitteux for the models of “deux groupes représentant les quatre parties du monde.”⁴¹ The doleful-looking Mennecy animals of these allegorical groups can be compared with a glazed white camel and a goat, each on a rocky mound, unmarked but plausibly attributed to Mennecy, that are in the Palazzo Reale, Turin.⁴² They are likely related to the hunting dogs, a hound and a spaniel painted with flower sprays, from the Sheaffer collection.⁴³ As yet, no modeler for this group of animals has been identified.

A white figure of a satyr from the Linsky collection, holding a yellow arrow in his left hand and leaning against an elaborate tree trunk ornamented with grapes painted in turquoise and ocher, evidently fell in the kiln.⁴⁴ Another example, which has no factory mark, is in the Musée de l’Île-de-France, Sceaux.⁴⁵ Unless it is part of a series of fauns—one of which, holding a club, was on the New York market in 1985⁴⁶—it may symbolize Autumn. “Une paire de statuettes symbolisant L’AUTOMNE”—she with a basket of grapes over her left arm and a bunch of grapes in her left hand, he with a basket of grapes next to him and a bunch of grapes in his left hand—was exhibited in Belgium in 1958.⁴⁷ Mennecy certainly made and sold a series of the Four Seasons,⁴⁸ a subject popular with porcelain factories all over Europe, and notably those in England. Clare Le Corbeiller, in discussing a figure of Winter in the guise of a young girl warming her right hand at a flaming brazier that is incised “D.V.”⁴⁹ (in the Wadsworth Atheneum collection), discovered a number of parallel and related figures. In the pre-

sent writer’s opinion, there is no reason this figure could not date earlier than 1760–65, but not have found a buyer, so that examples stayed in Charles Hennique’s shop until his stock was listed in 1765. Male and female figures symbolizing the same season are not often found, but the pair of glazed white figures, each with a muff (once in the René Fribourg collection), must be an exception.⁵⁰ Figures of the Arts similarly enjoyed a wide popularity. At Mennecy they were often designed in association with a pierced container for potpourri, a practice characteristic of the 1750s, when vase mania began to take hold. A glazed white female figure of Painting, with a palette in her right hand, is marked “D.V.” in blue.⁵¹ Although this mark has been thought to indicate an early date of production at Villeroy, the piece belongs stylistically to the 1750s or later. A colored group of four children symbolic of the Arts and Sciences, the uppermost one next to a broken column, measuring 11 inches (28 cm) in height (formerly in the Yanville collection⁵²), was attributed to the Mennecy factory, although unmarked. A small seated figure of a young girl with a music book on her lap, somewhat dwarfed by a globular vase and cover with pierced shoulder and cover for potpourri (from the Linsky collection), may well be an allegory of Music.⁵³

Mythological figures were especially popular at the English porcelain factories and also take their place in the Mennecy canon, although they are not represented in the Metropolitan Museum. A glazed white figure of Endymion on a rectangular base and its companion figure of Diana are in the Musée National de Céramique, Sèvres.⁵⁴ It is possible that these are based on bronzes. Clare Le Corbeiller herself has linked this figure with an unmarked glazed white figure of Amphitrite in the Wadsworth Atheneum, which she has published as after a bronze of 1652 by the French sculptor Michel Anguier.⁵⁵ An unmarked figure of Diana, seated, a quiver of arrows slung over her right shoulder, and holding a dog that is jumping up toward her lap, was in the Fitzhenry collection in 1909.⁵⁶ All these figures are likely to date from the 1760s. A sparsely decorated and elongated figure of Leda and the Swan on a base with spongy-looking rocks, in a private collection⁵⁷ and probably dating from the mid-1750s, bears a close relationship to figures of naiads on comparable bases, such as the one signed “Gauron 1754” paired with a reclining river god on an ormolu clock in the Louvre.⁵⁸ This figure has been much discussed but is now generally acknowledged to be a Mennecy production. From the same period is an unmarked glazed white group of a satyr and a naiad supporting a vase, once attributed to Vincennes, which might also have been modeled by



Figure 3. Boy riding a dog, French, Mennecy, ca. 1745–50. Soft-paste porcelain, H. 5 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (14.9 cm), L. 6 in. (15.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Lesley and Emma Sheaffer Collection, Bequest of Emma A. Sheaffer, 1973 (1974.356.587). See also front cover



Figure 4. Man and woman dressed as Persians, French, Mennecy ca. 1760. Soft-paste porcelain, H. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (26.7 cm), 9 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (24.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection (1982.60.366,.367)

Nicholas Gauron.⁵⁹ He is recorded at the Mennecy factory on July 2, 1753, and in the parish registers of Saint-Cloud under the date October 3, 1756, he is called “sculpteur du roi en l’académie royale, demt. à Paris, fg St Honoré, psse de la Madeleine.”⁶⁰ At least one trained sculptor was employed at Mennecy.

The influence of the Meissen factory is particularly strong on several series of figures and groups made at Mennecy and is worth examining in some detail. It has not gone unnoticed that Mennecy copied the monkey figures⁶¹ that have enjoyed so much success at Meissen ever since 1747. In the Sheaffer collection is a monkey wearing a hat, holding a stick, and riding a doleful-looking dog on an oval base incised “D.V.”⁶² The group is carefully painted and appears to be based on an engraving by Martin Engelbrecht of chinoiserie subjects, including a monkey riding a dog and carrying a stick from which hangs a bell.⁶³ This sheet has been shown to have been a source for painted decoration on faience made at Paul Hannong’s concern in Strasbourg in the mid-1740s, indicating that the print was in circulation in France. Another monkey, this one with his left leg extended and seated on a basket-laden dog, is in the Musée National de Céramique, Sèvres and incised “de Villeroy.”⁶⁴ It may

date from 1750–60. A related undecorated group incised “D.V.” was in the Chavagnac collection.⁶⁵ Another figure on a dog represents a boy with a covered basket (Figure 3).⁶⁶ At least one other monkey subject has been recorded: A monkey standing on a mound, smoking a pipe, and holding a rabbit by its back legs with his left hand is illustrated in the Fitzhenry collection sale catalogue.⁶⁷ A further figure, a seated monkey playing a cello, was sold on the London art market in 1960.⁶⁸ A designer at the Meissen factory, Christophe Huet (1700–1759), specialized in monkey subjects.⁶⁹ He published a *Livre de singes* (Book of monkeys) and was responsible for the decoration of the Grande and Petite Singerie rooms at Chantilly. He was the brother of Jean-Charles Huet, a leading dealer in porcelain. It may be no more than a coincidence that a Bernard Huet and a Joseph Huet are documented at Mennecy. Further study of the Huet family might clarify its role in the development of French porcelain.

Mennecy followed Meissen’s lead in making figures of Persians,⁷⁰ two colored examples of which are in the Linsky collection (Figure 4). The woman bears the incised mark “Mathieu,” attributed to Mathieu Simon (Figure 5), listed as a sculptor at Mennecy in 1765,

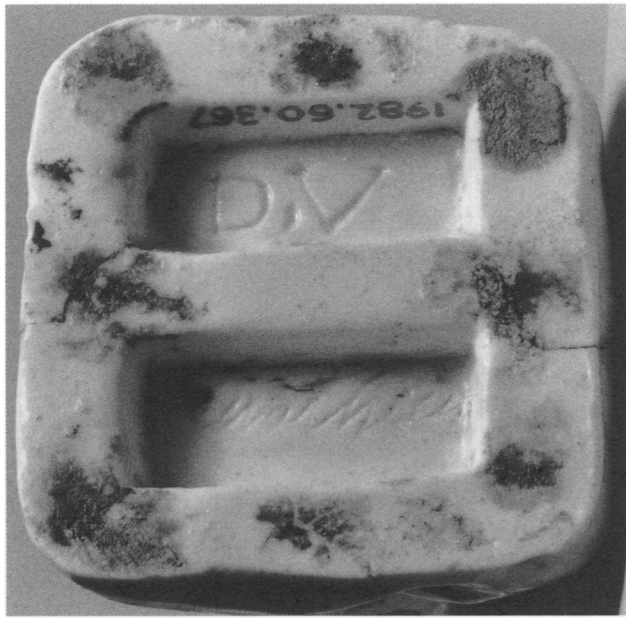


Figure 5. Mark "Mathieu" incised on underside of base of woman in Figure 4

although employed there both earlier and later and otherwise listed as a workman. Few Mennecy figures or groups bear the mark of their modeler or repairer (that is, the workman who, after removing the various parts of the piece from molds and assembling them, was responsible for finishing it). This is a valuable reference, which should help identify others by the same hand. Figures of exotic peoples were popular subjects at English porcelain factories and were even made at Worcester in the 1760s and the 1770s.⁷¹ A figure of a drummer wearing a hat from the collection of the comte de Chavagnac (present whereabouts unknown) is incised "D.V." and "J.Mô."⁷² It is part of a series of sculptural pieces made at the Mennecy factory by the brothers Jean and Christophe Mô that will be the subject of a forthcoming paper by this writer.⁷³

The recent exhibition in Paris of several hundred pieces of Mennecy (unsurprisingly, most of them tablewares) brought to light other figures and groups directly based on Meissen originals, such as a pair of pug dogs, one with a puppy and both wearing collars studded with bells.⁷⁴ These surely had a Masonic connection, just as in Dresden. A pair of salts formed of a reclining male and female figure between two shell-shaped bowls⁷⁵ is a rarely found Mennecy interpretation of a model that enjoyed great success at Meissen. An unmarked double salt of a seated girl, each hand resting on a shell at her side, in the Wadsworth Atheneum, has been discussed by Clare Le Corbeiller, who demonstrated its relationship to a Meissen origi-

nal as well as to a related Chantilly model.⁷⁶ Clare also showed that another piece in this collection, a glazed white group of two nude children with a dolphin, marked "D.V.,"⁷⁷ is related to a Meissen group. She pointed out that the Bow and Longton Hall factories, as well as Vincennes, put a similar group into production. No source for the group has been securely identified, although it may well have been a fountain.

Although Meissen manufactured a number of commedia dell'arte figures, none seems to have been the source either for the figure of a lawyer from the Italian comedy, incised "D.V." inside the base, from the Linksy collection,⁷⁸ or for the French comedy actor wearing a tall green hat, from the R. Thornton Wilson collection (Figure 6). Three figures belonging to the same series were in the Fitzhenry collection, including the lawyer and the actor, but of these only the lawyer could be the one now in the Metropolitan collection.⁷⁹ Figures of Pierrot and Columbine on rectangular bases, both painted in the palette typical of Mennecy, which includes much pink and a pale green, were in the Pflueger collection.⁸⁰ A young man wearing pink breeches trimmed in green, a white jacket with matching trim, a large feathered hat, and a long scarf, incised "D.V.," is part of this amusing and original series of figures. His extravagant gesture with his left hand suggests he belongs to the theater; he was tentatively identified by the late Geneviève Le Duc as a figure from the French vaudeville tradition.⁸¹ Each of these extraordinary figures is supported at the back by a tree trunk and stands on a rectangular pedestal that appears to have been created to fit into a metal mount. The source for the series remains unknown.

Figures from everyday life are well represented in the Mennecy repertoire. They are perhaps the most numerous and are certainly the most varied in size. One of the largest is an unmarked peasant woman carrying a child on her back and a box under her right arm from the Linksy collection, which measures 7¼ inches (18.3 cm).⁸² This may be the "Savoyarde with child" (*Savoyarde avec marmot*) based on a drawing by Christophe Huet for the Meissen factory,⁸³ though this writer has not succeeded in tracing surviving Meissen examples to verify that suggestion. Representations in French art of these migrants were common, particularly in the work of Antoine Watteau.⁸⁴ Dutch or Flemish sources influenced the conception of a pair of glazed white drinking companions.⁸⁵ Other everyday characters include the figure of a Meissen map seller, with a map in his left hand and a pack on his back on a rectangular base, whose pose seems to relate to the rather stiffly modeled commedia dell'arte figures mentioned above.⁸⁶ A figure of a pilgrim, his hat and collar

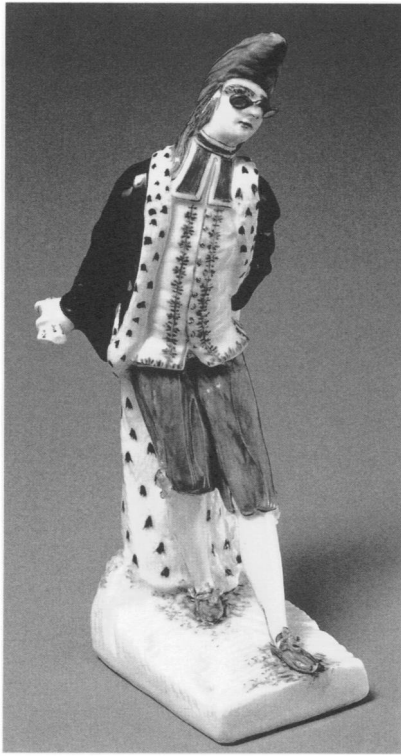


Figure 6. French comedy actor, French, Mennecy, ca. 1755–60. Soft-paste porcelain, H. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (21.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of R. Thornton Wilson, in memory of Florence Ellsworth Wilson, 1950 (50.211.123)



Figure 7. Street vendor, French, Mennecy, ca. 1750–60. Soft-paste porcelain, H. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (23.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of R. Thornton Wilson, in memory of Florence Ellsworth Wilson, 1954 (54.147.7)

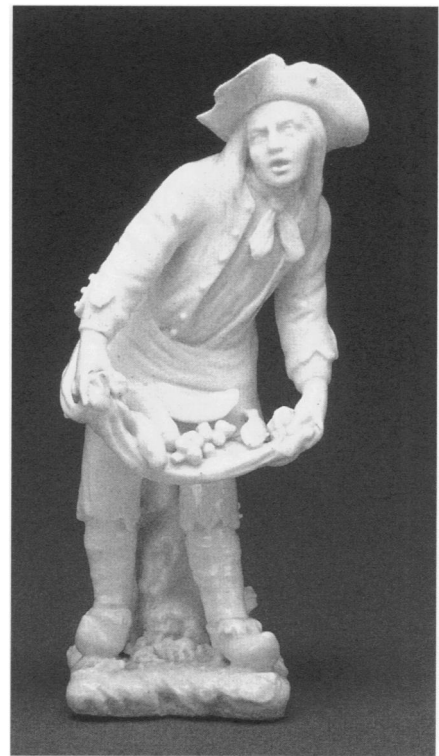


Figure 8. Figure of a street vendor, French, Mennecy, ca. 1755–60. Soft-paste porcelain, H. 9 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (23.9 cm). The J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (86.DE.473). © The J. Paul Getty Museum

ornamented with shells,⁸⁷ stands on a slightly different base but is also supported by a tree trunk and exhibits the same stiffness as the previous pieces.

One important series of groups manufactured at Mennecy is unrepresented in the Metropolitan Museum collection. Diminutive girls and boys, often playing music or singing, are arranged in twos, threes, and occasionally fours on a rocky mound. They usually wear hats, kerchiefs, or turbans and have plump features and limbs. A marked group of three, including a singer and a bagpipe player, is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.⁸⁸ In the Linsky collection is a girl singer, holding a book of music on her lap, seated on a stump next to a globular vase and cover with a pierced neck, the whole on an oval mound.⁸⁹ It is characteristic of the Mennecy factory in its combination of a figure (or sometimes more than one figure; see below) with a vase that is quite out of proportion. One marked group is crudely erotic: A lover fondles his beloved's knees, while her pitcher of milk lies overturned at her side.⁹⁰



Figure 9. Tailor and painter, French, Mennecy, ca. 1755–60. Soft-paste porcelain, lead glaze, H. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (24 cm) and 10 in. (25.5 cm). Gift of George and Helen Gardiner, Gardiner Museum of Ceramic Art, Toronto (G83.1250–.1251)



Figure 10. Knife grinder and vinegar seller, French, Mennecy, ca. 1755. Porcelain, H. 6¾ in. (17 cm). Courtesy of the Woollahra Trading Co. Ltd.

Of all the figures and groups under consideration two are exceptional. The first, in the Linsky collection, is a white figure of the Harlequin family measuring 14¼ inches (36.5 cm).⁹¹ Although the mark “D.V.” inside the base is painted in black rather than incised, this writer finds it difficult to believe that it could have been modeled in the 1740s, when the factory had not long been established. The Meissen group from which it derives, although much smaller, was modeled by Johann Joachim Kändler about 1740. This group, its scale, and the whiteness and translucency of the porcelain make it one of the Mennecy factory’s finest achievements. Perhaps the most interesting of all Mennecy’s sculptural productions, even if, once again, they do not seem to be entirely original in conception, are the glazed white figures of street vendors known as the *Cris de Paris* series. A figure of a vegetable seller (from the Wilson collection),⁹² standing on a rectangular base, is incised “D.V.” on the top left (Figure 7). He is dressed in rags and a wide-brimmed hat with a

hole in the brim. It is of extremely white porcelain and skillfully modeled. The feet are apart and the top of the body bent to the right. The face is full of character and the features carefully delineated. The slightly open mouth and the outstretched right hand convey a pleading expression. Another glazed white figure, evidently by the same modeler, of a fruit seller holding his wares on a cloth before him is in the Getty Museum (Figure 8).⁹³ It is incised “D.V.” on the right side of the base. So similar are the pose, the clothing (and hat), and the quality of the porcelain body that there is no doubt that these two were part of a series. Two more glazed white figures in a similar vein are in the Gardiner Museum of Ceramic Art, Toronto.⁹⁴ One is a painter (or more likely a printseller) with a portfolio under his right arm, the other a tailor (or more likely a seller of worn clothing) holding a cloth in front of him and a sack over his right shoulder (Figure 9). Closely related, but without the marked contraposto of the figures already mentioned, are a cobbler

with a shoe in his left hand and a strap in his right, and a figure with a sack under his right arm, both in the Boone collection.⁹⁵ They are incised "D.V." Another pair of figures was exhibited at the International Ceramics Fair and Seminar, London, in June 2000. These unmarked glazed white figures of a knife grinder with his wheel and a vinegar seller wheeling a barrel on a cart (Figure 10)⁹⁶ are even finer achievements. The vinegar seller is directly related to a watercolor drawing by Christophe Huet at the Meissen factory,⁹⁷ and a Meissen figure is known.⁹⁸ The knife grinder is so close in conception that it is without doubt after a design by Christophe Huet. An extraordinary glazed white figure of a fool or jester, incised "D.V.," his hat, jacket, belt, breeches, and shield festooned with bells, was recently exhibited in Paris⁹⁹ and must be based on an as yet undiscovered engraving.

Mennecy manufactured an outstanding group of animals and birds, subjects that were favorites of English porcelain factories. Although Meissen was the first in the market, and the work of Johann Joachim Kändler has perhaps never been equaled, the skill of the Mennecy modeler(s) has not been given its due. Such fine items as the goat,¹⁰⁰ pair of mastiffs,¹⁰¹ rearing horses,¹⁰² seated spaniel,¹⁰³ or magnificent boar based on the famous Florentine Boar,¹⁰⁴ which even Vincennes found difficult to parallel, were doubtless important in the Mennecy repertoire, although the Metropolitan does not include anything like them. A figure of a parrot perched on a branch of a tree issuing from a rock in the Seattle Art Museum is particularly confidently modeled.¹⁰⁵ The pair of peacocks displaying on oval rocky bases with a tree at the back from the Sheaffer bequest¹⁰⁶ demonstrates the factory's technical mastery, while the careful modeling and decoration of a warbler mounted in gilt bronze from the Wrightsman gift¹⁰⁷ shows that Mennecy could hold its own with Vincennes (Figure 11).¹⁰⁸ A date of about 1760 is suggested for the latter piece.

Other exceptional productions from the Mennecy factory include an *applique* formed of a swan with outstretched wings among rocks and branches, bearing the mark "D.V."; illustrated by Aymé Darblay in 1901, it is entirely original.¹⁰⁹ Another *applique*, one of a pair, consists of a chimera emerging from twisted branches and flowers. It is incised "D.V." and is part of the collections of the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.¹¹⁰ Both of these audacious models are purely decorative and, on stylistic grounds, can be dated to about 1750. The closest parallel in French porcelain must be the magnificent clock cases made at the Chantilly factory.¹¹¹

Similar figure models were manufactured at factories all over Europe. A man and a woman seated with

pierced baskets (for potpourri or flowers) between their knees were manufactured at Mennecy, as a marked example at the Philadelphia Museum of Art demonstrates.¹¹² An extraordinarily popular model, it was made at the Saint-Cloud, Meissen, Chantilly, and Chelsea porcelain factories, as well as in faience.

Information on prices of Mennecy figures and groups exists in various inventories but is, in the main, awaiting analysis. Selected entries are given here to demonstrate that Mennecy could be as costly as Vincennes/Sèvres. One of the inventories taken after the death of Jean-Baptiste Barbin, dated March 13, 1766,¹¹³ and describing defective and reject stock from the old factory, mentions Desforges and Roussel "marchands fayanciers à Paris" as the "agents nommé par les partis." A surprising entry lists "1 gd Vaisseau en biscuit de porcelaine de ladite Man de Villeroy crue d'un groupe representant l'Europe et de différents attributs" valued at no less than 400 livres. The present whereabouts of this object or anything comparable has not been discovered, although a group that seems likely to correspond to it was noted as missing by Jacquemart and Le Blant as early as 1862.¹¹⁴ Another entry in the same inventory, "1 autre Vaisseau defectueux aussi en biscuit le groupe representant l'Europe parfait," valued at 120 livres, suggests that several were made, and only the rejects were kept at the factory. If perfect pieces were made, they must have been among the most ambitious of all Mennecy's



Figure 11. Candelabrum (one of a pair), French, ca. 1760. Soft-paste porcelain and gilt bronze, H. 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (15.9 cm), W. 7 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (19.4 cm), diam. 4 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (11.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, 1976 (1976.155.28)

figural productions and priced in the same range as those from the royal factory. The same inventory mentions parrots, pug dogs (*chiens doguins*), and medium-sized birds. Another inventory of the “M[archandi]ses de l’Ancien Magazin composé de pièces de rebut et Defectueuses étant à Paris en la Maison de Sieur Charles Christophe Hennique M[archan]d tenant Magazin de la Manufacture de Villeroy” confirms the valuations for reject examples of the above. One entry for “three large figures” values them at 4 livres 10 sous each, but six others were valued at only 3 livres 15 sous each. Two parrots were valued at 3 livres 15 sous, two medium birds (2 *moyens oizeaux*) at 2 livres 10 sous, and two pugs (2 *chiens doguins*) at 2 livres 10 sous. Among the unfired porcelain were “8 terrasses de pots pourris garnie de figure et animaux” at 3 livres each.

The biscuit sculpture of Mennecy, from the plaques to the terms designed for table decoration, will be examined in detail by this writer in a future

publication. Although further work remains to be done on the repertoire of figures and groups produced by the Mennecy porcelain factory, and this article is far from an exhaustive exploration,¹¹⁵ it is clear that the quality and range represented in the Metropolitan Museum collection illustrate the strong competition to Vincennes/Sèvres offered by François Barbin’s concern.

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NOTES

1. Clare Le Corbeiller, “Porcelain as Sculpture,” *International Ceramics Fair and Seminar* (London, June 1988), pp. 22–28.
2. This exhibition also traveled to the Dixon Gallery, Memphis, Tennessee, and to the George R. Gardiner Museum of Ceramic Art, Toronto.
3. One of the earliest books on the subject, which is still worth reading, is R. Schmidt, *Porcelain as an Art and Mirror of Fashion* (London, 1932). The decorative uses of porcelain in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century palace rooms as well as for dining are discussed in Clare Le Corbeiller, “German Porcelain of the Eighteenth Century,” *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (Spring 1990), pp. 5–8, and by M. Chilton, “Rooms of Porcelain,” *International Fine Art and Antique Dealers’ Show* (New York, 1992), pp. 13–20. For the use of French porcelain figures for table decoration at the wedding of Louis and Marie-Antoinette, see P. Ennès, “Le surtout de mariage en porcelaine de Sèvres, du Dauphin, 1769–1770,” *La revue de l’art* 76 (June 1987), pp. 63–73. For a British perspective, see A. Somers Cocks, “The Nonfunctional Use of Ceramics in the English Country House during the Eighteenth Century,” in *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House*, Studies in the History of Art, 25 (Washington, D.C., 1989), pp. 195–215.
4. Some of these are illustrated in B. Rondot, ed., *Discovering the Secrets of Soft-Paste Porcelain at the Saint-Cloud Manufactory ca. 1690–1766* (New Haven and London, 1999), nos. 170, 172–73.
5. *Treasures of the North*, Christie’s, London, January–February 2000, Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester, February–April 2000, cat. no. 147. The bust, then called Watteau, was sold from the Mrs. H. Dupuy collection, Parke-Bernet Galleries, New York, April 3, 1948, lot 335. It was also sold from the René Fribourg collection, Sotheby’s, June 25, 1963, European porcelain, pt. 1, lot 41, purchased by Galliers-Prat for £380. It once belonged to the collection of the comte X. de Chavagnac, sold in Paris, 1911, no. 20; sold to Vanderersch for 1300 francs; and exhibited in the Exposition Nationale de Céramique, Paris, 1897, no. 428.
6. Rondot, *Discovering the Secrets*, no. 179; Sèvres, Musée National de Céramique.
7. Ibid., no. 171; Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.
8. Nine examples of a group of France were in stock at Vincennes in October 1752 and valued at 20 livres. See T. Préaud, *La porcelaine de Vincennes: Les origines de Sèvres*, exh. cat., Grand Palais (Paris, 1977), p. 182.
9. Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. C.330–1909. Ill. in Préaud, *La porcelaine de Vincennes*, p. 166, no. 483. The figure was not included in T. Préaud and A. d’Albis, *La porcelaine de Vincennes* (Paris, 1991). Another unmarked female figure wearing a plumed helmet and armor, leaning on a shield decorated in relief with fleurs-de-lis and seated on bundles of rods or fasces resting on a rock, is called Minerva but probably is also allegorical of France; sold at Sotheby’s, November 23, 1965, lot 77, present whereabouts unknown. It was attributed to Vincennes in 1965 but should be reconsidered.
10. See for instance the colored group of five hunters measuring 9¼ in. (23.5 cm) in height illustrated in Rondot, *Discovering the Secrets*, no. 180.
11. A. Dawson, *Eighteenth-Century French Porcelain in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1996), no. 10, and ill. in Rondot, *Discovering the Secrets*, p. 89, fig. 7–4.
12. Both illustrated by R. de Plinval de Guillebon, *Faïence et porcelaine de Paris, XVIIIe–XIXe siècles* (Paris, 1995), p. 85, fig. 53.
13. Rondot, *Discovering the Secrets*, nos. 177–78; Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, and Musée Municipal, Saint-Cloud.
14. G. Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre de Chantilly au XVIIIe siècle: Héritages des manufactures de Rouen, Saint-Cloud et Paris et influences sur les*

- autres manufactures du XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1996), pp. 184–203. There are examples of the bust, all slightly different, in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles, and the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn.
15. Ill. in Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre*, p. 202; private collection.
 16. See T. Clarke, "French Influences at Chelsea," *Transactions of the English Ceramic Circle*, vol. 4, pt. 5 (1955), pp. 45–59, and T. Préaud, "Competition from Sèvres Porcelain," *Derby Porcelain Society Journal* 4 (2000), pp. 38–48.
 17. A glazed white figure of Ceres exhibited in "Chelsea China from Private Collections," June 1999, Chelsea Old Town Hall, London (catalogue by S. Kevill-Davies, no. 9), is comparable with a Mennecy glazed figure of Summer in a private collection. I owe this observation to Pamela Klaber.
 18. For the range of Derby porcelain figures, see P. Bradshaw, *Derby Porcelain Figures* (London, 1990).
 19. British Museum MME 1991.6–10.1, from the Elizabeth Parke Firestone Collection; sold, Christie's, New York, March 21, 1991, lot 67; exhibited at the Detroit Institute of Arts, 1956, no. 500-J; ill. R. Berges, "Mennecy Porcelain from the Elizabeth Parke Firestone Collection," *American Connoisseur* (April 1969), pl. 19, p. 254. A figure of a boy symbolic of Sculpture, holding a mallet and leaning against a male torso in the same sale, lot 65, is also incised "Bernard." It is possible that the signature stands for Bernard Huet, who was employed at the Mennecy factory as a sculptor.
 20. Clare Le Corbeiller, "Tournai and Mennecy," *Les cahiers de Mariemont: Bulletin du Musée Royal de Mariemont (Numero spécial en hommage à Mireille Jottrand)* 24/25 (1993–94), pp. 54–59.
 21. M. Cassidy-Geiger, "Forgotten Sources for Early Meissen Figures," *American Ceramic Circle Journal* 10 (1997), pp. 55–72.
 22. M. Cassidy-Geiger, "The Japanese Palace Collections and Their Impact at Meissen," *The International Ceramics Fair and Seminar* (London, June 1995), pp. 10–19.
 23. M. Baker, "Francis van Bossuit, Böttger Stoneware and the 'Judith' Reliefs," in R. Kahnsitz and P. Volk, eds., *Skulptur in Süd-deutschland, 1400–1800: Festschrift für Adolf Schadler* (Munich and Berlin, 1998), pp. 281–94.
 24. Inv. 1976.155.26 and .27, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman. Because the piece is mounted, it is not known whether it bears a mark.
 25. M. Hinton and O. Impey, *Kakiemon Porcelain from the English Country Houses: Flowers of Fire*, exh. cat., Ashmolean Museum (Oxford, 1989); Christie's, London, January–February 1990, no. 7.
 26. Because the figure is mounted, it is not known whether it bears a factory mark.
 27. J.-G. Peyre and J.-C. Sieberth, *La porcelaine tendre de Villeroy Mennecy, 1735–1777*, exh. cat., Galerie Verneuil-Bac, Paris, September 18–October 30, 2000, ill. on cover of catalogue.
 28. Muzeum w Wilanowie: Oddział Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie *Osobliwość ci Dalekiego Wschodu w historycznej kolekcji Wilanowa* (Warsaw, 1993), no. 241. The tray measures 4¾ x 14¾ in. (12.5 x 37 cm). I am grateful to Barbara Szelegajd of the Department of Art, Wilanow Palace, Warsaw, for corresponding with me about this piece.
 29. H. Morley-Fletcher, *Early European Porcelain and Faience as Collected by Kiyi and Edward Pflueger*, vol. 2 (privately printed, n.d. [ca. 1990]), p. 74. H. 7¼ in. (18.4 cm). Formerly Viscountess Harcourt Collection.
 30. Clare Le Corbeiller et al., *The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1984), nos. 281–86, and Linda H. Roth and Clare Le Corbeiller, *French Eighteenth-Century Porcelain at the Wadsworth Atheneum: The J. Pierpont Morgan Collection* (Hartford, Conn., 2000), no. 35.
 31. These are held in the Minutier Central of the Archives Nationales, Paris, France, under the number XI.586. This writer has relied on transcripts made by the late Geneviève Le Duc and is unable to give precise references. The transcription of the name "Darnennton" is hers.
 32. A list of more than ninety clients, who may not all be *marchands merciers*, was extracted from Mennecy inventories and published by N. Duchon, *La manufacture de porcelaine de Mennecy-Villeroy (Le-Mée-sur-Seine, 1988)*, p. 150. For a discussion of *marchands merciers* at the royal factory, see J. Whitehead, "The *marchands merciers* and Sèvres," *International Ceramics Fair and Seminar* (London, June 1993), pp. 36–43.
 33. Inv. 1974.356.596; H. 5¼ in. (14 cm), marked "D.V." in blue enamel.
 34. Inv. 1976.155.26, .27. The writer has been unable to examine the ormolu on any of the Metropolitan Museum pieces.
 35. Inv. 1982.60.259, Linsky cat. no. 296, unmarked.
 36. Inv. 1982.60.260, Linsky cat. no. 301, marked "D.V." in black.
 37. Inv. 434.100.34, .35; one marked "D.V." painted in black, gift of R. Thornton Wilson in memory of Florence Ellsworth Wilson, 1943. The small gilt-bronze scroll feet are worth comparing with those on the inkstand (1974.356.595 a–d), and on the example recently shown in Paris, see n. 27, above.
 38. R. de P. de Guillebon, *Musée du Louvre, Département des Objets d'Art: Catalogue des porcelaines françaises I* (Paris, 1992), no. 15. The cup, clearly visible on the Metropolitan Museum monkeys, is squashed and described in the Louvre catalogue as a shell.
 39. Inv. 59.208.1; incised "D.V.," H. 5¼ in. (13.5 cm).
 40. Inv. 59.208.2; incised "D.V." twice, H. 5 in. (12.7 cm).
 41. Préaud and d'Albis, *La Porcelaine de Vincennes*, p. 174, no. 180.
 42. *Porcellane e argenti del Palazzo Reale di Torino*, Milan, 1986, exh. cat. (Turin, 1986), nos. 111, 112. Both are documented in the royal collection in 1861.
 43. Inv. 1974.356.589, .590; the hound measures 4¼ in. (11.9 cm), the spaniel 5¼ in. (13.1 cm). Neither piece bears a factory mark. "A pair of speckled white spaniels holding their heads in supercilious attitudes modelled at Saint-Cloud about 1735" is mentioned by Y. Hackenbroch and J. Parker, *The Lesley and Emma Sheaffer Collection: A Selective Presentation* (New York, 1974), at the end of the section on porcelain and faience (pages unnumbered). The present writer has not examined the dogs or the pieces in Turin.
 44. Inv. 1982.60.290, Linsky cat. 308, marked "D.V." in dark blue, H. 7 in. (17.9 cm). This was formerly in the René Fribourg collection; sold, Sotheby's, June 25, 1963, European Porcelain pt. 1, lot 40; sold to Linsky for £1,800. The comte de Chavagnac owned a similar figure and believed it was based on a Chinese root carving; see Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 19–21, 1911, lot 83.
 45. Inv. 12911 PE, information from notes left by Geneviève Le Duc, see n. 31, above.
 46. Christie's East, New York, January 30, 1985, "Important European Porcelain and Faience," lot 120. H. 7¼ in. (18 cm).
 47. "Exposition de Porcelaines de Pâte Tendre," Musée Royal de Mariemont, May–September 1958, cat. nos. 28, 29; height 6¼ in. (17.5 cm). The pieces, which are in the collections of the Musée Royal de Mariemont, Brussels, are unmarked and were then

- attributed to Saint-Cloud. Geneviève Le Duc's notes show that she considered them without doubt to be Mennecy models.
48. Figures of Summer and Autumn incised "D.V." underneath are in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, inv. 28650 ABCD. Two boys on circular bases incised "D.V.," one symbolic of Summer, the other of Autumn, are in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, 1968.244, 245. Painted figures on small square undecorated bases (H. $\frac{3}{4}$ in. [12 cm]), symbolic of Winter and Spring, one bearing an incised mark, were sold from the Gilbert Lévy Collection, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, November 23, 1967, lot 52. Slightly larger glazed white figures (H. approx. $\frac{7}{8}$ in. [20 cm]) of a couple symbolizing Winter, one marked "D.V." in blue, were sold by Christophe Perlès, La Cour aux Antiquaires, Paris, Autumn 1991, no. 27, from the René Fribourg collection.
 49. Roth and Le Corbeiller, *French Eighteenth-Century Porcelain*, no. 41; H. $\frac{5}{16}$ in. (13 cm).
 50. René Fribourg collection, sold, Sotheby's, London, October 15, 1963, lot 406; sold again by Christophe Perlès, La Cour aux Antiquaires, Paris, Autumn 1991, cat. 27, marked "D.V." in blue on the underside of one socle.
 51. Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris inv., 28615, Blake Gould Bequest.
 52. *Catalogue des faïences & porcelaines anciennes françaises et étrangères*, collection de M. le Comte R. d'Yanville, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, February 20–22, 1907, lot 214.
 53. Inv. 1982.60.263, Linsky cat. 312. Incised "D.V." with a crescent under each letter on underside of base of vase. H. of the vase 9 in. (22.8 cm).
 54. Inv. MNC 13262 and MNC 13258, Grollier Bequest, 1908; each measures $10\frac{1}{4}$ in. (26 cm), and both are incised "D.V."
 55. Roth and Le Corbeiller, *French Eighteenth-Century Porcelain*, no. 37; H. $1\frac{3}{8}$ in. (35.2 cm).
 56. *Catalogue des porcelaines tendres anciennes françaises et étrangères . . . composant la collection de M. Fitzhenry*, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, December 13–16, 1909, lot 135.
 57. Illustrated in C. Frégnac, ed., *Les porcelainiers du XVIIIe français* (Paris, 1964), p. 139; it is not known whether this figure is marked.
 58. Gauron's career has been analyzed by T. Clifford, "Nicholas Gauron—A Virtuoso Modeller at Tournai and Chelsea," in Charles Hind, ed., *The Rococo in England: A Symposium* (London, 1986), pp. 161–74. The clock case was published by W. King, "Some Vincennes Porcelain Figures," *Apollo* (April 1926), pp. 222–23. The relationship between Mennecy, Tournai, and Derby porcelain figures deserves closer examination.
 59. S. Eriksen and G. de Bellaigue, *Sèvres Porcelain: Vincennes and Sèvres, 1740–1800* (London, 1987), p. 198, no. 9; C. L. David Collection, Copenhagen. H. $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. (29 cm).
 60. This information was discovered in the papers of the late Geneviève Le Duc.
 61. See Guillebon, *Musée du Louvre*, pp. 73–74.
 62. Inv. 1974.356.586; H. $\frac{6}{8}$ in. (15.7 cm).
 63. I am grateful to Errol Manners for bringing this engraving to my attention. It is published in P. Ducret, "Augsburger Chinoiserien als Vorbilder für Strassburger Fayencen," *KERAMOS* 84 (1979), p. 96, fig. 5.
 64. Inv. MNC 13276, Grollier Bequest, 1908. H. $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (15 cm). Antoinette Hallé and her staff kindly supplied information about this piece.
 65. Sold, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 19–21, 1911, lot 150, for 1,800 francs to Ducrey.
 66. Incised "D.V." filled in with manganese; H. $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (14.9 cm). A similar example, which may be the same piece, is illustrated in the catalogue of the sale of the Yanville collection, *Faïences & porcelaines anciennes françaises & étrangères*, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, February 20–22, 1907, lot 197, unmarked.
 67. *Catalogue des porcelaines tendres anciennes françaises et étrangères . . . composant la collection de M. Fitzhenry*, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, December 13–16, 1909, "non catalogué," ill. next to lot 151, opp. p. 20.
 68. Fine European Porcelain, The property of the late Oscar Dusendschon of Geneva, Sotheby's, December 6, 1960, lot 44.
 69. See T. H. Clarke, "The French Touch at Meissen: Christophe Huet's Watercolour Drawings for the Cris de Paris, 1753," *International Antique Dealers Show Handbook* (New York, 1990), pp. 28–33.
 70. A Meissen figure of a Persian woman in the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich, differing slightly from the Mennecy version, has been attributed to Kändler and Reinicke after an engraving by M. de Ferriol, *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différents nations du Levant* (Paris, 1714–15), pl. 91; see R. Rückert, *Meissener Porzellan 1710–1810*, exh. cat. (Munich, 1966), no. 940.
 71. D. C. Peirce, *English Ceramics in the Frances and Emory Cocke Collection, High Museum of Art, Atlanta, Georgia* (Seattle and London, 1988), no. 172. H. $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (14 cm). For Doccia, Ansbach, and Kloster Veilsdorf figures of Turks, see M. Newman, "Les sultans de porcelaine du XVIIIe siècle," *L'estampille*, no. 205 (July–August 1987), pp. 48–56.
 72. Sold, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, June 19–21, 1911, lot 180. H. $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (20 cm).
 73. For details on this subject, see A. Dawson, *A Catalogue of French Porcelain in the British Museum*, rev. ed. (London, 2000), no. 303. Additional pieces by the Mō brothers are discussed in this writer's forthcoming paper in the *Journal of the French Porcelain Society*.
 74. Exh. Galerie Verneuil-Bac (see n. 27, above), ill. back cover of catalogue. Dog, H. $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (13 cm).
 75. J.-G. Peyre, "Fleurons méconnus de la manufacture de Mennecy-Villeroy," *L'estampille/L'objet d'art*, no. 350 (September 2000), p. 86.
 76. Roth and Le Corbeiller, *Eighteenth-Century Porcelain*, no. 28. H. $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (14.9 cm).
 77. Ibid., no. 36. H. 6 in. (15.2 cm).
 78. Inv. 1982.60.268, Linsky cat. 310.
 79. *Catalogue des porcelaines tendres françaises et étrangères . . . composant la collection de M. Fitzhenry*, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, December 13–16, 1909, lots 117–19. Only lot 119, a bearded and mustached figure with head thrown back, is marked, incised "D.V.," even though the figure of a lawyer in the Linsky collection, cat. 310, is said to be lot 118 in the Fitzhenry sale and is noted in the Linsky catalogue as incised "D.V." inside the base.
 80. H. Morley-Fletcher, *Early European Porcelain & Faience as Collected by Kiyi and Edward Pflueger*, vol. 2 (privately published, n.d. [ca. 1995]), p. 70. H. $\frac{8}{8}$ in. (21 cm). Pierrot incised "D.V." Formerly Aymé Darblay and Comtesse Emmanuel de la Rochefoucauld collections.
 81. Private collection. H. $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (15 cm). Ill. in G. Le Duc, "Un personnage de comédie en porcelaine tendre de Mennecy, vers 1755," in *Mélanges en souvenir d'Elisalex d'Albis, 1939–1998* (privately published, 1999), pp. 67–69.
 82. Inv. 1982.60.262, Linsky cat. 311.
 83. Clarke, "The French Touch at Meissen," p. 33, nos. 23, 24.

84. For this fascinating subject, see E. Munhall, "Savoyards in French Eighteenth-Century Art," *Apollo* 87, no. 72 (February 1968), pp. 86–94.
85. Klaber & Klaber, *Rare Antique Porcelain & Enamels*, Summer Catalogue, June 2002, no. 12. Both figures incised "D.V." on the back of the rocks. H. 6 in. (15.2 cm) and 6½ in. (16.5 cm).
86. Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris. Ill. in C. Dauguet and D. Guillemé-Brulon, *La porcelaine française* (Paris, n.d.), p. 27, with a dancer and a group of musicians.
87. *Catalogue des porcelaines tendres anciennes françaises et étrangères . . . composant la collection de M. Fitzhenry*, Hôtel Drouot, Paris, December 13–16, 1909, lot 153. H. 7¼ in. (18.5 cm). Incised "D.V." From the Yanville collection.
88. W. B. Honey, *French Porcelain of the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1950), pl. 46.
89. Inv. 1982.60.263, Linsky cat. 312. Incised "D.V." with a crescent under each letter.
90. "Early European Porcelain from the Collection of Ernesto Blohm," Christie's, April 10, 1989, lot 85. H. 5½ in. (14 cm).
91. Inv. 1982.60.255, Linsky cat. 309.
92. Inv. 54.147.7. Exhibited in "Figures from Life: Porcelain Sculpture from The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, ca. 1740–1780," Museum of Fine Arts, St. Petersburg, Florida, 1992, cat. by C. Duval, p. 97.
93. Inv. 86 DE. 473.
94. Inv. G.83.1.1250 and G.83.1.1251. These figures appear to be the ones shown in an advertisement by Finarte, Milan, discovered in the archive of Geneviève Le Duc at the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris, marked "Gazette." The figures are noted as having been sold at the Hôtel Drouot, Paris, April 29, 1983. The printseller is H. 9¼ in. (24 cm) and incised "D.V." on the base behind the right foot; the clothing vendor measures H. 10 in. (25.5 cm) and is incised "D.V." on the rock behind the left foot. I am grateful to Meredith Chilton for kindly supplying information about these figures.
95. MaryLou Boone, *Terre et Feu: Four Centuries of French Ceramics from the Boone Collection*, exh. cat., Clark Humanities Museum, Scripps College (Claremont, Calif., 1998), no. 76.
96. Ill. in *International Ceramics Fair and Seminar Handbook* (London, 2000), p. 92.
97. The vinegar seller is illustrated by J.-J.G., "La Genèse des Cris de Paris," *Connaissance des arts* (April 1978), p. 62. It is no. 33 in the list given by Clarke, "The French Touch at Meissen," p. 33.
98. L. and Y. Adams, *Meissen Portrait Figures* (Wigston, 1992), p. 46.
99. Peyre and Sieberth, *La porcelaine tendre*, ill. inside front cover; and see Peyre, "Fleurons méconnus," p. 81.
100. Dawson, *Eighteenth-Century French Porcelain*, no. 36.
101. *Ibid.*, no. 34.
102. A pair of rearing horses attributed to Mennecy and mounted in gilt bronze, which were once in the Bensimon collection, were sold from the collection of Mrs. H. Dupuy at Parke-Bernet Galleries Inc., New York, April 2–3, 1948, lot 300, ill.; present whereabouts unknown. The trotting horse in the Art Institute of Chicago attributed to Vincennes and ill. in Préaud and d'Albis, *La porcelaine de Vincennes*, p. 171, no. 171, fell in the firing; no other example is known to the writer.
103. Musée National de Céramique, Sèvres (26340). Acquired 1990. H. 7¼ in. (20 cm). Incised "D.V." under right forepaw. I am grateful to Antoinette Hallé for supplying information on this piece.
104. G. Le Duc in Sèvres, *Musée National de Céramique: Nouvelles acquisitions (1979–1989)* (Paris, 1989), no. 143.
105. J. Emerson, J. Chen, M. Gardner Gates, *Porcelain Stories from China to Europe* (Seattle and London, 2000), p. 226 (and cover). H. 7 in. (17.9 cm). Incised "D.V."
106. Inv. 1974.155.28.29. H. 5 in. (12.7) and 4¼ in. (12.4 cm). Each painted "D.V." in manganese inside each base.
107. Inv. 1976.155.28.29. H. 6¼ in. (15.9 cm). The writer has not examined the bronze mounts or the flowers and cannot comment on their date or origin.
108. As Préaud and d'Albis, *La porcelaine de Vincennes*, p. 170, no. 169, discovered, two small *perruches* (parrots) purchased from Vincennes by the dealer Lazare Duvau were sold by him to Monsieur de Villaumont in October 1749 for the high sum of 30 livres. Parrots and *bouvreuils* (bullfinches) were also in production from 1749; swans, *mésanges* (tits), *sérins* (canaries), and *chardonnerets* (goldfinches) from 1752.
109. Darblay's illustration has been republished by Duchon, *La manufacture de porcelaine de Mennecy-Villeroy*, p. 135.
110. Frégnac, *Les porcelainiers du XVIIIe français*, p. 135.
111. G. Le Duc, *Porcelaine tendre de Chantilly*, pp. 165, 167.
112. Inv. 42–59–55 and 56. The female figure is incised "D.V." and measures 8¼ in. (20.7 cm). The male figure is H. 8½ in. (22 cm).
113. Archives Nationales, Minutier Centrale XIII.340, Semilliard. Information taken from Le Duc papers in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.
114. A. Jacquemart and E. Le Blant, *Histoire artistique, industrielle et commerciale de la porcelaine* (Paris, 1862), p. 499: "Nous avons vu passer dans une exposition de vente, d'où il a disparu après avoir été brisé, un groupe important & fort bien traité, représentant toute une scène allégorique. Sur un vaisseau armé et maté se tenait la France, le casque en tête, la lance droite & la main posée sur le bouclier aux trois fleurs de lis; autant qu'il nous en souvient, les autres personages, tous caractérisés par des emblèmes mythologiques, entouraient un enfant endormi." The authors compared it to pieces from the royal factory on the grounds of its artistic merit and suggested that it may have been made as a princely gift. The writer was alerted to this reference by a note in the papers of the late Geneviève Le Duc bequeathed to the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.
115. For example, the article excludes groups like *The Magic Lantern*, in which a young man and a young woman on a rock look into a magic lantern held by another young man (ill. in Peyre, "Fleurons méconnus," p. 78; there is another example in the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Conn., 1917.924), and a group of four musicians designed to be seen all the way round (*ibid.*, p. 85), for instance.

A Drawing by Canaletto of Richmond House Terrace

KATHARINE BAETJER

Curator, European Paintings, The Metropolitan Museum of Art

IT IS GENERALLY HELD that Canaletto's decision to visit London in 1746 was influenced by the news that Charles Labalaye's Westminster Bridge, which was among the most important building enterprises of the century, was nearing completion.¹ George Vertue, chronicler of the London art world, reports that Canaletto arrived in the latter part of May. The Venetian view painter apparently had not been invited, as he had no commissions in hand, but Vertue observed that on account of "the Multitude of his works done abroad for English noblemen & Gentlemen" he had already "procured . . . great reputation."² The problem was that Canaletto needed someone to represent his interests in London as Joseph Smith, British Resident and lately consul, had done for the artist in Venice. Smith, therefore, had provided Canaletto with a letter to the entrepreneur Owen McSwiney, who early in the Venetian painter's career had acted as his agent, offering his work and that of other Italian painters to potential patrons in England. Smith hoped that McSwiney would once again bring the painter to the attention of the duke of Richmond, for whom Canaletto had worked years before. On May 20 McSwiney dined with Tom Hill, the duke's former tutor, at the home of the duke's neighbor, the duke of Montagu, and thereafter Hill wrote to the duke of Richmond: "I told [McSwiney] the best service I thought you could do [Canaletto] wd be to let him draw a view of the river from yr dining-room which would give him as much reputation as any of his Venetian prospects."³

Charles Lennox (1701–1750), second duke of Richmond, already owned examples of Canaletto's work. In the early 1720s, through the agency of the same McSwiney, the duke had contracted for a series of very large canvases by Venetian and Bolognese artists dedicated to the Glorious Revolution of 1688, which had brought William and Mary to the English throne. Each painting was to show an allegorical tomb commemorating a revolutionary hero. The subject matter, strange as it may have seemed to the Italian

artists who received the commissions, was meaningful to the duke, whose father, born illegitimately to Charles II and Louise de Keroualle, was a cousin of queens Mary and Anne. Of the ten paintings the duke ultimately bought to decorate the dining room of his country house, Goodwood, one—dispatched from Venice on February 25, 1727—was by Giovanni Battista Pittoni and Canaletto, assisted by Giovanni Battista Cimaroli.⁴

On November 28, 1727, McSwiney first referred to selling the duke two of Canaletto's views: "I send yr Grace by *Captain Robinson* . . . who sails from here tomorrow, *Two of the Finest pieces*, I think he ever painted . . . done upon copper plates: *They cost me two and twenty sequens each*. They'l be delivered to your Grace . . . as soon as they arrive in London."⁵ The allegorical-tomb paintings were eventually sold off, but two copperplates—either the pair described above or slightly later ones—are still at Goodwood.⁶ Notable for their blond tonality and for the delicacy and finesse of their handling, the Goodwood copperplates represent the Grand Canal looking north from the Rialto Bridge and the opposite view, that looking toward the bridge from the north.

Twenty years later, in the summer of 1747, the duke of Richmond took up Hill's proposal that Canaletto should paint the Thames from Richmond House.⁷ There were to be two pictures rather than the single one originally envisaged: *Whitehall and the Privy Garden* (Figure 1) and *The Thames and the City of London* (Figure 2). These large, topographically accurate canvases vividly evoke mid-eighteenth-century life in Whitehall, of which little but the Banqueting Hall now remains. Hill had proposed that Canaletto "draw a view of the river from [the duke's] dining-room," and in fact, of the few drawings surviving from Canaletto's English period, two relate to the painted views and were taken from windows of the house.

The first, in pen and brown ink with gray wash, includes all the streets, lawns, and buildings represented in the two paintings and rather more, from the houses to the west along King Street to a broad expanse of Richmond House terrace.⁸ While Canaletto imagines a bird's-eye view, the drawing can only have been

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 37

The notes for this article begin on page 221.

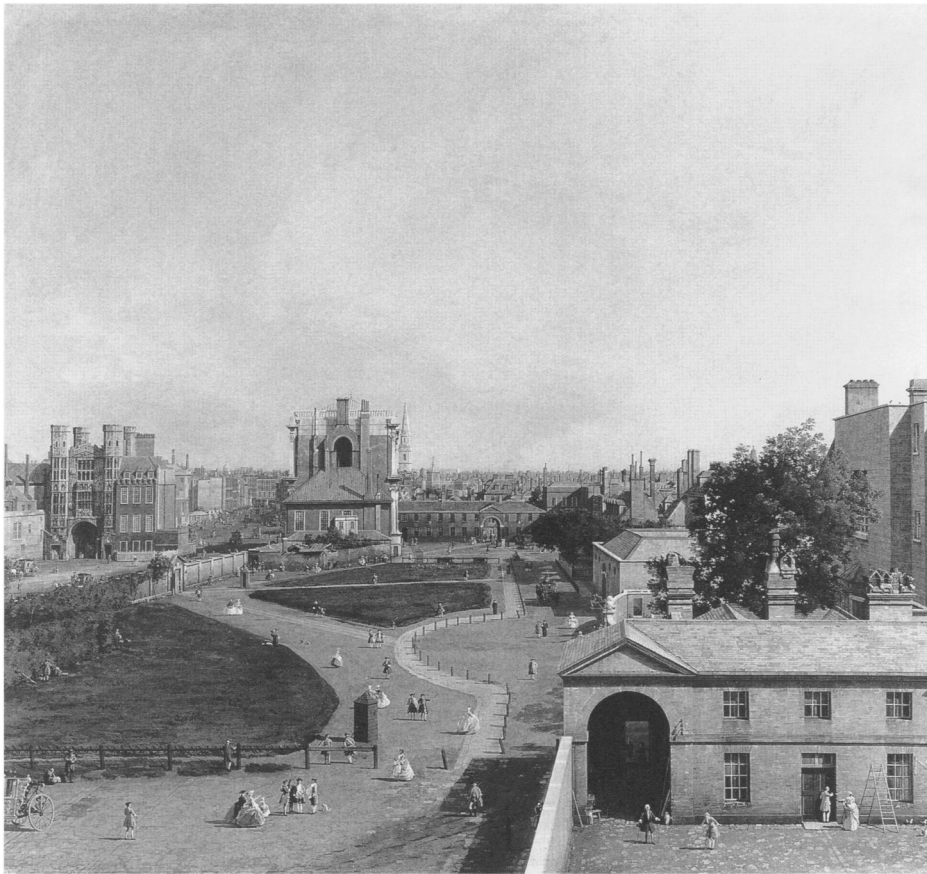


Figure 1. Canaletto, *London: Whitehall and the Privy Garden from Richmond House*, 1747. Oil on canvas, 42 x 46 in. (106.7 x 116.8 cm). By courtesy of the Trustees of the Goodwood Collection (photo: A. C. Cooper, London)



Figure 2. Canaletto, *London: The Thames and the City of London from Richmond House*, 1747. Oil on canvas, 42 x 46 in. (106.7 x 116.8 cm). By courtesy of the Trustees of the Goodwood Collection (photo: A. C. Cooper, London)

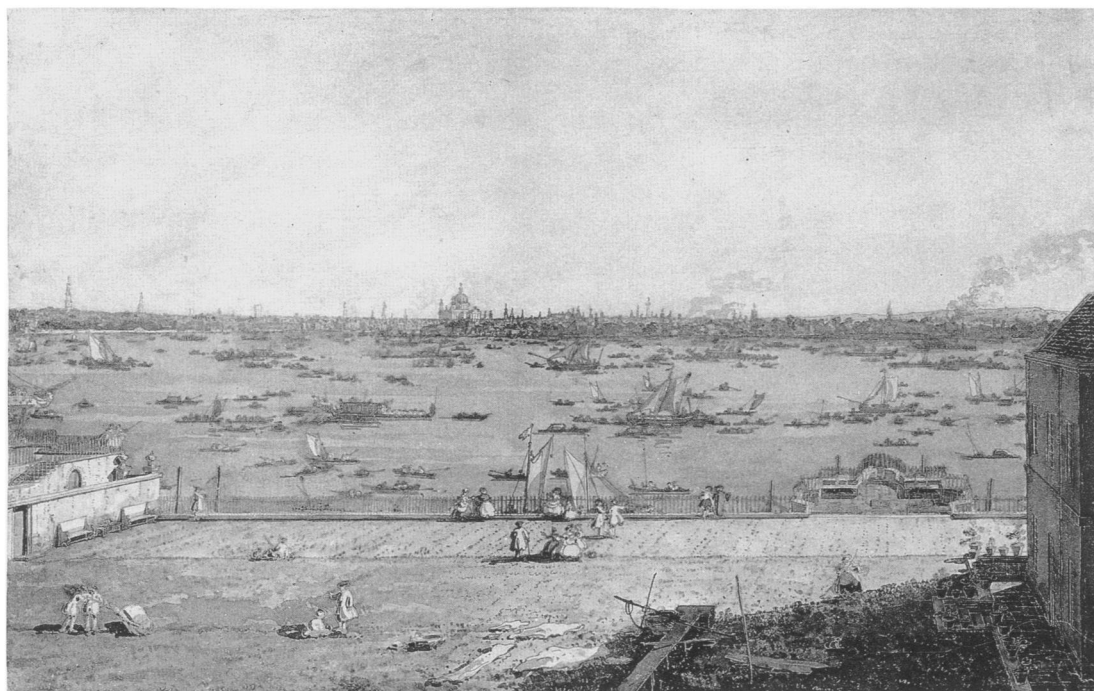


Figure 3. Canaletto, *The Thames and the City of London from Richmond House*, ca. 1747. Pen and brown ink with gray wash, 13¼ x 21¼ in. (33.7 x 54 cm). Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery

made looking north from a second-story window of the main part of the house. The stable block and court anchor the design in the foreground. Abutting the line between the duke's property and that of his neighbor (where Hill and McSwiney had dined), the blank south wall of Montagu House offers nothing of topographical interest and interrupts the panorama. Perhaps for this reason Canaletto was inspired to paint two canvases. The view of Whitehall was adjusted toward the left, while that of the Thames was adjusted toward the right: the former is less, the latter more comprehensive than in the drawing, and a slice in the middle was omitted from both. The lack of centrality in the pictures contributes to their immediacy of effect.

Perhaps seeking to further modify the scheme for the Thames painting, Canaletto made a smaller panoramic drawing (Figure 3), again in pen and brown ink with gray wash, from upstairs in the northeast corner of the main block of the house.⁹ While omitting Montagu House altogether, the drawing shows the corner of its raised terrace and the walled passage to the water stair shared by the two properties. The composition is closed off at the right by the north facade of a projecting wing of Richmond House. The sheet is conceived in broad horizontals: the narrowest band is reserved for the lawn; the middle one for the river, with the silhouettes of buildings in the city and on the south bank; and the widest for the cloudless

sky. The drawing includes the projecting terrace at the center of the river frontage, which appears also in the corresponding painting.

Canaletto's Whitehall and Thames canvases are modern in feeling partly because the angles of view are precipitous. It is worth noting why this is so: once Canaletto omitted the south wall of Montagu House, Richmond House afforded him no other broad outlooks. To the west, the house abutted Loudon House, while to the south, both stood close to a public right-of-way, at what must have been the perimeter of the royal property at Whitehall. The land, once an orchard, briefly a bowling green, had been part of an extension of the Privy Garden of the old Tudor palace. Excepting Inigo Jones's Banqueting Hall, completed in 1622, Whitehall had largely burnt in the fire of 1698, with some property later let out for private redevelopment. The prospect to the north and west was therefore open, while toward Westminster Bridge lay warehouses, some of them quite tall, and tenements.

Constable and Links identify the drawing that is the subject of this note as *London: Westminster Bridge, the Western Arch with Adjacent Buildings* and follow F.J.B. Watson in suggesting that "the terrace corresponds in position to that of Old Montagu House" (Figure 4). They continue: "Canaletto has departed a long way from the facts. . . . [T]he façade of Montagu House has been divided into two buildings, one of them

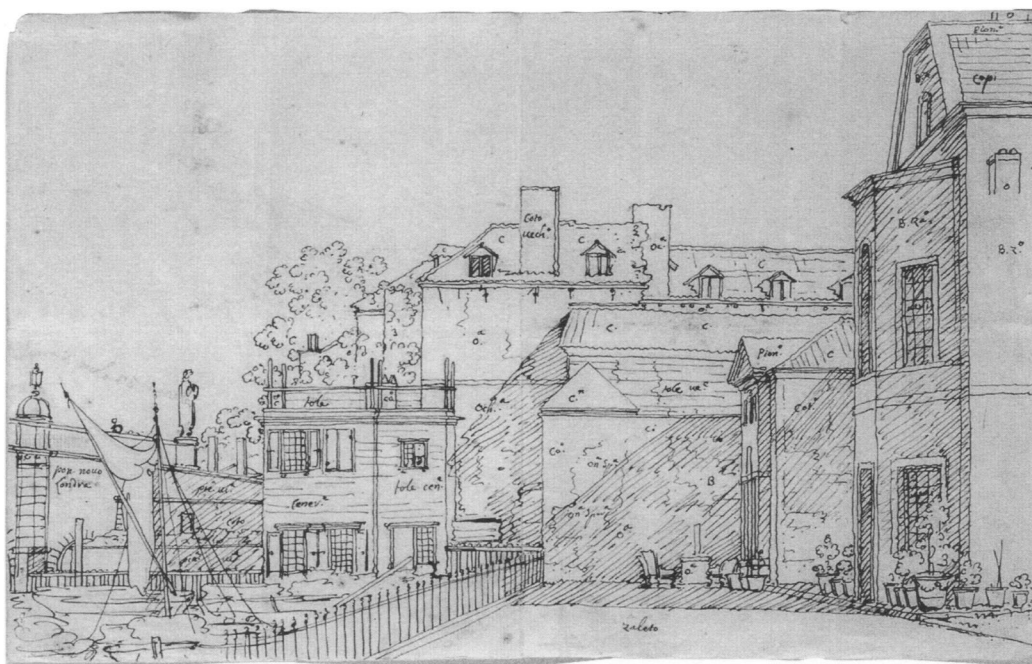


Figure 4. Canaletto, *London: Westminster Bridge, the Western Arch, from Richmond House Terrace*, ca. 1747. Pen and brown ink over graphite, 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 12 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (20 x 32.4 cm). Private collection, Switzerland (photo: courtesy of the owner)

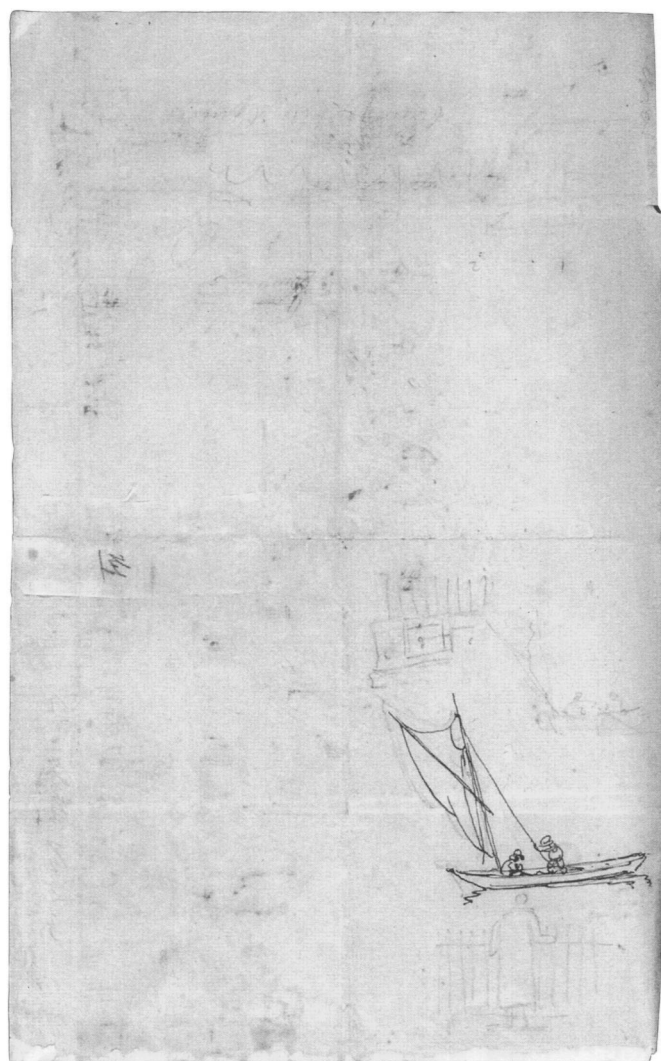


Figure 5. Canaletto, verso of the drawing in Figure 4

being given a bow window, the other a pediment; while sixteenth-century buildings at the end of the terrace have been replaced by others of more formal character."¹⁰ The drawing's title is accurate—the westernmost arch of the bridge is identified in Canaletto's characteristic hand as *pon. nouo / Londra*—but the description is not, and there is little of the capriccio in it. The medium is pen and brown ink over graphite, with notes on colors and materials sprinkled about, and the sheet is a spread of the sort Canaletto used for making sketches at the site.¹¹ That it comes from a sketchbook there can be no doubt, as the artist held the book facing toward him with the spine at the back and drew on the reverse of each page (Figure 5). The faintest of the drawings, little more than some squiggles, may show a figure leaning on a balustrade. Facing in the opposite direction are four motifs: a railing and abutment; a skiff with a mast and sail and a single passenger, rowed by an oarsman; a sailing skiff with a passenger and a boatman hauling on a line (drawn over in the same brown ink); and a railing over which leans a figure in a long coat. The mast, sail, and lines of the inked sketch are rather similar to the same features on the recto. A boatman, again with a single passenger, sails another similar skiff in the right foreground of *The Thames and the City of London* (Figure 2).

When in 1958 John Hayes dated the duke of Richmond's views to the summer of 1747 on topographical and stylistic grounds, he reproduced a detail from a plan of 1761 showing Parliament Street and the

land lying between it and the Thames (Figure 6). The layout of the duke of Richmond's house, to which Hayes did not draw attention, can nevertheless be plainly read. Francis Watson was the first to publish the drawing in Figure 4. Writing eight years after Hayes on a related subject, he was surely familiar with Hayes's article but failed to connect the drawing with the 1761 plan, which shows Richmond House to have been a building with two projecting wings. If the appearance of Richmond House is little known, that of Montagu House is by contrast well documented. Seen from the Thames, its centralized, pedimented Palladian main block standing upon a high terrace, Montagu House dominates the river frontage in several works by Samuel Scott, one of which, dated 1749, could have been painted as a competitive response to Canaletto's canvases.¹² The plans of both houses are detailed in a map of London begun by John Rocque in 1737 and published for him by Pine and Tinney in October 1746 (Figure 7).¹³ Rocque's map, which agrees with the evidence provided by Canaletto's paintings, shows that Loudon and Richmond Houses backed up to Tod's Wharf, near a thoroughfare providing access to the Thames from Parliament Street. The map also indicates that an abutment extending farther out into the river just south of Richmond House Terrace would have obstructed the view of the bridge abutment beyond.

Canaletto made his drawing (Figure 4) from the middle of the terrace, fenced with an iron railing, that

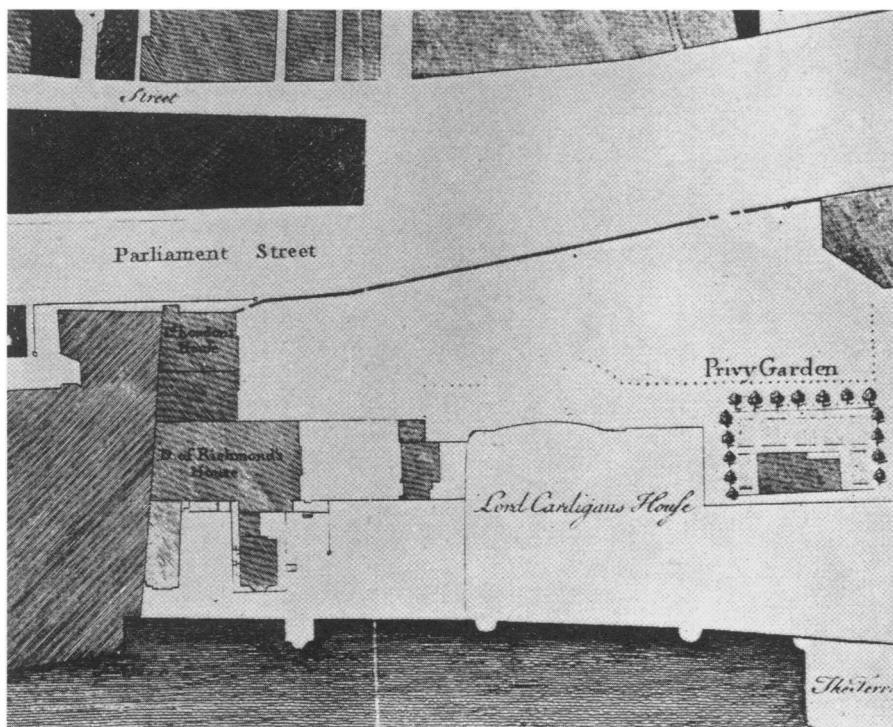


Figure 6. Detail from a plan showing alterations made to Parliament Street, published 1761. The British Museum, London (photo: after John Hayes, "Parliament Street and Canaletto's Views of Whitehall," *The Burlington Magazine* 100 [1958], fig. 16)



Figure 7. Detail from John Rocque's map of London, published 1746. The British Museum, London (photo: after W. Crawford Snowden, *London 200 Years Ago* [1948], p. 27)

overlooked the river. Facing south, he shows the wings of Richmond House to his right. They do not match: one has a Dutch roof, the other a peaked roof; one has a projecting bow and a horizontal course between the first and second stories, while the other does not. The chimney, for which there wasn't room, is sketched

below, on the near side wall of the house. The wings are the width of a single room and each has a door to the terrace on the ground floor. High-backed chairs stand before a high, blank wall at the sheltered end of the terrace in the shade. There are no trees (which would have blocked the view) but many plants in large pots. The topography agrees with Rocque's plan. The last bay of Westminster Bridge, with its low arch, Portland and Purbeck stonework, solid balustrade, niche, and lantern is substantially correct, though the roadway and the balustrade slant downward more than was in fact the case. The sculpture of a standing figure facing the shore was Canaletto's invention, however.

While the statue never existed, Canaletto's idea was not entirely without precedent, nor was the presence of statuary on the bridge unique to this drawing. In a painting of *Westminster Bridge on Lord Mayor's Day* (Yale Center for British Art, New Haven) he included, at the center of the bridge, statues of the river gods Thames and Isis, which, while intended in the plans for the bridge, were never executed.¹⁴ That painting may be dated to 1746–47. The abutments and landing stages of Westminster Bridge were finished late in 1746, while the last of the original centers (which supported the arches during construction) was struck in April 1747.¹⁵ The duke of Richmond was one of the original commissioners of the bridge, in which it may be supposed that he took an ongoing interest. The artist could have observed the bridge more closely only from the water; from the duke's terrace he could have sketched in comfort. It seems reasonable to propose that this sheet dates from the summer of 1747, as the handling and labeling are similar to those of drawings made earlier in Italy, while the bridge was thought to be finished, and the duke's paintings were undertaken if not completed in the course of that season.

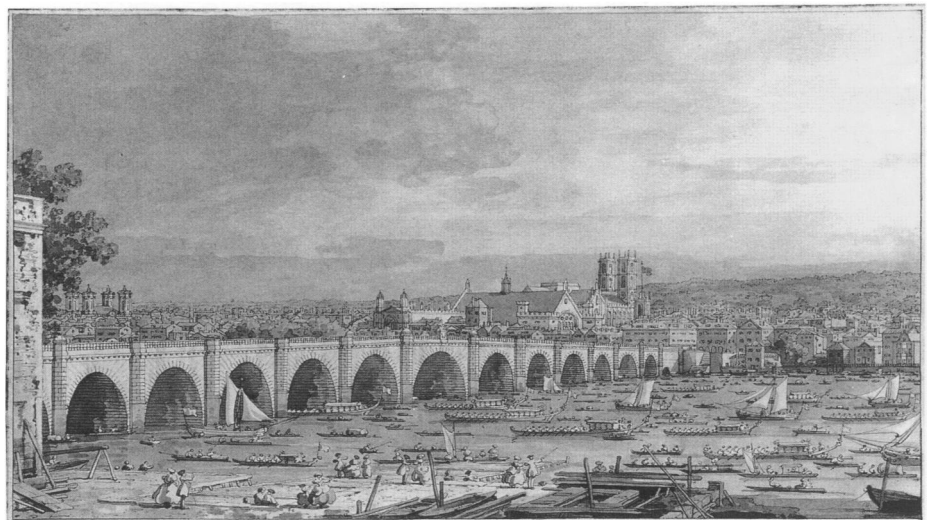


Figure 8. Canaletto, *London: Westminster Bridge with a Procession of Civic Barges*. Pen and black/grayish black ink, brush and gray wash, over graphite (freehand and ruled) and pin-pointing, 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 19 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (27.4 x 48.6 cm). The Royal Collection © 2000, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II (photo: The Royal Collection)



Figure 9. Canaletto, *Capriccio: With Reminiscences of Westminster Bridge and Richmond House*. Pen and brown ink, brush and gray and light brown wash, over graphite (ruled), $9\frac{3}{8}$ x $14\frac{7}{8}$ in. (23.8 x 37.9 cm). Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt (photo: Städelsches Kunstinstitut)

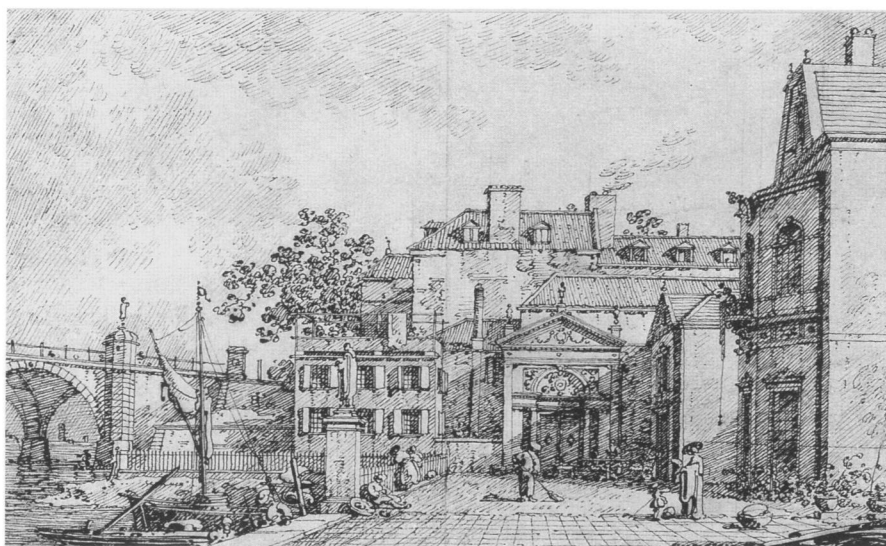


Figure 10. Canaletto, *Capriccio: With Reminiscences of Westminster Bridge and Richmond House*. Pen and brown ink over graphite (ruled), $8\frac{7}{8}$ x $14\frac{1}{4}$ in. (22.6 x 37.4 cm). © Copyright The British Museum, London (photo: The British Museum)



Figure 11. Canaletto, *Capriccio: With Reminiscences of Richmond House*. Pen and brown ink, gray wash, over graphite (ruled), $9\frac{3}{8}$ x 15 in. (23.8 x 38.1 cm). The Victoria and Albert Museum, London (photo: V&A Picture Library)

Canaletto spent many more years in England, but the duke of Richmond died in 1750, and there is no evidence of contact between them after 1747.

Other topographical details in the drawing that can be neither confirmed nor denied with certainty include the abutment, the two-story board house which seems to have a Venetian terrace, or *altana*, on its flat roof, and the warehouse buildings beyond and to the right. A drawing traditionally dated to about 1747 and entitled *London: Westminster Bridge with a Procession of Civic Barges* (The Royal Collection) provides a little additional information (Figure 8).¹⁶ The view is from the Surrey side of the Thames, and the buildings are much simplified but do seem to include, from the extreme right, the facade of Richmond House with its iron railing, a square board building with a pitched roof, a stand of trees in leaf, and various higher structures. The *altana* remains in doubt. By comparison with the drawing in the Royal Collection, the water level in the drawing illustrated in Figure 4 was perhaps shown higher than it actually was to bring the boat in the foreground into view.

The drawing relates to three others, all classified by Constable and Links as capriccios with reminiscences of Westminster Bridge and Old Montagu House (Figures 9–11).¹⁷ All in fact show Richmond House. Each departs further from the facts in the interest of a more pleasing, less chaotic, and increasingly Italianate effect. In terms of the development of the thematic material, the closest to Figure 4 is the drawing belonging to the Städelsches Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt, a finished sheet in brown ink with gray and brown washes over graphite, which is signed by the artist on the reverse *Io Zuane Antonio da Canal, detto il Canaletto, feci il detto Dissegno* (Figure 9).¹⁸ Next in the sequence is the less accomplished British Museum view, emphatically drawn in brown ink over graphite (Figure 10).¹⁹ In both, the arches of the bridge have been raised to a structurally unsustainable height, and the balustrade has been replaced by a flimsy railing. Paving has been introduced in the foreground; the truncated railing finishes with a high pedestal, square in plan, to support the statue, which faces in the opposite direction; and in place of the blank wall at the end of the terrace a Palladian portico has been introduced. In each, the bridge abutments have been tidied up—but in slightly different ways—and provided with an additional railing. In the British Museum drawing, a

building with a chimney in the near distance and a door under the portico have been added as well. The Victoria and Albert's drawing, which is the largest and most ambitious in the sense of open space, water, and sky that the artist conveys, is in brown ink with gray wash (Figure 11).²⁰ Canaletto transports Richmond House to the lagoon. He includes the door under the portico but omits the bridge, the abutment, and most of the buildings in the background. He truncates the largest building and, as André Corboz points out, introduces a window at the corner of the uppermost story, in the Venetian fashion.²¹ Corboz observes that Canaletto may have been inspired to draw these motifs because they reminded him of the view of the Fonteghetto della Farina from the Molo, and there are indeed drawings of the Fonteghetto that are similarly structured.²²

The drawing Canaletto probably made standing on the terrace at Richmond House in the summer of 1747 is of the sort he usually retained as a source for future work. Insofar as is known, this drawing never inspired a painting but was certainly the basis for the capriccios, which have been dated to after his return to Venice in 1755.²³ However, few of Canaletto's imaginary views, whether painted or drawn, contain English motifs. And among those that do are three paintings from a set of six, known as the Lovelace capriccios, one of which is signed and dated 1754.²⁴ The set was sold in 1937 by the fourth earl of Lovelace, whose ancestor, the third lord King, is said to have commissioned them, and there is reason to believe that until that date they had always been in England. The present group of drawings provides further evidence of Canaletto's association with one of his most important patrons, the duke of Richmond, and the capriccios may perhaps also be assigned to Canaletto's English years.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The thought that is the kernel of this note occurred to me while I was working with the late J. G. Links on the catalogue of the "Canaletto" exhibition held at the Metropolitan Museum in 1989–90. Since then the drawing has changed hands. I am grateful to the current owner for photographs (I had not previously seen the photograph of the reverse) and for his permission to publish the sheet.

NOTES

1. Giovanni Antonio Canal was born in Venice in 1697 and died there in 1768. How he came to use the diminutive Canaletto is not recorded. He lived in England from May 1746 until at least 1755, returning to Venice once—for eight months ending not later than July 1751—and possibly twice. W. G. Constable, *Canaletto*, 2 vols., 3rd ed. rev. and with suppl. by J. G. Links (Oxford, 1989), vol. 1, pp. 1, 8–9, 32–33, 37–39, 44. According to R.J.B. Walker, *Old Westminster Bridge: The Bridge of Fools* (North Pomfret, Vt., 1989), p. 166, “the last stone of the bridge, except for balustrade and pavement,” was laid on October 25, 1746. Theoretically, the bridge had been passable since July 20, 1746; in fact, because two of the arches subsequently subsided, it was not opened to the public until November 1750.
2. Constable and Links, *Canaletto*, pp. 32–33, quote Vertue’s entry in full.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 33.
4. Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters*, rev. ed. (New Haven and London, 1980), pp. 287–91, provides a brief account of the entire project. For the painting, see Katharine Baetjer and J. G. Links, *Canaletto*, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1989), pp. 100–101, cat. no. 12, colorpl. 12.
5. Constable and Links, *Canaletto*, pp. 14–15.
6. For the Goodwood copperplates, see Baetjer and Links, *Canaletto*, pp. 104–8, cat. nos. 14, 15, colorpls. 14, 15.
7. John Hayes, “Parliament Street and Canaletto’s Views of Whitehall,” *The Burlington Magazine* 100 (1958), pp. 341–45, established on topographical and stylistic grounds that the two canvases date from the summer of 1747 rather than from the year of Canaletto’s arrival in London.
8. Michael Liversidge and Jane Farrington, eds., *Canaletto & England*, exh. cat. (London, 1993), pp. 68–70, cat. no. 10, ill.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 70, cat. no. 11, ill., Birmingham, Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery, inv. no. 1994 P28. The drawing was acquired for the museum in the year following the exhibition. See also Constable and Links, *Canaletto*, vol. 1, pl. 138, fig. 744, vol. 2, p. 575, cat. no. 744, and p. 744, cat. no. 744, where it is noted that the drawing is inscribed in black chalk on the verso, possibly by Canaletto: “Vista del Tamigi / dal Duca de Richmond, a Londra.”
10. Constable and Links, *Canaletto*, vol. 1, pl. 142, fig. 753, vol. 2, p. 581, cat. no. 753, transcribe the inscriptions in full. The drawing was first published by F.J.B. Watson, “Some Unpublished Canaletto Drawings of London,” *The Burlington Magazine* 92 (1950), pp. 316–19, fig. 13, opp. p. 315, as *Veduta ideata based on the Riverside Terrace of Montagu House*. Watson observes that “the Venetian roof garden surmounting the Thames-side gazebo, the well-head on the terrace, and the statue give a markedly Italianate character to the scene. The drawing was in all probability made after the artist’s return to Italy. [Canaletto] repeated it several times.” He concludes that it is not a plein air sketch. The Trinity Fine Art Ltd. catalogue, 1998, p. 60, no. 28, records the watermark (Vryheyt, 1745). See W. A. Churchill, *Watermarks in Paper in Holland, England, France, etc., in the XVII and XVIII Centuries and Their Interconnection* (Amsterdam, 1935), p. 69, no. 83, ill. no. 83, for this paper, which was apparently Dutch and handled by Crowder, “who may have been an English papermaker, but more probably an importer.”
Ex collections: Baron Karl Eduard von Liphart, Florence (his estate sale, C. G. Boerner, Leipzig, April 26 ff., 1898, no. 186); [Ant. W. M. Mensing; his estate sale, Frederik Muller, Amsterdam, October 26, 1937, no. 38]; (sale, Ir. A. B. Reintjes, Amsterdam, and others, Frederik Muller, Amsterdam, July 25, 1940, no. 407); [P. de Boer, Amsterdam, by 1949—at least 1966]; [Trinity Fine Art Ltd., London, in 1998]; private collection, Switzerland.
Exhibitions:
Paris, Institut Néerlandais, March 1–April 1, 1962. Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, April 14–June 3, 1962. Haarlem, Teylers Museum, June 10–July 22, 1962. *Le Dessin Italien dans les Collections Hollandaises*, no. 191 (lent by P. de Boer).
Rotterdam, Museum Boymans-van Beuningen, July 29–September 13, 1963. Groningen, Pictura, May 27–July 4, 1964. *18e Eeuwse Venetiaanse Tekeningen*, no. 8 (lent by P. de Boer).
Laren, Singer Museum, June 18–September 18, 1966. *Oude Tekeningen: Een Keuze uit de Verzameling P. en N. de Boer*, no. 43 (lent by P. and N. de Boer).
New York. Trinity Fine Art Ltd. at Newhouse Galleries, May 6–15, 1998. *An Exhibition of Old Master Drawings, Prints and Paintings*, no. 28.
11. A single sketchbook (Accademia, Venice) by Canaletto survives intact. It measures 9¼ x 6⅞ in. (23.5 x 17.5 cm). See Giovanna Nepi Scirè, *Canaletto’s Sketchbook*, 2 vols. (Venice, 1997), of which one volume is a facsimile reproduction. Most often dated to the 1730s, the sketchbook was certainly completed before Canaletto left Venice in 1746. For the most part the drawings are in graphite or in graphite retraced in pen and brown ink. They are annotated by Canaletto with names and locations as well as with letters and other abbreviations, words, and phrases denoting colors and materials. The artist marked sketches made in situ, but not finished or imaginary drawings, in this way.
12. Richard Kingzett, “A Catalogue of the Works of Samuel Scott,” *Walpole Society* 48 (1982), pp. 52–54 and pl. 18, fig. 18a, catalogues four versions by Scott of *A View of the Thames with Montagu House*. Kingzett suggests that version a, which is signed and dated S. Scott 1749, and version b, which he reproduces, were probably both painted for the duke of Montagu. Kingzett’s version c is reproduced by Liversidge and Farrington, *Canaletto & England*, p. 121. At the end of Richmond House Terrace Scott’s pictures show an imaginary brick wall in a rather poor state of repair, much truncated and without a railing. In version c, in place of the benches, he introduces a mother with a baby, two workmen, one of them wheeling a barrow, and a pile of rubble.
13. For Rocque’s map, see W. Crawford Snowden, with an introduction by E.G.R. Taylor, *London 200 Years Ago* (London, [1948]), pp. 5–7.
14. Baetjer and Links, *Canaletto*, pp. 224–26, cat. no. 63, colorpl. 63.
15. Walker, *Old Westminster Bridge*, p. 171.
16. Constable and Links, *Canaletto*, vol. 1, pl. 141, fig. 750, vol. 2, pp. 579–80, cat. no. 750, sold in 1763 to George III by Joseph Smith, British consul in Venice.
17. Constable and Links, *Canaletto*, vol. 2, pp. 594–95, cat. nos. 786 and 786 (a–c). This note omits from the discussion no. 786 (b), which has the same design as the Victoria and Albert Museum sheet, with, according to the authors, “some minor differences in detail.” For a reproduction, see George A. Simonson, “Skizzen und Zeichnungen des Francesco Guardi,” *Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst*, N.F., 18 (1907), fig. 6.

18. Frankfurt, Städtisches Kunstinstitut, Graphische Sammlung, inv. no. 459. Dr. Jutta Schütt, in a letter, November 3, 1999, supplied the measurements and a corrected transcription of the inscription. See *Das Capriccio als Kunstprinzip: Zur Vorgeschichte der Moderne von Arcimboldo und Callot bis Tiepolo und Goya. Malerie—Zeichnung—Graphik*, exh. cat., ed. Ekkehard Mai, Milan, 1996, pp. 320–21, no. Z 4, ill., and Constable and Links, *Canaletto*, vol. 2, p. 594, cat. no. 786.
19. London, The British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, inv. no. 1866-7-14-10. Constable and Links, *Canaletto*, vol. 2, p. 595, cat. no. 786 (c). The drawing has an English provenance, having been acquired at the estate sale in 1866 of the Reverend Dr. Henry Wellesley.
20. London, The Victoria and Albert Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, inv. no. E.3791-1934. Constable and Links, vol. 2, pp. 594–95, cat. no. 786 (a). The drawing can be traced to the estate sale in 1787 of the well-known London collector John Barnard, whose mark it bears.
21. André Corboz, *Canaletto: Una Venezia immaginaria*, 2 vols. (Milan, 1985), vol. 1, pp. 350–52, figs. 425–27, and p. 407 n. 56, vol. 2, p. 732, ill. D 109, and p. 756, ills. D 157 and D 158, draws attention to a similar sequence of drawings, in which the principal motif is the church of San Simeone Piccolo (figs. 428–31 and see also fig. 432). With respect to the drawing reproduced as Figure 4, Corboz notes, “Non è illegittimo presumere che all'estrema destra del *Ponte di Westminster* si legga uno stato topografico relativamente vicino all'originale.”
22. Corboz, *Canaletto*, vol. 1, p. 352. For illustrations of drawings of the Fonteghetto from the Molo, see Baetjer and Links, *Canaletto*, pp. 302, 303, colorpls. 97, 98.
23. For example, see Corboz, *Canaletto*, vol. 2, p. 756, who dates the two capriccios that he illustrates to the years 1756–68. The author of the entry in *Das Capriccio*, p. 321, follows his example.
24. For the Lovelace capriccios, see Baetjer and Links, *Canaletto*, pp. 256–67, cat. nos. 75–80, colorpls. 75–80.

The Spaghetti Eaters

MEREDITH CHILTON

Curator, Gardiner Museum of Ceramic Art, Toronto

AMONG THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM of Art's noted collection of eighteenth-century porcelain figures are three small sculptures one of which was made at the Capodimonte factory, near Naples, and the others at Buen Retiro, outside Madrid, that depict characters from the commedia dell'arte eating spaghetti. Each piece portrays the character Pulcinella, alone or with one or more companions.

No commedia dell'arte character is more closely associated with food than Pulcinella. He appears to have been invented in 1628 by the Neapolitan actor Silvio Fiorillo, while another actor, Andrea Calcese, called Cuiccio, was known for refining the role.¹ The character was introduced to France, where he was known as Polichinelle, by Giovanni Briocci at the end of the seventeenth century.² In England he was called Punch. The extraordinary circumstances surrounding Pulcinella's birth are described in a *lazzo*, or comic interlude, recorded by Adriani di Lucca in 1734: "Pulcinella explains to Coviello that he was born before his father. When Coviello says this is impossible, Pulcinella replies that while his father was walking in Toledo, he fell asleep and barely missed being run over by a carriage. A passerby screamed at him, 'You must have been born yesterday!' Since this happened a year ago, Pulcinella maintains that he must have been born before his father."³

Pulcinella was a Neapolitan valet, a companion to Arlecchino (Harlequin), and, essentially, a man of the people. Lazy, cunning, and licentious, he was good-humored on the surface but had a short fuse and a volcanic temper, frequently responding with a brutal blow of club or foot rather than a clever exchange of words. Pulcinella acted entirely in his own self-interest, was contemptuous of the social order, and had little time for placating his masters. His gluttony was legendary. Pulcinella's favorite foods were spaghetti, macaroni, and gnocchi, which he consumed in vast quantities whenever possible.

In a painting by Alessandro Magnasco (1667–1749) in the collection of the North Carolina Museum

of Art, Raleigh (Figure 1), Pulcinella is shown lounging at a kitchen table eating spaghetti with his hands. His sizable belly attests to his past greed. Seated around him are other slothful servants, including several smaller Pulcinellas, who take their ease amid the squalor. Pulcinella is dressed in a loose tunic and baggy pants, a generic outfit for the *zanni* characters of the commedia that was popularized in the engravings of Jacques Callot (1592–1635) and no doubt worn by many commedia dell'arte actors in the seventeenth century. By the eighteenth century, Italian Pulcinellas were always depicted in this costume, with the addition of a tall felt hat and a hunchback. Although no complete Pulcinella costumes from the eighteenth century are known to have survived, there is a white felt hat typical of the type worn by Pulcinella in the theater wardrobe of the castle at Český Krumlov, in the Czech Republic (Figure 2). Pulcinella's name, which literally means "young turkey or chicken," is closely identified with his mask, which featured a beaklike nose.⁴ This distinctive mask and costume are seen frequently in the paintings of Giovanni Domenico Tiepolo (1727–1804) and in his series of drawings depicting the tragicomic life of Pulcinella, *Divertimento per li regazzi*. They also appear in engravings by Georg Friedrich Schmidt (b. 1712) after drawings by Giovanni Domenico's father, Giovanni Battista Tiepolo (1696–1770).

Curiously, in France and England an entirely different costume, derived from sixteenth-century livery, evolved for this character. There, his huge abdomen was covered by a peascod-bellied doublet with quilted padding, the original purpose of which was to protect the wearer against assassins. The doublet's pointed front was based on armor designed to repel musket fire.⁵ Instead of baggy pants, Polichinelle, or Punch, wore short, tight trousers that ended above the ankles. He did, however, retain the Italian hunchback and beak-nosed mask.

The Metropolitan's Capodimonte group (Figure 3), known as *The Spaghetti Eaters*, shows Pulcinella clutching his stomach with one hand and a clump of spaghetti or macaroni with the other, while Colombina (Colombine) comforts or encourages him.⁶ It is difficult to ascertain whether Pulcinella is testing the

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The notes for this article begin on page 228.

223



Figure 1. Alessandro Magnasco (Italian, 1667–1749). *The Supper of Pulcinella and Colombina*, ca. 1725–45. Oil on canvas, 30¾ x 41¾ in. (78.1 x 105.1 cm). North Carolina Museum of Art, Raleigh, Gift of the Samuel H. Kress Foundation (GL.60.17.56)



Figure 2. Felt hat for Pulcinella. Czech, mid-18th century. Český Krumlov Castle, Czech Republic (photo: Veroslav Škrabánek; courtesy of State Institute of Cultural Heritage, České Budějovice)

spaghetti to find out if it has finished cooking or whether he has already eaten half the pot and can force down no more. He has flung off his hat, which rests on the ground; Colombina holds a strainer in her right hand. A famous *lazzo* recorded by Antonio Passanti in Naples in 1700 describes how Pulcinella would smell a dish of macaroni and praise its aroma, making all kinds of ridiculous analogies.⁷

The pose of Colombina, with her arm around the shoulders of Pulcinella, both of them leaning over the cooking pot, is reminiscent of a painting by Giovanni Domenico Ferretti (1692–1768), *Harlequin as Glutton*, at the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida (Figure 4). Here, however, the brutish Harlequin is shown shoveling food into his mouth with his hand. Not only the poses but also the physiognomies of Ferretti's characters are reminiscent of those of the Capodimonte group; the three-dimensional figures make sinuous movements despite their massive proportions.⁸

The Capodimonte group is attributed to the modeler Giuseppe Gricci (1700–1770), a Florentine who had been sculptor to Charles VII Bourbon (1716–1788),



Figure 3. Giuseppe Gricci, modeler (Italian, 1700–1770). *The Spaghetti Eaters*, ca. 1750. Italian (Capodimonte). Soft-paste porcelain, H. 5½ in. (14.3 cm). Mark: fleur-de-lis in blue enamel. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Irwin Untermyer, 1964 (64.101.350). See also Colorplate 7

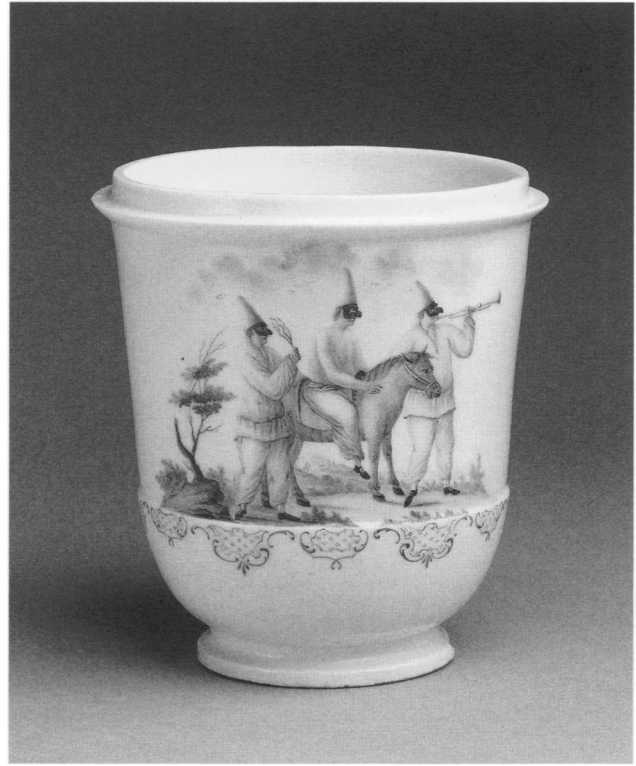


Figure 5. Artist unknown. Vase, ca. 1750–60. Italian (Capodimonte). Soft-paste porcelain, H. 6¼ in. (16 cm), diam. 5½ in. (13.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of R. Thornton Wilson, in memory of Florence Ellsworth Wilson, 1950 (50.211.266)



Figure 4. Giovanni Domenico Ferretti (Italian, 1692–1768). *Harlequin as Glutton* (from the *Disguises of Harlequin* series), 18th century. Oil on canvas, 38¼ x 50 in. (97.1 x 127 cm). John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art (Art Museum of the State of Florida), Sarasota, Museum purchase (SN 648)

king of the Two Sicilies, for five years when he joined the new porcelain factory on the grounds of the royal palace at Capodimonte, as its director of modeling. The factory was founded in 1743, several years after Charles VII's marriage to Maria Amalia (1724–1760), the granddaughter of Augustus the Strong—king of Poland, elector of Saxony, and founder of the Meissen porcelain factory. It seems likely that Charles founded the factory in order both to promote commercial enterprises in Naples and to imitate Meissen's hard-paste wares.⁹ Contrary to Meissen practice, however, soft-paste porcelain (without kaolin) was made at Capodimonte.¹⁰

The earliest workers at the factory included an arcanist of Belgian extraction, Livio Vittorio Schepers (d. 1757), and his son Gaetano Schepers (b. 1715); a gem-cutter, Giovanni Caselli (b. 1698), who became the chief painter; Giuseppe della Torre (b. 1689), a miniaturist; and the modeler Gricci. Gricci's figures are distinctive, with small heads and heavy, exaggerated lower limbs. His groups show great sensitivity of composition and a wealth of unspoken emotion. Enamelled and gilded decoration is particularly

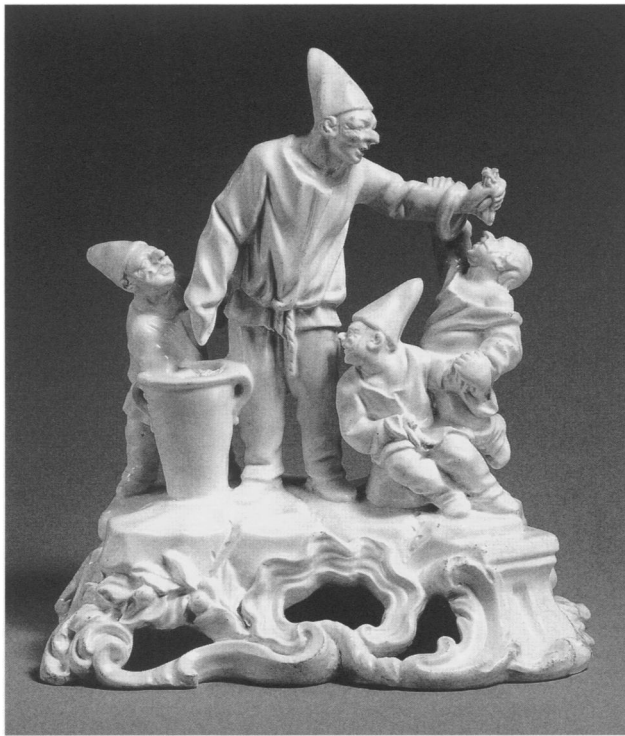


Figure 6. Artist unknown. *The Spaghetti Eaters*, ca. 1780. Spanish (Buen Retiro). Hybrid paste, perhaps *faïence fine*, H. 8 7/8 in. (21.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Hans Syz Collection, Gift of Stephan B. Syz and John D. Syz, 1995 (1995.268.341)

restrained, leaving the beauty of the modeling and the luminosity of the soft-paste porcelain plainly evident.

Porcelain sculptures were created by Gricci from the time of the factory's founding, and figures inspired by the commedia dell'arte, including a single figure of Pantalone (Pantaloon), are listed as early as 1744.¹¹ Many more commedia dell'arte figures were created at Capodimonte, including two groups of three figures each, *Pulcinella*, *Pantalone*, and *Arlecchino* and *Colombina*, *the Doctor*, and *Arlecchino*; and a number of paired figures, including *The Spaghetti Eaters*, *Arlecchino* and *Colombina*, *The Doctor* and *Colombina*, and *Colombina* and a *Young Hussar*. Several single figures are also known, some of which may have been paired or been part of groups of three.¹² Four single figures, representing *Arlecchino*, *Mezzetino/Scapino*, *Scaramuccia* (*Scaramouche*), and *Pantalone*, are in the Metropolitan Museum's collections. There are also two different versions of the Doctor and single, smaller figures of *Gobbino* and *Pulcinella* to be found in other museum collections.¹³ In addition, the commedia dell'arte served as inspiration for painted decoration on Capodimonte wares, such as a vase of about 1750 in the Metropolitan Museum's collection, which features three *Pulcinellas* (Figure 5).¹⁴

In 1759, Charles VII succeeded to the Bourbon throne of Spain, becoming Charles III. Unwilling to part with a symbol of his prestige, he made the extraordinary decision to uproot his factory at Capodimonte and transport it, complete with about forty workers and a supply of about five tons of raw materials for porcelain, to Madrid, where he established a new factory at the royal palace of Buen Retiro. The new factory made porcelain until the 1780s, when it fell into decline, eventually closing in 1808.

A second version of *The Spaghetti Eaters* was made at Buen Retiro in about 1780 and is now also in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 6).



Figure 7. Artist unknown. *Pulcinella*, ca. 1759–80. Spanish (Buen Retiro). Soft-paste porcelain, H. 10 in. (25.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of R. Thornton Wilson, in memory of Florence Ellsworth Wilson, 1950 (50.211.264)



Figure 8. Artist unknown (Italian). *Scene from the Commedia dell'Arte*, 18th century. Oil on canvas, 14 1/4 x 22 1/4 in. (36 x 57 cm). Drottningholms Teatermuseum, Stockholm (DTM 4795/1939)

It shows Pulcinella feeding spaghetti to one of three small Pulcinellas; the children recall hungry baby birds in the nest being fed by one of their parents. The small Pulcinellas are dressed in miniature versions of the adult costume, just as in the painting by Alessandro Magnasco (Figure 1). Unlike the figures made at Capodimonte, this group is raised on a Rococo scrolled base, in the manner of a stage. The sculpture appears to have been made of a hybrid paste, close to a *faïence fine*.¹⁵ It must have been produced about 1780, after the porcelain supplies brought from Capodimonte in 1759 had been exhausted, when Buen Retiro was obliged to turn to other materials for its products.

A single figure of Pulcinella eating spaghetti is also found in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 7). He stands with his head raised and mouth open to consume the spaghetti that once dangled from his right hand but has broken off. A pepper appears to be tied to the breast of his loose, belted jacket, perhaps symbolizing his hot and unpredictable temper. To one side is a large container, presumably filled with spaghetti and covered with a cloth to keep it warm. A grater and a hunk of Parmesan cheese sit on the ground, as does a small carafe of wine. This figure was once thought to have been modeled at Capodimonte, but recent examination has shown it was fashioned by the same mod-

eler as the Buen Retiro version of *The Spaghetti Eaters*.¹⁶ As the material of the single Pulcinella figure is soft-paste porcelain, it must have been made at Buen Retiro sometime between 1759 and about 1780.

The sculpture's pose, standing while eating spaghetti, is strongly reminiscent of that of two Pulcinellas in an anonymous eighteenth-century Italian painting in the collection of the Drottningholms Teatermuseum, Stockholm (Figure 8). The painting depicts a group of Pulcinellas desperately gobbling spaghetti while Arlecchino reaches for some with his slapstick and Colombina and Brighella run off with the wine.

Although sculptures inspired by the *commedia dell'arte* were made at almost every European porcelain factory during the eighteenth century, these examples from Capodimonte and Buen Retiro (essentially an Italian factory transposed to Spain) are among the few to show the characters eating spaghetti or similar fare.¹⁷ It is striking, for instance, that in German portrayals of *commedia dell'arte* characters with food, that food is usually a sausage. Most likely this was because spaghetti, a popular Italian dish, and its theatrical use by the *commedia dell'arte* were little known outside Italy during the period. Instead, actors may have adapted their comic routines to suit the local palates of their audiences, and these subtle transformations may be traceable in porcelain sculpture.

NOTES

1. Kenneth Richards and Laura Richards, *The Commedia dell'Arte: A Documentary History* (Oxford, 1990), p. 136, where this information is quoted from Andrea Perrucci, *Dell'arte rappresentativa, premeditata e all'improvviso* (Naples, 1699).
2. See *Les arts du theatre de Watteau à Fragonard*, exh. cat., Galerie des Beaux Arts, Bordeaux (Bordeaux, 1980), p. 103.
3. Mel Gordon, *Lazzi: The Comic Routines of the Commedia dell'Arte* (New York, 1983), p. 34, quoting Adriani di Lucca, *Selva ovvero zibaldone di concetti comici raccolti dal P. D. Placido*.
4. See James Christen Steward, ed., *The Mask of Venice: Masking, Theater, and Identity in the Art of Tiepolo and His Time*, exh. cat., Berkeley Art Museum (Berkeley, 1996), p. 83.
5. My thanks to Edward Maeder for this information. For more about the costumes worn by characters of the commedia dell'arte, see Meredith Chilton, *Harlequin Unmasked: Commedia dell'Arte and Porcelain Sculpture* (New Haven and London, 2001). A figure made at the Bow factory in England that is now in the collection of the Gardiner Museum of Ceramic Art, Toronto (ibid., no. 13), is dressed in this second style of costume for Pulcinella, or Punch.
6. The Metropolitan Museum's Capodimonte *Spaghetti Eaters* was formerly in the Otto Blohm collection and has been published in Robert Schmidt, *Early European Porcelain As Collected by Otto Blohm* (Munich, 1953), no. 406, pl. 107; Yvonne Hackenbroch, *Meissen and Other Continental Porcelain, Faience and Enamels in the Irwin Untermyer Collection* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), fig. 211; and Alessandra Mottola Molino, *L'Arte della porcellana in Italia* (Busto Arsizio, 1977), vol. 2, fig. 183. Similar examples are in the Museo Corraeale di Terranova, Sorrento, and the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg. My thanks to Jeffrey Munger for this information and for generously sharing other details and his opinions on the Capodimonte and Buen Retiro figures acquired by Clare Le Corbeiller during her tenure at The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
7. See Gordon, *Lazzi*, p. 22.
8. The relationship between Ferretti's and Gricci's work is noted in Angela Caròla-Perrotti, *Le porcellane dei Borbone di Napoli: Capodimonte e Real Fabbrica Ferdinanda 1743-1806*, exh. cat., Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples (Naples, 1986), pp. 151-56, where *The Spaghetti Eaters* is compared with another Ferretti painting in the same series, *Harlequin as Rejected Lover*.
9. See Clare Le Corbeiller, *Eighteenth-Century Italian Porcelain* (New York, 1985), p. 20.
10. For a history of the factory, see Silvana Musella Guida, "La manifattura di Capodimonte: Storie, produzione e fonti documentarie," in Paola Giusti et al., *Porcellane di Capodimonte: La Real Fabbrica di Carlo di Borbone, 1743-1759* (Naples, 1993), pp. 9-19.
11. Ibid., p. 13.
12. See Angela Caròla-Perrotti, "Giuseppe Gricci, Sculptor at Capodimonte," in Hugh Morley-Fletcher, *Early European Porcelain and Faience as Collected by Kiyi and Edward Pflueger* (London, 1993), vol. 2, pp. 8-14, where she argues that the single figures of Mezzetino/Scapino could have been paired with a figure of the Doctor (the version in the Museo Civico Gaetano Filangieri; see n. 13, below) or been part of a group of three with the Doctor and a single figure of Colombina.
13. The repositories of the figures mentioned in this paragraph are as follows: *Pulcinella*, *Pantalone*, and *Arlecchino*, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg; *Colombina*, *the Doctor*, and *Arlecchino*, Museo Teatrale alla Scala, Milan, and the Pflueger collection (see Morley-Fletcher, *Early European Porcelain*, vol. 2, p. 28); *Arlecchino and Colombina*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1982.450.14); *The Doctor and Colombina*, the Pflueger collection (see Morley-Fletcher, *Early European Porcelain*, vol. 2, p. 20); *Colombina and a Young Hussar*, Museo e Gallerie Nazionali di Capodimonte, Naples (DC 331); *Mezzetino/Scapino*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1982.450.8) and Museo Teatrale alla Scala; *Pantalone*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art (50.211.263), Museo Nazionale della Ceramica Duca di Martina, Naples (1820), Museo Civico Gaetano Filangieri, Naples (270), and the Pflueger collection (see Morley-Fletcher, *Early European Porcelain*, vol. 2, p. 16); *The Doctor*, Museo Civico Gaetano Filangieri (298); smaller *Pulcinella*, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (C.64-1950), Museo Civico Gaetano Filangieri (265), and Museo Nazionale di San Martino, Naples (23327); *Gobbino* (similar to *Pulcinella* but distinguished by his flat hat), Museo Nazionale di San Martino (23326). *Arlecchino* is found twice in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1982.60.283, 50.211.262).
14. See Le Corbeiller, *Eighteenth-Century Italian Porcelain*, pp. 20, 31.
15. My thanks to Jeffrey Munger and Clare Le Corbeiller for this information. Examinations of the figures with shortwave ultraviolet light were conducted by Jeffrey Munger in 2001.
16. This attribution was proposed by Angela Caròla-Perrotti during a visit to New York in 1994 and confirmed in a recent examination by Jeffrey Munger and Clare Le Corbeiller.
17. One exception is a Vienna State Period figure of Pulcinella, now in the Gardiner Museum of Ceramic Art, Toronto, which shows him holding a container that is most likely filled with gnocchi. This figure is based either on a sculpture by Orazio Marinali (1643-1720) in the gardens of the Villa Deliciosa, near Vicenza, or on an engraving that was a common source for both. See Chilton, *Harlequin Unmasked*, no. 8.

“I’m No Angel”: A Terracotta Model of *Saint Vincent Ferrer* by Giuseppe Sanmartino

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IN 1996, THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF Art acquired an elegant terracotta model of a robed winged figure that bore on its base the ink inscription g. sammartino (Figures 1–3). The figure had first come to the Museum’s attention in the catalogue for a London sale,¹ where it was described as an angel and attributed (despite the above-noted inscription) to the circle of Angelo Piò. However, the possibility, apparently rejected by the auction house, that the figure had indeed been made by Giuseppe Sanmartino, the key Late Baroque sculptor in Naples, seemed to us quite persuasive.² In light of our existing holdings of Neapolitan art, which included numerous *presepio* figures attributed to Sanmartino but no conventional sculpture by his own hand, it was an obvious candidate for acquisition. Beyond its intrinsic aesthetic appeal, the small statue is a fine example of the extensive and fruitful contacts between the arts that characterized the Baroque era—an interaction particularly well demonstrated in the culture of eighteenth-century Naples.

Not only are the sculptors in Naples known to have worked closely with painters; they also, famously, extended their own activities in other artistic areas.³ Works in two of these other mediums, porcelain and the previously cited *presepio* figures, are richly represented in the collection of the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts. Although both genres generally fall under the rubric of decorative arts rather than of sculpture, sculptors played prominent roles in establishing the prestige of these fields. The Naples Royal Porcelain Manufactory established by Ferdinand IV in 1771 and its predecessor at Capodimonte (ca. 1740–59) were especially renowned for their production of three-dimensional figures and groups, and challenged the reputation of the factories at Meissen, Sèvres, Doccia, and elsewhere in the eighteenth century. Stylistically, however, their output was less than purely Neapolitan, for while some of the

sculptors who worked at the Naples factories were of local origin—for example, Nicola Fumo and Francesco Celebrano (a gifted sculptor, painter, and noted modeler of *crèche* figures, who was the principal modeler and painter at the royal manufactory between 1772 and 1779)—for the most part the sculptors who dominated the city’s porcelain modeling activities came from elsewhere.⁴

The *presepio* was a different affair altogether. Neapolitan artists whose primary output was full-scale sculpture in marble and stucco were actively involved in the production of the *presepi*, modeling the heads and shoulders of the angels and human figures as well as the lively animals. However, while the Museum owns a significant number of *crèche* figures attributed to such “mainstream” artists as Matteo Bottiglieri, Salvatore Franco, Angelo Viva, the already-noted Celebrano, and Sanmartino (Figure 4),⁵ until recently no purely sculptural work by any of these artists was represented in our collection. The newly acquired Sanmartino terracotta finally makes up for this deficit.

The main question we had to answer to support the attribution to Sanmartino was where this figure would have fit into his known oeuvre. A number of terracotta sketches or models attributed to this sculptor have recently appeared on the art market,⁶ supplementing the small group already housed in public collections;⁷ most have been linked to important marble sculptures that still exist in churches in southern Italy. However, the Museum’s graceful but sober winged figure bore little compositional resemblance to the many angels Sanmartino carved for the churches of Naples and the surrounding region (Figures 5, 6),⁸ a discrepancy that may have impeded its attribution.⁹

A closer look at our figure reveals that its identification as an angel was mistaken. An inspection of the details shows that the gracefully draped robes actually constitute the habit of the Dominican order and that what might appear to be a wind-swept forelock on the tonsured head is actually a flame (its tip has broken off). This observation will lead the viewer familiar with the iconography of Catholic saints to the conclusion

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 37

The notes for this article begin on page 237.

229



Figure 1. Giuseppe Sanmartino (Italian, Neapolitan, 1720–1793). *Saint Vincent Ferrer*, ca. 1750–51. Terracotta, H. 14 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (37.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Rogers Fund and Friends of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts Gifts, 1996 (1996.93)

that the figure depicted is the Spanish Dominican saint Vincent Ferrer (1350–1419), the fiery preacher termed the “Apocalyptic Angel” on account of his impassioned sermons to heretics and the uncovered in which he warned of the Last Judgment.¹⁰

Fortuitously, recently published studies of Sanmartino’s early work¹¹ allude to just such a figure of Saint Vincent made by the young sculptor, not only supporting the attribution of the present terracotta to this artist but dating it as well. Elio Catello has demonstrated



Figure 2. Profile view of statuette in Figure 1

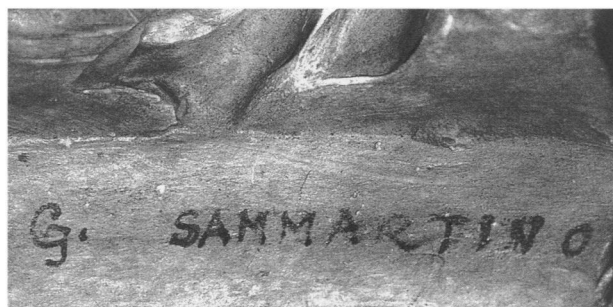


Figure 3. Detail of statuette in Figure 1, showing inscription



Figure 4. Attributed to Giuseppe Sanmartino. *Head of an Angel* (detail of dressed crèche figure), second half of the 18th century. Polychrome terracotta and wood, composition body, silk robes, H. (of figure) 17¼ in. (43.8 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Loretta Hines Howard, 1964 (64.164.8a-c)



Figure 5. Giuseppe Sanmartino. *Angel Holding a Flambeau* (one of a pair from the Chiesa dei Girolamini, Naples), 1787. Marble, H. 102¾ in. (260 cm). Naples, Museo Nazionale di Capodimonte

that Sanmartino's earliest documented commission, about 1750, for the Dominicans of San Pietro Martire in Naples, was for the creation of a clay model for a silver statue of Saint Vincent Ferrer. Based on a drawing by the painter Giuseppe Bonito, the finished sculpture was to be produced by the goldsmith Francesco Manzone. In his affidavit, dated 1759, Bonito asserts that he was charged by the Dominican fathers

to make a design for a statue of the glorious Saint Vincent Ferrer, which I did, and also to oversee the creation of the clay model, to be used to make the silver statue, whose model was made in my house by D. Giuseppe Sanmartino, sculptor, constantly attended by me, and in this situation, I always understood from what was said by the persons above that the Silver-

smith who was to make this statue was Signor D. Francesco Manzone, [and] that many times before initiating work on the said Model the fathers came to my house, once with the above Manzone, whom they ordered in my presence to take the Gesso mold with all urgency, since to work on the statue he had to start very soon, so that the same Manzone with his assistants came to my house to take the said mold, and as I was not satisfied by Padre Califano for my inconvenience, the said molds, made by Manzone, remained in my house for several years and about a year and a half ago were collected by Padre Califano.¹²

A number of factors support the conclusion that the Metropolitan terracotta is the one described in this affidavit, and that it physically documents one of the



Figure 6. Detail of sculpture in Figure 5

sculptor's earliest compositions. Beyond this, the model graphically demonstrates the crucial mediating role played by Neapolitan sculptors in the production of silver sculptures (Figures 7, 8)—the extraordinary lifesize busts and figures of the saints venerated by the religious orders that controlled so much of the patronage and the real estate in Baroque Naples.¹³

This spectacular genre was a phenomenon as peculiar to the city as the *presepio* itself, and also a particularly vivid demonstration of the interaction between the arts in Naples. Typically, the design for such a figure would have been realized in a three-dimensional model by a sculptor and executed by a silversmith. The conditions under which the commission here in question was executed, all spelled out in Bonito's document, help to explain some of the features that make the work distinctive within Sanmartino's oeuvre. In his affidavit, the painter insists on the fact that the model was made in his own house and that Sanmartino worked under his direct and constant supervision. This dependence on another artist's design may account for the model's major difference from much of Sanmartino's later work—its comparatively subdued drapery style. Moreover, the composition's formal resemblance to another slightly earlier Dominican



Figure 7. Attributed to Giuseppe Sanmartino and Francesco Manzone (silversmith and bronze founder; Italian, Neapolitan, 1697–1760/67). *Saint Dominic*, ca. 1750–60. Silver and gilt copper, H. 34 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (88 cm). Naples Cathedral, Chapel of the Treasury of San Gennaro

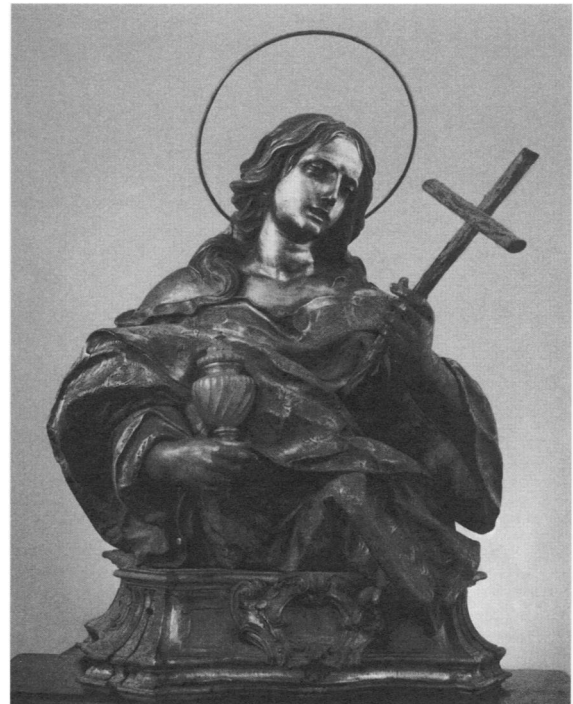


Figure 8. Attributed to Giuseppe Sanmartino and Filippo del Giudice (silversmith; Italian, Neapolitan, act. 1707–86). *The Penitent Magdalene*, 1757. Silver and gilt copper, H. 39 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (100 cm). Naples Cathedral, Chapel of the Treasury of San Gennaro

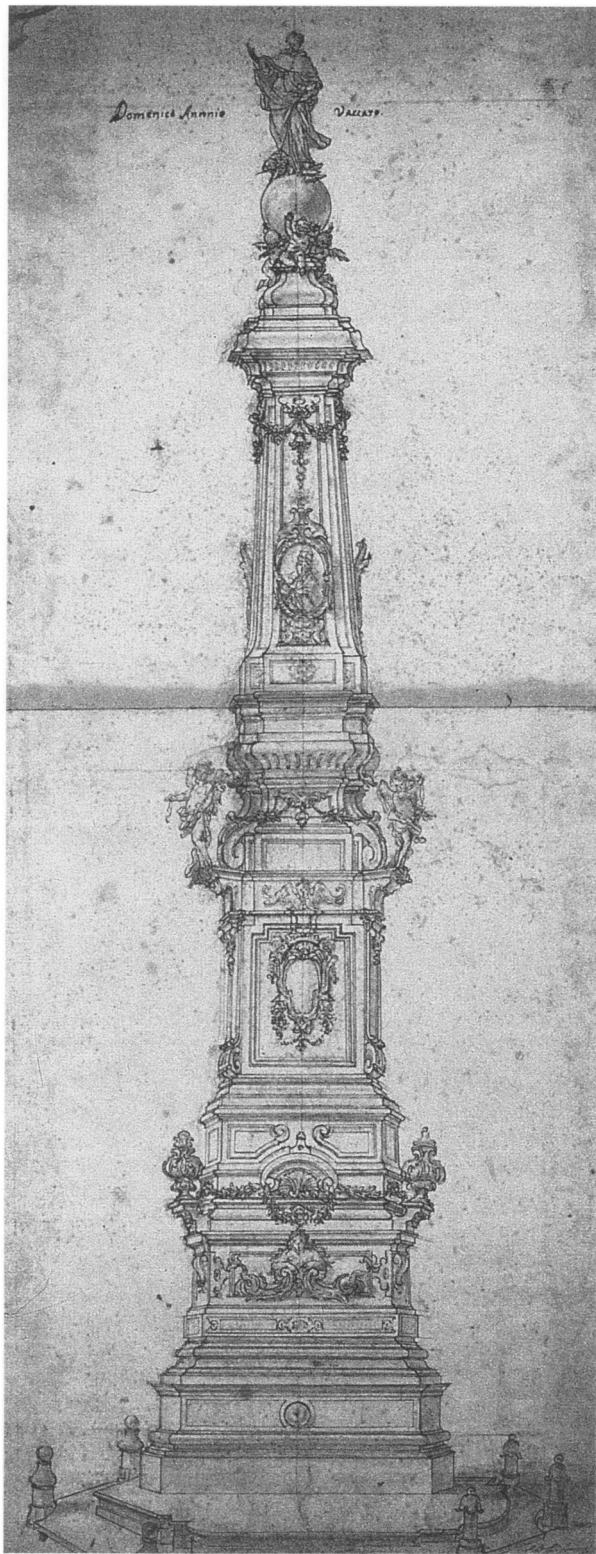


Figure 9. Domenico Antonio Vaccaro (Italian, Neapolitan, 1678–1745). *Design for the Obelisk of Saint Dominic, Piazza San Domenico Maggiore, Naples, ca. 1737*. Pen and brown ink, brush and brown wash, and black chalk, on cream laid paper, 31 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 12 $\frac{1}{8}$ in. (80.2 x 30.8 cm). Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum, Smithsonian Institution/Art Resource, N.Y. Museum purchase through gift of various donors, 1901–39–218



Figure 10. Gennaro Trillocco (Italian, Neapolitan, late 18th–early 19th century), after a model by Giuseppe Sanmartino. *Saint Gregory the Great*, 1785. Polychrome wood. Chiesa Madre, Manduria

commission, the bronze figure of the saint that crowns the Obelisk of Saint Dominic (also cast by Manzone after a design by Domenico Antonio Vaccaro; Figure 9),¹⁴ suggests that the entire team at work on the Saint Vincent might have been directed to follow yet another artist's model.

Still, for all the constraints imposed on Sanmartino by his subordination to the painter's authority, it is fascinating to see how much of the sculptor's mature style is already revealed in this composition. The powerful and painterly modeling and broad swathes of flickering drapery, majestic vestiges of Solimena that mark Sanmartino's later sculpture, are all on display, even in this small scale; so, too, is the benign, almost Arcadian mood typical of Sanmartino, which here



Figure 11. Giuseppe Sanmartino. *Abundance*, 1772. Marble. Church of San Martino, Martina Franca

somewhat belies the saint's fiery reputation, emblemized by his flaming forelock.¹⁵ The lyrical naturalistic grace and beautiful gestures that characterize Sanmartino's suavely modeled clay bozzetti as well as his more angularly carved marbles are also in evidence. On the other hand, although the neo-Mannerist proportions that mark his later work are clearly in evidence, the serenely poised Saint Vincent displays less of their rebounding contrapposto and complexity.

Overall, however, the Museum's terracotta fits nicely in Sanmartino's oeuvre in a stylistic continuum with his other known works. The sculptor seems to have employed virtually identical compositional devices for several later large-scale sculptures, among them the *Pius VI* of 1776 in the Abbey of Casamari, north of

Naples,¹⁶ and the model that he produced about 1785 for the polychrome wood statue of *Saint Gregory the Great* in the Chiesa Madre, Manduria (Figure 10). Moreover, despite the great compositional divide between this calmly poised figure of Saint Vincent and Sanmartino's convoluted angels, with their elaborately winding, deeply cut draperies, all the countenances display a clear family resemblance (see Figures 5, 6)—as do the faces of his numerous marble allegorical figures, such as the ones in the Certosa of Naples and in the church of San Martino, Martina Franca (Figure 11); these are all also first cousins to the modeled heads of many of the *presepio* angels, a number of which are to be found in our own collection (see Figure 4), thus lending at least a modicum of support to their traditional attribution to Sanmartino.¹⁷

Of the silver sculptures attributed to Sanmartino, the most renowned of them—both fairly close in date to the Saint Vincent commission, and still in the Chapel of the Treasury of San Gennaro, Naples Cathedral—



Figure 12. Giuseppe Sanmartino and Giuseppe and Gennaro del Giudice (silversmiths; Italian, Neapolitan, both act. 1774–1801). *Saint Vitus*, 1787. Silver and gilt copper, H. 63 in. (160 cm). Church of San Vito, Forio d'Ischia



Figure 13. *The Washerwoman*. Model by Giuseppe Gricci (Florence, ca. 1700–Madrid, 1770), after an engraving by Charles-Nicolas Cochin, *père*, based on a painting by Jean-Baptiste-Siméon Chardin. Capodimonte, ca. 1752–58. Soft-paste porcelain, H. 7¼ in. (18.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Jack and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.279)



Figure 14. *Woman Carrying a Basket of Onions* (crèche figure), Italian (Naples), second half of the 18th century. Polychrome terracotta and wood, composition body, garments of various fabrics, H. 16¼ in. (41.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Loretta Hines Howard, 1964 (64.164.6a,b)

are half-length figures: the forcefully Baroque *Saint Dominic* (Figure 7; probably a collaboration with Manzone) and the deeply emotive *Penitent Magdalene* (Figure 8); executed in silver by Filippo del Giudice).¹⁸ Interestingly, some of Sanmartino's final compositions to be produced in silver—the *Saint Vitus* (Figure 12) in the church of San Vito, Forio d'Ischia;¹⁹ the *Saint Roch* in the Cathedral of Ruvo di Puglia;²⁰ and the *Tobias and the Archangel Raphael* in the Chapel of the Treasury of San Gennaro—all full figures, show a return to the more Arcadian, naturalistic spirit of the present terracotta.

In a sense, it is this straightforward naturalism that ultimately distinguishes the *presepio* figures by

Sanmartino and his followers from the universe of Neapolitan porcelain. Most of the figures made by the Capodimonte porcelain manufactory are profoundly imbued with the pan-European spirit of the Rococo; only in such series as the *Cries of Naples*, where Giuseppe Gricci appears to have been moved by the vitality of Neapolitan street life, do we detect a relationship to the *presepio*. Both the *presepio* and the porcelains undoubtedly reflect what has been termed "the virtual mania in 18th-century Naples for costume studies and depictions of picturesque *lazzaroni*."²¹ However, the Rococo delicacy and coquettish elegance of even the most lowly of the Capodimonte porcelain characters (Figure 13) tend to set them



Figure 15. Cup and saucer, Royal Porcelain Manufactory?, Naples, ca. 1784–1800. Soft-paste porcelain, cup H. 2½ in. (6.4 cm); saucer diam. 5⅝ in. (13.7 cm). Inscribed in red on underside of cup: Uomo e Donna di Buccino; on underside of saucer: Donna di T Pietro Diana. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1906 (06.369a,b)

apart from the lively and earnest naturalism of parallel figures made for the crèche (Figure 14).

A number of figures made for the later Royal Factory, linked with the sculptor Aniello Ingaldi (who is also associated with the production of crèche figures), show a spirit closer to the *presepio* than most of that manufactory's more Neoclassical production.²² But the group of works in porcelain that is more closely allied to the *presepio* figures does not include figures at all but is limited to a later product of the royal manufactory, the "Vestiture del Regno" tableware.²³ These works were inspired by one of the more ambitious Enlightenment projects of Ferdinand IV, the dispatch of artists to travel throughout the Kingdom of The Two Sicilies in order to depict the variety of regional vernacular costumes to be found within the realm. Sketches dated primarily between 1784 and 1788 (and probably reflecting festival garb rather than everyday wear) became the sources for this series of tableware showing the local populace in its native environment (Figure 15). The possibility that many of the *presepio* figures were also inspired by the 1793 publication²⁴ of this royal project, or the still earlier 1773 publication by Pietro Fabris of his *Raccolta dei varii vestimenti ed arti del Regno di Napoli* . . . remains to be investigated.²⁵ Yet, while the figures depicted in the sketches and on the painted dinnerware incline toward a more naturalistic mien than their Rococo-era counterparts, they seem mired in a static isolation imposed by the high taste of the Neoclassical period. The crèche figures inhabit a different world, continuing, for decades into the nineteenth century, to display the emotional engagement and naturally animated gestures adopted by Giuseppe Sanmartino at the start of his brilliant and influential career, and embodied in the Museum's elegant terracotta model of *Saint Vincent Ferrer*.

NOTES

1. Christie's, London, December 13, 1994, lot 91, "Property of a Lady."
2. This attribution was first proposed by Andrew Ciechanowiecki, who has subsequently confirmed his belief in a written communication to this author.
3. These links have been presented with scholarly thoroughness in the groundbreaking series of exhibitions and catalogues beginning with *Civiltà del '700 a Napoli, 1734–1799*, 2 vols. (Naples, 1980). Among the most notable of these multitalented artists was Lorenzo Vaccaro (1655–1706), who worked as a sculptor, silversmith, painter, and designer of ornamental architecture.
4. Giuseppe Gricci, trained as a sculptor in Florence, brought the Late Baroque style of Giovanni Battista Foggini to the Naples factory in 1743; Filippo Tagliolini, who came to Naples from Vienna in 1781, had been trained as a sculptor in Rome.
5. The practice of attributing specific unsigned *presepio* figures to known artists has often lacked a serious basis, but among the important sculptors who are certain to have produced them are Domenico Antonio Vaccaro, Francesco Celebrano, Matteo Bottiglieri, and Giuseppe Gori. Although attribution is tricky, many of these figures show close links to the manner of particular artists.
6. One representing Saint Teresa of Ávila was probably a model for the statue in Taranto Cathedral; see Andrea Bacchi, "Giuseppe Sanmartino," in Massimo Vezzosi, ed., *Terrecotte italiane tra manierismo e barocco* (Florence, 1997), pp. 48–57.
7. Elio Catello, *Sanmartino* (Naples, 1988) illustrates and discusses the *Saint Francis of Assisi* (private collection, Naples), p. 70, fig. 91; *Saint Philip Neri* (Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), p. 71, fig. 94; *Saint Paul* (Museo Nazionale di San Martino, Naples), p. 76, fig. 102; and *La Religione Regine* (Museo Nazionale del Palazzo di Venezia, Rome), p. 95, fig. 128. See also *Civiltà del '700*, pp. 52–53, for further discussion and bibliography.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 45, for angels in the Chiesa di Sant'Agostino alla Zecca, Naples; p. 47, in the Chiesa del Gesù Nuovo, Naples; p. 51, in the Chiesa di Sant'Antonio, Maddaloni; and p. 59, in the Chiesa della Certosa di S. Martino, Naples.
9. This lack of resemblance may have been the factor that led Christie's to attribute the terracotta to the circle of the Bolognese sculptor Angelo Piò; however, there is little to link the style of that

sculptor's work—long-necked figures with pointy chins and vast unbroken swathes of drapery—to the figure in question. See E. Riccòmini *Mostra della sculture Bolognese del settecento*, exh. cat. (Bologna, 1965), pp. 75–95, figs. 53–83.

10. Louis Réau, *Iconographie de l'art chrétien* (Paris, 1955–59), vol. 3, pt. 2, p. 1330.
11. Elio Catello, "Nuovi contributi per Giuseppe Sanmartino," in *Napoli Nobilissima*, 1983, fasc. V–VI, p. 178; idem., *Sanmartino*, pp. 15, 31, 149, 160.
12. A.S.N., *Monasteri soppressi*, 651, ff. 604–604: 11 gennaio 1759:

Per ubedire al venerato ordine dell'Illustre Signor Cavaliere d. Francesco Vargas Macchiucca Avvocato Fiscale del Real Patrimonio, e Delegato della Nobil Arte degl'orefici si fà piena, ed indubitata fede da me sottoscritto, anche con giuramento quatenus bisognasse à chi la presente spetterà vedere, o sarà in qualsivoglia modo presentata in iudicio, et extra, come anni addietro à preghiere del Padre Michel'Angelo Loreto, Padre Califano, e Frà Vincenzo ebbi l'incumbenza primo di formare un'disegno di una statua del Glorioso S. Vincenzo Ferreri quale dà me fù fatto, ed insieme diriggere il Modello di creta, per indi poi potersi lavorare la statua d'Argento, quale Modello fu fatto fare in mia casa dà D. Giuseppe San Martino scultore, assestito sempre dà me, in questo stato di cose sempre hò inteso per bocca delli suddetti, che l'Argentiero doveva lavorare detta statua era il Signor D. Francesco Manzone, tanto più, che più, e più volte primo di principiarsi detto Modello si portorno in mia casa detti padri, una con il sudetto Manzone, li quali in presenza mia li ordinorno, che se n'è fusse preso il cavo di Gesso con tutta la premura, stante si doveva presto lavorare la statua sudetta, lo che il medesimo Manzone son suoi giovani si portò in mia casa à prendere il sudetto cavo, ed come che poi dal Padre Califano non fui soddisfatto del mio incommodo sono stati in mia casa alcuni anni detti cavi presi da Manzone, li quali averà circa un'anno, e mezzo, che si ripigliorno dal Padre Califano, ed per essere ciò asserito tutto vero mi sono sottoscritto.

Napoli li 11 Gennaro 1759.

Giuseppe Bonito = La sudetta firma è di propria mano del Signore D. Giuseppe Bonito virtuoso dipintore di Sua Maestà (Dio guardi) = Notar Francesco Scala di Napoli (*Omissis*).

As published in Catello, *Sanmartino*, p. 160. The author dates the actual commission to 1750 (*ibid.*, p. 15) and describes the work, identified alternately as a statue (*ibid.*, p. 15) and a bust (*ibid.*, p. 31), as lost, but the indication of conflict with Manzone implied by the proffering of Bonito's deposition may suggest that in the end either the silver version was never carried

out or the commission was transferred to another silversmith. In any case, another reflection of the composition exists, a half-length reduction in silver by the nineteenth-century Neapolitan silversmith Michele Pane. See *Tre secoli di argenti napoletani*, exh. cat., Castel Sant'Elmo (Naples, 1988), pp. 74–75, no. 116, pl. 20.

13. See *The Treasure of San Gennaro: Baroque Silver from Naples*, exh. cat. (Naples, 1987).
14. Catello, *Sanmartino*, p. 15.
15. The flame may also allude to Vincent's ability to transcend the limits of his native Valencian dialect through his impassioned preaching, giving rise to the belief that he possessed the gift of speaking in tongues (like the Apostles at Pentecost whose heads were marked with flames; Acts 2:1–47).
16. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
17. Only the heads are relevant, as the bodies are merely articulated mannequins, and their silk garments, often new, may have been refashioned annually by the installer.
18. Although a few contemporary sculptors functioned in the multiple capacity of designer, modeler, and silversmith—for example, Gaetano Fumo, whose mark is found on a small silver sculpture of Saint Michael the Archangel, in the Museum (1976.46a,b)—Sanmartino apparently never did so, and the silversmiths who carried out his designs did so with varying degrees of fidelity.
19. Catello, *Sanmartino*, p. 96.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 97.
21. So described by Raffaello Causa, "Foreign View-Painters in Naples," in *The Golden Age of Naples: Art and Civilization under the Bourbons, 1734–1805*, (1981), vol. 1, pp. 191–93.
22. See Angela Caròla Perrotti, *La porcellana della Real Fabbrica Ferdinanda, 1771–1806*, (Cava dei Tirreni, 1978), for discussion of links between porcelains and *presepio* figures. See also Clare Le Corbeiller, in Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Notable Acquisitions, 1982–1983*, p. 31, for one of the rare porcelain figures signed by Ingaldi (there spelled Ingaldo) 1982.450.17.
23. See *Le porcellane dei Borbone di Napoli, Capodimonte e Real Fabbrica Ferdinanda, 1743–1806*, exh. cat., Museo Archeologico Nazionale (Naples, 1986), pp. 381–89, 459–61, for the "Vestiture del Regno" service and some of the original drawings.
24. *Raccolta di sessanta più belle vestiture che si costumono nelle provincie di Napoli* (Naples, 1793). Reedited by Franco Mancini (Naples, 1985).
25. But see Caròla Perrotti, *La porcellana*, and "Popolo e borghesia nelle plastiche della Real Fabbrica Ferdinanda" in *Le porcellane dei Borbone*, pp. 524–27 for the influence of Fabris. Reedited by Franco Mancini (Naples, 1985).

Sir Francis Watson at Firle Place, East Sussex

DEBORAH GAGE

THE ROLLING CHALK FOLDS OF THE Sussex South Downs appear to rise just outside the drawing-room windows of Firle Place, which has been the home of the Gage family for more than five hundred years (Figure 1). Sir John Gage (1479–1556) built a Tudor manor house, probably on the site of an earlier building, in the late 1530s. This residence reflected the increased stature and wealth that had accompanied his rise in the court of Henry VIII. Sir John's descendants were staunch Catholics until the eighteenth century, which resulted in much hardship for the family until they conformed to the Church of England. The family was then able to reenter public life and service, and they were created viscounts.

My cousin the sixth viscount Gage (1895–1982) married Imogen Desborough (1905–1969) in 1931. She became one of the inheritors of the celebrated Cowper collection, from Panshanger in Hertfordshire, upon the death of her mother, Ettie Desborough (1867–1952). Panshanger was sold and subsequently pulled down. The collection—one of the foremost in Britain at the time—was divided between Imogen and her sister, Monica. Some paintings were disposed of at auction, in one of the first sales at Christie's in London after World War II; these works are now to be found in major museums and private collections.

The Cowpers belong to a long dynasty of collectors, commencing with the first earl (1709–1764), who was appointed Queen Anne's lord chancellor in the early eighteenth century. He both collected and inherited Dutch and Flemish pictures, including the monumental Van Dyck group portrait of *Count John of Nassau and His Family*, which came to him through his wife, Henrietta, daughter of the earl of Grantham. In turn, Grantham's illustrious Dutch Nassau, and thus Orange, forebears descended by way of his paternal line; his father was Henry D'Auverquerque.

The next significant Cowper collector was the third earl (1738–1789), who spent the major part of his life in Florence, where he became a leader in society and a patron of art, science, literature, and the opera. He assembled a remarkable collection of Italian paintings on the advice of the artist Johann Zoffany; furniture; and fabulous works of art including a ewer and basin once ascribed to Benvenuto Cellini.

His second son, the fifth earl (1778–1837), also purchased significant pictures. However, he appears to have taken a greater interest in the decorative arts, with which he augmented his father's collection, which had been brought back to England. He acquired French furniture, *objets de vertu*, and porcelain, evincing a penchant for Sèvres. The fifth earl relinquished the former Cowper family seat at Cole Green House near Hertford shortly after his marriage to Emily Lamb, daughter of the first viscount Melbourne, in 1805. He commissioned Samuel Wyatt and William Atkinson to build a new Gothic Revival home at Panshanger, to house the art collection. Humphrey Repton remodeled the park, and the residence was situated with commanding views down over the Mimram River.

The fifth earl had a special "china room" constructed at Panshanger; contemporary accounts frequently comment upon the porcelain and the effect it created. The overall effect must have been stunning. There were an especially large number of services, representing Sèvres, Paris (Feuillet), Meissen, Berlin, and English factories. There were also examples of Delft and Continental faience, along with an extensive collection of Oriental wares. A recently discovered insurance valuation and inventory provides clues as to how the porcelain was set out in the house. For example, the majority of the Sèvres porcelain, including the Melbourne Service, was displayed in the White Dining Room. Emily had inherited the service from her mother, Elizabeth, which she moved to Panshanger.

In old photographs dating from the Victorian era, Firle Place appears rather grim. The principal rooms were hung with armor, antlers and stuffed animal heads, copies of paintings by Frans Snyders of savage

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The notes for this article begin on page 246.



Figure 1. View of the north facade of Firle Place, near Lewes, East Sussex, in the lee of the South Downs

boar hunts with snarling and flesh-tearing dogs, and there were bearskins draped over the heavy furniture and scattered on the floor. Apart from family portraits commissioned from artists such as Thomas Gainsborough, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and James Seymour, the Gages did not seriously collect art.

All that changed in 1954 when Imogen Gage's share of the Cowper collection arrived at Firle. This inheritance comprised paintings such as the *Rest on the Flight into Egypt with Saint John the Baptist* by Fra Bartolommeo

(Los Angeles, J. Paul Getty Museum) and the tour de force *Count John of Nassau and His Family*, which remains today in the Great Hall of Firle Place. The paintings were accompanied by magnificent French furniture; the celebrated Panshanger Cabinets by Thomas Chippendale, originally commissioned for Melbourne House in Piccadilly; rare books and manuscripts; outstanding silver; and much more. Finally came the porcelain: the Oriental ceramics, the Chelsea, Longton Hall, Worcester—and an exemplary Sèvres collection



Figure 2. Front and reverse views of the Firle Vases, French, Sèvres, 1763. Soft-paste porcelain, ormolu, H. 8¼ in. (21 cm). Firle Place, East Sussex



Figure 3. Front and reverse views of the Firle Vases shown in Figure 2. One vase is separated into its two component parts



Figure 4. *Vase hollandais nouveau*, French, Sèvres, ca. 1760. Soft-paste porcelain, H. 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (23.5 cm). Firle Place, East Sussex

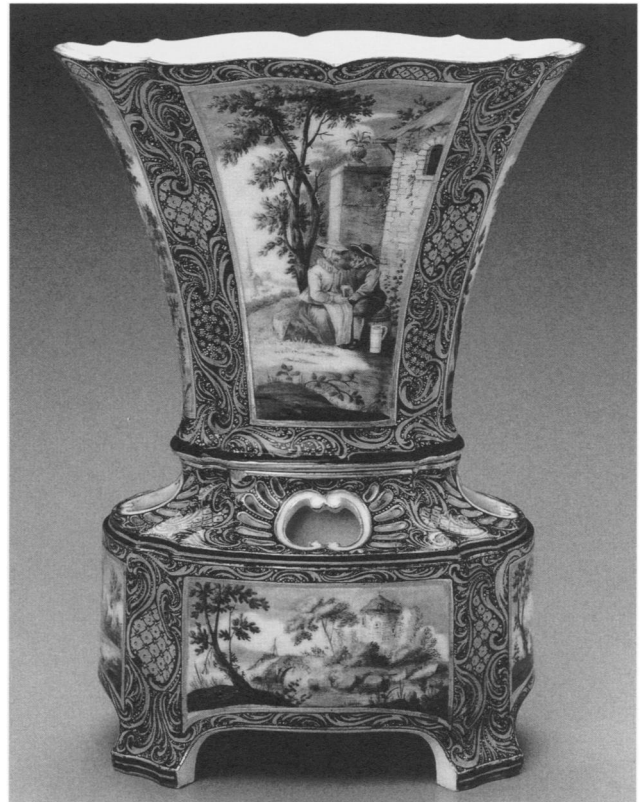


Figure 5. Flower vase (*vase hollandais nouveau*), French, Sèvres, 1761–62. Soft-paste porcelain decorated in polychrome enamels and gold, 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 5 $\frac{5}{8}$ in. (22.3 x 17 x 14.2 cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Bequest of Forsyth Wickes Collection (65.1791a-b) (© 2002 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston)

The interior of Firle Place was rearranged, its paintings and furniture of lesser quality auctioned. Their place was taken by objects from the Cowper collection, which were incorporated with the Gage family portraits and important English furniture with a view to showing all off to best effect. Today the whole evinces a palpable sense of joy and refinement, thanks to the taste and unerring eye of its new custodians, Henry Rainald and Imogen Gage. Their enthusiasm engendered a scholarly interest. When, a few years later, the house was opened to the public on a regular basis during the summer months, leading experts were called upon to catalogue the works of art, in order to increase visitors' enjoyment and knowledge.

The display of Sèvres porcelain at Firle is eye-catching and gives life to the house. The collection may be considered one of the most important in the south of England, especially noteworthy for its selection of vases. The Firle Vases (Figure 2), with their chinoiserie panels by Charles-Nicholas Dodin (1754–1803),¹ are the pride of the collection. The shape is referred to as a *vase à dauphins*. A pair of vases of corresponding form, though with a modeled figure of a dolphin on either side and with a *bleu céleste*

ground, are in the Wallace Collection, London. One of the Firle Vases bears the date letter K for the year 1763, together with a script K for the figure painter Dodin, who had a remarkably long career at the factory, from 1754 to 1802. The exceptional feature of the Firle Vases is the front panels, on both sections. Chinoiserie decoration is rare on Sèvres porcelain, and in the instances when it did occur, it tended toward a Europeanized idea of what the Chinese looked like and how they should occupy themselves. However, it appears that in 1761 and again in 1763 Dodin painted a handful of wares with genre scenes obviously taken directly from Oriental sources. It is possible that the panels on the front of the Firle Vases are in imitation of the Chinese "eggshell" porcelain that was produced in Canton during the second quarter of the eighteenth century. The figures are outlined in thin black lines in the Chinese manner, and the colors, although richer, are laid in almost flat washes without modeling. The panels on the reverse are decorated with stylized *fleurs des Indes* (no doubt a reference to the fact that these wares were intended as flower vases). The *bleu du roi* ground of the bases is enhanced with circles of gold dots.



Figure 6. *Cuvette à fleurs*, French, Sèvres, ca. 1759. Soft-paste porcelain, H. 7¼ in. (18.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, 1976 (1976.155.37)

The Firle Vases and a *vase hollandois nouveau* with a rose marbled ground were conceived as vessels in which to plant bulbs, such as narcissus or tulips, which were considered rare and exotic in the eighteenth century. It was naturally preferable that they should be shown off and displayed in as luxurious a vessel as possible, such as a Sèvres vase. All the vases comprise two sections. The bases of the upper halves are pierced with six holes to admit the water retained in the lower portion. The upper sections would have been filled with earth, and the bulbs kept moist by capillary action as the water was absorbed from below. During the summer the earth could be tipped out, and the vases filled with cut flowers instead. These vases were the design of a former goldsmith, Jean-Claude Duplessis (act. 1745–74), whose individual style was essential for the evolution of the rococo forms at Sèvres to which soft-paste porcelain was so well suited. The striking form and ingenuity of the Firle Vases—for example, the open trelliswork on the lower section through which the water was poured, and the way the sections fit together—are characteristic of his genius (Figure 3). The ormolu mounts on four double-hoof feet on the lower section are probably of a later date.

Also of great rarity is the *vase hollandois nouveau* with a rose ground heightened with deep blue marbling and dots of gold (Figure 4). This is one of a pair of vases; the other is now in the Forsyth Wicks collection in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Figure 5). Its extraordinary effect is achieved by the use of two glazes, first a rose glaze over the ground, then a blue glaze skillfully applied over that. The central reserve

on the upper section has a gilt border that encloses a rustic scene in the manner of David Teniers: a peasant woman scolds her drunken husband, who is seated on the ground before an empty wine barrel, with a shed beyond. This subject appears to have been taken from a drawing by Charles-Nicholas Dodin, now in the archives at Sèvres, and occurs with some variation on other examples of Sèvres porcelain. This scene appears, for example, on a *cuvette à fleurs* with a rose ground and green borders in The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figure 6). The two vertical side panels and the three decorating the lower section of the *vase hollandois nouveau*, also within gilt borders, depict rural scenes and various buildings. These panels are juxtaposed with the swirling flamboyance of the marbled ground heightened with contrasting *pointillé* and diaper patterns and gold dots on the reverse. The whole evinces a daring brilliance. The extent to which Sèvres excelled is reflected on the reverse of each vase, where the exuberance of the design comes into full play to create a breathtaking effect.

The Melbourne Service (Figures 7, 8) is another highlight at Firle Place. Sir Penistone Lamb, first viscount Melbourne (1744–1828), married Elizabeth



Figure 7. Portion of the Melbourne Service displayed in one of two showcases in the Long Gallery, Firle Place, East Sussex



Figure 8. Pieces from the Melbourne Service. The oval *jattes anglaises* and the *compotiers* were used for the display and serving of fresh or glazed fruit, depending upon the season. The two *plateaux à deux pots de confiture* were integral components of a dessert service. The pair of *seaux à liqueur ovals* still have their dividers. In the 18th century these vessels were filled with crushed ice to keep cool narrow glass vials of liqueurs; the dividers helped keep the bottles upright in the ice

Millbanke (1744–1828) in 1769, and later their daughter Emily came to marry the fifth earl Cowper. Melbourne inherited an enormous fortune for his day, over £500,000, and the couple spent freely. In 1771, he purchased Lord Holland's house in Piccadilly (now Albany). Sir William Chambers was commissioned to erect a new building on the site, and Thomas Chippendale was responsible for the interior, one of his most lavish furnishing schemes. In the same year, Melbourne took delivery of a Sèvres service that he had ordered directly from the factory through the intermediary of "Mon. Chevalier" Lambert, as is attested by the original invoice dated March 20, 1771, in the Sèvres archives. Sir John Lambert (and later his wife) appears to have supplied other members of the English aristocracy with Sèvres porcelain, which he obtained directly from the factory or through *marchands merciers*. No doubt the English taste for great Sèvres services dates to the gift by Louis XV of a magnificent diplomatic presentation service for sixteen persons to the duchess of Bedford (her husband, the fourth duke, had negotiated the Treaty of Paris). The aristocracy were quick to follow this vogue: the third duke of Richmond, leading the way, ordered no fewer than three celebrated services from Sèvres in 1765, during his tenure as ambassador to France. The sets comprised a dark blue-ground dessert service, a green-ground dessert service, with blue- and green-ground baskets linking the two, and a green-ground tea service. Not wishing to be outdone, his successor

in Paris, the earl of Harcourt, ordered his Sèvres service in 1769. Between 1765 and 1775, leading figures of English society bought Sèvres services as they vied with one another to be fashionable.

The Melbourne Service is notable for the central decorative theme of musical trophies combined with emblems of the arts, music, and love. It was commissioned by Melbourne as a tribute to the talents of his new wife, who was a gifted musician. (Scrutiny of the sales registers in the archives at Sèvres gives cause to ponder the reaction of those involved at the factory. For example, one of the panels on a *seau à bouteille* depicts a chubby cherub holding open a book marked HAMLET, no doubt especially chosen to flatter the English patron.) A closer examination of the composition of the Melbourne Service is of interest. Two oval *jattes anglaises* are included. The name of this shape and the fact that the shape does not appear to have been used previously at Sèvres lead one to conjecture whether it was created especially for this service. Even more intriguing is a comparison undertaken by David Peters² relating to equivalent components of expensive services (mostly with ground color) produced at Sèvres between 1765 and 1777. The price structure of the Melbourne Service shows a sharp division between the pieces with putti and those with trophies only (Figure 8). The putti-decorated pieces in the Melbourne Service are generally some 60 to 80 livres more expensive than their counterparts from comparable services of this time. For example, the Melbourne *seau à bouteille* at



Figure 9. Pair of *fond vert seaux à bouteille*, French, Sèvres, 1757. Soft-paste porcelain, H. 7⁵/₈ in. (19.4 cm). Firle Place, East Sussex

288 livres was an exceptional price, and it is necessary to look to the comte d'Artois service of August 16, 1782, to find an equivalent *seau à bouteille* at this price.

Another remarkable feature of the Melbourne Service is its spectacular pale turquoise blue *pointillé* ground. Although *pointillé* grounds came into being in the 1760s, not many services were produced with them. For example, three *pointillé* services were produced by 1769/70 and five or six more by the 1780s; these include the Eden Service. The infrequency with which the *pointillé* ground was used for table services was perhaps on account of the considerable amount of work necessary to produce such a detailed ground pattern on the numerous differently shaped pieces that were required to make up a service. Since it appears that the decoration of the Melbourne Service was chosen with Lady Melbourne in mind, one wonders whether the *pointillé* ground is not also a reflection of her lighter, more feminine taste.

The forty-eight plates in the Melbourne Service carry the factory mark of the interlaced LLs in underglaze blue, while few bear any painters' marks. An exception is a plate with the date letter R for 1770 and painter's mark for Charles-Buteux l'ainé (act. 1756–82), the factory's chief trophy painter. From the date it would appear that the commission probably was placed at the Sèvres factory in 1769 or 1770, and the Service delivered to the Melbournes within a month of their purchase of their grand new home in Piccadilly. There Lady Melbourne became one of the leading hostesses of her day. When the dining table was cleared and laid for the last course with the

Melbourne Service, her guests must have been in awe.

From many other notable examples of Sèvres porcelain at Firle Place, I would like to mention an important pair of *seaux à bouteille* (Figure 9), quite possibly from the Frederik V service.³ This service is the third complete ground-colored service appearing in the sales register at Sèvres. It was a munificent diplomatic present from Louis XV to Frederik V of Denmark in 1758, as a result of the Danish monarch's gift to him of a Frederiksborg stallion. Later this service came to be transferred to the Russian imperial court and is now in the collection of the State Hermitage Museum, Saint Petersburg.

The first announcement of the Frederik V service is contained in a letter which is dated April 1, 1757, from the marquis de Rouillé to Jean-François Ogier, French ambassador in Copenhagen: "C'est avec grand plaisir que je vous annonce que le Roy s'est porté de la meilleure grâce du monde à ordonner un service de Porcelaines de Vincennes pour le Roy de DanK; il ne sera point couleur de Lapis parce qu'on vient d'inventer un nouveau verd qui est beaucoup plus beau et que Sa Mté en veut donner les premisses à Sa Mté Danoise . . . mais il faudra au moins 4 mois pour que le service destiné au Roy de Dannemarck soit pret a etre envoyé."⁴

From these comments, it is clear that the use of the green ground for service ware was considered a great innovation. During these early years of the factory, production was slow. For example, it took three years to complete and deliver the 1,496 pieces of the *bleu céleste* Louis XV service, including twenty-six biscuit figures for table decoration, to the monarch. Therefore,

it is hardly surprising that this diplomatic service was not delivered to Frederik V until May 22, 1758, through the good offices of Ambassador Ogier. Ogier observed that he had been charged with expressing to the French king “dans les termes les plus fort son admiration de la beauté de l’ouvrage et sa reconnaissance infinie d’un present aussi magnifique qui lui est un gage precieux de l’amitié de Sa Majé.”⁵

The decoration of the pair of *seaux à bouteille* at Firle Place matches that of the pieces of the Frederik V service at the Hermitage. However, the Hermitage pieces are dated 1756, whereas one of the Firle *seaux* bears the date letter for 1757. As has been mentioned above, it took time to produce all the components of a service, a circumstance that could possibly explain the difference in the dates. According to the sales register, there were six *seaux* in the original service; there are now only two in Saint Petersburg, so four remain to be accounted for. In addition to the interlaced LLs in underglaze blue, one *seau* has the painter’s mark for Charles-Louis Méreaud (act. 1756–79) and an incised script K; the other has a painter’s mark possibly for Louis-Jean Thévenet (act. 1741–65) and an incised P and a script K.

There could not have been a more distinguished person to catalogue and write about the Sèvres collection at Firle Place than Sir Francis Watson, director of the Wallace Collection. The correspondence file at Firle⁶ reveals that Sir Francis was approached in the fall of 1964 and came down to Sussex in October to begin to catalogue the Sèvres porcelain. Sir Francis’s preliminary list was addressed to viscount Gage some weeks later, on November 21, closely typed by himself—“my copy-typist is still away ill”—on heavy cream-colored foolscap paper bearing the Wallace Collection crest. The ongoing correspondence with viscount Gage spans two years, during which time Sir Francis appears to have visited the house again on two or three occasions. From Sir Francis’s comments one gathers that the task was far greater than he had originally conceived. There were discussions about the best system of numbering and arrangement of the catalogue; Sir Francis offered to stick numbered labels on each of the pieces of porcelain, which he considered a laborious task. He grumbled that he was slowed down when some of the porcelain had been carefully put away in anticipation of a wedding celebration for viscount Gage’s daughter and he could not find certain pieces.

Sir Francis’s letters were also full of anecdotal detail. For example, he wrote on October 12, 1966:

I enclose a photocopy of the entry in the sales book of the Sèvres factory for the *oeil-de-perdrix* Sevres dinner service at Firle [the Melbourne Service].

It has not come out very well, but if you want to stick it into your illustrated copy of the catalogue of china, it would be a simple matter to have it typed out.

At the date of the bill, the livre was worth approximately 10d. in contemporary English money, so that the cost of the service was something of the order of £250. If you want to convert this into current sterling values, I think you should multiply by at least twenty, perhaps more. Evenso [*sic*], this is a good deal less than the service must be worth today.

It also became evident that viscount Gage had become so taken by this project that, after a while, he further commissioned Sir Francis to write a brief leaflet that would be made available to visitors to the house. Meanwhile, he encouraged Sir Francis to produce a more ambitious publication that would be bound for the library at Firle. Furthermore, viscount Gage consulted Sir Francis in conjunction with a provenance book that he himself proposed to assemble. On April 25, 1966, Sir Francis wrote, “If you would like to spend part of your free time in the summer making up your illustrated catalogue, I think the best thing would be for you to have my under copy of the list, as it is merely a question of getting the numbers right.”

After several notes dealing with corrections and the question of locating a typist and binder, Sir Francis announced in a letter dated October 25, 1966: “I have not answered your letter before as my manuscript was at the Typist and Binders. It has now reached me in its completed form and they have made a very good job of it.” Finally, on November 3, 1966, Sir Francis wrote in a concluding letter, “The cost of having the final typing for the binding was £12.9.11 and the binding itself came to £2.19.0 . . . As you see, there were two undercopies for which no charge was made. I thought of keeping one of these for my own records, and perhaps put one on permanent record in the library here [at the Wallace Collection] which has a rather important reference section of Sèvres Porcelain.”

There is a link between this enterprise and Clare Le Corbeiller. My childhood was spent in Kenya, followed by two years in the United States; my family moved to England in 1966. Sèvres porcelain came as a revelation, and my study of it was encouraged by Sir Francis Watson, whom I met and who asked me to help during the last stages of his project at Firle Place. He inspired in me a passionate interest in Sèvres porcelain that has never waned. Furthermore, he told me with pride about his goddaughter, Clare Le Corbeiller, who lived in New York. At the time, I had little inkling that I would move to New York in 1971 or that there I would meet the person of whom he had often spoken.

I did not imagine, moreover, that I would enjoy a long friendship with this much respected authority at the Metropolitan Museum.

I recall stopping at Clare's desk at the Metropolitan Museum, in March 1999. She looked up and said, "Strange that you should be here at this particular moment. I was clearing through some papers given to me by my godfather, Francis Watson, and have just come across a draft of his catalogue for the Sèvres at Firle. Would you like to see it?" Clearly, this was the copy of the original three that Sir Francis had decided to keep for himself – and had now come full circle.

NOTES

1. It is of interest to compare the Firle Vases with another pair in the form known as the *vase hollandois nouveau* in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (see Ronald Freyberger, "Chinese Genre Painting at Sèvres," *American Ceramic Bulletin* 1970–71, p. 31). This pair has identical date marks, painter's marks, ground, and generic decoration. It is logical to suggest that all four vases belonged to the same garniture.
2. David Peters, "Identification of Plates and Services in the Sèvres Sales Registers" (paper presented at the French Porcelain Society Annual General Meeting, London, June 1985).
3. I am grateful to David Peters and Rosalind Savill for their insight and help with my endeavor to identify these *fond vert seaux*.
4. France, Foreign Office, archives and documents, political correspondence, Denmark, vol. 133, gifts to the Danish Court (April–June), cited by Ole V. Krog, "Service Diplomatique," *Connaissance des arts* 500 (November 1993), pp. 152–61.
5. Ibid., vols. 137–39, gift of porcelain to the king of Denmark (January–May).
6. The private correspondence of the sixth viscount Gage, Firle Place archives.

A New Attribution of Three Sèvres Vases

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THIS ESSAY EXAMINES ANEW three eighteenth-century Sèvres vases in the collection of The Metropolitan Museum of Art (Figures 1, 2), tracing the history of their forms and, more significant, reattributing their primary decoration to one of the Sèvres factory's most important but least documented painters. The vases were part of an important group of eighteenth-century French artworks given to the Museum by the Samuel H. Kress Foundation in 1958. This collection includes seventeen pieces of Sèvres porcelain-mounted furniture and fifty-three other Sèvres objects, mostly vases, all from the collection of Charles Henry Mills, the first lord Hillingdon, who had inherited at least some of them from his father, Charles Mills. The Hillingdon family had sold these pieces in 1936 to an American dealer, who in turn sold them to the Kress Foundation in 1947.¹

All three vases are decorated with military scenes of a type found on a number of other vases and wares produced at Sèvres from the 1760s on. Specifically, they are encampment scenes, which appear to have been the specialty of Jean-Baptiste-Étienne Genest, head of the painters' workshop at Vincennes-Sèvres from 1752 to 1789, and Jean-Louis Morin, active at the factory from 1754 until his death in 1787.² Although the decoration of the Metropolitan's vases previously has been ascribed to Morin,³ it is more likely by Genest. As head painter Genest was not required to sign his work, and little documentation survives that clearly defines his production. Nevertheless we can begin to reconstruct Genest's body of work, and thus differentiate it from that of his colleague Morin, by comparing stylistic characteristics shared by several of the former's unsigned pieces.

The three vases under consideration all have a *bleu nouveau* ground. Two form a pair and are of the shape known by the Sèvres factory as either *vases à perles* or *vases à panneaux*.⁴ The *vase à perles* is characterized by an oval body set on a short stem, a ribbed and cross-

banded foot, a stepped shoulder, a tapering neck, and a projecting rim studded with pearls. The main body has gadrooning at the bottom and framed central panels with incurved corners at the top. A framed panel, with a pearl in a roundel above, also defines the neck. The pearl-studded strap handles reach from neck rim to stem, and laurel swags adorn the sides. The cover is decorated with alternating lines of pearls and gadroons and has a plain knob.

Variants of the *vase à perles* model exist with the same cover topped by a pearled and gadrooned oval knob, as well as a simpler, fluted cover with either the plain or the pearled knob.⁵ An example in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, lacks the laurel garlands and the pearls on the strap handles,⁶ and other examples, including the pair discussed here, have an additional square plinth under the foot. The model was made in three sizes.⁷ The Metropolitan's vases measure 16 inches in height, which corresponds to the second size. They bear the Sèvres factory's interlaced Ls in blue but no painter's marks or date letters.

We may surmise from a pair of dated *vases à perles* of the third, smallest size at the Wallace Collection, London, that the model probably was introduced in 1766.⁸ Two *vases à perles*, probably of the third size, were listed in the January 1767 inventory of the Sèvres factory as having been biscuit-fired.⁹ Among the new models of 1767 was a first-size *vase à perles*, the mold and model of which were each valued at 84 livres.¹⁰ As of January 1768, two vases of the first size and three of the second size were biscuit-fired and ready to be glazed.¹¹ A new mold and model of the second size appeared among new work for 1768,¹² while four *vases à perles* of the third size were listed as biscuit-fired.¹³ The term *vase à panneaux* does not appear in the factory's inventory; it is known from an 1814 inventory of plaster models¹⁴ as well as from inscriptions on two surviving vases.¹⁵ Two drawings of the shape also survive, both showing the simple outline of the vase and cover but no handles, gadroons, or pearls. One is inscribed *vase panneaux* and the other *à panneaux*.¹⁶

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 37

The notes for this article begin on page 255.

247



Figure 1. *Vases à perles* (*vases à panneaux*), French, Sèvres, ca. 1767–68. Soft-paste porcelain, H. 16 in. (40.6 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Samuel H. Kress Foundation, 1958 (58.75.81a–c, .82a–c)



Figure 2. *Vase à bâtons rompus*, French, Sèvres, ca. 1764. Soft-paste porcelain, H. 18 7/8 in. (46 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Samuel H. Kress Foundation, 1958 (58.75.74)

The encampment scenes on the fronts of the Metropolitan's pair of *vases à perles* depict mid-eighteenth-century French soldiers. The left-hand vase (Figure 3) shows a grenadier in a pale yellow uniform with red trim and a tall bearskin-and-plate helmet. He is toasting a *vivandière* (a sutler, or civilian provisioner to an army post) dressed in a yellow skirt, white bodice, and blue sleeves, her little girl at her knee. Behind the grenadier an infantryman sleeps at a table. The right-hand vase (Figure 4) depicts a different soldier, perhaps, judging from his circular, crested helmet, a *cheval-léger* (light cavalryman).¹⁷ He is dressed in a pale yellow uniform with a green jacket and stands talking to another *vivandière* (dressed in a blue skirt with a puce bodice and pale yellow sleeves), while another infantryman, seated at a table, raises his glass in a toast. The seated infantryman holds a large ceramic tankard or jug in his right hand; on the ground, a little boy plays with a sword. Both scenes take place in front of a sutler's tent, with other tents and soldiers depicted in the background. They are contained within oval reserves surrounded by two gilded borders. The larger, interior border is tooled to create an alternating pattern of pounced squares against a matte ground, while the narrower, outer gilded border is given a rope-molding pattern. The reserves on the back are decorated with complementary groups of three interlocking wreaths—of roses, cornflowers, and laurel, hanging from lavender bows—of the type perfected by Jean-Baptiste Tandt,¹⁸ who likely painted the reserves on the Metropolitan's

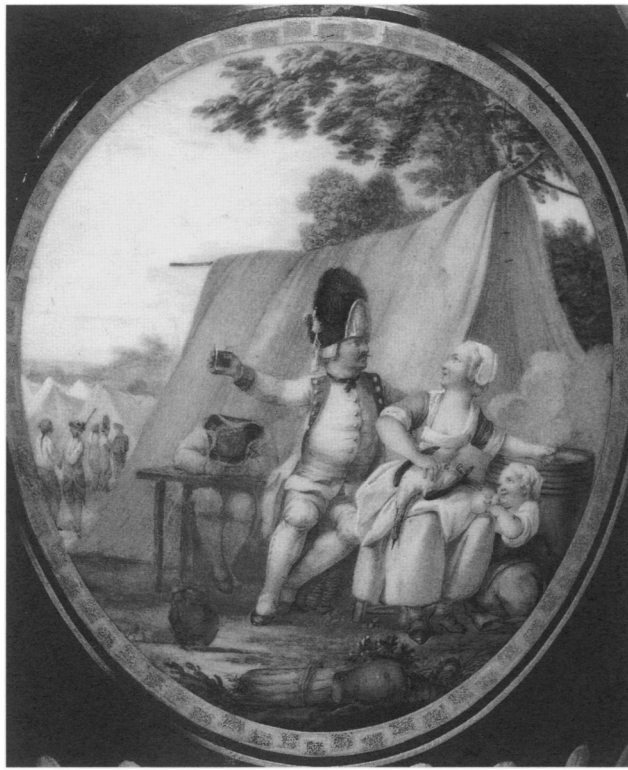


Figure 3. Detail of *vase à perles* in Figure 1, left

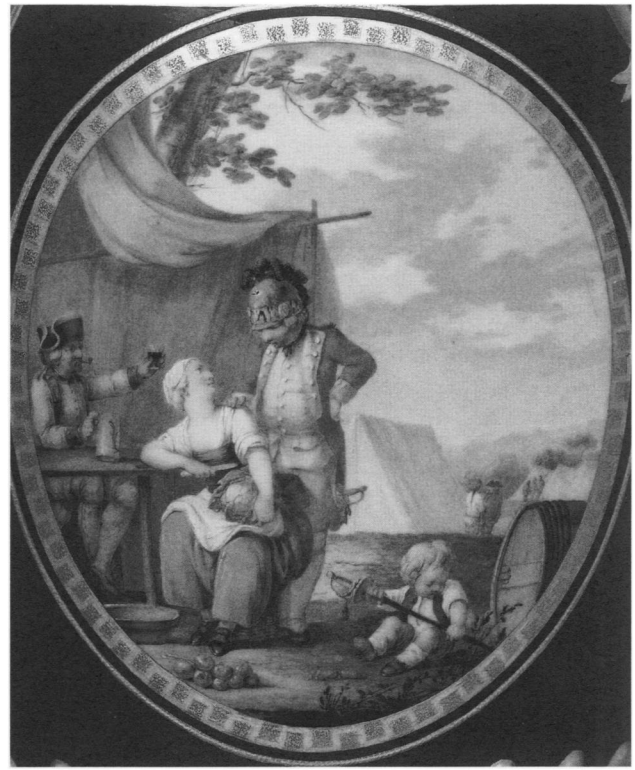


Figure 4. Detail of *vase à perles* in Figure 1, right



Figure 5. Detail of *vase à bâtons rompus* in Figure 2

vases.¹⁹ Gilded rope-molding borders surround the reserves, but the tooling is alternately burnished and striated.

The third of the Metropolitan's vases discussed here (Figure 2) has been identified as a *vase à bâtons rompus*, the *bâtons rompus* (broken sticks) referring to the zigzag decoration and complementary handles that characterize the shape.²⁰ The body is egg-shaped with a fluted shoulder divided by four triglyphs and a beaded neck; the lower portion is cupped by gadrooning, above which is an applied pattern of zigzags and diamonds. A guilloche-pattern pearl collar separates the body from a fluted stem. The handles are attached at the neck rim and just above the gadrooning, their upper portions forming an elongated S-curve. Oak-leaf garlands drape over the middle of the handles and are attached to rings at the bottom of each triglyph. The cover, domed and fluted, is topped with an oak knob. In a slightly later version of the model the zigzag-and-diamond pattern is removed, and a third, even later simplification of the design eliminates the triglyphs and garlands and replaces the complex handles with smaller C-shaped ones.²¹

The *vase à bâtons rompus*, introduced in 1763, was made in two sizes.²² Two first-size examples in biscuit were recorded in January 1764 as ready to be glazed and were valued at 72 livres each. In the 1774 inventory



Figure 6. Plaque, French, Sèvres, ca. 1768. Soft-paste porcelain, $9\frac{1}{4} \times 11\frac{3}{4}$ (23.5 x 29.8 cm). The Royal Danish Collections, Rosenborg Castle, Copenhagen (23-1302)



Figure 7. Plaque, French, Sèvres, ca. 1767. Soft-paste porcelain, $11\frac{3}{4} \times 14\frac{1}{4}$ (29.8 x 36.2 cm). Collection Dragesco-Cramoisan, Paris

of old stock there was a “vase à Bâtons rompus Guir[landes] de chêne beau bleu Pers[onnages]” valued at 600 livres, probably an example of the second size.²³ The sales ledgers designate this vase only once, in 1773, when the maréchal de Soubise bought a pair with blue ground for 600 livres, also probably of the second size.²⁴ The Metropolitan’s vase is of the first size. Like the *vases à perles*, the *vase à bâtons rompus* has neither date letters nor painter’s marks.

The primary reserve of the Metropolitan’s *vase à bâtons rompus* is painted with a scene of French infantrymen, swords drawn after a dispute over cards (Figure 5). They face off in front of a tent belonging to a *vivandière*, at left in a blue skirt and crimson bodice, who restrains one of the dueling soldiers. He is dressed in a beige waistcoat and breeches and cream jacket with orange facings. On the right, a third soldier, dressed in beige breeches and a blue waistcoat with a cream jacket and blue facings, restrains the second duelist (dressed in pale yellow breeches, cream waistcoat and jacket, and blue cuffs). A fourth soldier, in blue breeches, beige leggings and waistcoat, and a cream jacket with blue collar and cuffs, stands between the duelists, beseeching them to settle the dispute. A large blue drum, probably used as a makeshift table, as well as a wooden bench, playing cards, and an earthenware jug, seem to have been upset in a scuffle moments before.

Framing the reserve are two gilded borders, a thin inner band with zigzag tooling and a larger exterior band with a pattern of alternating Ts on a pounced ground. The bottom of the reserve is punctured by

the applied zigzag that features prominently on the lower portion of the vase.²⁵ On the back of the vase, a gilded border with zigzag tooling surrounds a sumptuous bouquet of flowers in a circular reserve. The gilded flutes and gadroons on the stem and underbelly are tooled alternately with horizontal hatching and pouncing.

Close study of the primary decoration on the pair of *vases à perles* and on the *vase à bâtons rompus* leads toward their reattribution to Genest. The argument for this new ascription is more convincing for the *vases à perles* than for the *vase à bâtons rompus*, but a strong case may be made for all three. First, the *vases à perles* should be compared stylistically with two unsigned plaques, both by the same hand: one is at Rosenborg Castle, Copenhagen (Figure 6), and the other in the Collection Dragesco-Cramoisan in Paris (Figure 7).²⁶ The plaque in Denmark, decorated with soldiers and children, was presented to Christian VII in 1768, the same year Genest earned 288 livres in overtime for painting a plaque representing a military canteen.²⁷ Factory records indicate that he was also paid overtime for painting plaques with soldiers in 1764 (192 livres), 1766 (192 livres), and 1767 (240 livres).²⁸ Stylistic similarities between the Copenhagen and Paris plaques suggest that the latter would have garnered its painter a similar price; thus it is likely that the Paris plaque was painted in 1767.

How do the Copenhagen and Paris plaques compare with the Metropolitan’s *vases à perles*? The plaques are characterized by well-executed figures, carefully drawn with thin, brown outlines, and the use



Figure 8. *Vases étrusques à cartels*, French, Sèvres, ca. 1768. Soft-paste porcelain, H. 15³/₄ in. (40 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris, OA 10256–57 (photo: RMN)

of stippling and cross-hatching to suggest three-dimensionality. They share a palette of clear, fresh colors, including pale yellow and lilac for clouds. Tree trunks are painted in great detail with a combination of pale washes and thin brushstrokes used to differentiate the textures of the bark. Both plaque compositions show encampments in the near background. These same characteristics appear on the *vases à perles*: thin outlining and stippling of the figures, faces with the same features, the distinctive painting of the tree bark and leaves, the palette, and well-drawn and developed backgrounds. The styles of painting are so similar, it is likely that Genest painted the vases at about the same time he painted the plaques, in 1767 or 1768. In fact, Genest probably painted a number of such works during this period, including a garniture of two *vases étrusques à cartels* and a *vase à bâtons rompus* at the Louvre (Figures 8, 9),²⁹ a *vase étrusque à cartels* in the British Royal Collection,³⁰ and another *vase à bâtons rompus* at Waddesdon Manor, Buckinghamshire, England.³¹

The front reserve on the Metropolitan's *vase à bâtons rompus* (Figure 5) presents a compelling but slightly less evident case for attribution to Genest. The figures are rendered in a freer, sketchier manner than on the plaques and *vases à perles*, but they are nevertheless well drawn using thin, brown outlining, stippling for shading, and clear, fresh colors. The background figures, too, are of a scale akin to those on the plaques and *vases à perles*.

One could suggest that these vases are simply unsigned examples of Morin's work, but close scrutiny of Morin's signed pieces with similar subject matter

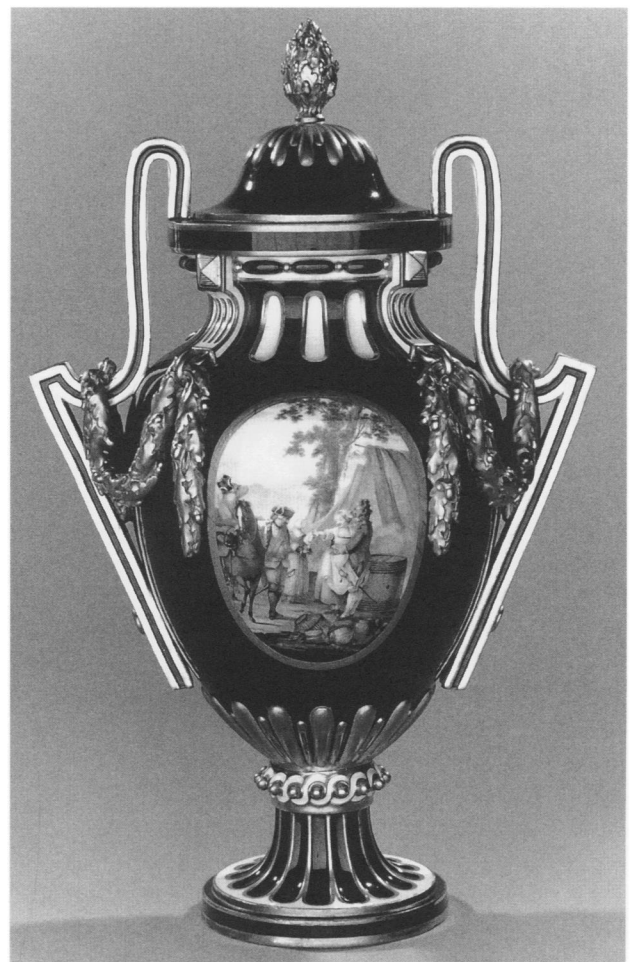


Figure 9. *Vase à bâtons rompus*, French, Sèvres, ca. 1768. Soft-paste porcelain, H. 18¹/₂ in. (47 cm). Musée du Louvre, Paris, OA 11806 (photo: RMN, Michèle Bellot)



Figure 10. Detail of *vase à bâtons rompus*, French, Sèvres, 1766. Soft-paste porcelain. The Rothschild Collection, Waddesdon Manor, Buckinghamshire (photo: The National Trust, East and MacDonald)

reveals such a markedly lower level of proficiency than in the works described above that they could not be by the same hand. Take, for example, a *vase à bâtons rompus* at Waddesdon Manor, dated 1766 and marked by Morin. It shows a group of soldiers sitting around a table, one of them pulling or being pulled by a *vivandière* on the right (Figure 10).³² The type of encampment scene points to source material similar to that used by Genest, but here the figures are considerably less well drawn; one is struck by the awkward way the head of the standing soldier sits on his body, the cursory rendering of the *vivandière*, the pudgy facial types, the poorly drawn hands, and the lack of stippling and subtle shading. These same execution problems are found on a pair of *vases ferrés* in the Wallace Collection, London, marked Morin and dated 1767 (Figure 11).³³ The most telling comparison, however, may be with a *vase à bâtons rompus* in the British Royal Collection, dated 1764 and decorated with the same scene as on the Metropolitan's vase.³⁴ The qualities and styles of painting are distinct, indicating a different hand at work. The overall execution of the Royal Collection piece lacks the subtlety of the Metropolitan's vase: the brown outlining is pronounced but only hints



Figure 11. Detail of *vase ferré*, 1767. Soft-paste porcelain. The Wallace Collection, London, C262 (photo: By kind permission of the Trustees of the Wallace Collection)

at facial features, the hands are clumsily rendered, and the distant background is barely indicated. Geoffrey de Bellaigue has attributed this vase to Morin based on comparison with companion *vases ferrés* in the Royal Collection that were marked by the artist.³⁵



Figure 12. Plaque, French, Sèvres, ca. 1764. Soft-paste porcelain, 10 x 7 in. (25.4 x 17.8 cm). Whereabouts unknown (photo: Christie's Images, New York, 2001)

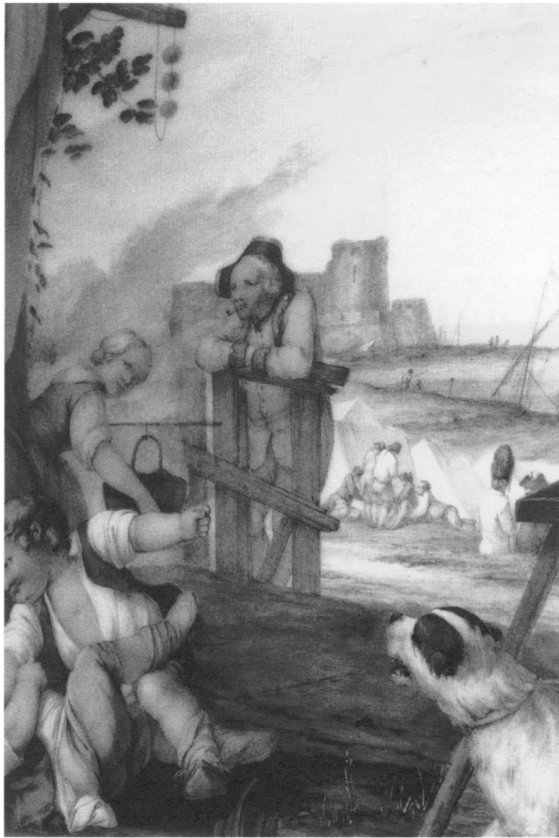


Figure 13. Detail of plaque in Figure 7

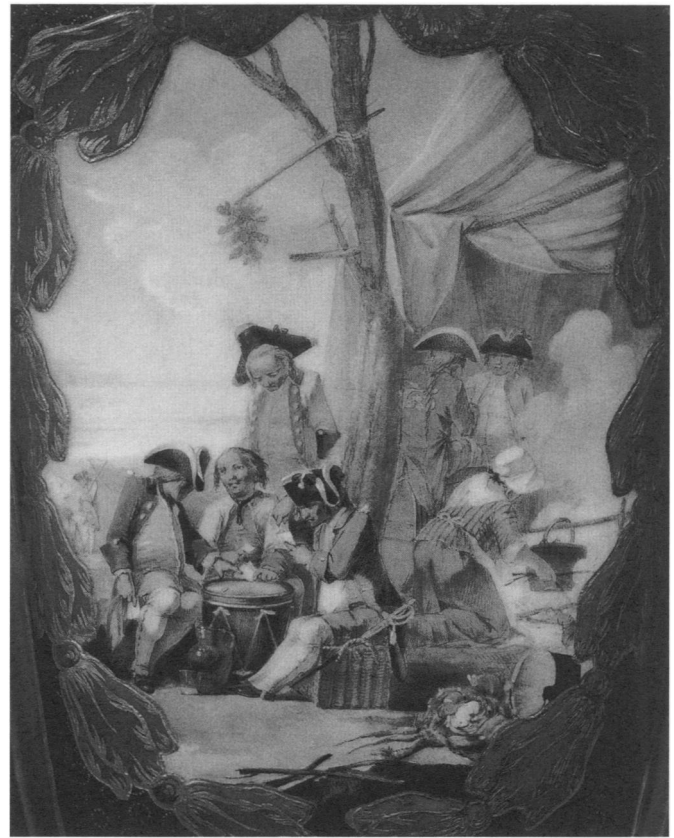


Figure 14. Detail of *vase Boileau*, French, Sèvres, 1758. Soft-paste porcelain. The Wallace Collection, London, C251 (photo: By kind permission of the Trustees of the Wallace Collection)

We know of other examples of Sèvres porcelain that are comparable in style of painting to the Metropolitan's *vase à bâtons rompus*, including another plaque depicting soldiers (Figure 12). This plaque, mounted on a 1780s *bonheur-du-jour*, was auctioned by Christie's, in New York, in 1997.³⁶ The scale of its figures is close to that of the Metropolitan's vase, making the comparison particularly useful.³⁷ What is truly striking is the similarity of facial types, especially the ruddy complexions and the triangular-shaped faces of the soldiers. Although they are a bit sketchier, the faces of the soldiers trying to mediate the fight on the Metropolitan's vase also resemble that of the soldier leaning on the fence in the background of the Paris plaque (Figure 13).

The painted reserve of the Metropolitan's *vase à bâtons rompus* bears a striking resemblance to those on a *vase Boileau* dated 1758 and its two companion *vases à oreilles* in the Wallace Collection (Figures 14, 15).³⁸



Figure 15. Detail of *vase à oreilles*, French, Sèvres, 1758. Soft-paste porcelain. The Wallace Collection, London, C252 (photo: By kind permission of the Trustees of the Wallace Collection)

Again, there is a marked similarity in the soldiers' faces and in the manner in which stippling is used to create three-dimensionality. As on the Christie's plaque and the Metropolitan's *vase à bâtons rompus*, the figures are well drawn, though not as finely rendered as those on the later Copenhagen and Paris plaques.³⁹ Rosalind Savill attributes the three Wallace Collection vases to Morin; however, they are certainly more competently painted than two *vases hollandois nouveaux ovales* in the British Museum, dated only one year later and marked Morin.³⁰ Are these, too, by the unacknowledged hand of Genest?

A *vase Hebert* in the Wallace Collection and its companion *vase à tête d'éléphant*, now at Waddesdon Manor, may also have been painted by Genest, about 1760.⁴¹ The painting on the *vase Hebert* is of fine quality and is perhaps just slightly more carefully rendered than the earlier *vase Boileau*: the stippling is clear and careful, and the facial types are very close to those on the *vase Boileau*, though not quite as sketchily painted. If in fact Genest also painted the Wallace Collection *vase Boileau* and *vases à oreilles* in 1758 (ten years earlier than the Copenhagen and Paris plaques), followed by the *vase Hebert* and *vase à tête d'éléphant* a couple of years later, he did so at different moments during the evolution of his personal style. Using this proposed chronology, we can suggest that the Metropolitan's *vase à bâtons rompus* was painted by Genest about 1764, the same year the model of the vase was first produced. We can then date the Christie's plaque to about the same time and, taking our proposition one step further, link it to the payment of 192 livres to Genest in 1764 for *Un tableau du S. Genest en Soldats*.⁴²

Genest had been an independent painter before coming to what was then the Vincennes factory in 1752 as head of the painters' workshop. While there and, beginning in 1756, at Sèvres, he must have played an important role in determining the work assignments and the decorative schemes used by the painters working under him.⁴³ The question is whether he provided them with engravings by other artists to use as source material or if the images were instead his own drawings.⁴⁴ Factory documents indicate that Genest did indeed provide his own paintings of flowers, birds, animals, and landscapes for the other artists to copy.⁴⁵ No specific mention is made of drawings or paintings of military or encampment scenes, but we know from overtime records and from extant objects now ascribed to him that Genest specialized in this type of decoration, and thus we can easily conclude that he provided the models for most of these scenes.

Morin also practiced this type of decoration, and one might suggest that he, not Genest, provided the

drawings of the various encampment scenes. Indeed, he was the son of an army surgeon, perhaps an influence on his choice of subject matter.⁴⁶ As demonstrated in this essay, however, his skill as a draftsman was not enough to have produced such an array of well-drawn, well-conceived scenes. What seems certain is that only a small number of drawings were used as sources, for we see the same scenes or figures repeated on the manifold surviving vases and plaques with military scenes. For example, a scene of two children fighting depicted on a saucer in the Wallace Collection reappears on the Paris plaque (Figure 7).⁴⁷ On the matching Wallace Collection cup is the scene of the grenadier, dragoon, and *vivandière* with child found on the plaque in Rosenborg Castle (Figure 6), which is used again, with different details, on a *vase étrusque* in the British Royal Collection.⁴⁸ Two soldiers drinking on one of the *vases ferrés* by Morin in the Wallace Collection reprise the scene on a cup in the same collection. The scene of a soldier raising his glass to a young woman on the other *vase ferré* is likewise depicted on the matching Wallace Collection saucer.⁴⁹ Finally, the soldier seated on the ground on the first Wallace Collection vase and on the cup assumes the same curious position as a differently uniformed soldier on a *vase à bâtons rompus* at Waddesdon Manor.⁵⁰

Two of the Metropolitan's vases discussed here also share imagery with other pieces: the scene on the *vase à bâtons rompus* (Figure 5) is virtually identical to that on a vase of the same model in the Royal Collection and on a *vase à perles* formerly in the Alfred de Rothschild Collection.⁵¹ The sleeping infantryman at the table also crops up on the Waddesdon Manor *vase à bâtons rompus* cited above.⁵²

Given the number of surviving Sèvres vases and plaques decorated with encampment or military scenes, it is clear that during the 1760s and into the 1770s the factory deemed this genre particularly well suited for monumental objects or important gifts. It follows that Sèvres would have entrusted one of its most talented artists not only with painting many of these pieces but, in all likelihood, with providing the models for the scenes as well. Close comparison of unmarked works decorated in this manner and known pieces by Jean-Louis Morin has established, at the very least, the traits of his hand. These same comparisons have also allowed us to discern among the unmarked works the hand of another, evidently more proficient artist. The Metropolitan's three vases provide pivotal visual evidence in our attempt to understand the stylistic development of this other hand, which we now believe to be Jean-Baptist-Étienne Genest.

NOTES

1. 58.71.81a-c, .82a-c; 58.75.74. See Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, *Decorative Art from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art* [by James Parker, Edith Appleton Standen, and Carl Christian Dauterman] (London, 1964), pp. 116-19.
2. For information on Genest, see Rosalind Savill, *The Wallace Collection Catalogue of Sèvres Porcelain* (London, 1988), vol. 3, pp. 1035-37; for Morin, see *ibid.*, pp. 1051-52. Charles-Nicolas Dodin is known to have painted encampment scenes as well. See a *goblet litron et soucoupe* in the Wallace Collection, London (C352; Savill, *Wallace Collection Sèvres*, vol. 2, pp. 512-15).
3. Metropolitan Museum, *Kress*, pp. 215, 217. Carl Christian Dauterman dated them all to about 1765.
4. For a full examination of this model, see Savill, *Wallace Collection Sèvres*, vol. 1, pp. 316-33, from which the discussion here is derived. *Vase à perles* is the primary name used by the factory for this model and thus will be employed in this essay.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 316.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 332 n. 31.
7. According to Savill, *Wallace Collection Sèvres*, vol. 1, p. 316, the sizes are as follows: first size h. without plinth, 18⁵/₈-18³/₄ in. (47.3-47.6 cm), with plinth, 19-20¹/₄ in. (48.2-51.4 cm); second size h. without plinth but with a gilt-bronze stand 17³/₈ in. (44 cm), with plinth 16-17³/₄ in. (40.6-45 cm); third size h. 11-13¹/₈ in. (28-33.3 cm).
8. C297-98. See *ibid.*, pp. 318-22.
9. Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives (hereafter AMNS), I.7, January 1, 1767, *pièces en biscuits prêtes à être mises en couverte*, valued at 48 livres. This is the same value placed on biscuit-fired vases of the third size in 1769 (see note 13 below), suggesting that these, too, were of the third size. The third, or smallest, size was the first to be introduced, in 1766 (see Savill, *Wallace Collection Sèvres*, vol. 1, p. 316). That the surviving dated pair from 1766 is of the third size lends credence to this suggestion.
10. *Ibid.*, January 1, 1768, *travail de l'année 1767, moules and modèles*. See Savill, *Wallace Collection Sèvres*, vol. 1, p. 316.
11. AMNS, *pièces en biscuits prêtes à être mises en couverte*, 84 livres for the first size and 54 livres for the second size.
12. *Ibid.*, January 1, 1769, *travail de l'année 1768, moules and modèles*, each 72 livres.
13. *Ibid.*, *pièces en biscuit*, 48 livres each, the same value for the third size as listed in the 1767 inventory. It is unclear why a new mold and model were introduced this year.
14. *Ibid.*, 1814 *Inventaire de Brongniart*, vol. 1, 1740-80, no. 135, *vase Panneau 1re 2me 3me gr* (see Savill, *Wallace Collection Sèvres*, vol. 1, p. 316; Albert Troude, *Choix de modèles de la Manufacture Nationale de porcelaines de Sèvres appartenant au Musée céramique* [Paris, 1897], pl. 111).
15. Savill, *Wallace Collection Sèvres*, vol. 1, pp. 316, 332 nn. 3m, 3q, describes a soft-paste example in the British Royal Collection incised *I Gd pannau* and a hard-paste example on the art market in Paris in 1981 (Ader, Picard, Tajan, Paris [December 9, 1981], lot 275) incised *vase panneau p. 1 gr*.
16. AMNS, R 1, L. 3, d. 5, fols. 18-19. See Savill, *Wallace Collection Sèvres*, vol. 1, p. 316, ill. p. 317.
17. The identification of the soldiers is based on Metropolitan Museum, *Kress*, p. 215, and on correspondence with Peter Harrington, curator of the Anne S. K. Brown Military Collection at Brown University, Providence, who commented that many regiments of infantrymen wore red or blue facings, thus making a specific identification impossible. Similarly, virtually all French dragoon regiments of the period wore green tunics with either red or buff facings, making an identification of the soldier on the second vase equally impossible.
18. The reserve on the left vase has roses on the left, cornflowers on the right, and laurel at the bottom; on the right vase the cornflowers are on the left and the roses on the right. This arrangement underscores the fact that the vases were meant to be paired. For a biography of Tandart, see Savill, *Wallace Collection Sèvres*, vol. 3, pp. 1070-71.
19. Dauterman's attribution of the wreaths to Tandart is based on a comparison of the artist's marked pieces (Metropolitan Museum, *Kress*, p. 215).
20. Savill, *Wallace Collection Sèvres*, vol. 1, p. 245. See Geoffrey de Bellaigue, *Sèvres Porcelain from the Royal Collection*, exh. cat., The Queen's Gallery, London (London, 1979), pp. 109-10, no. 114, for the initial identification of the model. For a fuller discussion, see Savill, *Wallace Collection Sèvres*, vol. 1, pp. 245-53. In the following discussion I am indebted to the work of both of these authors.
21. Savill, *Wallace Collection Sèvres*, vol. 1, p. 245.
22. *Ibid.* First size, h. 17⁷/₈-18⁷/₈ in. (45.3-48 cm); second size, h. 14⁵/₈-15¹/₂ in. (37-39.3 cm). See AMNS, I.7, January 1, 1764, *travail de l'année 1763, moules and modèles*, first size 60 livres, second size 48 livres.
23. AMNS, I.7, January 1, 1774, *pièces en existant au magasin de ventes*. See Savill, *Wallace Collection Sèvres*, vol. 1, p. 245.
24. Savill, *Wallace Collection Sèvres*, vol. 1, p. 245; AMNS, Vy' 5, fol. 131, December 27, 1773.
25. The zigzag-and-diamond bands here illustrate the standard way in which the zigzag intersects the reserves on most *vases à bâtons rompus*. However, on an example in the British Royal Collection (Guy Francis Laking, *Sèvres Porcelain of Buckingham Palace and Windsor Castle* [London, 1907], vol. 1, no. 51), the reserve seems to be dented by the zigzag instead of pierced by it. In an unpublished catalogue entry kindly provided to the author, Geoffrey de Bellaigue postulates that, because this vase dates from 1764, the first year of the model's production, it reflects the factory's initial attempt to reconcile the zigzag with the shape of the painted reserve. Eventually the factory decided it was easier to eliminate this relief pattern altogether, allowing the reserve to take center stage.
26. Rosenborg Castle, Copenhagen, 23-1302. See Linda H. Roth and Clare Le Corbeiller, *French Eighteenth-Century Porcelain at the Wadsworth Atheneum: The J. Pierpont Morgan Collection* (Hartford, 2000), pp. 151-55.
27. AMNS, Vy' 4, fol. 158, 1 *Tableau de Soldats*, 960 livres. See also F10, overtime for Genest, 1 *Tableau représentant une Cantine*.
28. *Ibid.*, F7, F8, and F9.
29. Musée du Louvre, Paris, OA 11806 and OA 10256-57. See Pierre Ennès and Brigitte Ducrot, *Un défi au goût: 50 ans de création à la manufacture royale de Sèvres (1740-1793)*, exh. cat., Musée du Louvre, Paris (Paris, 1997), pp. 45-46, 96, nos. 44-45. See also Marie-Laure de Rochebrune, "Sept nouveaux vases de la manufacture royale de porcelaine de Sèvres," *L'estampille, l'objet d'art* 344 (February 2000), pp. 31-33, in which she attributes the Louvre vases to Genest.
30. Laking, *Sèvres Porcelain*, vol. 1, pl. 21, no. 61-A.
31. See Svend Eriksen, *Sèvres Porcelain: The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor* (Fribourg, 1968), no. 62.

32. Ibid., no. 69, pp. 190–93.
33. C261–62. See Savill, *Wallace Collection Sèvres*, vol. 1, pp. 216–19.
34. Laking, *Sèvres Porcelain*, vol. 1, no. 51. A detail is illustrated in color in The Queen's Gallery, London, *A Souvenir Album of Sèvres from the Royal Collection* (London, 1989), pp. 18–19.
35. Correspondence with the author. See Bellaigue, *Sèvres Porcelain from the Royal Collection*, pp. 67–68, no. 62. Bellaigue notes that the same scenes appear on several other sets of vases. These vases are not in Laking.
36. Christie's, New York, *Arts of France* (October 21, 1997), lot 238; formerly in the Dodge Collection, sold Christie's, London (June 24, 1971), lot 78; Christie's house sale (September 27–29, 1971), lot 112.
37. The scale of the figures on the *vases à perles* is somewhat larger than on the plaque because of the vertical format of the vases' reserves and because there are fewer figures. This difference also allows for a greater level of detail.
38. C251–53. See Savill, *Wallace Collection Sèvres*, vol. 1, pp. 174–82. Bernard Dragesco suggested that these vases be attributed to Genest.
39. The wispy bark characteristic of Genest is found on one of the *vases à oreilles* (see Figure 15).
40. 1948, 12–3, 34 and 35. See Aileen Dawson, *French Porcelain: A Catalogue of the British Museum Collection* (London, 1994), pp. 106–8, no. 96.
41. C255. See Savill, *Wallace Collection Sèvres*, vol. 1, pp. 187–90; Eriksen, *Waddesdon Manor*, pp. 126–27, no. 143. These were probably part of a garniture of five vases and *pots-pourris* bought by Louis XV in December 1760 (AMNS, Vy' 3, fol. 43v).
42. AMNS, F 7, *travaux aux pièces hors de la mfr.*
43. See Savill, *Wallace Collection Sèvres*, vol. 3, pp. 1035–37, for Genest's biography and his activity at Sèvres.
44. A survey of the Sèvres literature reveals no engraved sources have yet been cited for this type of encampment scene. In correspondence with the author, Geoffrey de Bellaigue has commented that he doubts there are engraved sources. Peter Harrington has also noted in correspondence that he knows of no matching military engravings for the scenes on the Metropolitan's vases.
45. Savill, *Wallace Collection Sèvres*, vol. 3, pp. 1035–37. See also Geoffrey de Bellaigue, "Sèvres Artists and Their Sources I: Paintings and Drawings," *The Burlington Magazine* 122 (October 1980), p. 668.
46. For Morin, see Savill, *Wallace Collection Sèvres*, vol. 3, pp. 1051–52.
47. C352. See *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 512–15.
48. O.a. 23–1302; Laking, *Sèvres Porcelain*, vol. 1, no. 61-A. See Savill, *Wallace Collection Sèvres*, vol. 2, p. 513, who notes that the same scene appears on a cup in the Jones Collection, Victoria and Albert Museum, London (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, *Catalogue of the Jones Collection*, vol. 2, *Ceramics, Ormolu, Goldsmith's Work, Enamels, Sculpture, Tapestry, Books, and Prints* [by William King] [London, 1924], p. 23, no. 162).
49. C346. See Savill, *Wallace Collection Sèvres*, vol. 2, pp. 504–5. See also note 33 above.
50. See note 31 above.
51. See note 34 above; Charles Davis, *A Description of the Works of Art Forming the Collection of Alfred de Rothschild* (London, 1884), vol. 2, no. 87. In correspondence with the author, Geoffrey de Bellaigue notes the same scene on a *pot-pourri myrte* in the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore.
52. See note 31 above.

A *Meuble à Corbeil* in the Metropolitan Museum

WILLIAM RIEDER

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IN CATALOGING EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH furniture, one occasionally comes across a previously unrecorded inscription that provides information for a whole group of objects.¹ Such is the case with the table by the cabinetmaker Martin Carlin in the Robert Lehman Collection at the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 1).²

On the underside of the circular Sèvres porcelain plaque mounted on the top (Figure 2), Clare Le Corbeillier and I found the types of marks that are frequently painted on such plaques: the blue crossed Ls of the Sèvres manufactory, the date letter (Y for the year 1776), and the painter's mark (Y, the mark of Edme-François Bouillat, called Bouillat père [1758–1810]) (Figure 3).³ We also found the inscription "Meuble à Corbeil" (a piece of furniture with an open basket) that provides an additional name for a group of similar tables made by Martin Carlin for the Parisian dealers Simon-Philippe Poirier and Dominique Daguerre (Figure 4).⁴ Most of these tables have mounted on the top a large circular plaque that was called a *grand plaque ronde* at the Sèvres factory, with three curved plaques called *quarts de cercle* just below.⁵ Both types of plaques were made at Sèvres specifically for mounting on furniture.

A table of this type was used primarily for sewing and was often known as a *table en auge* (trough-shaped table), *table en crachoir* (spittoon-shaped table), or *table chiffonnière* (after *chiffon*, a piece of lace or ribbon), all three terms describing a deep rim or gallery around the top, the purpose of which was to prevent sewing materials from falling off. The term *meuble à corbeil* is puzzling only in the choice of the word *meuble* rather than *table*.

The Lehman table was part of a large group of furniture mounted with Sèvres plaques in the collection of the third lord Hillingdon that was acquired by the famous dealer Sir Joseph Duveen in 1936. Most of the Hillingdon collection had been formed in the



Figure 1. Martin Carlin (d. 1785). Table, 1776. Oak veneered with tulipwood, holly, and ebony, set with four soft-paste plaques from the Sèvres manufactory, gilt-bronze mounts, H. 28 7/8 in. (73.3 cm), diam. 15 1/4 in. (40 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Robert Lehman Collection, 1975 (1975.1.2028)

nineteenth century by Sir Charles Mills, a partner in the London banking house of Glyn, Mills and Co., and passed down to his son Charles Henry Mills, who was raised to the peerage as Baron Hillingdon in 1886, and then by direct descent to the third baron.⁶ Most of this furniture was acquired from Duveen by the Kress Foundation in 1947 and presented to the Metropolitan Museum in 1958. But not all of it. The

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 37

The notes for this article begin on page 258.



Figure 2. Round Sèvres porcelain plaque mounted on the top of the table in Figure 1

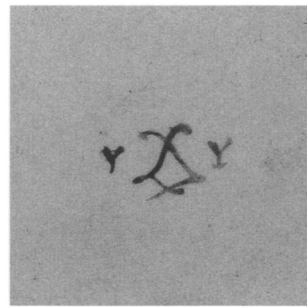


Figure 3. Marks on the underside of the round porcelain plaque in Figure 2: the crossed Ls of the Sèvres manufactory, with (on the left) the date letter Y for the year 1776 and (on the right) the painter's mark Y of Edme-François Bouillat, called Bouillat père



Figure 4. The inscription "Meuble à Corbeil" on the underside of the porcelain plaque in Figure 2

Lehman table followed a separate path from Duveen to a Paris collector, Audrey Kilvert Taylor; to the New York dealers Rosenberg and Steibel; and then, in 1959, to the New York banker Robert Lehman, who gave it to the Metropolitan Museum together with his large collection of paintings, drawings, and decorative arts in 1975.

NOTES

1. I am grateful to Clare Le Corbeiller for her help in studying the marks on the Sèvres plaques on this table and on several other pieces of furniture in the Robert Lehman Collection in preparation for the catalogue of furniture in this collection.
2. The table is round with a top of white Sèvres porcelain painted with multicolored sprays of flowers within a blue border. The top is surrounded by an openwork gallery of gilt bronze above a frieze mounted with three Sèvres porcelain plaques, one of which masks a drawer running the full depth of the top. The top rests on three straight supports mounted with gilt-bronze mounts in the form of pendant leaves and berries. A galleried undershelf, veneered with tulipwood radiating from a central rosette in a sunburst pattern, sits above three slightly splayed cabriole legs with gilt-bronze mounts in the form of acanthus leaves, the legs terminating in gilt-bronze scrolled feet. I am grateful to the Trustees of the Robert Lehman Collection for permission to publish this table.
3. For the variant forms of the mark of this painter, which was usually placed to the right of the factory mark, with the date

letter to the left, see David Peters, *Decorator and Date Marks on 18th Vincennes and Sèvres Porcelain* (London, 1997), p. 16.

4. There are a number of tables of this model. The ones most closely related to the Lehman table, with a round porcelain plaque on top and three segmental plaques on the frieze, are as follows:
two in the J. Paul Getty Museum (70.DA.74, 75). See Adrian Sassoon and Gillian Wilson, *Decorative Arts: A Handbook of the Collections of the J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, 1986), nos. 68, 69, and Adrian Sassoon, *Vincennes and Sèvres Porcelain: Catalogue of the Collections. The J. Paul Getty Museum* (Malibu, 1991), nos. 33, 34, pp. 166–72;
two in the Musée du Louvre, Paris (OA 7624, OA 10468). For OA 7624, see Daniel Alcouffe, Anne Dion-Tenenbaum, and Amaury Lefébure, *Furniture Collections in the Louvre* (Dijon, 1993), vol. 1, no. 69, p. 228;
one in the Musée Nissim de Camondo, Paris (cat. no. 133). See Nadine Gasc and Gérard Mabilie, *Le Musée Nissim de Camondo* (Paris, 1991), p. 39;
one formerly in the Stavros Niarchos Collection. See F.J.B. Watson, *Louis XVI Furniture* (London, 1960), fig. 122.
On a variant form of this table, also with three segmental porcelain plaques on the frieze, both the top and shelf are veneered with tulipwood radiating in a sunburst pattern. Of this form there are many examples.
5. For an extensive discussion of the Sèvres production of porcelain plaques made specifically for mounting on furniture, see Sassoon, *Vincennes and Sèvres Porcelain*.
6. See James Parker, "Sir Charles Mills and the Hillingdon Collection," in *Decorative Art from the Samuel H. Kress Collection at The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1964), pp. 116–19.

The “Etruscan” Style at Sèvres: A Bowl from Marie-Antoinette’s Dairy at Rambouillet

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IN 1997, CLARE LE CORBEILLER ACQUIRED for The Metropolitan Museum of Art a bowl from the extraordinary Sèvres service made for Marie-Antoinette’s dairy at Rambouillet (Figures 1, 2).¹ The acquisition is of particular interest because of the rarity of pieces from this service (this shape was previously not known to have survived) and the enigma surrounding the production of the service, which is known mainly through some designs in the Sèvres archives. Most important, the object is an extremely rare document of a revolutionary change of style at Sèvres and a testament that the roots of this style emerged during the reign of Louis XVI and not under the French Republic, as is commonly thought.

THE RAMBOUILLET DAIRY

Shortly after acquiring the Rambouillet property from the duc de Penthièvre in December 1783 for use as a hunting property, Louis XVI decided to have a dairy built on the grounds for Marie-Antoinette. It was intended as a surprise gift to the queen, possibly as an inducement to visit Rambouillet, an old-fashioned château that held no charms for her. Marie-Antoinette already greatly enjoyed the pleasure dairy she had had built in the model village on the grounds of the Petit Trianon, the small castle at Versailles, which was furnished with porcelain from the Paris manufactory of LeBeuf, of which she was the patron.² The pleasure dairy had become an integral element of the French picturesque garden in the 1770s and 1780s, one of many pavilions or follies encountered by visitors to the gardens. In the gardens, which were composed as an unfolding series of paintinglike views, these small buildings served as focal points toward which the visitor moved before the next view and destination were revealed. Rambouillet already had a *jardin*

anglo-chinois, as these picturesque gardens with their exotic pavilions were known in France, that had been created in 1779. The addition of a dairy to the Rambouillet garden would increase its similarity to Marie-Antoinette’s garden at the Petit Trianon and, perhaps, encourage her to visit Louis XVI’s property.

The project came under the direction of the comte d’Angiviller, the *directeur général des Bâtiments du Roi*. He was not only Louis XVI’s minister of buildings but also supervisor of the royal manufactories and academies of art and architecture. He was, therefore, singularly placed to employ the finest artists and craftspeople, as well as to influence every aspect of the Rambouillet project: architecture, sculpture, furniture, and porcelain. He seized the opportunity to impose his stylistic vision on the entire project. The complete story of the dairy is difficult to piece together because many essential documents are missing. Ones that do exist, however, demonstrate that the Rambouillet dairy service was to exemplify a revolutionary style that d’Angiviller was keen to introduce to France. This was the *style étrusque*, an archaeological Neoclassical style based on actual objects that were being excavated in southern Italy in the second half of the eighteenth century and that were incorrectly believed to have been made by the Etruscans.

All the principals employed on the project had been in Italy, whether as students of the French Academy in Rome or independently, and had firsthand knowledge of the excavations. The painter and landscape designer Hubert Robert (known as “the painter of ruins”) was given an overall advisory capacity, probably because of his intimate and extensive knowledge of Roman ruins and the Italian excavations. In addition to approving the building’s plans and probably suggesting the thematic subjects for the sculpture, he designed the furniture made for the dairy by Georges Jacob. d’Angiviller also specifically instructed the Sèvres manufactory that Robert would advise on the designs for the porcelain.³

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 37

The notes for this article begin on page 266.



Figure 1. Bowl, French, Sèvres, 1787. Hard-paste porcelain, Gr. H. $3\frac{3}{8}$ in. (8.6 cm), Gr. W. $9\frac{1}{4}$ in. (24.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Mrs. Sid R. Bass Gift, in honor of Mrs. Charles Wrightsman, and Anonymous Gift, 1997 (1997.518)

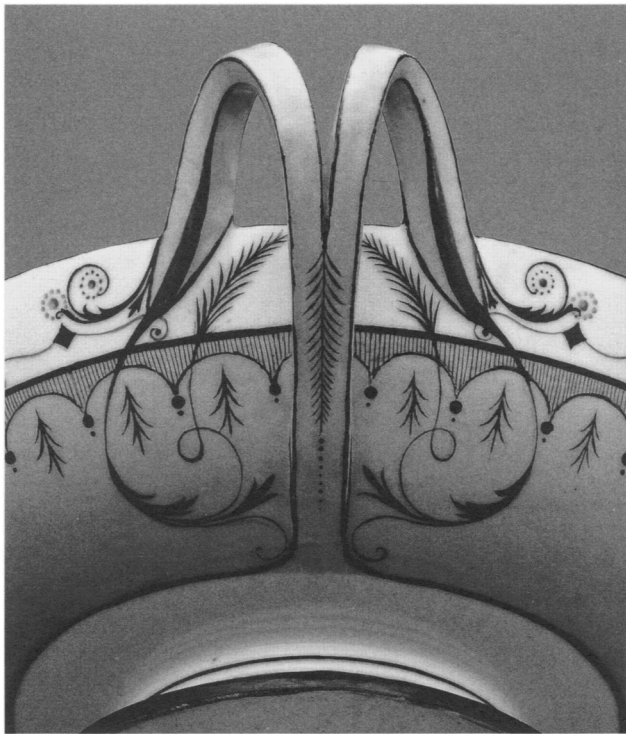


Figure 2. Side view of the bowl in Figure 1, showing handles and decoration around handles

THE "ETRUSCAN" STYLE AT SÈVRES

The Sèvres manufactory had come under d'Angiviller's control in 1779. From the outset he was determined to make its products compete at the forefront of the commercial market and to reflect contemporary stylistic trends. A belief that good taste and true beauty relied on antiquity governed his direction. Reviewing the history of the manufactory during the 1780s makes clear that d'Angiviller had a master plan. Various documents attest to the outdated style of the products and the factory's reluctance to change. For example, in 1783 the architect Louis Le Masson was commissioned to design a distinctly Neoclassical service, known as the Arabesque Service. D'Angiviller's commissioner in charge of the factory, Jean-Étienne Montucla, wrote to the factory's director, Antoine Régnier, to overcome his doubts about the style of the new service.⁴ He emphasized how committed d'Angiviller was to this new style and that any commercial failure would be due to the consumers' lack of good taste.

To impose his vision on the manufactory, d'Angiviller made a few clever appointments. Jean-Jacques Hettlinger, a Swiss scientist, was appointed in 1784 as

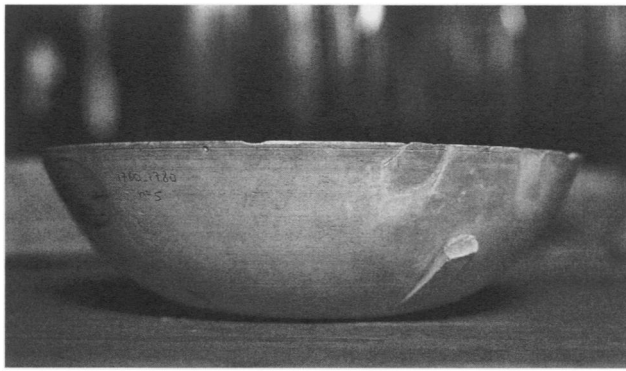


Figure 3. Plaster model for the bowl in Figure 1, lacking foot and handles. Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives

codirector. His brief specified that he was to take charge of the artistic, as opposed to the financial or technical, side of the manufactory.⁵ As d'Angiviller's man, he was able to counter Régnier's reluctance.

In March 1785 d'Angiviller hired the painter Jean-Jacques Lagrenée as co-artistic director of the manufactory to produce new designs for shapes and decoration. Lagrenée had spent four years in Rome, particularly studying the wall decoration of the Roman monuments. The paintings he submitted to the Salon of 1785 were described in the catalogue as "in the style of those excavated in the ruins of Herculaneum."⁶ Lagrenée's 1821 obituary emphasized his passion for "the works of antiquity, the paintings of the [Roman] Baths . . . etruscan vases and arabesques."⁷ On Lagrenée's appointment to the manufactory, his brother, then director of the French Academy in Rome, wrote to d'Angiviller that Jean-Jacques's involvement would certainly add an "Italian" element to the products, which they had lacked thus far.⁸

Soon after his appointment Lagrenée supplied the designs for the painted decoration of a cup and saucer that can be seen as the first step toward a Neoclassical style based on direct sources from antiquity. It had a black ground and reddish yellow figures in imitation of Greek vase painting. Hettlinger recommended that it not be gilded, again in reference to its sources, which was a dramatic departure from one of the factory's signature attributes.⁹ He also commented that this type of decoration applied to objects of an antique shape would certainly be sought after by the public. It was only with the Rambouillet service that these two elements—decoration and shape—were combined to create the new style.

Several acquisitions by the factory furthered d'Angiviller's intentions, including the 1786 purchase of d'Hancarville's *Antiquités etrusques, grecques et romaines*

tirées du cabinet de M. Hamilton.¹⁰ This work, illustrating the Greco-Roman vases in the collection of Sir William Hamilton, the British ambassador to Naples, had been published in 1767–69. One of its principal aims was to reform taste, that is, to promote the style of excavated objects and to aid commercial manufacturers in doing so. The engraved plates were meticulously produced, including exact measurements, making the vases easy to copy. The potter Josiah Wedgwood was already in possession of some of the Hamilton engravings before 1769, when his factory produced an exact reproduction of one of Hamilton's vases. This is a full seventeen years before Sèvres acquired the volumes, a measure of the manufactory's failure to respond to stylistic developments.

In 1787 Lagrenée himself purchased three sets of engravings of Raphael's decoration of the Vatican *stanze*. Raphael's frescoes represented another strain of decoration based on antiquity, although a somewhat secondhand Renaissance interpretation of Roman wall decoration.¹¹

A final element supporting d'Angiviller's strategy, and particularly timely in its influence on the design of the Rambouillet pieces, was his purchase in 1785 of a collection of Greco-Roman pottery formed by Vivant Denon in Naples. This collection of 525 pieces, similar in range to that assembled by Hamilton, was intended for the new museum d'Angiviller was planning in the Louvre. Like Hamilton, whose intention in publishing his collection was to reform taste and influence style, Denon wrote of the benefits to good taste offered by his collection.¹² Until the museum was ready, d'Angiviller decided to deposit the collection at

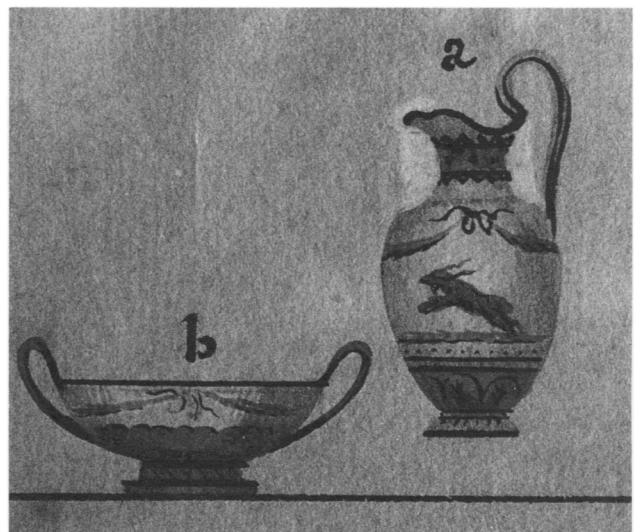


Figure 4. Working drawing for the bowl in Figure 1. Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives

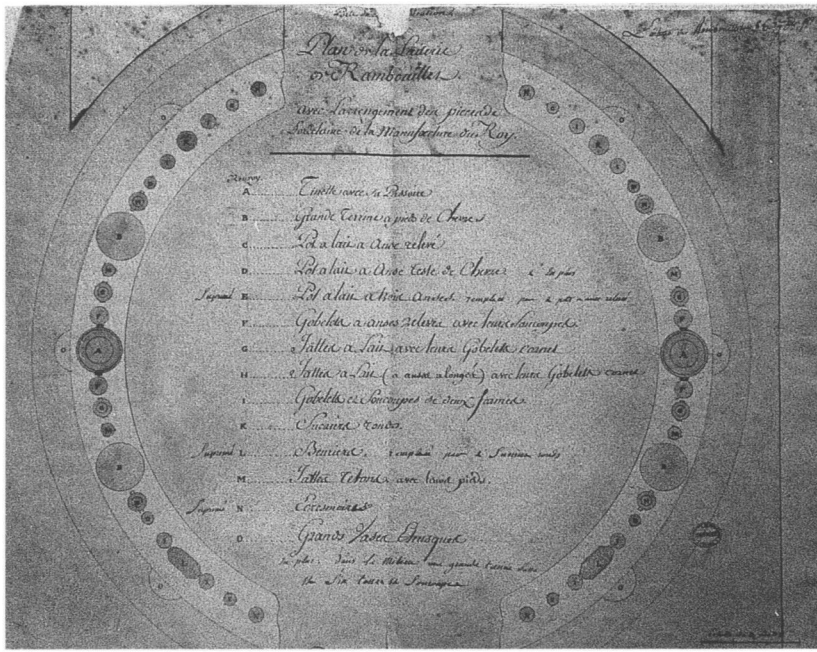


Figure 5. Floor plan of the dairy's rotunda showing placement of the porcelain, titled *Plan de la Laiterie de Rambouillet avec L'arrangement des pièces de Porcelaine de la Manufacture du Roy*. Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives. This was the intended arrangement in 1787, after the initial numbers had been reduced. It also notes substitutions that were made to arrive at the final composition

Sèvres, expecting it to be a useful inspiration for new shapes¹³ and for charming new ideas of decoration.¹⁴

Régnier, the factory's director, continued to be skeptical about the "Etruscan" style at the time of the Rambouillet commission. d'Angiviller wrote to Régnier urging his cooperation in the face of his opposition to the style and its "barbaric" qualities.¹⁵ He advised Régnier that everyone needed to accustom himself to the new style and that, in the end, he would see that d'Angiviller was justified in his beliefs.

PRODUCTION OF THE RAMBOUILLET SERVICE

With all the elements of d'Angiviller's scheme in place, work seems to have begun on the service in October 1786.¹⁶ An air of secrecy and urgency pervaded the project, which may be why so much crucial documentation is missing. That the project was to be a groundbreaking turn in stylistic direction for the factory is confirmed by d'Angiviller's command to Régnier: he wished the project to be conducted in secret to preserve the effect of novelty.¹⁷ A first delivery of the incomplete service was made to Rambouillet on May 25, 1787, probably in anticipation of a visit by the queen that month. (Louis XVI's diary shows that the court habitually went to Rambouillet in the summer months.) The remainder was delivered a year later, on May 15, 1788.

Originally intended to consist of 108 pieces, the service was reduced to 65 pieces by the time of the second delivery to Rambouillet in 1788. Scaling down the numbers may have been motivated by production

and financial considerations, as well as by the impracticality of some shapes that were exact copies of classical examples.

The composition of the service was not novel, though Sèvres had not previously produced a dairy service. It was dictated by its intended use: to store and cool milk and other dairy products as well as to serve and taste the milk. Sugar bowls were also provided, as the soft cheese that was served was sweetened to taste. The greatest number of pieces were cups and saucers (of four designs), followed by individual serving bowls (three designs) and ewers (three designs). The layout of the service at the Rambouillet dairy was dominated by four large basins for settling milk and two large pails (the only items not decorated in an "Etruscan" style) set on each side of the first rotunda room with the smaller elements interspersed symmetrically among them. Six large vases of two designs stood in niches around the room. In the center of the room stood a table from the suite of solid mahogany furniture by Georges Jacob; atop the table stood a large basin and six cups and saucers (Figure 5).

Uncertainty has surrounded the identity of the designer of the service, with most historical sources attributing it to Hubert Robert with the assistance of Lagrenée and possibly the director of the sculptors' workshop, Louis-Simon Boizot. As with the other areas of the project, Robert seems to have been employed in a supervisory or advisory capacity. In d'Angiviller's letter to Régnier of October 1786, Robert's role is mentioned in connection with the vases.¹⁸ There is no doubt that Lagrenée was the designer of the decoration; in the Sèvres archives are several watercolor

drawings by him for Rambouillet shapes with decoration corresponding to known examples. It is also likely that he suggested designs for shapes, as other drawings by him are for shapes that were never executed. Boizot, as technical director responsible for the successful firing of the shapes, probably had the definitive say in their design. At least three of the service's shapes can be attributed to him on documentary evidence.

Clearly the shapes were strongly influenced by the Denon collection and the Hamilton engravings and generally relied on classical prototypes. Only the milk pails and sugar bowls cannot be associated with antique examples. Very few of the shapes, other than some of the ewers and the vases, are direct copies, however. Most relied on the classical principles of simple shapes but had additional elements, such as feet or handles, that were copied from the antique examples.

Following Hettlinger's opinion that it was desirable to put classical decoration on shapes of classical design and forgo gilding, the Rambouillet pieces are all decorated in the manner of Greek vases and drinking vessels. Most pieces have a central band running all the way around the object, with figures and animals relating to pastoral pursuits aligned in a single plane and lacking any depth of field, as on Greek vases. Borders of decorative motifs amalgamated from antique sources define the central area. Although the figures are in classical dress and strike classical poses, they and the animals and plants that accompany them are painted in vivid, lifelike colors on a white ground, in the long-established Sèvres tradition. Even the borders are rarely in "Etruscan" colors but instead use a large palette of pale colors: lilac, gray, blue, green, and yellow—the colors very much in fashion for contemporary interiors. Only on about half the pieces are the borders, referred to as ground (*fond*) colors in the documents, either "*étrusque*" (orange-red and black) or "*grès*" (the color of sandstone, a pale golden-orange). The decorative motifs that would usually have been gilded are painted in black or carmine.

The most surprising decoration is that on the vases. They are described as "*peinte à l'huile*"—painted in oils. The most probable explanation, given that the vases have not as yet been found, is that they were decorated using the revived encaustic technique of painting with colored wax. Wedgwood had already introduced a modified version of the technique in 1769. Earlier in the century, the antiquary the comte de Caylus published a discourse advocating the revival of encaustic painting in France. Given the ideology governing the production of the Rambouillet service, as well as the fact that Wedgwood's wares were being sold in Paris by 1787, it is probable that Sèvres employed the encaustic technique.

LATER HISTORY

Marie-Antoinette may have seen the Rambouillet dairy only once, though this cannot be established because of a lack of documents, but subsidiary documents point to a visit by the court in late May or early June of 1787. There is no record of her returning in 1788 to see the completed service. After the Revolution of 1789 there were no more opportunities for visits.

In August 1792 the Assembly nationalized all the royal property. Teams of commissioners inventoried the contents of the palaces with a view to separating what would be kept for a planned museum (if considered of artistic merit, a decision made on ideological grounds) from what would be sold. A visit to Rambouillet made in September 1793 attested that the sculpture was still in place in the dairy and that the furniture and porcelain had been moved to the château.¹⁹ By this time all the cups and saucers were missing, as were the sugar bowls and the service's extraordinary bowls made in the shape of a woman's breast. The remaining objects were intended to be reserved for the state and sent to a depot. This was not methodically carried out, as came to light when Napoléon's consort Josephine requested that the Rambouillet sculpture and porcelain be transferred to her estate at Malmaison in 1803.²⁰ It was then discovered that some of the items had been sent to the newly formed museum storehouses at Versailles while others remained at Rambouillet. Further losses had occurred: now all the ewers and bowls were also missing.

No further trace of the service's movements can be found until the middle of the nineteenth century, when the two milk pails were in the possession of the dowager duchess of Bedford in London.²¹ The large central basin and several cups and saucers, as well as three of the breast-shaped bowls with stands, have surfaced in European museums.²² Until recently, the small number of known pieces has remained constant. In the last few years, however, six new pieces have surfaced, bringing the total of known pieces to fifteen.

THE METROPOLITAN'S BOWL

Three different shapes of bowls were made for the service. All of them were intended as stands for the largest cup (*gobelet cornet*, "e" on the Profile List, Figure 6), which was made without a saucer. Known variously in the production records as the *jatte à anses de cuire* (bowl with leather handles), *jatte à anses de cuire refendu* (bowl with split leather handles), *jatte à anses relevées* (bowl with raised handles), and *jatte écuelle* (simple bowl), this was the most expensive of the service's bowls.²³ Many

more blanks were made than were needed for the service, particularly bowls and cups, indicating that these new shapes were thought to be commercially viable. Forty-eight blanks of the Museum bowl's shape were made, with the original intention of decorating four for the Rambouillet service. Ultimately only two examples of this shape were included. Among the workers listed as making this shape is the *repareur* Ravinet, responsible for smoothing out the shape before firing as well as attaching the handles. The Museum's bowl bears the incised mark "Rn," which is likely to be Ravinet's.

No single antique shape can be identified as the source for the design of the bowl. The distinctive handle, which rises from the base then splits into two to attach to the rim, is not found on classical pottery. The bowl's curious title—with (split) leather handles—would suggest that the designer was looking at a specific prototype, but none has so far been discovered. The foot with three coils, however, is derived from classical pottery and is a distinctive feature of many of the Rambouillet pieces.

The shape is well documented in the Sèvres archives. There is a plaster model (without foot or handles, Figure 3) that is listed in the 1814 inventory of models as "Écuelle de la Laiterie 1786."²⁴ A working drawing for the shape also exists, with the inscription "jatte a Lait de la laiterie No. 4 avec le pied Elargie pour quelle reusire mieux Le 15 May 1787" (Figure 4). Together these documents show that the shape was designed in 1786, then altered with an enlarged foot in 1787. In the hard-paste workers' records for 1791 is mention of a bowl with split handles (*ecuelle Boizot anse fendu*) suggesting the possibility that Boizot was responsible for the original design.²⁵

The bowl is simply decorated with a pale blue ground color and decorative motifs executed in carmine and black, colors found on all the other known pieces. A leitmotif of the decorative vocabulary on the service is the circle of dots enclosing a larger dot, which derives from classical pottery. Other signature elements are the feathery anthemion motif and the scrolling arabesques, both found in many of Lagrenée's designs.

There is no doubt that the Metropolitan's bowl was made for the Rambouillet dairy, only whether it was in place after the final adjustments and reductions of 1788. At the outset two examples of this shape were intended to stand on the consoles on each side of the dairy, making a total of four. The delivery document of May 25, 1787, which is the only document to describe the color and decoration of each individual piece, indicates that this shape was painted only with decorative motifs (*ornement étrusque*), as seen on the Museum's

bowl.²⁶ Two bowls of this shape, in the sandstone (*grès*) color, were delivered for one of the consoles and two others, in pale blue with "Etruscan" ornament (*fond petit bleu ornements étrusques*), were ready for the second console on the opposite side of the room. One of these must be the Museum's bowl, as the color and decoration correspond exactly to the description.

Two documents that summarize the deliveries of 1787 and 1788 agree that six bowls of three types (two of each) were delivered in 1787 and a further two in 1788. The last two are described as "jattes à anses étrusques" (bowls with "Etruscan" handles). This generic term could apply to any of the bowl shapes, but one in particular was usually known as "jatte à anses étrusques" (shape "c" on the Profile List, Figure 6). The question remains whether the two additional bowls delivered in 1788 were the two that were ready in 1787, one of which was the Museum's bowl, or whether two types of bowls were grouped under the

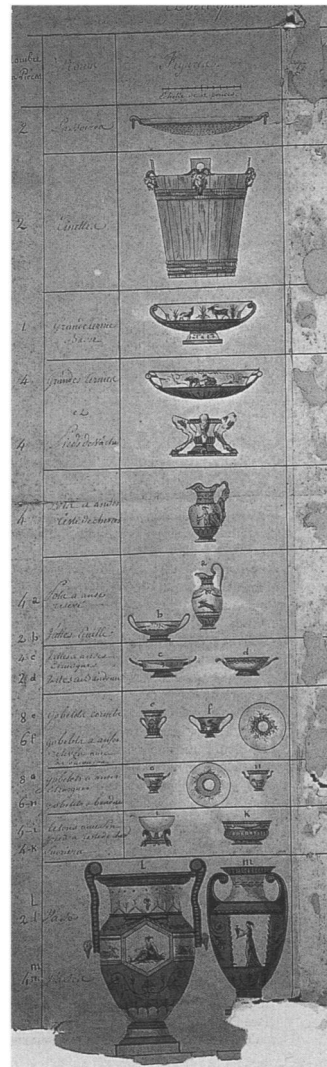


Figure 6. Profile list showing scale drawings of the pieces and what is most likely the final composition of the service. The bowl in Figure 1 is shape "b." Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives

“anses étrusques” title. According to the Profile List, only two examples of the “jatte écuelle” (shape “b” on the Profile List, Figure 6), the shape corresponding to the Museum’s bowl, were delivered. This list appears to be the definitive record of the composition of the service, as all known pieces have corresponded in decoration and size (the drawings are made to a minute but accurate scale). If, therefore, only two examples of this shape were delivered, they would probably be in the *grès* color described in the 1787 delivery document. Thus, although the Museum’s bowl and its mate were originally made for the Rambouillet dairy and intended for the second console, it is likely that, with the reduction in scale of the project, they were never used.

CONCLUSION

The dairy service for Rambouillet, including the Metropolitan Museum’s bowl, marks a turning point in the development of style and production at the Sèvres manufactory. Ideological tenets and political reigns tend to identify this new style with the French Republic, but the Rambouillet service proves that the creative forces of change had already begun in the 1780s, resulting in the design of the service in 1786, in the reign of Louis XVI. The confusion was perpetuated by

Alexandre Brongniart, administrator of the factory from 1800 to 1857, who wrote that the Denon collection, with its simple and pure shapes, served to change the inappropriate direction under which shapes had been designed in the reign of Louis XVI.²⁷ The revolutionary committee placed in charge of the Sèvres production reiterated the sentiments that had already been expressed by d’Angiviller and Hettlinger:

C’est par l’imitation de l’antique que nos bons artistes nous ont ramené à ces formes simples, pures et élégantes qui font le charme et les délices des vrais conneuseurs . . . C’est particulièrement dans les Vases étrusques que l’artiste habile et l’homme de goût savent puiser d’utiles leçons, que le génie sait choisir les formes, ou partie des formes pour les approprier à nos Vases d’usages, ou d’économie domestique . . . On y parviendra en mettant sous les yeux des artistes . . . surtout les ouvrages qui représentent des suites d’antiquités d’ont l’imitation appliqué apropos étendra et perfectionnera chez nous le goût épuré afin de maintenir nôtre supériorité.²⁸

According to the committee, imitation of antiquity was the ideal: it would encourage refined taste as well as maintain the nation’s superiority. It was according to these principles that the Rambouillet service was reserved for the state and regarded as possessing artistic merit.

APPENDIX: LIST OF KNOWN PIECES FROM THE RAMBOUILLET SERVICE

(shape names and quantities taken from the Profile List, Figure 6)

- 2 *tinettes et passoires* (milk pails with sieves)
2 sold Sotheby’s, Mentmore, 1977, now in a private collection
- 1 *grande terrine basse* (large, low basin)
1 in Frankfurt Museum for Applied Arts (inv. 9717)
- 4 *grandes terrines et pieds de vache* (large basins on cow’s-leg stands)
none known
- 4 *pots à anse têtes de chèvres* (ewers with goat’s-head handles)
2 in a private collection
- 4 *pots à anse relevée* (ewers with raised handle)
none known

- 2 *jattes écuelles* (simple bowls)
1 in Metropolitan Museum of Art, though probably not one of the two in the final composition
- 4 *jattes à anses étrusques* (bowls with “Etruscan” handles)
none known
- 2 *jattes à bandeau* (bowls with protruding rim)
none known
- 8 *gobelets cornets* (tall, flared drinking cups)
1 in the Musée National de Céramique, Sèvres (inv. 6795; incorrectly paired with a saucer belonging to a *gobelet à anses relevées*)
- 6 *gobelets à anses relevées avec ses soucoupes* (cups with raised handles and saucer)
1 saucer in the Musée National de Céramique, Sèvres (inv. 6795; incorrectly paired with a *gobelet cornet*)

8 *gobelets à anses étrusques* (cups with “Etruscan” handles [and saucer])
 1 in the Musée National de Céramique, Sèvres (inv. 6796, yellow ground [*fond jonquille*])
 1 in a private collection, blue-green ground (*fond verd anglais*)
 1 in the trade

6 *gobelets à bandeau* (cups with protruding rim [and saucer])
 1 sold Piasa, Paris, June 23, 2000, now in a private collection, pale violet ground (*fond violet tendre*)

4 *tétons avec ses pieds à têtes de chèvres* (bowls in the shape of a woman’s breast on a stand with goat’s heads)
 2 in the Musée National de Céramique, Sèvres (inv. 23.399, 23.400)
 1 in the Museo Duca di Martina, Naples (inv. 2208)

4 *sucriers* (sugar bowls)
 none known

6 *vases* (vases, of two designs)
 none known

NOTES

1. *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 56, no. 2 (Fall 1998), entry by Clare Le Corbeiller, p. 39, ill. in color.
2. Christian Baulez, “Deux terrines de la Manufacture de la Reine,” *Versalia* 4 (2001), pp. 16–17.
3. Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives (hereafter AMNS), H 3, L 4, 1786, no. 79. Two undated drawings by Robert, of vase, ewer, and cup shapes, may be preparatory sketches for the service. See *Un album de croquis d’Hubert Robert (1733–1808)* (Geneva, 1979), nos. 94, 95, and *Rome 1760–1770: Fragonard, Hubert Robert et leurs amis* (Paris, 1983), no. 49.
4. “Je vous dirai maintenant d’amitié que vous ne sauriez mieux faire votre cour à M. le comte qu’en mettant beaucoup de zèle pour la réussite du ce projet. J’ai cru m’apercevoir par quelques choses que vous m’avez dites que vous prevoiez des difficultés considérables ou que vous doutiez du succès, mais ça n’est plus votre affaire. Il faut faire tous les efforts pour surmonter les difficultés. Quant au succès, je seroit porté à penser si le service n’ena pas ce seroit uniquement parceque ce genre de beauté est trop au dessus du goût de la plupart des consommateurs. Ce n’est plus au reste notre affaire. M. le comte y prend un vif intérêt et comme vous êtes son premier lieutenant, je crois que vous lui ferez beaucoup votre cour en mettant tout le zèle et l’achèverez don’t vous êtes capable pour l’exécution.” AMNS, H 3, no. 12. Letter dated February 2, 1783.
5. Paris, Archives Nationales, O¹2061², no. 430.
6. Marc Sandoz, *Les Lagrenées* (Paris, 1988), vol. 2, *Jean-Jacques Lagrenée (le jeune), 1739–1821*, p. 57.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 62.
8. Paris, Archives Nationales, O¹2062¹, no. 182. Letter dated April 20, 1785.
9. Paris, Archives Nationales, O¹2061², no. 300. Letter from Hettlinger to d’Angiviller dated May 24, 1785.
10. AMNS, Vf 36 (1786), f. 11r, no. 172. Possibly the second edition of the volumes published 1785–88.
11. *Ibid.*, Vf 37 (1787), f. 10r, no. 163, August 13, 1787. Three sets of engravings were published in 1782, 1786, and 1787. They were engraved by Ottaviani after the drawings of Savorelli and Camporesi. The engravings are still in the Sèvres archives.
12. “La découverte d’un vase grec ou d’un vase quelconque, d’une forme nouvelle, me paraissait un service signalé que je rendais au bon goût.” Madeleine Massoul, *Corpus vasorum antiquorum: France, Musée national de Sèvres* (Paris, 1934), p. xi.
13. Paris, Archives Nationales, O¹1179, no. 274. Letter from d’Angiviller to Hettlinger dated April 19, 1786.
14. Paris, Archives Nationales, O¹2061², no. 391. Letter from d’Angiviller to Denon dated May 24, 1786.
15. AMNS, H 3, L 4, no. 79. Letter dated October 16, 1786.
16. Mention of “des vases qui doivent être exécutés pour une laiterie” (vases to be made for a dairy) in a letter from d’Angiviller to Régnier dated October 16, 1786. AMNS, H 3, L 4 (1786), no. 79. These must be pieces for the Rambouillet service, as no other dairy objects were made by Sèvres in the eighteenth century.
17. *Ibid.* “Je veut que cela se fasse en secret. . . . On parle, et cela détruit tout l’effet. Le secret est un des grands pivots des manufactures.”
18. *Ibid.* “Je marque à M. Hettlinger que j’ai chargé M. Robert de se concerter pour des vases qui doivent être exécutés pour une laiterie.”
19. Paris, Archives Nationales, F¹⁷ 1036^A.
20. Paris, Musée du Louvre archives, M.12. Letter from Chaptal, minister of the interior, to Denon, director general of museums, dated 4 fructidor an[née] 11 (August 21, 1794), and other correspondence.
21. Farebrother, Clark & Lye, *Catalogue of the Valuable Contents of Bedford Lodge, Campden Hill, Kensington, The Property of the Late Duchess Dowager of Bedford* (London, July 11, 1853), p. 62, lot 1378: “A pair of REMARKABLY FINE DRESDEN CHINA PAILS, 20 in high, with goats’-head handles, on stands; formerly the property of Marie Antoinette, and removed from the Swiss Dairy at the Trianon.”
22. Selma Schwartz, “The Sèvres Porcelain Service for Marie-Antoinette’s Dairy at Rambouillet: An Exercise in Archaeological Neo-Classicism,” *French Porcelain Society Journal* 9 (1992), passim.
23. AMNS, Eb1, D.12. List of pieces made in the hard-paste workshop for the queen’s dairy in 1787 and ready for firing, with cost of each shape.
24. AMNS, U³.
25. *Ibid.*, Va (1790–92), record for Lepin.
26. *Ibid.*, Eb1, D.12. *Pieces de la Laiterie envoyées à Rambouillet le 25 Mai 1787*.
27. A. Brongniart and D. Riocreux, *Description méthodique du Musée Céramique de Sèvres*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1845), vol. 1, p. ii.
28. Paris, Archives Nationales, F¹² 1495, IV, dossier 3.

Hard-Paste Porcelain Plates from Sèvres with Chinoiserie Decoration in Colored Golds and Platinum

ANTOINE D'ALBIS

Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres

THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN FRANCE AT THE TIME THE SERVICE WAS CREATED

On October 6, 1789, the royal family had been forced to leave Versailles and had been conducted by a large crowd of rioters to the château of the Tuileries in Paris. The procession was preceded by the severed heads, carried on the tips of lances, of two of the king's unfortunate bodyguards, who had attempted in vain to stop the crowd. The royal family settled into the home of their ancestors, where they witnessed the gradual limitation of their freedoms. They were subject to an increasingly vigilant surveillance as talk in Paris spoke of a plot to intervene on the royal family's behalf by an Austrian faction. The queen was, in fact, preparing plans of escape.

"Il ne faut pas se dissimuler . . . que les grandes puissances ne font rien pour rien. . . . Il convient de s'adapter à cette règle si on veut réussir dans les grands projets politiques." So wrote the comte de Mercy Argenteau, former Austrian ambassador to the court of Louis XVI, in a letter sent to Marie-Antoinette from Brussels on March 7, 1791. Mercy was suggesting that Austria, as the price for its intervention in France's political upheaval, hoped to obtain Alsace and Lorraine, while Spain wanted part of Navarre, Piedmont and Sardinia, a few territories along the Alps, and Var. Mercy added that the king must escape before the major powers would consider any action to effect his restoration; they would make up their minds only after the royal family was safely out of Paris. Mercy's letter, so compromising for the royal family, was intercepted and taken to the Commune, which passed it on to the investigative committee in the National Assembly. The escape took place on June 20, 1791. The royal family left by coach about midnight and went to the Barrière Saint-Martin, where a waiting berlin took them to Varennes. There they were discovered, arrested, and eventually taken back to Paris. An

attempt was made to pass off the royal family's flight as a semivoluntary abduction into which the king had been "seduced," but a statement, composed by the king, explaining the reasons for his departure removed any doubt as to what had transpired. The fate of the monarchy was sealed. As the political situation in and around France grew more unstable, the Revolution, which had considered itself a force for peace, rapidly came to be replaced by a tyrannical and cruel regime antithetical to the spirit of new ideas and reform.¹

THE SITUATION AT THE MANUFACTURE ROYALE DE SÈVRES

The administration of director Melchior François Parent,² who had succeeded Jacques René Boileau in 1772,³ was marked by a preoccupation with the art and manner of dissimulating its misappropriation of funds. Following Parent's dismissal and arrest in 1778, a malaise settled over Sèvres that was compounded by a series of decisions and measures that ran counter to the factory's smooth operation. In an effort to set things right, Antoine Régnier⁴ was appointed to succeed Parent and, in 1780, the comte d'Angiviller⁵ was named to the position previously held by Jean Baptiste Bertin.⁶ These moves were particularly praiseworthy given the continuing decline of France's economic and financial situation on the eve of the Revolution.

A trade agreement with England, arranged by Charles de Vergennes and signed in 1786, did not, it seems, directly harm Sèvres, which nevertheless was suffering from a chronic lack of available financial assets and probably from the competition of the Paris porcelain factories. The purchase of the Limoges factory in May of 1784 continued to cost the Sèvres factory precious liquid assets in addition to the money that had been committed for the acquisition itself.⁷

In January of 1787, the baron de Breteuil, acting on an order from the king's council, clumsily attempted to limit the rights of the Parisian factories, which, in

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The notes for this article begin on page 275.



Figure 1. Plate, French, Sèvres, ca. 1791. Hard-paste porcelain, diam. 9½ in. (24 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Lewis Einstein, 1962 (62.165.8)

many cases, were protected by other members of the royal family. On March 13 of the same year, the comte d'Angiviller, alarmed by the situation at Sèvres, proposed that the factory be regulated. At the time, the factory had been attempting to introduce a healthy competition into the workshops through a combination of bonuses paid for the production of white ware and annual prizes awarded to the painters. The means to effect that policy, however, were lacking. As early as December 1, 1788, the comte d'Angiviller had written to Régnier: "Au moment même, il n'y a pas dans les caisses de quoi payer le mois aux ouvriers." And, in July of 1789, the comte d'Angiviller's chief assistant, Montucla, observed: "On fabrique à la manufacture beaucoup plus qu'on ne peut vendre." He added on September 8: "Tout ce qui tient au luxe est sabré pour quelques années. Paris s'anéantit peu à peu. Tous les gens opulents vont planter des choux dans leurs terres, voilà la maison d'Artois flambée pour

longtemps! Les seigneurs de la cour sont ruinés . . . Je vous dirai franchement, que je ne sais plus de quel bois faire flèche. Personne ne paye l'ancien, on n'achète presque pas en ce moment; j'ai tous les créanciers (ou du moins une bonne partie) de la manufacture sur le corps; je serai bientôt obligé de m'absenter et de me cacher."

Salaries at Sèvres continued to be paid one way or another, at the cost of extravagant efforts, but from month to month the situation grew increasingly grave. Delays in payments were tending to become commonplace. In September of 1789, the exasperated workers seized the cashier, Barreau, whom they held responsible for the delays, and made as if to hang him by a streetlamp at the factory entrance. If the fate of the staff was hardly enviable, that of suppliers was even less so. In November of 1789, Pierre Philippe Thomire, a sculptor-bronze founder, demanded payment of a bill for 107,703 livres, largely unhonored since 1784. At the same time,



Figure 2. Plate, French, Sèvres, ca. 1791. Hard-paste porcelain, diam. $9\frac{5}{8}$ in. (24.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Lewis Einstein, 1962 (62.165.23)

wood suppliers presented bills as high as 74,000 livres that had been unpaid for more than a year. In March of 1790 new revolts took place at the factory, and in August, as a result of the unrest, the king decided to shift financial responsibility for the establishment to his privy purse.

Jean-Paul Marat, editor of the radical newspaper *L'ami du peuple* and future instigator of the September massacres, published his reaction to the king's decision on August 17, 1790: "On n'a nulle idée chez l'étranger d'établissements relatifs aux beaux arts ou plutôt de manufactures à la charge de l'État; l'honneur de cette invention était réservé à la France. Telles sont dans le nombre, les manufactures de Sèvres et des Gobelins: la première coûte au public plus de deux mille francs annuellement, pour quelques services de porcelaine dont le roi fait présent aux ambassadeurs; la seconde coûte cent mille écus annuellement, on ne sait trop pourquoi si ce n'est pour enrichir des fripons et des intrigants."

Sèvres became further entangled in the ongoing political intrigue when on May 26, 1792, every copy of a scandalous memoir of Marie-Antoinette, written by Mme Lamotte and published in England, was burned in the factory kilns on the king's order. A rumor spread that it was actually the archives of the Austrian committee that had been burned. That same month, Académie Française members Bachelier, Lagrenée, Boizot, Cadet, Darcet, and Desmarest were dismissed. Lagrenée and Boizot were not restored to their duties until August of 1793, at which time the Sèvres mark with the two interlacing Ls was suppressed and the director was asked to destroy every piece bearing the emblems of the monarchy. Jean Benoît Chanou, the most energetic of the agitators at Sèvres but certainly not the most competent of the workers, was named inspector of the factory in November of 1793. He was dismissed after only fourteen months of anarchical, and corrupt, management and replaced by Jean-Jacques Hettlinger, former assistant to Antoine Régnier.⁸

THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM'S BLACK-GROUND PLATES

Since 1962 the Metropolitan Museum has housed nine hard-paste porcelain plates from Sèvres with a black ground, rarities made all the more remarkable because the color is applied across the surface of the plates and not only to the rim, as was usually the case (Figures 1, 2; see also front cover). Two of them bear the signature of the painter Dieu and the date "OO," for 1791. They are marked with the interlacing Ls surmounted by a closed crown, which, as a rule, was used for hard-paste porcelain. It should be noted, however, that there are many Sèvres pieces in hard-paste porcelain that do not bear that mark. In addition, from 1752 to 1792 the painter Jean-Jacques Sioux also used a crown, albeit in a different style, to mark his pieces, a number of which are made of soft paste.

The intense black ground color of these plates is particularly rich and appealing to the eye. The color is highlighted by the use of precious metals—sometimes polished, sometimes burnished—which in turn are judiciously set off by the ground color itself. Platinum was generally used only in the last decade of the eighteenth century, as were the specific Chinese motifs. (A few pieces with these elements were also produced under the Empire, but these were exceptions.) It is not known who created the design, but the registries of painters' works mention the painter Jullien as having made in 1790 "un dessin pour des vases noirs dorés par la France."⁹ Unfortunately, the nature of the decoration is not described. A few pages later in the same registry, but with no year indicated, the painter Lecot is said to have created on a red ground "décorations chinoises japonnées en or riche dans le genre du Laque."¹⁰ There are strong visual affinities between the plates, with their black and red grounds decorated with gold chinoiserie, and the lacquer-paneled jappanned furniture that was popular in the eighteenth century.

In the early twentieth century Chavagnac and Grollier¹¹ found evidence in the Archives Nationales of a massive sale of porcelain to a certain Empaytaz, who observed on the occasion that the revolutionary emblems and attributes painted on the porcelain "n'intéressent pas et sont même invendables à l'étranger." Chavagnac and Grollier also identified the name "Empaytaz à Berlin" on the face of a Louis XVI clock, and they suggest, not without reason, that the buyer probably owned a shop in Berlin. A total of 230,000 livres' worth of porcelain was sold to Empaytaz on September 17, 1794. Chanou remarks that the actual value of the batch was 600,000 livres. From October 1 to December 6 of that year, sixteen more

services, as well as vases and biscuit ware, were sold to Empaytaz for an additional 230,000 livres.

Marcelle Brunet, an archivist at the factory who has been interested in the black-ground ware since 1962, has noted among the services sold to Empaytaz one described as "un service à fond noir, paysages en or jaune, or vert et platine" valued at 5,418 livres. Consulting that date in the Sèvres sales registry she found a record of a sale to Empaytaz of a seventy-one piece service, but no description of its decoration:¹²

27 assiettes	54 livres	1,458
16 compotiers 4 formes	60 livres	960
2 sucriers	192 livres	384
2 plateaux à confiture	150 livres	300
14 tasses à glaces	24 livres	336
2 plateaux pour les servir	60 livres	120
2 seaux à glace	260 livres	520
2 verrières	260 livres	520
2 seaux à bouteilles	240 livres	480
2 seaux à 1/2 bouteilles	70 livres	340
		5,418

She then added up the prices of the service components: 5,418 livres. Thus the total price of this service matches that of the "service à fond noir" noted by Brunet from among the sale described by Chavagnac and Grollier. It is reasonable to assume, then, that the pieces itemized above and sold to Empaytaz were black-ground works.

A similar service is described in the Sèvres sales registry of May 6, 1791: "livré à Monsieur de Semonville Ambassadeur, service à fond noir, chinois en ors de couleurs et platine, fleurs émaillées":¹³

48 assiettes unies	54 livres	2,160
24 compotiers différents	48 livres	1,192
4 bateaux	60 livres	240
4 bateaux à 6 pots	150 livres	600
2 bateaux à 3 pots	174 livres	348
8 sucriers de table	180 livres	1,440
6 beurriers	150 livres	900
2 saladiers	210 livres	420
2 porte-huiliers	132 livres	264
54 tasses à glace	18 livres	972
6 plateaux pour les servir	150 livres	900
2 seaux à compartiments	192 livres	384
4 seaux à trépieds	600 livres	2,400
2 jattes à punch	750 livres	1,500

This set, accompanied by, among other items, 240 flat cabbage-leaf plates and 72 soup dishes, was paid for on June 2, 1791, for a total price of 28,000 livres.

Another black-ground service was sold to General Hedouville¹⁴ on “29 Germinal, Year 10.”¹⁵ There is no mention of chinoiserie in gold and platinum, but it is reasonable to think this was indeed the case:

72 assiettes	30 livres	2,160
4 compotiers	36 livres	1,444
12 compotiers	42 livres	504
16 tasses à glaces	9 livres	144
2 plateaux pour les servir	42 livres	84
2 sucriers	60 livres	120
2 confituriers	60 livres	120
2 seaux à glace	150 livres	300

Certain plates have a black rim with a pentagonal medallion of the same color in the center. They are decorated with a garland of polychrome flowers and chinoiserie in gold and platinum. The garland is sometimes round, sometimes wavy. Are these two different services? Are these plates from General Hedouville’s service or are they isolated pieces? For lack of a description, it is difficult to know.

MANUFACTURING PROCESSES

The Sèvres factory faced much tribulation as it sought to master the techniques and obtain the means to produce hard-paste porcelain. The factory attracted French and German arcanists—people who knew the secret (arcanum) of producing hard-paste porcelain—and took advantage of their expertise, but it always found a way not to respect commitments to them. The factory eventually received a sample of a superb French kaolin, but the location of the source was secret. (Kaolin had been discovered in France at Saint Yrieix, Limousin, about 1768.) The factory eventually succeeded in locating the vein.

Académie Française member Pierre Joseph Macquer, a Sèvres chemist charged with perfecting hard-paste porcelain, managed to produce about four hundred pieces of it in 1769. He presented his “nouvelle et bonne porcelaine” to Louis XV and the comtesse du Barry on the occasion of the festivals at the end of that year.¹⁶

Kaolin

The parent rock of the French kaolin, extracted from a hill near Saint Yrieix, was a gray and friable gravel. It was washed on-site and mixed with water. Fine clay particles became dislodged from the parent rock while in the water, which thus turned white. That water, loaded

with kaolin, was separated from the solid, coarse gravel residue and left to sit for several days. The water was then drawn off and the kaolin, which had settled to the bottom of the tank, was recovered.

The soil of Saint Yrieix rendered about half its weight in purified kaolin, which was sent to Paris. Left behind were mountains of washed gravel that for many years served to maintain roads and to roughcast the walls of houses in the region.

Paste

To obtain the paste from which hard-paste porcelain was formed, the purified kaolin was mixed with additional elements in the following proportion:

kaolin from Saint Yrieix, washed: 24 parts;
salt from Aumont, near Senlis: 7 parts;
chalk from Bougival, washed: 3 parts; and
gravel residue from washed kaolin: 3 parts.

This mixture was crushed together with a large quantity of water. It was left to settle, after which as much water as possible was drawn off and a thick slip obtained. The slip was poured into large oak barrels and left to rot for several months. The mixture turned black and foul-smelling but in this raw state acquired a plasticity and solidity that facilitated the shaping process. To achieve the proper consistency, the mixture then had to be poured into large plaster forms that absorbed excess water. A worker carefully mixed the malleable paste, stamped on it, and kneaded it by hand before giving it to the manufacturer.

Shaping the Plates

We have no precise records of the method used at Sèvres in the late eighteenth century to shape hard-paste porcelain plates. Soft-paste plates had been pressed between two molds since the time when the factory was located in Vincennes. Judging from the appearance of the hard-paste pieces, it would seem that a different procedure was used. Indeed, they were probably hand thrown. The potter would throw a series of thick shapes, approximately the size of the plates to be produced, on the wheel. After a few hours of drying, when these rough shapes had hardened somewhat, plaster molds were placed on them so that the inner portions of the plates would assume the shape of the molds. The plaster absorbed the water and the paste hardened in contact with it, resulting in very thick plates. The potter removed the plates and, when the piece was dry, trimmed the outer form with turning tools.

Kiln Hardening

The hard-paste kilns at Sèvres comprised two levels. The kiln on the ground floor, used for the end stages of firing, was 1,400 degrees Celsius; the upper level, heated only by the gases passing through it, was about 900 degrees Celsius. The upper kiln was used to give the hard-paste porcelain a rough form. When the porcelain came out of the upper kiln it was still opaque and porous; it had not yet lost its shape or undergone any shrinkage. The porosity also allowed a glaze to be applied at this stage. It was also at this point in the firing process that on certain pieces the Sèvres mark—two interlacing Ls surmounted by the closed crown—was painted in blue on the biscuit.

Glazing

As of 1778 the Sèvres factory possessed the formula for a remarkable glaze developed by a certain Dufour. That glaze, whose qualities are so extraordinary that it is still employed today, makes use of pegmatite, a natural mixture of quartz and feldspar that occurs as a very hard rock, somewhat resembling granite, found not far from Saint Yrieix. Because of its chemical composition, pegmatite turns into a colorless, transparent glass when fired on hard porcelain at 1,400 degrees Celsius. In addition, it can be applied to porcelain in extremely thin layers, which makes it possible to create fine motifs in relief under the glaze. Pegmatite, which at Sèvres was called “cailloux, spath, ou encore petung-tsé,” was finely ground with water. Director Antoine Régnier described the glazing operation in vivid language: “Lorsqu’on veut appliquer (l’émail) sur les pièces, on le delaye dans suffisante quantité d’eau pour qu’en trempant dedans un morceau de porcelaine dégourdie, il en reste sur la surface une couche de l’épaisseur d’une feuille de papier.” After it had dried, the glaze was powdery and adhered slightly to the biscuit. Extra layers were removed with a paintbrush, and glaze was added where it was missing. The glaze on the base of the plate was then removed; otherwise, during firing, the melting glaze would have made the plate stick to the sagger.

Glaze Firing

Sèvres technicians, accustomed to soft-paste porcelain, encountered two new problems in the firing of hard-paste porcelain for which a solution was urgently needed. First, the high temperature necessary to fire the porcelain required the use of extremely fireproof saggars. For plates to be very flat and not misshapen, the fireproof support on which they were placed dur-

ing firing could not be deformed by the heat. Suitable clays had to be found as quickly as possible. Technicians queried the glass factory of Saint-Gobain. Later a clay was discovered near Dreux that offered a solution of sorts.

The second problem was the need for a kiln that not only could reach these temperatures but also would be nearly homogeneous, both in terms of heat and internal atmosphere. At the time, Sèvres technicians were familiar only with the rectangular kilns used for soft paste: the fire was on one side, the chimney on the other. As a result, the conditions within were very heterogeneous, fluctuating depending on location within the kiln. Although this suited soft-paste, such kilns were not usable for hard paste, which cannot endure long dwells in these conditions at the end stage of firing. For the soft paste, these dwells went on for three days; for the hard paste, the heat had to be cut off as soon as the firing temperature was reached, otherwise the glaze would react with the paste and deteriorate in quality. Pierre Joseph Macquer knew that hard-paste porcelain could be fired quickly. He had demonstrated it often using a small experimental kiln in which he fired test cases within an hour. The chemist Guettard sent Sèvres a plan for a round kiln that had four heat sources. As of October 1769, this kiln, which was heated with wood, was functioning successfully, firing the porcelain in about twenty-four hours. Macquer has explained with remarkable clarity the combustion, oxidizing atmosphere, and reducing atmosphere in the kiln during the final third of the firing process.

In a report dated June 2, 1781, director Antoine Régnier, provides interesting details about the Sèvres kilns and evaluates the heat at the end of the firing process: “Dans un four de cette grandeur, on peut cuire jusqu’à 3.000 petites pièces de porcelaine telles que tasses et soucoupes. Cette porcelaine est tellement combinée que la chaleur nécessaire pour faire prendre à la pâte sa dureté, sa blancheur et sa transparence est la même que celle qui fait parfondre la couverte en sorte que quand on voit par les montres [pyroscopes] que la couverte est bien parfondue et bien unie et bien brillante, on est assuré que la porcelaine est cuite et l’on cesse le feu.”

What Régnier calls *montres* are fragments of glazed plates with a hole pierced through them. At the end of a firing, one of these *montres* was pulled out of the kiln; if it was shiny and properly coated with glaze, the porcelain was considered fired. After the cooling process, which could last about a week, the pieces were removed from the kiln and sorted. The number of hard-paste plates that had to be discarded, between 25 and 30 percent, was con-

siderably higher than that of soft-paste plates, which had a 5 to 7 percent rejection rate.

Preparation of the Black Pigment

High-temperature ground colors were a novelty at the Sèvres factory that arrived with hard-paste porcelain. The lead glaze of soft-paste porcelain allowed for brilliant colors that blended well at low temperatures. Either “painting” colors—*couleurs à peindre*, the full range of colors in the painter’s palette—or ground colors could be used, and in either case the result would be satisfactory. That was not the case with hard-paste porcelain. With certain exceptions, the low-temperature “painting” colors, when applied as the ground, never really took on a sheen. Technicians had to perfect high-temperature colors that would shine like a glaze once fired at a high temperature on white ware.

In 1781 Antoine Régnier made an inventory of five high-temperature colors, which today are called *sur couverte*, or overglaze colors: brown, hazelnut, tortoiseshell, royal blue, and black. The composition of the black ground was as follows:

hard-paste porcelain glaze, powdered	27 parts (75%)
cobalt oxide, powdered	3 parts (8%)
terra ombre, powdered	6 parts (17%)
	36

The color was prepared by first thoroughly mixing the components and then blending the mixture in crucibles that were placed in the glazing kiln. At the end of the firing the crucibles were broken and the blocks of colored glass were coarsely ground and then crushed. For soft-paste porcelain, the color was applied with a mordant, a kind of glue with which the pieces were coated. Before the mordant was completely dry, the powdered pigment was sprinkled on as evenly as possible with a sifter. The powder adhered only to surfaces coated with the mordant. The pieces were then carefully cleaned and fired, most likely in a glazing kiln. If the color was too light, a second layer of powder was applied using the same procedure.

After firing, the ground color was brown, grayish, and dirty. The black pigment, like the tortoiseshell, developed and acquired its full quality only through additional, low-temperature firing. If the layer of color was too thin, it did not develop during low-temperature firing and remained gray; if it was too thick, it took on matte, metallic glints with a smudgy and disagreeable appearance. It is likely that, to avoid surprises, artisans slow-fired the plates without decoration and then evaluated how the ground color was developing. That procedure could not be repeated

too often, however, because the ground colors would eventually metallize.

Gilding

Gold on soft-paste porcelain was expensive and complicated to prepare. To reduce gold to a powder sufficiently fine to be used as paint, the factory had to buy it as very thin leaf and crush it by hand. One ounce of gold (30.6 g) cost 101 livres, beating it into leaf cost 20 livres; and crushing it at the factory cost an additional 12 livres.

Beginning in 1771, even as artisans continued to use crushed gold on soft-paste porcelain, they began to use chemically prepared gold on hard-paste porcelain. Artisans had long known how to turn gold into powder through chemical manipulation, a process known to Renaissance enamellers and later used on Meissen porcelain. In fact, the details of the procedure can be found in the report on hard-paste porcelain submitted by Pierre Antoine Hannong to the factory’s director, Jacques René Boileau, on September 1, 1763. Chemical manipulation avoided all the costly leafing and crushing operations and produced a very fine powder that covered well and was easy to apply. It thus allowed for significant savings: instead of costing 133 livres per ounce, it cost only 102 livres 20 sols. Chemically prepared gold was used on the Museum’s plates.

To powder gold chemically, it was first dissolved in aqua regia, a mixture of one-third nitric acid and two-thirds hydrochloric acid. This mixture creates a gas, nascent chlorine, that corrodes the gold and turns it into gold chloride, which is soluble in the aqua regia. The metal must be worked hot. A one-kilogram gold ingot, for example, dissolves or gradually disappears into boiling aqua regia in four or five days, producing a liquid solution of a beautiful yellow color. Next ferrous sulfate, once called green vitriol, is dissolved in water, producing a green liquid. The green liquid is slowly poured into the gold chloride solution as the mixture is stirred with a porcelain spoon. The resulting mixture turns increasingly opaque, of a light brown color. When enough green liquid has been added, all the gold in the solution will precipitate, or return to the metallic state in the form of a very fine powder that settles at the bottom of the receptacle.

The gold particles are so small that the procedure takes a full night. The liquid is then poured off. The remaining powder precipitate is washed several times with clear water and left to settle after each wash. When the rinse water is perfectly clear it is poured off for a final time, and the powder is left to dry. The result is a finely powdered, beautifully yellow, extremely pure gold.

To affix the gold powder to hard-paste porcelain during firing, it is necessary to add about 10 percent flux to it. In Sèvres in the eighteenth century this flux was a fusible powdered glass with a lead-oxide-and-quartz base called *rocaille* (literally rockwork or pebbles). After the gold powder was combined with the flux powder it was ready to use and was called *or jaune*, or yellow gold. To obtain other colors of gold, different powdered metals were added to the yellow gold powder: silver for *or vert*, or “green gold,” copper for *l’or rouge*, or “red gold.”

Platinum

Platinum, in the form of a metal applied to porcelain, was not used at Sèvres until the last decade of the eighteenth century, before which time silver was used. Silver has a very beautiful shine when new but has a tendency to tarnish and then turn black with time (this takes several years of exposure to air and light). The Sèvres archives do not explain the process used to precipitate the platinum in preparation of the powder, which was applied with a brush. In 1781, however, artisans already knew how to prepare a pearl gray color with a platinum base, described as being “du plus bel effet soit au pinceau soit en fond.” That color was obtained by calcining platinum chloride with flux.¹⁷ The artisans were not yet precipitating platinum, however; that process was discovered in about 1790.

Corroding platinum with aqua regia requires extremely concentrated acids. Platinum dissolves more slowly than gold. When it was dissolved, an organic product had to be added to reduce the chloride to metal. Once precipitated, the platinum powder was washed in clear water. A flux was then added, probably the same kind and in the same proportion as was used for gold.

Pouncing Pattern

A pouncing pattern is a piece of paper onto which a design has been drawn or traced. Pinhole-sized holes are made in the paper along the outline of the design. The pattern is placed on a piece of porcelain and a colored powder (pounce) is applied with a small brush. A series of small dots, which corresponds to the outline of the design, is thereby made on the porcelain. The pouncing pattern is used to place or center decoration. If made from a transparent piece of paper, it can also be used to trace or transfer a design from one piece to another. To create an original decoration, the decorator draws his design on ordinary drawing paper, not necessarily transparent. He pricks the

outline with a pin and uses it to place the decoration judiciously and harmoniously on the piece. Either side of a pouncing pattern can be used; as a result, the engraving of a painting, which is usually a reverse of the original, can easily be turned around by a decorator using the pattern. If we compare the size of a motif on porcelain with that of the original engraving from which it was transferred, we often find that they are very different. Porcelain decorators frequently reduced the size of motifs they found on engravings.

For chinoiserie decoration on black-ground plates, a white powder, perhaps flour or chalk, was used to place the motif. For white grounds, a black powder, usually crushed charcoal, was employed.

Painting the Decoration

The gold and platinum powders, along with flux and water, were crushed by a muller on a plate of frosted glass. When they dried, they were ready for use. The powders were thinned with oil of turpentine; the decorator then painted the outlined motifs, juxtaposing the different colors of the golds and the platinum to highlight the contrast among them.

Firing the Gold

Since 1748, first at Vincennes and then at Sèvres, the factory had had an altogether unique kiln for firing the decoration, one that made it possible to fire both low-temperature colors and gold on soft-paste porcelain and on hard-paste porcelain in about an hour. This kiln was shaped like a tunnel; it was cold at both ends and heated to an incandescent temperature in the middle. The porcelain pieces were suspended from metal rods and placed in containers made of fire-proof clay. These containers were pushed into the kiln. When they reached the middle, the firing of the decoration was complete. The container was pulled toward the exit.¹⁸ At the end of this firing, the decorator might add a few touches of gold where it was lacking and fire the piece once more. The black ground likely metallized when the decoration was fired. If so, the matte, dirty-looking film was removed with a rag, water, and chalk.

Burnishing

After firing the gold is a matte brownish yellow. It is very fragile in this state; any contact with a hard object hammer-hardens and streaks it and also makes it shine. Any unintentional jarring or rubbing against it by another piece of porcelain, a ring, or even a but-

ton on clothing leaves a trace that cannot be removed. Although the gold can be shined through burnishing, it cannot be made matte again once it has become streaked. To avoid unintentional streaking and to preserve a semimatte finish on areas that will not be fully burnished, the burnisher half-burnishes, or rough-burnishes, the entire surface of the decoration by rubbing it with sand and water using a rag held at the tips of one's fingers. One then proceeds to burnish for effect (*brunissage à effet*) using tools made of hard stone—agate or hematite, for example—in different shapes and mounted on handles. The burnishing tool is held like a pencil, and the burnisher marks the surface of the rough-polished gold with gleaming lines.

Brunissage à effet had existed since Vincennes, but, toward the end of the eighteenth century, there was a tendency to create a more marked contrast between highly burnished areas and those that were less so. That tendency became more pronounced at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

CONCLUSION

On May 17, 1800, Lucien Bonaparte, minister of the interior, explained his decision to name Alexandre Brongniart as director of the Sèvres factory: "Ainsi en

réorganisant la manufacture je ne me suis pas seulement proposé de la rendre moins à la charge du gouvernement; j'ai encore eu l'intention de lui faire recouvrer son ancienne grandeur."¹⁹ The mission of Brongniart, a young chemist, was clear, but the wording of this passage, too often quoted perhaps, suggests a deterioration of the Sèvres factory's artistic and technical abilities, even a form of decadence, during the Revolution. The Metropolitan's black-ground plates demonstrate just the opposite. This necessarily brief exposition of the different procedures that led to their creation—which could make no mention of all the little skills, habits, and fastidious techniques, not to say finickiness and even obstinate persistence of the different artisans at Sèvres—is testimony to the remarkable traditions of craftsmanship that persisted, and in some cases even originated, amid the turbulence of the Revolution.

As for the accusations of "decadence,"²⁰ throughout its existence the Sèvres factory has produced objects of great prestige as well as simpler pieces. The latter are necessary for the proper internal operation of the manufacturing process, which requires a relatively high volume of production, and were made throughout the Revolution. To cite the black-ground plates, also made during the Revolution, as evidence of some decadence in the factory would be an inaccurate and unfair generalization.

NOTES

1. Evelyn Lever, *Louis XVI* (Paris, 1985); idem, *Marie-Antoinette* (Paris, 1991).
2. Melchior François Parent was Bertin's assistant. He did a great deal of scheming to take Boileau's place.
3. Jacques René Boileau, inspector from 1745 to 1753, director from 1753 to 1772.
4. Antoine Régnier, director of the factory from 1778 to 1793.
5. Claude de La Billardie, comte d'Angiviller, director general of buildings, gardens, factories, and academies, the king's representative, director in charge of management and administration of the royal porcelain factory beginning September 24, 1780.
6. Henry Léonard Jean Baptiste Bertin, controller general of finances from 1759 to 1763, born in Périgord about 1719, died about 1792. In 1767, he succeeded Jacques Dominique Barberie de Courteille as the king's representative responsible for the factory of Sèvres. Barberie de Courteille occupied that position from August 1751 until his death in November 1767.
7. In hindsight, and especially in the mind of comte d'Angiviller,

who had long believed that the factory ought to be inspired, for contemporary services, by the blue and white porcelain of Tournai, the purchase of the Limoges factory was perfectly justified. He must have noted that Paris businesses had taken away a large share of the Sèvres clientele. By acquiring a similar establishment, he would be able to respond to that competition by occupying a place in the same market. In addition, salaries in Limoges were much lower than in Sèvres or even in Paris, wood was inexpensive, and money could be saved on the transportation of kaolin—all arguments that must have appealed to an administrator such as he.

This calculation, certainly understandable from a long-term perspective and within a thriving economy, turned out to be harmful to the Sèvres factory. The reorganization of Limoges in 1787 brought no improvement and, in 1792, the books were still in the red as a result of a lack of market share.

8. Édouard Garnier, "La manufacture de Sèvres pendant la Révolution," *La nouvelle revue*, 1891; E. S. Auscher, "La manufacture

- de Sèvres sous la Révolution 1789–1800,” in *Revue de l’histoire de Versailles et de Seine et Oise, vers 1902*; Tamara Préaud, Lecture delivered at the Manufacture de Sèvres on the occasion of the bicentennial of the French Revolution, July 21, 1989.
9. Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives (hereafter AMNS), Vj’ 5, fol. 118.
 10. *Ibid.*, fol. 129.
 11. Comte Xavier de Chavagnac et marquis Gaston de Grolier, *Histoire des manufactures françaises de porcelaine* (Paris, 1906).
 12. AMNS, Vy 13, fol. 32. I thank Tamara Préaud for calling this document to my attention.
 13. *Ibid.*, Vy 11, fol. 69 and 69v. Charles Louis Huguet de Semonville was the epitome of the opportunist in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. For him, the monarchy, the Revolution, the Reign of Terror, the Directory, the Consulate, the Empire, the Hundred Days, and the Restoration were all opportunities to advance his career. He acquired this service while posted in Brussels. Assigned by Danton to secretly negotiate the safety of Marie Antoinette and the dauphin, who were incarcerated at the Temple, he was abducted by the Austrians while in Graubünden and thrown into prison, first in Mantua and then in Kufstein. He was liberated in exchange for Madame Royale’s freedom and named a marquis in 1819. Jean Tulard, *Dictionnaire Napoléon* (Paris, 1989).
 14. AMNS, Vy 13, fol. 30 and v.
 15. Marie Théodore Gabriel, comte de Hedouville, 1755–1825, plenipotentiary minister in Moscow, 1802–4.
 16. Antoine d’Albis, “The Creation of Hard-Paste Porcelain: Production at Sèvres,” *The French Porcelain Society* (London, 1998).
 17. AMNS, C2/18/3.
 18. Tamara Préaud and Antoine d’Albis, *La porcelaine de Vincennes* (Paris, 1991).
 19. AMNS, carton L1.
 20. Elisabetta Dal Carlo, *Le Porcellane dell’ambasciatore*, exh. cat., Galleria Querini-Stampala (Venice, 1998).

The River Nile, A Giovanni Volpato Masterwork

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IN 1785, WITH THE BLESSING of Pope Pius VI (r. 1775–99), Giovanni Volpato (1735–1803) opened his well-known manufactory for the production of biscuit porcelain statuettes in Rome, in via Pudenziana near Santa Maria Maggiore.¹ The many-talented Volpato, a native of Bassano long established in Rome as a prolific printmaker, enterprising archaeologist, and sometime dealer in antiquities, probably did not abandon any of those pursuits, but it is clear from the number and quality of the surviving porcelains that his efforts in relation to them, the first of consequence to be made in Rome, were quite focused. His heirs ran the firm until 1818. Volpato had also established at Civita Castellana a line of domestic earthenware productions for the table “ad uso d’Inghilterra” (after the English manner), but their reputation never approached that of his biscuit porcelains.² The latter succeeded for various reasons, including their relative novelty, their accessible size, the attractiveness and delicacy of their creamy white ceramic body, and the elegance and accuracy with which they reproduced ancient sculptures in reduced form. Today they are also valued for their rarity.

Volpato gained from a political situation that caused the luxury products of Revolutionary France to be cut off from foreign visitors to the benefit of Italian manufactories. Contemporary taste was veering steadily toward the increasingly austere forms of Neoclassicism that were encountered and nurtured in Rome. He also showed an outstanding knack for making friends and establishing powerful contacts—Gustav III of Sweden (r. 1771–92) and Antonio Canova (1757–1822), for example. The king bought several ancient sculptures excavated by Volpato. Canova, who came from the same area of the Veneto as Volpato, was a protégé, and Volpato was instrumental in obtaining the commission for Canova’s first great tomb, that of Pope Clement XIV (r. 1769–74) in SS. Apostoli, in Rome. The sculptor almost married

Volpato’s daughter and eventually created his funerary monument in the porch of SS. Apostoli. Although most of Volpato’s biscuit statuettes reproduce antiquities, he included Canova’s early masterpiece *Theseus and the Minotaur* (Victoria and Albert Museum, London) among his copies.³

One of Volpato’s helpful acquaintances in the quintessentially international Roman setting was the Swiss-born portrait painter Angelica Kauffmann (1741–1807). In 1795, Kauffmann advised young Charles Heathcote Tatham (1772–1842) to send a list of Volpato’s works to the architect Henry Holland (1745–1806), then completing buildings for the Prince of Wales and the Earl Spencer. Tatham, a draftsman in Holland’s employ, was in Rome to assist the architect in forming a collection of ancient fragments for his London residence. Tatham also forwarded similar lists from bronze founders. Volpato’s porcelain reductions of antiquities are perhaps to be viewed as his response to those in bronze, which found their way to the mantelpieces and dining tables of several English homeowners eager for reflections of the classical world, whether as mementos of the Grand Tour or simply to embrace formally correct embodiments of ancient ideals.

The only surviving copy of Volpato’s printed price list, in the Victoria and Albert Museum Library, has been frequently cited but never, to my knowledge, reproduced (Figure 1).⁴ Its French text underscores the ecumenical nature of artistic life in the Eternal City at that date. Tatham’s note at the bottom reads: “Madame Angelica recommended me to enclose this Catalogue of the Articles made at a Manufactory here—they are of the whitest porcelain⁵ similar to the french—but very superior as to design workmanship and Art.—The mark + is a very beautiful Collection.” Tatham’s plus sign in ink denotes a set of statuettes of *Apollo and the Nine Muses*, after marbles in the Vatican Museums, priced together at 40 gold sequins. Down the list, by far the most expensive item, priced at 100 sequins (this also in pen, as if Volpato had difficulty at the last minute deciding what to charge), comes *Le Fluve* [sic]

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METROPOLITAN MUSEUM JOURNAL 37

The notes for this article begin on page 282.

277

CATALOGUE					
Des Statues antiques, Groupes, et Dessert de Porcellaine en biscuit,			de la Fabrique Jean Volpato à Rome		
STATUES			VASES ANTIQUES		
<i>plus hautes d'un Pied de France</i>					
Apollon du Museum Vaticanum	seguins	6	Vase avec des masques à Londres	8	
Paris dito	6		Autre Vase avec des Masques dito	8	
Melagre dito	6		Vase avec Ephigénie de Medius à Florence	12	
Marius assis dito	6		Autre Vase avec des Bacchantes à la Villa Borghese	12	
Sylla assis dito	6		Vase avec des ornements au Museum Capitolin	8	
Centaure avec un Lievre en Main dito	9		Autre vase Semblable	8	
Autre Centaure avec un Amour sur le Dos de la Villa Borghese	9		Vase long avec des ornements	6	
Gladiateur mourant étendu du Museum Capitolin	6		BUSTES DES PHILOSOPHES		
Agrippine dito	6		<i>De la proportion de la moitié d'une Tête naturelle</i>		
Idole Egyptien dito	6		Platon dans le Museum Capitolin	3	
Hercule de palais Farnese	6		Euripide dito	3	
Flore dito	6		Epure dito	2	
Mars en repos de la Villa Ludovici	6		Socrate dito	2	
Faune dormant du palais Barberini	6		Apollonius Tiansus dito	2	
Autre Faune avec un Amour à Florence	6		Alexandre dito	3	
<i>Les memes plus bas d'un pied</i>			Diogene dito	2	
Apollon Cythere avec les neuf Muses du Museum Vaticanum	40		Flore dito	2	
Memnosine dito	4		Achille dito	2	
Ganimede dito	4		Biante du Museum Vaticanum	3	
Famulus des Bains dito	4		Pericles dito	2	
Adonis dito	3		Aristote dito	2	
Venus avec une perle entre les mains du Museum Capitolin	4		Phodros dito	2	
Antinous dito	3		Apollonius dito	2	
Mercurie dito	2		Deux Harpies des Bacchantes dito	6	
Uge Flore au Capitol	4		Solon à Naples	2	
Gente du Museum Vaticanum	2		Homere dito	2	
Deux Enfants avec des Oiseaux dans la Galerie Borghese	2		Ajax à Florence	2	
Apollon de medice à Florence	4		Zenon près le Chevalier de Azara	2	
Faune avec les cliquettes dito	4		Isocrate dito	2	
Autre Faune antique chez l'Auteur	4		Alexandre dito	2	
GROUPES			Euripide dito	2	
<i>De différents grandeurs</i>			Hieronymus	2	
Un Char de triomphe avec Bacchus et Ariane tiré par des Tigres, avec deux Amours et son terrain	40		Pittacus dito	2	
Le Fluve Nile avec les Enfants	100		Pherecide dito	2	
Une Faune, et une Bacchante groupés	9		Theocrite dito	2	
Satyre et des enfans qui jouent avec un bouc	8		Socrate dito	2	
Autre Groupe semblable	8		Heraclite dit	2	
Deux Bacchantes qui dansent	8		Heraclite Massigete dit	2	
Quatre Enfants qui tiennent des Masques	6		Metodore dit	2	
Deux groupes des Enfants	4		Apollonius Tiansus dit	2	
Deux Vasaux qui soutiennent deux Chandeliers	12		Carneside dit	2	
Une Europe sur le Taureau	9		Aristote dit	2	
Tesé avec le minotaure	15		Demostene dit	2	
Les deux Statues Equestres du Quinail avec l'Obelisque, et les deux Fontaines	25		Ciceron dit	2	
Un Temple soutenu par huit Cantharides de l'hauteur d'un pied et demi	20		L'Auteur a une collection plus petite des memes Bustes sur des Plâtres à un sequin chacun		
L'Auteur fait toujours de nouveaux Groupes, et Statues pour orner les Tables, et les Cheminées à mesure qu'on lui presente l'occasion de les faire.			Plusieurs Vases, et Tasses de belles formes à un sequin la piece		
			Deux Chandeliers		
			Un Chandelier antique		

Figure 1. Giovanni Volpato's price list sent to Henry Holland in 1795. Victoria and Albert Museum Library, London (photo: Victoria and Albert Picture Library)

Nile avec les Enfans. The reference is to the ancient marble sculpture of a river god, the *Nile*, in the Vatican. Volpato's group recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum is apparently the unique surviving biscuit reduction (Figures 2, 3). Given the biscuit group's exceptional size (for porcelain) and the fiendish detail lavished on it, this representation of the *Nile* may even be the only one that his manufactory managed to produce. Despite the signature in block letters on top of the right rear, G. VOLPATO ROMA (Figure 4), with which the group, like roughly half the production, is stamped, it is probable that Vol-

pato did not model the work himself but hired modelers and finishers in much the same way that the bronze founders did. It was not always easy to find help; in 1786, his "primo uomo" was jailed for theft,⁶ but that must have been only a minor setback. Close supervision on his part or that of a foreman or both is implied by the uniformly high quality of the manufactory's overall output; even in that context, Volpato's *Nile* stands out spectacularly.⁷

The marble river god in the Vatican is a colossus more than ten feet wide (Figure 5).⁸ Ever since its discovery during the early sixteenth century in excavations



Figure 2. Giovanni Volpato, after the antique, *The River Nile*, ca. 1785–95. Hard-paste biscuit porcelain, H. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (29 cm), W. 22 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (57 cm), D. 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (28.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, The Isak and Rose Weinman Foundation Inc. Gift, 2001 (2001.456)

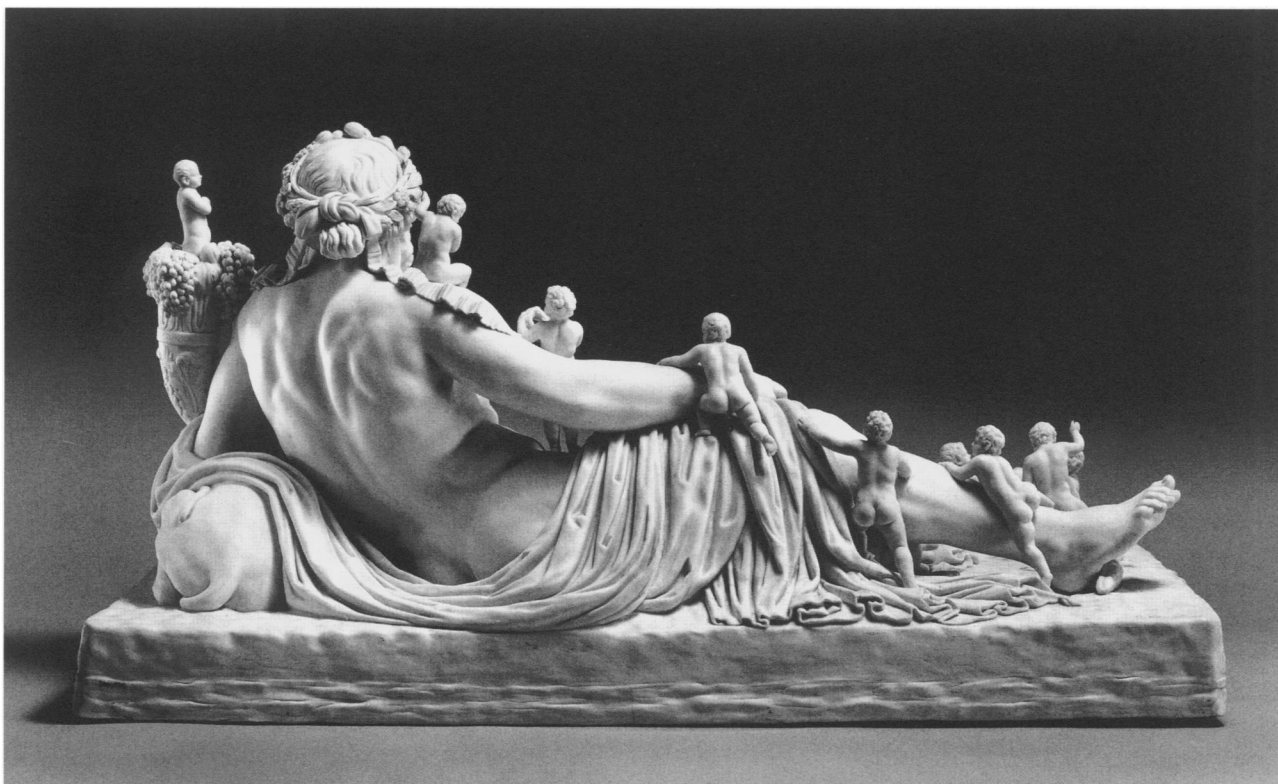


Figure 3. Back of the porcelain in Figure 2



Figure 4. Stamped signature on Figure 2: G. VOLPATO ROMA

of the shrine to Isis and Serapis, near Santa Maria sopra Minerva, and its placement in the Vatican Belvedere, the *Nile* was viewed as one of the most curious relics of the ancient world. In Volpato's day, it was in the Sala degli Animali, which he often traversed on his way to make drawings for engravings after Raphael;

today it is in the Braccio Nuovo. In Volpato's time the marble was also more highly esteemed than it is now; later scholars have tended to be somewhat dismissive of a work generally considered a Roman copy of a lost Alexandrian original. The Vatican *Nile* originated during one of those waves of Egyptomania that periodically washed over ancient Rome. In the Iseum it had a nearer Roman context, having been paired with the marble *Tiber* of equally impressive size. They were together until 1803, when both were dragged to Paris by terms of the Treaty of Tolentino; the *Nile* returned home, but the *Tiber* remains in the Louvre.⁹

The meaning of the *Nile*, a mammoth nude reposing against a sphinx and cornucopia amid babies who swarm and play with an alligator and a mongoose, is known from Pliny the Elder's *Natural History* (36.58). In his discussion of the stones of Egypt, Pliny mentions not the Vatican marble but an example carved of the dark gray composite stone graywacke, which he called "basanites."

The Egyptians, too, have discovered in Ethiopia the stone known as "basanites," which in color and hardness resembles iron, whence the name that has been



Figure 5. *The River Nile*, Roman copy of a Hellenistic statue, probably Alexandrian in origin. Marble, L. 10 ft. 2 in. (3.1 m). Musei Vaticani, Rome (photo: Archivio fotografico delle Gallerie e Musei Vaticani)

given to it. A larger block of it has never been known than the one forming the group which has been dedicated by the Emperor Vespasian Augustus in the Temple of Peace. It represents the river Nilus with sixteen children sporting around it, symbolical of the sixteen cubits, the extreme height to which, in the most favorable seasons, that river should rise.¹⁰

The annual rising of the waters by an ideal sixteen cubits was deemed essential to the maintenance of abundant life in Lower Egypt. Our group is thus an allegory of fecundity and was understood as such by the Roman sculptor or sculptors who provided complementary imagery for the *Tiber*. The *Nile* typology was apparently widespread. The babies who personify the cubits have a Greek name, *pecheis*, derived from the term for measurement of the forearm's length from wrist to elbow.¹¹ The marble infants are of roughly that height. In any case, their role and number were perfectly grasped when the group was restored for Pope Clement XIV by Gaspare Sibilla (d. 1782) earlier in the eighteenth century. As an archaeologist, Volpato evidently followed restorations closely. His biscuit line also included the Vatican *Centaurs*, which Sibilla had mended quite freely in 1782.¹²

Before the restoration of the *Nile* many of the babies were missing partially or altogether, as older drawings show, but finally all were completed—whether refashioned or reinvented. Their complaisant charms echo classical literature. Certain lines from Philostratus the Elder must have rung in the restorer's head. In his chapter on *pecheis*, which his translator renders as "cubit-dwarfs" (10.5), Philostratus, influenced by painting, writes:

About the Nile are sporting children no taller than their name implies; and the Nile delights in them for many reasons, but particularly because they herald his coming in great floods for the Egyptians. At any rate they draw near and come to him seemingly out of the water, infants dainty and smiling. . . . Some sit on his shoulders, some cling to his curling locks, some are asleep on his arms, and some romp on his breast. And he yields them flowers, some from his lap and some from his arms, that they may weave them into crowns and, sacred and fragrant themselves, may have a bed of flowers to sleep upon. And the children climb up one on another with sistra in their hands, instruments the sound of which is familiar to that river. Crocodiles, however, and hippopotami, which some artists associate with the Nile, are now lying aloof in its deep eddies so as not to frighten the children. But that the river is the Nile is indicated, my boy, by symbols of

agriculture and navigation, and for the following reason: at its flood the Nile makes Egypt open to boats; then when it has been drunk up by the fields, it gives the people a fertile land to till; and in Ethiopia, where it takes its rise, a divinity is set over it as its steward, and he it is who sends forth its waters at the right seasons. . . . Toward him the river is looking as it prays that its infants may be many.¹³

Volpato, like Sibilla, presents us with putti wielding wheat instead of blossoms, but many particulars, the tone, and even the rhythmic sense are much the same in the group as in the text.

The *pecheis* or *cubitini*, if we may be permitted to imagine an Italian so referring to these putti, imposed the greatest challenge to copying, as the modeler had to reduce them in height to about three inches. Although small in relation to the marble, the copy is very sizable in terms of porcelain. The copyist, while clearly rising to the task of faithfully diminishing to tiny fractions such details as the strands of the river god's beard and the grapes of the cornucopia, decided on one decisive overall change. One of the marble's most endearing features is its base. The front is carved with wavy lines to suggest the Nile's water, but on the back and sides are friezes in low relief inhabited by ibises and creatures of the deep including crocodiles and hippopotami; there are also Pygmies rowing boats.¹⁴ The modeler chose to delete these lively scenes, no doubt fearing that they could not be reproduced successfully on the sharply curtailed scale of the porcelain. His solution was to furnish the base and its sides with a fictive sheet of wet drapery, providing a softer foil for the group. This provision, more in accord with Neoclassical decorum than slithery hippopotami and crocodiles, anticipates by a couple of decades Canova's draping of the bed on which his famous *Pauline Borghese* (Galleria Borghese, Rome) reclines.

It is hardly a wonder if, as we suspect, Volpato's expensive *Nile* was repeated little or not at all; the amount of labor involved may be indicated by the absence from his price list of a biscuit *Tiber* pendant. The rest of his porcelain oeuvre divulges treasures, certainly—for instance, a perfectly recapitulated *Dying Gaul*,¹⁵ or a *surtout de table* exhibiting every finesse,¹⁶ or even a double-herm bust that looks strikingly original¹⁷—but no group of this size and complexity. With it Volpato tested his manufactory to the limit and served up one of the most eye-catching confections among all those that perpetuate memories of the Grand Tour.

NOTES

1. For Volpato's ceramics, see especially Hugh Honour, "Statuettes after the Antique: Volpato's Porcelain Factory," *Apollo* 85 (May 1967), pp. 371–73; Eros Biavati, "Giovanni Volpato di Bassano (1732–1803) incisore, produttore di porcellane, terraglie uso Inghilterra e maioliche a Roma," *Faenza* 63 (1977), pp. 132–40; Elisa Tittoni Monti, "Volpato a Roma," in *Piranesi e la cultura antiquaria: Gli antecedenti e il contesto. Atti del Convegno 14–17 Novembre 1979* (Rome, 1983), pp. 405–19; idem, "La fabbrica di biscuit di Giovanni Volpato," in Giorgio Marini, ed., *Giovanni Volpato 1735–1803*, exh. cat., Museo Civico, Bassano del Grappa (Bassano del Grappa, 1988), pp. 34–39; and Daniela Di Castro, "Il principe Chigi, Visconti e Volpato fra il centrotavola di Palazzo Pallavicino ed altri oggetti d'arte," *Gazzetta antiquaria* n.s., 28 (1996), pp. 42–51. I am profoundly indebted to Dr. Di Castro for sharing her research on the *River Nile*.
2. See Biavati, "Giovanni Volpato di Bassano," passim. Volpato printed four price lists for these wares beginning in 1796.
3. Olimpia Theodoli, "Un appunto su Antonio Canova e Giovanni Volpato," *Antologia di Belle Arti* 23–24 (1984), pp. 116–18.
4. Victoria and Albert Museum Library, London, D.1479.17–1898, first cited in Honour, "Statuettes after the Antique."
5. The whiteness claimed is overstated. The clay, dug at Tolfà, is off-white and slightly buttery to grayish in effect.
6. Biavati, "Giovanni Volpato di Bassano," p. 135.
7. A few words on facture and condition: the left end of the base rises a few degrees above horizontal. Warping of the sort was virtually to be expected in firing a piece of this size. The same is true of the numerous kiln cracks. Subsequent repairs, none carried out by the Metropolitan Museum and mainly comprising replacements of babies' fingers, are remarkably few.
8. See Walther Amelung, *Die Skulpturen des Vatikanischen Museums* (Berlin, 1903), vol. 1, pp. 124–34, no. 109; Wolfgang Helbig, *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Alterthümer in Rom*, 4th ed., rev. (Tübingen, 1963), vol. 1, pp. 338–39, no. 440; Hans Henrik Brummer, *The Statue Court in the Vatican Belvedere* (Stockholm, 1970), pp. 191–204; Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, *Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture, 1500–1900* (New Haven and London, 1981), pp. 272–73, no. 65; and Phyllis Pray Bober and Ruth Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture: A Handbook of Sources* (London, 1986), pp. 103–4, no. 67.
9. Haskell and Penny, *Taste and the Antique*, pp. 31–11, no. 79.
10. *The Natural History of Pliny*, trans. John Bostock and H. T. Riley (London, 1857), vol. 6, p. 328.
11. Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, 9th ed. with new suppl. (Oxford, 1996), p. 1402.
12. Biscuit examples in the Museo Correr, Venice, and the Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome. Tittoni, "Volpato a Roma," p. 410, and Tittoni, "La fabbrica di biscuit," pp. 38–39. For Sibilla's career as a restorer, see Carlo Pietrangeli, *Scavi e scoperte di antichità sotto il pontificato di Pio VI* (Rome, 1958), passim.
13. Philostratus, *Imagines*, trans. Arthur Fairbanks (London and New York, 1931), p. 19.
14. The friezes seem not to be widely illustrated. In most old engravings they are transposed from the back and sides to two zones in front. Thus Salomon Reinach, *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine* (Paris, 1897), vol. 1, pl. 748, 5.
15. Pinacoteca Capitolina, Rome. It appears on Volpato's list (Figure 1) as "Gladiateur mourant étendu du Museum Capitolinum." *Art in Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, exh. cat., Philadelphia Museum of Art and Museum of Fine Arts, Houston (Philadelphia, 2000), p. 208, no. 100.
16. Palazzo Pallavicini, Rome. Di Castro, "Il principe Chigi," passim.
17. The recent Anton Raphael Mengs exhibition in Padua presented Volpato's biscuit double-herm bust of Mengs and the Spanish diplomat Azura (Accademia Carrara, Bergamo; bequest of Federico Zeri). *Mengs: La scoperta del Neoclassico*, exh. cat. Palazzo Zabarella, Padua (Venice, 2001), pp. 118–19, no. 11.

A Paris Porcelain Dinner Service for the American Market

ALICE COONEY FRELINGHUYSEN

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IN 1994, THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM OF ART acquired sixteen pieces from a larger porcelain dinner service made in Paris between 1800 and 1815. The service, which joins a small but choice group of Paris porcelains with American interest,¹ has been a feature of the Baltimore Dining Room in the American Wing since it opened in 1980, when the service was first lent to the Museum.²

The Museum's holdings include six dinner plates, six soup plates, a pair of sauceboats and stands, and a covered tureen and oval platter (Figure 1). The service originally consisted of more than fifty-seven dinner plates, forty-one soup plates, an additional sauceboat with stand, an additional covered tureen, fifteen oval platters in four sizes ranging from 13¾ inches (34.9 cm) to 20⅝ inches (52.4 cm) long, seven graduated circular serving dishes in three sizes, from 10 inches (25.4 cm) to 14⅞ inches (37.8 cm) in diameter, two covered butter dishes on stands, and one serving bowl. Each piece features a border of a pale peach-colored ground embellished with painted decoration in black enamel highlighted in gold. The border designs on the plates consist of three seated classical figures equally spaced, all on a groundline of rockwork and grass. Between the figures are pairs of Neoclassical trophies of musical instruments, weaponry, and agricultural implements. Gold bands frame each border, and around the well is a gilt scallop-and-dot surround. The larger borders of the platters are similarly decorated, but with additional classical figures alternating with pairs of trophies. In the center of each plate and platter is an American flag with thirteen stars crossed with a laurel branch with berries.

The sauceboats are ovoid in shape with a high loop handle at one end; they rest on fitted ovoid molded stands, ovoids that taper slightly at one end, with molded shell decoration at the swelled end (Figure 2). Classical figures and trophies, similar to those on the

plates and platters, grace each form. The Neoclassical shapes and decoration are consistent with porcelains fabricated from the 1790s through the 1820s.

The tureen, the most impressive of all the pieces in the service, is ovoid and raised on a foot, with everted scroll handles and a pagoda-type finial that are fully gilded (Figure 3). It is also the most finely painted and features not the generalized classical figures but specific allegorical subjects. At one end of the cover, Diana, the moon goddess, stands holding a bow and arrows, a dog at her feet, the crescent moon over her brow (Figure 4). At the other end of the cover is a seated female figure holding a celestial sphere in her left hand, representing Fame or Fortune. The figures of a Native American princess and Liberty are at the center of the borders on both the tureen and its cover. The eight symbolic trophies that appear on the tureen and the cover are also carefully detailed with a specificity not found on the plates and other forms. They include three trophies of war: a shield ornamented with a heart pierced by an arrow, a quiver of arrows and a bow, a musket and an olive branch; another shield with a quiver of arrows and an olive branch; and a flag, drum, and sword. Two trophies are of musical instruments: one depicts a horn and a lyre variant; the other, a lute, a drum, and a wind instrument. One trophy consists of a celestial sphere and a scientific instrument (a barometer?). The most unusual trophy, positioned to the left of Liberty, is a bundle, tied with cord, over an anchor and a caduceus.

The combined motifs of the American flag, the figure of Liberty holding the flag with an eagle at her feet, and the Native American princess attest to an American ownership of this service. During the American War of Independence, when trade between England and America was severely disrupted and when France cast its lot with America's struggle for freedom, Americans began to adopt French manners and tastes. Even after the final peace settlement had been signed in 1783, many Americans continued to reject English products in favor of those from France. Wealthy Americans seeking to decorate their homes

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The notes for this article begin on page 290.



Figure 1. Sixteen pieces from a dinner service. Attributed to Dihl et Guérhard (1781–1824?), Paris, France, 1800–15. Hard-paste porcelain. Tureen H. 10¼ in. (26 cm), L. 15½ in. (39.5 cm); platter L. 20½ in. (52.4 cm), W. 13¾ in. (35.2 cm); sauceboats with stand H. 6⅞ in. (15.6 cm), L. 7¼ in. (19.7 cm); soup plates diam. 9⅞ in. (23.2 cm); dinner plates diam. 9¼ in. (23.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Solomon Grossman Gift, in memory of Berry B. Tracy, and The Vincent Astor Foundation Gift, 1994 (1994.480.1–16)

and tables in the most fashionable styles imported luxury goods in the classical mode from France. During the four decades that straddled the turn of the century, French porcelains were the vogue among America's political, social, and economic elite. Notable Americans to whom French porcelains can be documented include statesmen and diplomats such as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, Gouverneur Morris, and John Adams.³

Numerous French services survive with a history of ownership in America, but with the exception of presidential ones, few are known that are decorated with such recognizable American symbols or were made for a specific American patron, as was this one.⁴ The most popular pattern found on Paris porcelain of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries owned by American families was that decorated with scattered sprays of blue cornflowers. One of the earliest with an American connection descended in the Verplanck family of New York.⁵ It dates to sometime



Figure 2. Sauceboat and stand. Attributed to Dihl et Guérhard (1781–1824?), Paris, France, 1800–15. Hard-paste porcelain. H. 6⅞ in. (15.6 cm), L. 7¼ in. (19.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Solomon Grossman Gift, in memory of Berry B. Tracy, and The Vincent Astor Foundation Gift, 1994 (1994.480.3a,b)



Figure 3. Covered tureen with platter. Attributed to Dihl et Guérhard (1781–1824?), Paris, France, 1800–15. Hard-paste porcelain. Tureen H. 10¼ in. (26 cm), L. 15⅝ in. (39.5 cm); platter L. 20⅝ in. (52.4 cm), W. 13⅞ in. (35.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Solomon Grossman Gift, in memory of Berry B. Tracy, and The Vincent Astor Foundation Gift, 1994 (1994.480.1–2)

shortly after 1778, when it was sent as a gift to Mrs. Samuel Verplanck from Sir William Lord Howe. Services with similar decoration were owned by Franklin and Jefferson; William Bayard and Rufus King of New York; Harrison Gray Otis of Boston; and the Middleton family of Charleston, to name a few. Several more elaborately decorated Paris porcelain services with American histories are known, but with floral or other generalized decoration rather than specifically American motifs.⁶ Most services specially made for American clients are far simpler, featuring initials in gold, or family coats of arms, like two services known with Livingston family histories.⁷

The iconography of the motifs depicted on the Museum's service indicates that it was a specific commission for the American market. It is emblematic of the period from 1783 to 1815, with its conscious



Figure 4. Representation of Diana on cover of tureen in Figure 3

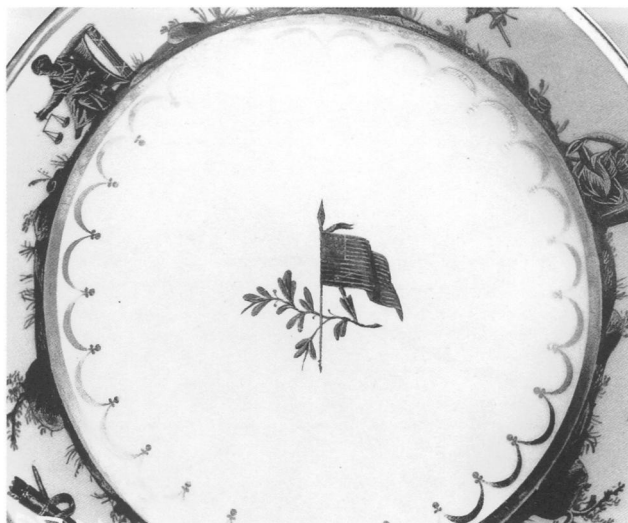


Figure 5. Flag on dinner plate in Figure 1

development of a distinctively American nationality. The most obvious patriotic symbol is the flag, which is prominently displayed on all the plates and platters. The flag is consistent in its rendering throughout the entire service, with twelve stripes and thirteen stars arranged horizontally on a canton in a four-five-four design (Figure 5). By the time the service was made, the United States had adopted an official flag with a canton depicting a greater number of stars (fifteen in 1795, and twenty in 1817), but the flag with thirteen stars remained a symbol of the colonies' hard-won freedom and continued in use as a flag of the seas.

The figure of the Native American princess, depicted as a bare-chested woman with a feather

headdress and skirt and holding a bow and arrow (Figure 6) derives from symbolic references to America as the New World that date at least to the 1500s.⁸ In the earliest examples—in which it was represented as the Western Hemisphere or as the fourth continent, after Asia, Africa, and Europe—America was portrayed as an Indian queen, conjuring an image of a land inhabited by barbarous people. After about 1763, the image shifted from Indian queen to Indian princess, a daughter of Britannia representing the American colonies; in this version, she was depicted as a younger woman holding not a club but a bow and arrows. The Indian princess was often paired with bales of merchandise and an anchor, seen here as separate emblems on the opposite side of the tureen cover.

Although the personification of America as Indian princess persisted throughout the early nineteenth century, she was paired more and more frequently, especially after 1783, with the female allegorical figures of Minerva, Hercules, Columbia, and, most often, Liberty.⁹ The tureen underscores the relationship of America and her pursuit of liberty by depicting Liberty exactly opposite the Indian princess. This rendering incorporates many of Liberty's traditional emblems, including the Phrygian cap that she wears, the protective eagle at her feet, a quiver of arrows, and the American flag with thirteen stars held aloft on a tall, slender staff (Figure 7).

In addition to the specific references to America, the porcelain artist depicted attributes on the covered tureen that provide clues as to the original owner. These, too, were executed with great care. The presence of the astrological globe and scientific instrument (Figure 8) suggests that the owner was an educated



Figure 6. Representation of Native American princess on cover of tureen in Figure 3



Figure 7. Representation of Liberty on cover of tureen in Figure 3

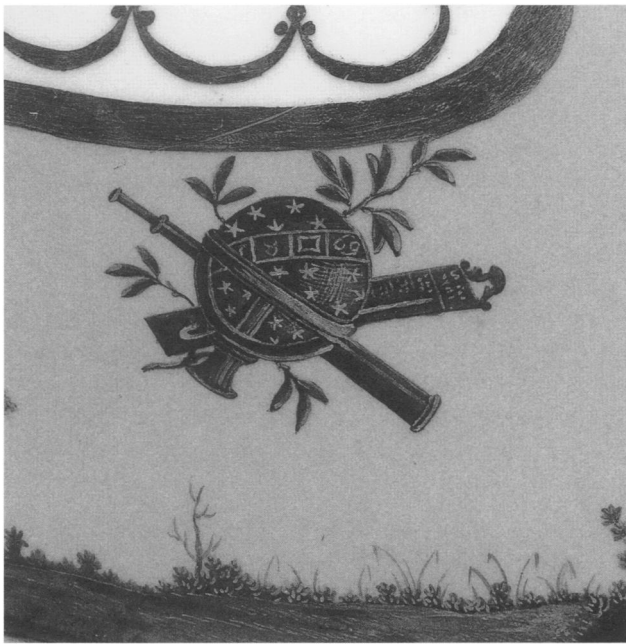


Figure 8. Astrological globe and scientific instruments on cover of tureen in Figure 3



Figure 9. Tied bundle with initials JAB on cover of tureen in Figure 3

man with an interest in science; the trophy of various musical instruments gives rise to the speculation that he was also a man of culture. The pairing of the weapons and olive branch might imply a peacetime resolution to conflict.

The most tantalizing of all the attributes, however, is the bundle tied with cord (Figure 9) positioned to the left of the figure of Liberty on the tureen's cover. The bundle is depicted with other recognizable emblems of trade: an anchor, suggesting ships and shipping, and a caduceus, or staff of Mercury, signifying the protection of travelers. Tied bundles such as this one were the common cargo of merchants in the early nineteenth century. It appears to be a soft bundle, indicating that it contained fabric, probably linen or cotton; wooden crates and hogshead barrels were also popular packing materials, but for shipping fragile articles like ceramics, glass, and metalwork. The initials JAB, inscribed in gold on one quadrant of the bundle, have given rise to much speculation. They probably are those of either the tureen's decorator or its original owner.¹⁰ It might seem surprising that the individual who ordered such a prestigious service would have his initials so inconspicuously placed, visible in tiny letters on only one side of one of the pieces. And yet, although French porcelain painters are known to have signed scenic panels on vases and other pieces, there are no known examples of one signing the front of a decorative service such as this, or signing in this almost trompe l'oeil fashion. Therefore, it is worth

looking into the possibility that they are the initials of the owner. Such bundles frequently bore the initials or monogram of the company or merchant who had placed the order. In fact, one early-nineteenth-century typographical ornament, a generalized emblem of a merchant of that period, pictures a well-dressed gentleman sitting on just such a tied bundle, with initials prominently displayed in one corner, and gesturing to the ship that carried his imported goods.¹¹ Therefore, the service likely was made for a patriotic American merchant in the shipping trade, probably dealing in textiles, whose initials are JAB.

Several theories have been advanced regarding the identity of the service's original owner. It had been owned by Mrs. Miles White Jr. (d. 1955) of Baltimore, Maryland, and reputed to have previously been the property of Robert Bowie (1750–1818), plantation owner and governor of Maryland from 1803 to 1806.¹² The Bowie family genealogy, however, yields no family member of the proper date with the initials JAB. Recently published research on an extensively decorated Chamberlain's Worcester porcelain dessert service (Figure 10) in the collection of the Baltimore Museum of Art provides new clues to the possible ownership of the Paris one under discussion.¹³ Like the Metropolitan's, the Baltimore service once belonged to Mrs. Miles White. The Chamberlain factory order book shows that the elaborate dessert service was ordered by William Brown of Liverpool on October 30, 1816, with the stipulation that it was to



Figure 10. Square dish from dessert service. Chamberlain's Worcester (English), 1816. Soft-paste porcelain, diam. 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in. (20.7 cm). The Baltimore Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs. Francis White, from the Collection of Mrs. Miles White Jr. (1973.76.168.1)

"be in L'pool before Christmas." An entry two years later shows that a set of two dozen plates was to be ready for shipment on January 10, 1819. Both orders presumably were timed to coincide with the sailing of one of Brown's ships bound for America and his family there.¹⁴

The coincident history of Mrs. Miles White's ownership and initials ending with B inspires a search for a member of the Brown family with the initials JAB. The Browns were prominent and highly successful merchants in Baltimore. The patriarch, Alexander Brown (1764–1834), in 1800 emigrated from Ireland, where his family had been in the linen business. He began his career in Baltimore by importing linen from Ireland and soon began exporting cotton from America to England. What started as an import-export textile firm evolved into a thriving Anglo-American trade and foreign exchange. Brown's sons became active in the business, called Alexander Brown & Sons, and expanded the company beyond its Baltimore headquarters. William, the eldest (who ordered the fancy porcelain dessert service from Chamberlain's), opened the Liverpool branch. John opened a branch in Philadelphia in 1818, and James, the youngest, opened one in New York City in 1825. Such was their success that by 1820 Alexander Brown was one of America's earliest millionaires. The firm he founded

would eventually become the banking institution Brown Brothers, Harriman and Company.¹⁵

Alexander's third son, John A. Brown (1788–1872), ran the Philadelphia branch, called John A. Brown and Company, was a partner in his brother William's Liverpool venture, and, like his father, was a successful merchant. He married Isabella Patrick in 1813; the dinner service may have been ordered at the time of their wedding.¹⁶ Emblematic of his success, Brown, a handsome man, had his portrait painted in the fashionable attire of the day and made his home in a grand townhouse on the corner of Chestnut and Twelfth Streets in Philadelphia.¹⁷ It seems fitting that a porcelain service such as the Museum's would have graced the dining room where he served as host. It is not known for which member of the Brown family in America William ordered the Chamberlain's dessert service. Dating to approximately the same time as the Paris one, it is equally elaborate, with gilded decoration and finely painted landscape scenes, and helps to establish the Brown family taste for sumptuous porcelains. The ground color is nearly identical to that on the Paris porcelain. Assuming the Brown ownership of the Museum's service can now be recognized, the fact that an American merchant trading with Great Britain would commission such a service from France illustrates the strength of the taste in America for French porcelains.

The service was undoubtedly somewhat larger than what is known to survive today. A careful examination of the individual pieces reveals the hands of several decorators. The tureen, as has been noted, is the most sensitively painted of all the pieces. The plates seem to have been done by two painters, one of which used a much tighter style, with smaller individual elements, and less care in the placement of the trophies around the border. Most noticeable is the almost linear groundline, with little of the articulation of grasses and rocks seen in the other pieces. The service contained another variant, with identical designs painted on a border with a gray, rather than a peach, ground (Figure 11). Only plates are known in the gray ground, and the two are aesthetically pleasing complements.

Two services are most closely related to the Metropolitan's. One, by the Locré factory, features crossed flags, each with fifteen stars, and a laurel branch. The saucers have a border design of three panels of trophies of war and music alternating with three green-wreathed white paterae, all on a claret ground.¹⁸ This service bears no markings as to its original owner, nor is it accompanied by any history of ownership. The other is a dessert service made for President James Monroe (1758–1831). Ordered from the firm of



Figure 11. Two dinner plates, one with peach border, the other gray. Attributed to Dihl et Guérhard (1781–1824?), Paris, France, 1800–15. Hard-paste porcelain, diam. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (23.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of Ronald S. Kane, 1995 (1995.202.1,.2).

Russell and La Farge at Le Havre in 1817 and made at the Paris factory of Pierre-Louis Dagoty and Édouard D. Honoré,¹⁹ it was described as a service for thirty, “Bordure Amaranthe avec Cinq Vignettes, représentant la Force, l’Agriculture, le Commerce, les Arts & les Sciences.”²⁰ A version of the Great Seal of the United States occupies the center. The symbolic trophies of the border design recall the various classical vignettes on the pieces that constitute what we may now call the Brown service. The Metropolitan’s service slightly predates the Monroe service, evidenced by the latter’s amaranth, or deep claret, border and the round, not ovoid, shapes of the serving pieces.

None of the Metropolitan’s pieces bears a mark that would help determine the factory that made them. A factory attribution is especially difficult for Paris porcelain because, to fulfill a special commission, one firm might use forms made at another, and they often employed numerous decorators, few of whom ever signed their work. Many Parisian firms are known to have provided porcelains for an American clientele, including Dagoty & Honoré, Schoelcher, Nast, duc d’Angoulême, Darte Frères, Rihouet, and Dihl et Guérhard.²¹ Of all the possibilities, it seems most likely that Dihl et Guérhard produced the service for Brown. The service relates stylistically to documented examples from Dihl et Guérhard, which is known to have produced porcelains for foreign export. For example, Grand Duke Ferdinand III of Tuscany purchased a number of examples of Paris porcelain, among them a teacup and saucer marked by Dihl et

Guérhard, that are in the collection of the Palazzo Pitti.²² Stylistically, they relate closely to the Metropolitan service, with decoration of related classical trophies and figures on a border of white displayed in a similar arrangement on a grassy groundline. A marked plate by the same factory and with similar decoration is in the collection of the Musée National de Céramique at Sèvres.²³ In America Benjamin Franklin purchased sprig-decorated porcelains from Dihl et Guérhard in 1784.²⁴ In 1790 Gouverneur Morris visited the Dihl et Guérhard factory, from which he ordered a table service for George Washington and later purchased “Dishes and Ornamental China to a too large Amount.”²⁵ Dihl et Guérhard also made the French porcelain harlequin tea service owned by Philadelphia merchant and banker Stephen Girard (1750–1831).²⁶ Each piece displays a differently colored marbled ground and gilded ornament in the classical style. Given that Brown and Girard worked in similar fields in the same city, they may have known each other, and Girard may even have influenced Brown in his decision to order a French porcelain service.

This service, therefore, attests to the taste in America for high-style French luxury goods at the turn of the nineteenth century. It is also a testament to the mercantile acumen of a new class of entrepreneurs who capitalized on the burgeoning economic opportunities in the United States. As their wealth increased, they acquired such emblems of prosperity as Paris porcelains, of which this elaborately and appropriately decorated service is an example.

NOTES

1. In 1998, the Metropolitan Museum held an exhibition, "Elegant China Ware: Paris Porcelain in America," that drew primarily on the collections of the Museum.
2. The pieces of this service were originally a loan from Ronald Kane in 1980, selected by Berry B. Tracy, then curator in charge of the Department of American Decorative Arts. They were withdrawn from loan in 1993 and, with the other pieces of the service, offered for sale at Christie's. See *The Collection of Ronald S. Kane: Important American Classical Furniture and Decorative Arts*, sale cat., Christie's (January 22, 1994), lot 369. The service did not sell at auction, and the Museum negotiated the purchase of sixteen pieces.
3. See Susan Gray Detweiler, "French Porcelain on Federal Tables," *American Ceramic Circle Bulletin* 3 (1982), pp. 87–110, and idem, *George Washington's Chinaware* (New York, 1982). See also Louis Schreider, "Gouverneur Morris: Connoisseur of French Art," *Apollo* 93 (1971), pp. 470–83.
4. See Alice Cooney Frelinghuysen, "Paris Porcelain in America," *The Magazine Antiques* 153 (April 1998), pp. 554–63. A number of services with documented American ownership are discussed and illustrated.
5. This partial tea service is in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum (41.127.1–.3,.5,.10; 41.129.1,.3; 1950.108).
6. When Chancellor Robert R. Livingston served his residency in Paris as minister plenipotentiary, from 1801 to 1804, he purchased an elaborate dessert service decorated in a striking design in black and gold. The ice-cream cooler from the service bears marks from the Darte Frères factory at the Rue de la Roquette and Palais Royal. The service survives at Clermont, Livingston's New York country home overlooking the Hudson River.
7. John Livingston of New York owned a Paris service decorated with only a gold border and a single initial, L. See William Nathaniel Banks, "Edgewater on the Hudson River," *Antiques* 121 (June 1982), p. 1405, pl. 5. Several plates painted with the Livingston family coat of arms survive at Montgomery Place (Historic Hudson Valley), Annandale-on-Hudson, New York. They bear the mark of Baruch Weil, Rue de Bondi, Paris, and date to 1799–1828. See Frelinghuysen, "Paris Porcelain in America," p. 555, pl. 2.
8. See James H. Hyde, "L'iconographie des quatre parties du monde dans les tapisseries," *Gazette des beaux-arts* 10 (1924), pp. 253–72. See also Clare Le Corbeiller, "Miss America and Her Sisters: Personifications of the Four Parts of the World," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* n.s., 19, no. 8 (April 1961), pp. 209–23.
9. For a detailed study of the use of the personification of America, see E. McClung Fleming, "The American Image as Indian Princess, 1765–1783," *Winterthur Portfolio* 2 (1965), pp. 65–81, and idem, "From Indian Princess to Greek Goddess: The American Image, 1783–1815," *Winterthur Portfolio* 3 (1967), pp. 37–66.
10. See entry for lot no. 369, Christie's, *The Collection of Ronald S. Kane*.
11. See C. P. Hornung, *Handbook of Early Advertising Art* (New York, 1956), p. 34.
12. Charles F. Montgomery, *American Furniture: The Federal Period* (New York, 1966), p. 154 n. 25.
13. See Mavis A. Cleggett, "A Worcester Dessert Service by Chamberlain," *The Magazine Antiques* 158 (September 2000), pp. 320–27.
14. Ibid., pp. 322–24.
15. John A. Kouwenhoven, *Partners in Banking: An Historical Portrait of a Great Private Bank, Brown Brothers Harriman and Company, 1818–1968* (Garden City, N. Y., 1968), pp. 23–28.
16. Isabella Patrick Brown died in 1820; three years later, Brown married Grace Brown of Baltimore.
17. Kouwenhoven, *Partners in Banking*, pp. 28–29.
18. See New Hampshire Auction, Northeast Auctions (Portsmouth, New Hampshire), sale cat., August 7 and 8, 1999, lot 567.
19. Margaret Brown Klapthor, with additions and revisions by Betty C. Monkman, William G. Allman, and Susan Gray Detweiler, Klapthor, *Official White House China*, 2nd ed. (New York, 1999), pp. 40–47.
20. Quoted from account 37131, voucher 3, National Archives, miscellaneous treasury account in Klapthor, *Official White House China*, p. 43.
21. See Frelinghuysen, "Paris Porcelain in America."
22. This reference was brought to the attention of Jody Wilkie, Christie's, by Régine de Plinval de Guillebon in a letter dated November 1993. See *French Porcelain in the Palazzo Pitti* (Florence, 1973), no. 98. I am grateful to Ms. Wilkie for sharing this information with me.
23. See Antoinette Faÿ-Hallé and Barbara Mundt, *Porcelain of the Nineteenth Century* (New York, 1983), p. 36, fig. 30.
24. *Benjamin Franklin and His Circle*, exh. cat., The Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1936), nos. 315, 316.
25. Diary of Gouverneur Morris, January 15, 1790, quoted in Detweiler, *George Washington's Chinaware*, p. 212.
26. See Robert D. Schwarz, *The Stephen Girard Collection: A Selective Catalog* (Philadelphia, 1980), pl. 63.

A Nineteenth-Century Sèvres Cup and Saucer

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STARTING IN 1978—long before most of her American and European colleagues—Clare Le Corbeiller began acquiring early-nineteenth-century Sèvres porcelain with the clear intention of redefining this aspect of the Metropolitan Museum's collection. In the following decades, her determined purchases established a body of material that reflects the inventiveness, technical mastery, and stylistic diversity of Sèvres porcelain produced in the years between 1800 and 1850. Among these acquisitions are some of the new forms and types of decoration that reflect the enormous creativity of the Sèvres factory during these decades and of its director, Alexandre Brongniart. Three of these objects have been published,¹ including the *vase jasmin japonais* discussed elsewhere in this publication.²

Representative of the quality and historical interest of Clare's acquisitions in this field are a Sèvres cup and saucer of 1822–23 acquired in 1993 (Figure 1). This cup and saucer are distinguished by their superbly painted decoration. Their forms serve primarily as vehicles for the elaborately detailed miniatures. This model of cup with a tall scrolling handle was known at Sèvres as a *tasse à chocolat AB*,³ the saucer that accompanies the Museum's cup was known as a *soucoupe de tasse gothique*, having been designed originally to accompany a *tasse gothique*. While these forms of cup and saucer were commonly used in tea and/or coffee services, known as *déjeuners*, throughout the first half of the nineteenth century,⁴ this particular cup and saucer were not produced as part of a *déjeuner*, and their distinctive decoration suggests that they were intended as a commemorative object rather than for use.

The cup (Figure 2) is decorated with an oval portrait of Louis, the son of Louis XV and Marie Leszczyńska. Commonly referred to as Louis de France (1729–1765), he predeceased his father and thus never assumed the throne. However, through his second marriage, to Marie-Josèphe de Saxe, Louis was the

father of three future kings of France: Louis XVI, Louis XVIII, and Charles X. The gilt band that encircles the bust-length portrait is inscribed *LOUIS Dauphin père du ROI LOUIS XVIII*. The saucer (Figure 3) is painted with a view of the royal château of Fontainebleau; an inscription below the view identifies it as *Fontainebleau, côté de la pièce d'eau*.

As is typical of the products of Sèvres, marks on the cup and saucer provide us with basic information about their manufacture. Each bears the factory stamp and the date 1822, and the saucer bears a date in gold indicating that it was gilded on September 26, 1823.⁵ The portrait of the dauphin is signed *Mme Debon*; the view of Fontainebleau is signed *Lamarre*. Very little is known about either of these painters at the Sèvres factory. It is thought that Sophie Debon was employed as a painter at the factory between 1816 and 1824⁶ and was a pupil of Marie-Victoire Jaquotot, who was active at Sèvres between 1801 and 1842.⁷ Célestin-Stanislas Lamarre, who was born in Sèvres in 1804, appears to have entered the factory in 1821 and then left to join the army in 1824.⁸ Each was a highly



Figure 1. Cup and saucer, French, Sèvres, 1823. Painted by Sophie Debon (cup) and Célestin-Stanislas Lamarre (saucer). Hard-paste porcelain, cup H. 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (12.2 cm), saucer diam. 6 in. (15.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Gifts in memory of Frederick P. Victoria, 1993 (1993.276.1–2)

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The notes for this article begin on page 296.

291

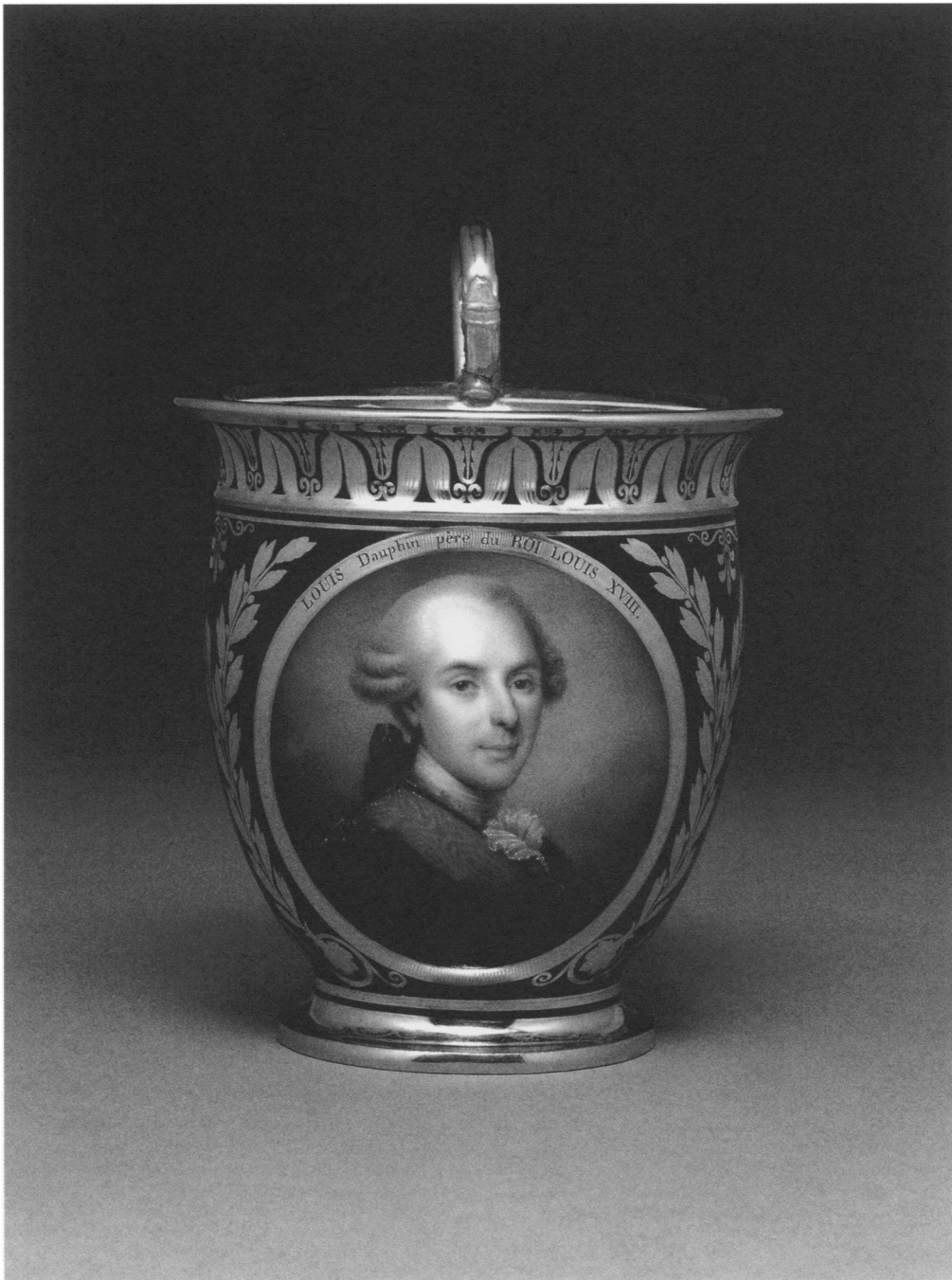


Figure 2. Cup, French, Sèvres, 1823. Painted by Sophie Debon. Hard-paste porcelain, H. 4¼ in. (12.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Gifts in memory of Frederick P. Victoria, 1993 (1993.276.1)

skilled porcelain painter, as indicated by the quality of the painting on this cup and saucer, but following typical factory procedure, each copied rather than originated the composition that he or she painted. The ways in which these compositions originated provide some insight into the genesis of decorative schemes at the factory.

The saucer depicts a view of the château of Fontainebleau that includes, from left to right, the

Louis XV wing, the Gros Pavillon, the queen mother's wing, the Galerie François-Premier wing, and the wing of the Belle Cheminée. In the middle ground are the pond and the pavilion dating from Henri IV's reign but rebuilt under Napoléon. This view of Fontainebleau painted by Lamarre copies almost exactly an oil sketch also in a round format (Figure 4) executed eight years earlier by Jean-François Robert (active at Sèvres 1806–34; 1836–43),⁹ one of the more gifted



Figure 3. Saucer, French, Sèvres, 1823. Painted by Célestin-Stanislas Lamarre. Hard-paste porcelain, diam. 6 in. (15.1 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Gifts in memory of Frederick P. Victoria, 1993 (1993.276.2)

and versatile painters at Sèvres. Robert's highly finished sketch of Fontainebleau was one of nine views of imperial palaces made by Robert as models for roundels intended to decorate a porcelain table conceived by Brongniart for Napoléon.¹⁰ Robert not only provided the sketches but also painted the nine views of the palaces on the table (Figure 5), which ultimately was completed in 1817 and was given to the king of Naples by Charles X in 1825.¹¹ In creating his

own compositions and then painting them on porcelain, Robert deviated from standard practice at Sèvres, which was for painters to copy models supplied to them in the form of prints, drawings, and oil sketches. Robert's contemporary Jean-Claude Develly (active at Sèvres 1813–48) was one of the few other painters at the factory who frequently both conceived and then executed his own compositions.¹² Robert's oil sketch, which remains in the archives of the factory, would



Figure 4. Jean-François Robert, *Château of Fontainebleau*, ca. 1814. Oil on canvas. Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives



Figure 5. Tabletop, French, Sèvres, 1817. Hard-paste porcelain and gilt bronze, diam. 41 1/4 in. (104.8 cm). Private collection, United States

have been made available to Lamarre, whose only changes were to add two groups of promenading figures and a small dog to the foreground.¹³

For the portrait on the cup, the source was less immediate. In 1765, the Swedish painter Alexander Roslin (1718–1795) was commissioned to make two bust-length pastel portraits of the dauphin.¹⁴ In the preceding year, he had painted the dauphin in a half-length format wearing the military uniform of the dragoons, and the success of this painting allowed him to charge 1,000 livres for each pastel portrait, as recorded in a bill submitted only in 1767.¹⁵ The pastel portraits must have proved successful as well, for an oil version on copper of one was produced at approximately the same time,¹⁶ and an engraving was executed by Jean François Gautier-Dagoty in 1770.¹⁷ The two pastels, ordered by the Bâtiments du Roi, entered the royal collections, and one of the pastels remains at Versailles today (Figure 6).¹⁸

It is almost certain that one of these two pastels served as the original source for the portrait on the cup, but only through the mediation of a project initiated at Sèvres in 1819, three years before the manufacture of the cup and saucer. In that year, Alexandre Brongniart issued a detailed order for a small porcelain coffer that would contain twenty-four porcelain miniatures.¹⁹ Most of the miniatures depicted French and other European monarchs, but various celebrated figures such as Molière, Fénelon, and Mme de

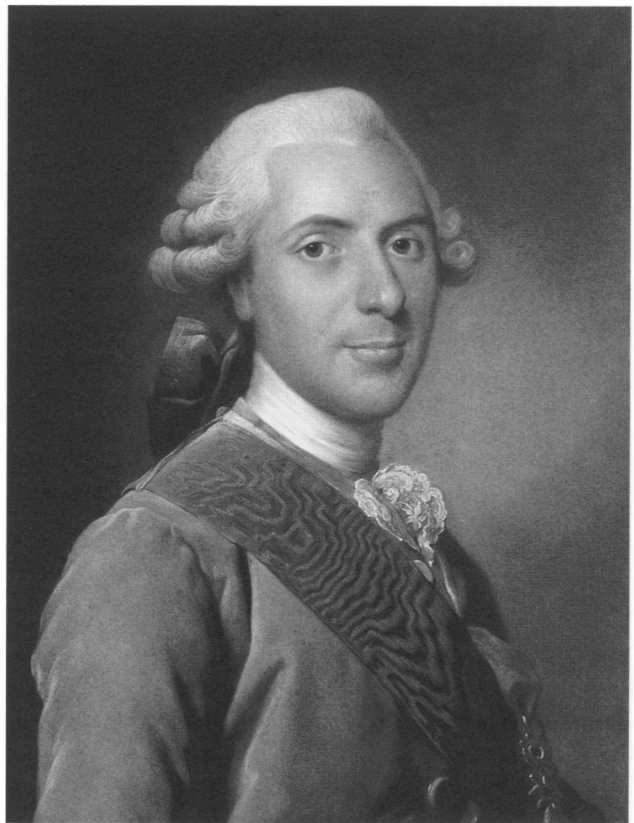


Figure 6. Alexandre Roslin (Swedish, 1718–1795). *Portrait of Louis de France*. Pastel, 22 3/4 x 19 1/4 in. (58 x 49 cm). Copyright Réunion des Musées Nationaux / Art Resource, N.Y. Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, Versailles, France



Figure 7. Sheet of miniatures from the *Coffret de la tabatière du Roi*, French, Sèvres, 1819–20. Painted by Marie-Victoire Jaquotot (French, 1772–1855). Hard-paste porcelain. Copyright Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y. Louvre, Paris, France

Maintenon were also included. The miniatures were painted by Marie-Victoire Jaquotot, who worked not only at Sèvres but also as an independent decorator. The absence of any record of payment by the Sèvres factory to Mme Jaquotot for the miniatures has led to the suggestion that she did this project outside the factory, perhaps at her own studio.²⁰ Her specialty was copying oil paintings onto porcelain plaques, and for the twenty-four miniature portraits she used sources as diverse as Titian, Pourbus, and Vigée-Lebrun (Figure 7). The Roslin pastel of the dauphin clearly was her source for his portrait in porcelain for the *coffret de la tabatière du Roi*, as the coffer became known. The coffer (Figure 8) entered the salesroom in October 1820 and was acquired by Louis XVIII early the following month.

A close comparison of the Debon miniature, the Jaquotot miniature, and the Roslin pastel²¹ indicates that the Jaquotot miniature rather than the Roslin portrait was Debon's source. The two porcelain portraits share various details of the costume and a treatment of the background that are not found in the Roslin portrait. One can conclude that Mme Jaquotot made slight changes when she copied Roslin's pastel (and reduced the format to that of a porcelain



Figure 8. *Coffret de la tabatière du Roi*, French, Sèvres, 1819–20. Hard-paste porcelain, gilt silver, wood, velour, H.9 in. (23 cm), L. 15 in. (38 cm). Copyright Réunion des Musées Nationaux/Art Resource, N.Y. Louvre, Paris, France

plaque), and that these changes were copied precisely by Mme Debon. Clearly, copying the porcelain miniature would have been simpler than copying the portrait; the reduction in scale already would have been accomplished, and the miniature could easily have been made available to the factory. In addition, it should be remembered that Mme Debon had been the pupil of Mme Jaquotot, and one can speculate that the personal connection might have facilitated this arrangement.

Borrowing the miniature from the *coffret de la tabatière du Roi* would have necessitated the involvement of the royal household, and this would suggest that the cup and saucer were produced with a royal recipient in mind. This hypothesis is strengthened by the gilt decoration, which includes stylized fleurs-de-lis and flowering lily stalks, emblems of the house of Bourbon. One would assume that the portrait of the dauphin, who had died fifty-seven years earlier and had never reigned, and the view of Fontainebleau, where he died, would have had most meaning to one of his children.²² In fact, two cups and saucers of this model with identical decoration were produced, and both were acquired

by sons of Louis de France.²³ The first cup and saucer were completed in 1823²⁴ and entered the sale room on December 23, 1823.²⁵ They were given a sale price of 500 francs and were exhibited in the Exposition des Manufactures Royales on January 1, 1824. The cup and saucer were kept by Louis XVIII for himself at the conclusion of the exhibition.²⁶

The second cup and saucer, also valued at 500 francs, entered the sale room on December 4, 1824, and were exhibited on January 1, 1825.²⁷ They were delivered by order of the new king, Charles X, to S. A. R. Mgr. Le Dauphin.²⁸ The cup and saucer purchased by the Metropolitan could have been either those acquired by Louis XVIII or those given to the new dauphin, the former duc d'Angoulême.

With their royal provenance, the cup and saucer now in New York inform us about the taste of the period while at the same time providing a perspective on the working methods at the factory. They add yet another dimension to our understanding of a factory that was actively redefining itself, exploring numerous historicist currents, and embracing technological advances.

NOTES

1. *Déjeuner culture et récolte du cacao*, 1836 (1986.281), published in Tamara Préaud, *The Sèvres Porcelain Manufactory: Alexandre Brongniart and the Triumph of Art and Industry, 1800–1847* (New Haven and London, 1997), pp. 374–75; pair of *vases gothique Fragonard*, 1844 (1992.23.1–2), published in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 50 no. 2 (Fall 1992), p. 39; *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 6th ser., vol. CXXI, 1993 (March), p. 59; Clare Le Corbeiller, "A Pair of Neo-Gothic Vases," in *Mélanges en souvenir d'Elisalex d'Albis* (Paris, 1999), pp. 146–50.
2. *Vase jasmin japonais*, 1834 (1978.373). See Tamara Préaud's article in this volume.
3. It was also known as a *tasse* "A.B." For a drawing and brief discussion of the model, see Préaud, *Brongniart*, p. 206.
4. *Ibid.*
5. The cup and saucer are each marked with interlaced Ls enclosing a fleur-de-lis and with *Sèvres/1822*, printed in blue. Painted on the bottom of the saucer is *30 m. 22* in green and *26 g bre 23* in gold. Both cup and saucer bear untranscribable incised marks.
6. Marcelle Brunet and Tamara Préaud, *Sèvres: Des origines à nos jours* (Fribourg, 1978), p. 362.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 369, and unpublished information made available by Tamara Préaud.
8. This information was kindly shared by Tamara Préaud.
9. *Ibid.*
10. Préaud, *Brongniart*, pp. 196–97. See also Alvar González-Palacios, *Il tempio del gusto*, vol. 1 (Milan, 1984), pp. 391–95.
11. Préaud, *Brongniart*, pp. 196–197.
12. One of Develly's most exceptional creations in this regard was the *Déjeuner culture et récolte du cacao* acquired by Clare Le Corbeiller for the Metropolitan; see n. 1 above.
13. Drawings and prints were frequently reused as sources of decoration at Sèvres and minor adjustments and additions were common. Robert added equestrian figures to his finished painting of Fontainebleau on the porcelain table cited previously.
14. For a thorough discussion of this pastel and related works, see Xavier Salmon, *Les Pastels* (Paris, 1997), pp. 117–21. I am grateful to M. Salmon for bringing this catalogue to my attention. See also Gunnar Lundberg, *Roslin: Liv och Verk* (Malmö, 1957), pp. 43–44, and *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français* 1926, pp. 204–5.
15. *Bulletin*, p. 205.
16. *Les artistes suédois en France au XVIIIe siècle* (Versailles, 1945), pp. 102–3, pl. XXXXVIII.
17. Lundberg, *Roslin*, p. 43.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 44.
19. For a full discussion of the coffer, see Pierre Ennès in *Un âge d'or des arts décoratifs, 1814–1848*, exh. cat., Grand Palais, Paris (Paris, 1991), pp. 105–10. All of the information regarding the coffer in this article is derived from this source.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 108.
21. The author made this comparison on the basis of illustrations of the Jaquotot miniature and the Roslin pastel.

22. In addition, one could argue that the inscription on the cup identifying the dauphin as the father of Louis XVIII further suggests that the cup and saucer were intended for the king.
23. I am grateful to Tamara Préaud for the discovery that two cups and saucers with this decoration were produced and for all her generous assistance.
24. Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives. Registre des travaux de peinture et dorure de 1823, Vj'30, fols. 217–18; 247. The author is indebted to the research of Tamara Préaud, who provided the archival information to Michel Meyer, from whom the Metropolitan acquired the cup and saucer. In addition, the identification of the various sources for the painted decoration on the cup and saucer were made by either by M. Meyer or Mme Préaud.
25. Ibid., Vv 1, fol. 209, no. 5.
26. Ibid., Registre des livraisons à credit, 1820–24, Vbb 6, fol. 19v.
27. Ibid., Vv 1, fol. 226, no. 25.
28. Ibid., Registre des livraisons à credit, Vbb 6, fol. 34. This information was first published by Salmon, *Pastels*, p. 119.

A Modest Sèvres Vase for a King

TAMARA PRÉAUD

Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres

THE PORCELAIN FACTORY IN SÈVRES generally did not receive specific commissions. Throughout its history, its directors had to determine what to produce, attempting to anticipate what might suit their clients, beginning with the most demanding of them, the sovereign or chief of state. That task was particularly arduous for Alexandre Brongniart, director from 1800 to 1847, who had to accommodate a series of very different rulers, from the ostentatious Napoleon I, who bought almost every item Sèvres produced for his own use or as gifts, to the parsimonious Louis XVIII and Charles X, who hesitated to replace their damaged or incomplete services and tried to limit their gift giving to their intimate circle, to Louis-Philippe, who was anxious to furnish his many official and private residences with spectacular objects for public display and with simpler pieces for the less important apartments.¹ Except in certain châteaux, the modest objects from Louis-Philippe's reign have not survived nearly as well as the more prestigious creations. It is remarkable to find a typical example in the collections of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, one of the few public collections in the United States that has taken an interest in this somewhat neglected period of Sèvres's production.

The object is a *vase jasmin cornet* with rosette handles (Figure 1).² The chrome green ground is adorned at the mouth and foot with gold lines and bands and with a light ornamental decoration inspired by classical Greece: Greek key patterns, laurel leaves, linked scrolls, and rosettes. On the front, an oval medallion encircled by laurel and a row of beads bears a monochrome portrait in profile; it is painted in shades of brown to imitate a cameo and labeled "Raphael Sanzio" (Figure 2). On the back, an emblem in gold and platinum shows a palette and other artist's instruments framed by the names of three painters representing the three schools—Rubens, Titian, and Poussin—all within a wreath of calyxes surmounted by

a palmette and supporting a lamp (Figure 3). The vase handles are gilded, apart from the rosettes, which were left white.

The factory's archives make it possible to trace the history of this vase. The expenses incurred for every piece were recorded on a cost-assessment sheet when the item was completed and entered the sales shop, so that the cost and retail price could be calculated. One such sheet, dated August 9, 1834, shows that the vase was part of a pair; its counterpart bore a portrait of Michelangelo. The vases are described as follows: "Deux Vases Jasmin Cornet Iere [grandeur] anses rosace fond vert et fond pourpré, portrait de Raphaël et Michel Ange en camé attributs en or et platine peint et décor en or et couleurs" (two *vases jasmin cornet* largest [size] rosette handles green ground and crimson ground, portrait of Raphael and Michelangelo in cameo emblems painted in gold and platinum and decoration in gold and colors; Figure 4). The sheet specifies that, for gilding the decorations, "Moyez" (Jean-Louis Moyez, gilder, active 1818–48)³ was paid 40 centimes, while painting the ornaments and figures earned "M. Riton" (Pierre Riton, painter of ornaments, active 1824–60) 132 francs.⁴ The cost of each vase was calculated to be 222 francs 35 centimes, and the retail price set at 250 francs. The account ledger of decorated pieces at the sales shop also includes an entry for the vases on August 9, 1834.⁵ The reference number makes it possible to verify that they were delivered to the château of Saint-Cloud "for the service of the king and the royal family at Saint-Cloud" on August 23.⁶

Tracking the history of these vases can be confusing, as a similar pair of vases was produced that same year. The archives give somewhat contradictory information for them. The latter pair, called *vases jasmin japonais*, were made in a shape similar to that of the Museum's vase and also in the largest size, but had no handles and stood on a marble base.⁷ The decoration is similar in every respect, from the ornaments to the portraits, to the colors of the ground. According to the cost-assessment sheet, these vases entered the sales

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The notes for this article begin on page 303.



Figure 1. *Vase jasmin cornet* with rosette handles, French, Sèvres, 1834. Hard-paste porcelain, H. 13 1/4 in. (34.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Charles E. Sampson Memorial Fund, 1978 (1978.373)



Figure 2. Detail of vase shown in Figure 1

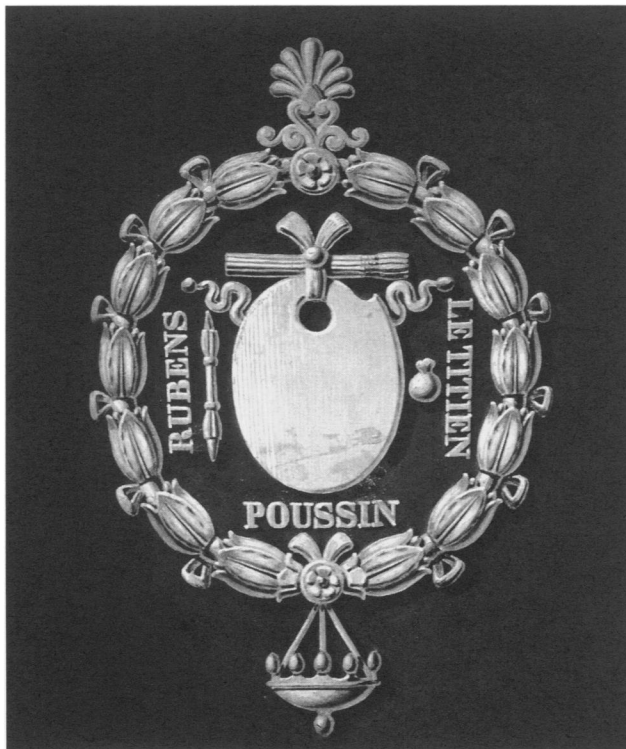


Figure 3. Detail of reverse of vase shown in Figure 1

shop on February 22, 1834. Moyez received the same sum, 40 centimes, for gilding the decoration, and Riton only 120 francs for painting the ornaments and figures.⁸ The blank vase cost 18 francs, in contrast to the 35 francs for the Museum's vase. The fabrication cost was fixed at 189 francs for each vase in the pair, and the retail price at 215 francs. The vases were entered into the account ledger of the sales shop on February 8, 1834.⁹ They were delivered by the factory on August 16, 1834, to the palace of Compiègne, where only the one with the portrait of Raphael is preserved (Figure 5).¹⁰ Two other vases with similar decoration were produced the same year: two *vases Medici* in the fourth-largest size, "fond vert de moufle décor en or et couleur portrait de Raphaël et Michel-Ange en camés, avec attributs de peinture en or et platine peint, décor en or et couleurs variés" (muffle-fired green ground with decoration in gold and color, portrait of Raphael and Michelangelo in cameo, with emblems of painting painted in gold and platinum, decoration in gold and various colors), came into the sales shop on December 16, 1834.¹¹

As Brigitte Ducrot has noted,¹² the archives also contain some of the models the decorators used for

*Vase de Jasmin Cornet pour deux personnes
fons Vert et fons Pourpre, Portrait de
Raphael et Michel ange en Came
Attribut en or et platine point, et
Dior en or et couleurs.*

Fond		
Dorure ornement	<i>le cornet</i>	2 50
garniture	<i>Morley</i>	" 40
Gr ou platine		- 12 "
Peinture des ornemens,	<i>M. Nator</i>	- 132 "
des figures, par		
des paysages, par		
des fleurs, par		
Brunissage à l'effet		
à plat		3 "
TOTAL des frais directs		149 90
Faux frais		37 45
Valeur de la pièce en blanc, d'après le tarif, ch.		35 "
Montage et garniture en bronze		
Prix de fabrication		222 35
Prix de vente		250

Figure 4. Cost-assessment sheet, August 9, 1834. Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives (photo: MNS/G. Jonca)

these vases: Augustin-Armand Caqué's medal of 1822 from the series *Numismatica Universalis Virorum Illustrium*, and the sketch of 1831 for the emblem "Painting and Drawing" by Alexandre-Evariste Fragonard (Figure 6).¹³ We do not know who created the ornament designs but can probably attribute them to the master painter Antoine-Gabriel Willermet (active 1825–48). The archives no longer have the actual drawing used for the vases, but very similar elements—Greek key patterns, linked scrolls, rosettes—are found on other plans (Figure 7).

The vase in the Metropolitan Museum is perfectly representative of Sèvres production of this type, both in the elegant simplicity of its shape and in its decoration. The cameo-style painting, developed in the early nineteenth century thanks to the improvement of the palette and, no doubt, to Alexandre Brongniart's passion for mineralogy, was used extensively until about 1850 on different scales, from large compositions circling monumental vases to small portraits, such as that of Raphael. At Sèvres, cameo-style portraits often



Figure 5. *Vase jasmin japonais*, French, Sèvres, 1834. Hard-paste porcelain, H. 13³/₄ in. (35 cm). Musée National du Château de Compiègne, inv. C 1781 (photo: Hutin)

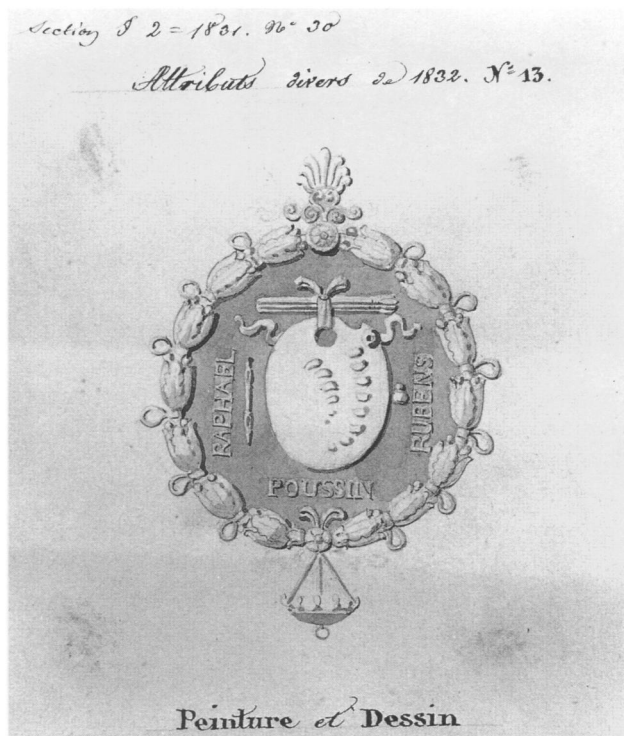


Figure 6. Alexandre-Evariste Fragonard. Sketch of an emblem, ca. 1831. Ink and pencil, H. 6⁷/₈ in. (17.6 cm). Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives (photo: MNS/G. Jonca)

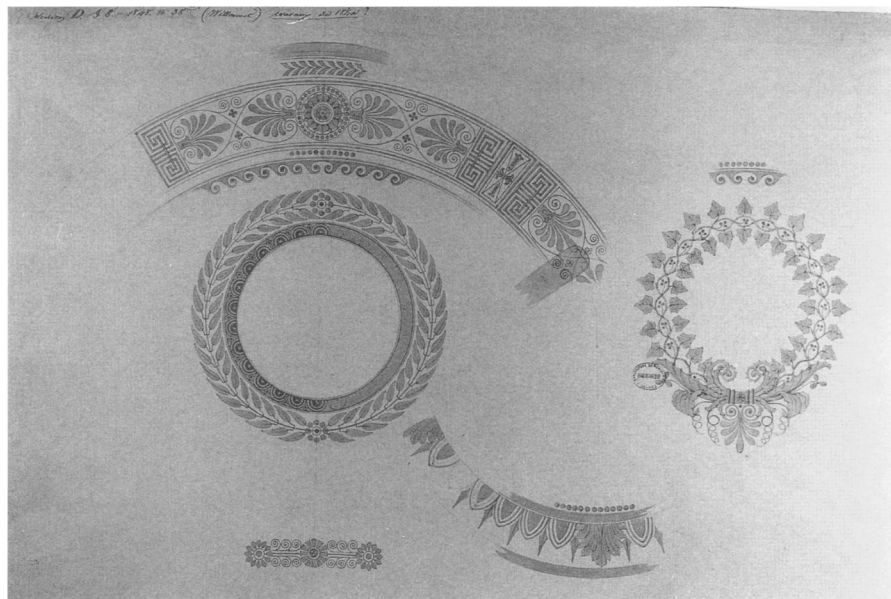


Figure 7. Motifs for use by porcelain decorators. Ink and pencil, H. 12 1/4 in. (31 cm). Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives (photo: MNS/G. Jonca)

adorned service pieces and vases because the format allowed for varying the subject easily, at a time when the director insisted upon a thematic unity for all the sets. Dinner services and vases were thus devoted to historical figures from different ages and vocations. It is not surprising that ceramists and artists were among those most often depicted, nor that, given the general admiration for Raphael in France at the time, he was painted more often than his colleagues.¹⁴

A predilection for Raphael was not new at Sèvres. The so-called arabesque service undertaken in 1782 was described as follows in the delivery order of the Committee of Public Safety on 19 Floréal, Year 3 (April 8, 1795): “toutes les formes prises sur celles du goût antique le plus sévère et décorées des superbes arabesques de Raphaël” (all the shapes [were] taken from those of the most severe classical taste and decorated with superb arabesques in the style of Raphael).¹⁵ In 1810, Alexandre Brongniart wrote to Dominique-Vivant Denon, director of the Musée Napoléon, asking him to make paintings available for the artists in the factory to copy. He sought to draw on the success among artists and with the emperor of portraits of famous women “copied after Raphael and Leonardo da Vinci,” noting that “tous les artistes conviennent que nous ferons constamment bien quand nous aurons de pareils models” (all the artists agree

that we will always do well when we have such models).¹⁶ Brongniart was determined to commit to posterity in permanent form past and contemporary masterpieces, the fragility of which had been proven by experience. He gradually increased the number of copies of famous paintings on vases and, above all, on large porcelain plates.¹⁷ Here again, Raphael was represented far more than his colleagues.¹⁸ Surprisingly, few works contain allusions to episodes in the lives of painters,¹⁹ but once more Raphael is the best treated: the Sèvres factory devoted to him a large pedestal table “dans le style de la Renaissance . . . au centre du plateau, le jeune Raphael est présenté comme élève au Perugin. Cartels colores et en grisaille rappelant les principaux ouvrages de Raphael” (in the Renaissance style . . . In the center of the tabletop, the young Raphael is presented to Perugino as his student. Friezes, colored and in grisaille, recall Raphael’s major works).²⁰

It may have been in the interest of economy that the factory at Sèvres adopted a light and classical decoration for the vase in the Metropolitan Museum even as it was developing a “Renaissance style” that might have seemed more appropriate for the artists represented.²¹ In that contradiction, and in its simplicity, the vase is valuable evidence of a type of object too modest to have been adequately taken into consideration before.

NOTES

1. Tamara Préaud, "The Nature and Goals of Production at the Sèvres Manufactory," in *The Sèvres Porcelain Manufactory: Alexandre Brongniart and the Triumph of Art and Industry, 1800–1847*, exh. cat., The Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts (New York, 1997), pp. 74–95.
2. The *vase jasmin cornet* was created in 1806. It was derived from the *vase jasmin*, one of the first designs produced during Alexandre Brongniart's tenure. The *vase jasmin*, first mentioned in 1801, is wider and squatter. Two versions of it exist: one in which the cornet is detachable from the base and the other in which it is fixed to it. In 1806, there were three versions of the *vase jasmin cornet*—without handles, with "anse torse," and with "anse rosace"—and three different sizes.
3. Manufacture Nationale de Sèvres, Archives (hereafter AMNS), box Pb 9 bis, cost-assessment sheets for 1834. The entry "2 Vases Jamin Iere gr[andeur]" (2 *vases jasmin* largest size), vases for which Moyez received forty centimes in March 1834 (ibid., Vj' 41, decoration work, 1834, fols. 103ff.), may refer to the gilding of these vases.
4. The vases were painted in April 1834 and retouched in June (ibid., fols. 61ff.).
5. Ibid., Vv 2, fol. 85, no. 2.
6. Ibid., Vbb 9, fol. 41. In this registry, the ground is described as "vert olive" (olive green).
7. The *vase jasmin japonais* is mentioned in November 1807 (AMNS, Va' 16, molding work, fol. 180v), though the design was not registered until 1808. It has a much straighter line than the *vase jasmin cornet*, and no foot; the cornet rests directly on a square base. It, too, was conceived in three sizes. It might owe its name to one of the Japanese pieces Dominique-Vivant Denon offered the factory (see Tamara Préaud, "Denon et la manufacture impériale de Sèvres," in *Dominique-Vivant Denon: L'œil de Napoléon*, exh. cat., Musée du Louvre [Paris, 1999], pp. 294–99 n. 31).
8. AMNS, box Pb 9 bis, cost-assessment sheets, 1834.
9. Ibid., Vv 2, fol. 78, no. 33.
10. Ibid., Vbb 9, fol. 40. On the delivery order, the reference number is given as 78–32, out of confusion with "Deux Vases Jasmin Japonais Iere [grandeur] fond vert antique frise de palmettes" (two Japanese jasmine vases largest size antique green ground palmette frieze) costing one hundred francs apiece, also entered in the account ledger on February 8, 1834. Of the portrait vases, only the one devoted to Raphael remains. These vases have been studied by Elisabeth Fontan in *Raphael et l'art français*, exh. cat., Galeries Nationales du Grand Palais (Paris, 1983), pp. 261–62, no. 391, and Brigitte Ducrot, *Porcelaines et terres de Sèvres* (Paris, 1993), p. 134, no. 80.
11. AMNS, box Pb 9 bis. Jean-Louis Moyez was paid 30 centimes for the gilding, and Pierre Riton 170 francs for the painting. The fabrication cost of each vase was fixed at 251 francs 70 centimes, and the retail price at 300 francs. I have found no trace of the delivery order.
12. Ducrot, *Porcelaines et terres de Sèvres*, p. 134.
13. Note that the name Raphael, which appears in the design sketch (Figure 6), was replaced by Titian on the vase.
14. For the regard Raphael enjoyed in France, see *Raphael et l'art français*. It may be helpful to give the complete list, published at that time, of portraits of Raphael painted at Sèvres. Two tapered vases (vases "Fuseau"), third-largest size, with portraits of

Raphael and Van Dyck came to the sales shop on July 31, 1811 (AMNS, Vu 1, fol. 116v, no. 276–38), and were offered to the viceroy of Italy on December 31, 1812 (ibid., registry Vbb4, fol. 4v). A breakfast service with bright blue ground and portraits of famous Italian artists painted by Antoine Béranger came to the shop on December 24, 1813 (ibid., Vv 1, fol. 11, no. 24), and was offered to the countess of Talhouet on December 29, 1813 (ibid., Vbb 5, fol. 1v); the work record adds that there were portraits of Raphael and Michelangelo on the teapot (ibid., box Pb 3). A dessert service with a green ground and portraits of famous Italians came to the shop on March 17 and April 14, 1814 (ibid., Vv 1, fol. 16, nos. 17, 41), and was immediately delivered to the Tuileries (ibid., Vbb 5, fol. 83); the work record shows that the ice pails were to have portraits of Raphael and Michelangelo on them (ibid., box Pb 2, work for 1809). Twice in 1822, plates for the service bearing portraits of Raphael were replaced (ibid., entries for October 12, Vv 1, fol. 186, no. 33, and for November 23, Vv 1, fol. 187, no. 66). Two *vases carafe étrusque*, second-largest size, with color portraits of Raphael and Baldassare Castiglione done by Jenny Denois came to the shop on December 23, 1819 (ibid., Vv 1, fol. 137, no. 44). In *Notice sur quelques-unes des pièces qui entrent dans l'exposition des porcelaines de la Manufacture Royale de Sèvres faite au Musée Royal le 1er janvier 1820* (Paris, n.d.), Alexandre Brongniart adds that the portrait of Raphael was inspired by the Musée Royal painting known as *Raphael and His Fencing Master*. Then there were the three pairs of vases in 1834. Finally, in 1840, Raphael appeared on a pair of *vases étrusque de 1810 anses riches*, with cameo portraits of sixteenth-century painters and sculptors, now in the château of Fontainebleau (see Bernard Chevallier, *Les Sèvres de Fontainebleau: Pièces entrées de 1804 à 1904* [Paris, 1996], pp. 111–12, no. 76). Let us add that a portrait of Raphael may be among the portraits of Italian painters printed from plates engraved by Dominique-Vivant Denon and entrusted by him to the factory in 1808 (see Tamara Préaud, "Denon et la manufacture impériale de Sèvres," p. 297 n. 28). Raphael also may have been depicted on one of the pieces in a breakfast set bearing portraits of famous Italians; it came to the sales shop on December 28, 1812 (AMNS, Vu 1, fol. 140, no. 300–2), and was offered the same day to the grand duchess of Tuscany (ibid., Vy 21, fol. 31).

By way of comparison, apart from Michelangelo, the only other painters cited are Mignard and Poussin, who are depicted on two *vases clodion* painted by Jenny Denois that came to the shop on December 22, 1821 (ibid., Vv 1, fol. 170, no. 33), and were delivered to the royal warehouse on June 11, 1823 (ibid., Vbb 6, fol. 29v). We no longer possess precise lists of the painters depicted on the following sets: a breakfast service with portraits of painters from the Flemish school by Martin Drolling, which came to the shop on December 24, 1813 (ibid., Vv 1, fol. 11, no. 22), and was offered on the twenty-ninth to the baroness of Mesgrigny (ibid., Vbb 5, fol. 1v); a breakfast service with portraits of French painters by François Dufey, which came to the shop on December 24, 1813 (ibid., Vv 1, fol. 12, no. 6), and was offered on the twenty-ninth to Princess Aldobrandini (ibid., Vbb 5, fol. 1v); a breakfast service with portraits of famous Dutch and Flemish painters, which came to the shop on December 27, 1815 (ibid., Vv 1, fol. 55, no. 21); a breakfast service with gold ground, bearing portraits of five famous painters with a copy of a painting by each one, which came to the shop on December 27, 1815 (ibid., Vv 1, fol. 55, no. 24), and was

- delivered to the king's brother in December 1815 (*ibid.*, registry Vbb 5, fol. 10); two *vases étrusque carafe*, second-largest size, with busts of painters and sculptors from antiquity, which came to the shop on December 22, 1827 (*ibid.*, registry Vv 1, fol. 330, no. 10), and were delivered to the Civil List central property office on October 14, 1831 (*ibid.*, Vbb 8, fol. 53).
15. *Ibid.*, box H 6. In 1787, Jean-Jacques Lagrenée, assistant head of decoration, was also reimbursed 240 francs "pour achat des trois suites d'arabesques de Raphaël" (for the purchase of three Raphael arabesque sets; see Tamara Préaud, "Jean-Jacques Bachelier à la manufacture de Vincennes-Sèvres," in *Jean-Jacques Bachelier [1724–1806]: Peintre du Roi et de Madame de Pompadour*, exh. cat., Musée Lambinet [Versailles, 1999], p. 63 n. 11).
 16. AMNS, box T 5, bundle 1, dossier 8, letter of February 19, 1810.
 17. Anne Lajoix, "Peinture et porcelaine: Substituer à la toile une plaque de porcelaine," *La revue de la céramique et du verre* 21 (March–April 1985), pp. 9–13; Anne Lajoix, "Tableaux précieux en porcelaine," *L'estampille/L'objet d'art* (May 1991), pp. 109–23; and Anne Lajoix, "Alexandre Brongniart et la quête des moyens de reproduction en couleurs," *Sèvres* 1 (1992), pp. 64–73, and 2 (1993), pp. 52–58.
 18. Before 1850, copies after Raphael could be found on a number of pieces, including a few plates from the Olympian Service of 1804–6 (see Elisabeth Fontan, *Raphael et l'art français*, p. 261, no. 390, and Albert R. Baca, "Cupidon et Psyché, ou les Travaux de l'Amour," *Sèvres* 9 [2000], pp. 49–54). In addition, a *litron* cup and saucer, fourth-largest size, with bright blue ground and a color *Portrait of Joan of Aragon* painted after Raphael by Marie-Victoire Jaquotot came to the shop on May 24, 1809 (AMNS, Vu 1, fol. 77, no. 237–77), and was delivered to the emperor on December 2, 1809 (*ibid.*, Vbb 2, fol. 98). A cup and saucer *jasmin*, largest-size, with green chrome ground and a Madonna after Raphael by M.-V. Jaquotot, came to the shop on May 2, 1810 (*ibid.*, Vu 1, fol. 93, no. 253–8), and were offered to the grand duchess of Tuscany on December 31, 1810 (*ibid.*, registry Vbb 2, fol. 125). A *litron* cup with bright blue ground and a copy by M.-V. Jaquotot of the *Portrait of Joan of Aragon* came to the shop on December 29, 1810 (*ibid.*, Vu 1, fol. 99, no. 265–77), and was delivered to the princess of Baden on December 31 (*ibid.*, Vbb 2, fol. 125). A cup and saucer *jasmin*, largest size, with gold ground and the bust of a Madonna by M.-V. Jaquotot, came to the shop on December 31, 1811 (*ibid.*, Vu 1, fol. 123v, no. 283–14), and were probably the ones offered to the countess of Luçay the same day (*ibid.*, Vbb 4, fol. 6v). A cup *jasmin* with a copy by M.-V. Jaquotot of the *Genius of Poetry* also came to the shop on December 31, 1811 (*ibid.*, Vu 1, fol. 123v, no. 283–15), and was immediately offered to the duchess of Elchingen (*ibid.*, Vbb 4, fol. 6). Two *vases étrusque carafe* with green chrome ground and copies by M.-V. Jaquotot of Madonnas came to the shop on December 28, 1812 (*ibid.*, Vu 1, fol. 139, no. 299–9), and were offered to the empress of Austria the same day (*ibid.*, Vbb 4, fol. 10v). A breakfast service with gold ground and copies by M.-V. Jaquotot of busts of Madonnas came to the shop on December 24, 1813 (*ibid.*, registry Vv 1, fol. 12, no. 1), and was offered on the twenty-ninth to Empress Marie-Louise (*ibid.*, Vbb 5, fol. 1v). An itemization of the copied paintings is found in box Pb 3, breakfast-service dossier no. 11, 1813. A rectangular breakfast tray with a copy by M.-V. Jaquotot of *La belle jardinière* came to the shop on July 24, 1816 (*ibid.*, Vv 1, fol. 68, no. 20). A plaque with a copy by M.-V. Jaquotot of the *Madonna with a Carnation* came to the shop on December 12, 1817 (*ibid.*, Vv 1, fol. 97, no. 21). A plaque with a copy by Abraham Constantin of the *Holy Family* came to the shop on December 26, 1818 (*ibid.*, Vv 1, fol. 116, no. 17). A plaque with copies by M.-V. Jaquotot of the busts of the Virgin and Child from *Madonna of the Fish* came to the shop on December 26, 1818 (*ibid.*, Vv 1, fol. 117, no. 7). A Gothic cup and saucer with bright blue ground and a copy by Virginie Tréverret of *La belle jardinière* came to the shop on December 22, 1820 (*ibid.*, Vv 1, fol. 154v, no. 64). A plaque with a copy by A. Constantin in Florence of *La Fornarina* came to the shop on August 8, 1823 (*ibid.*, Vv 1, fol. 201, no. 25). A plaque with a copy by A. Constantin in Florence of the *Madonna del Granduca* came to the shop on December 23, 1824 (*ibid.*, Vv 1, fol. 227, no. 40). A plaque with a copy by A. Constantin of *The School of Athens* came to the shop on December 31, 1834 (*ibid.*, Vv 2, fol. 92, no. 1). A plaque with a copy by A. Constantin of *The Mass of Bolsena* came to the shop on December 31, 1834 (*ibid.*, Vv 2, fol. 92, no. 2). A plaque with a copy by M.-V. Jaquotot of the *Lady with a Veil* came to the shop on December 31, 1834 (*ibid.*, Vv 2, fol. 92, no. 3). A plaque with a portrait by M.-V. Jaquotot of Joan of Aragon, came to the shop on December 10, 1836 (*ibid.*, Vv 3, fol. 12, no. 37). A plaque with a copy by M.-V. Jaquotot of *Saint Cecilia* came to the shop on April 25, 1840 (*ibid.*, Vv 3, fol. 69, no. 1). A plaque with a copy by M.-V. Jaquotot of the *Portrait of Pope Julius II* came to the shop on April 29, 1842 (*ibid.*, Vv 3, fol. 101, no. 2). A plaque with a copy by A. Constantin of *The Deliverance of Saint Peter*, came to the shop on April 29, 1842 (*ibid.*, Vv 3, fol. 101, no. 16). A plaque with a copy by M.-V. Jaquotot of a self-portrait of Raphael came to the shop on April 29, 1842 (*ibid.*, Vv 3, fol. 101, no. 3). A plaque with a copy by A. Constantin of the *Perugia Madonna* came to the shop on August 17, 1848 (*ibid.*, Vv 5, fol. 15, no. 6). A plaque with a copy by Adelaïde Ducluzeau of the *Lady with a Veil* came to the shop on March 17, 1849 (*ibid.*, Vv 5, fol. 23, no. 16). Four tapered vases (vases "Fuseau"), second-largest size, depicting Music and Dance after Raphael and Prud'hon, came to the shop on December 31, 1849 (*ibid.*, registry Vv 5, fol. 31, no. 30). And finally, two tapered vases (vases "Fuseau"), second-largest size, with grisaille figures after *The Hours*, came to the shop on December 31, 1849 (*ibid.*, registry Vv 5, fol. 31, no. 31). In the same period, apart from contemporary artists, there were eleven copies after seven other Italian painters, twenty-five copies after sixteen Flemish or Dutch painters, seven copies after two Spanish painters, and nine copies after a French painter.
 19. Francis Haskell, "Les maîtres anciens dans la peinture française du dix-neuvième siècle," *De l'art et du goût: Jadis et naguère* (Paris, 1989), pp. 196–249.
 20. It came to the sales shop on April 25, 1840 (AMNS, Vv 3, fol. 68, no. 12). All the other episodes evoking lives of painters are found on objects of smaller dimensions.
 21. Tamara Préaud, "The Nature and Goals," pp. 87–92.

“Reproductions of the Christian Glass of the Catacombs”: James Jackson Jarves and the Revival of the Art of Glass in Venice

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IN 1881, THE NEWLY FOUNDED METROPOLITAN Museum of Art received a gift of nearly three hundred pieces of Venetian glass ranging in date from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. The donor was James Jackson Jarves (1818–1888) of Boston, who gave the collection in memory of his father, Deming Jarves (1790–1869), owner of the Boston-and-Sandwich Glass Company and the Cape Cod Glass Company. An excellent account by Jessie McNab of the collection appeared in a 1960 issue of the *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*.¹ This article singles out a group of three nineteenth-century pieces made in imitation of the so-called gold-glass produced in the late Roman period.

Jarves himself wrote an introduction to his collection that was published in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in February 1882.² He notes the survival of “a sufficient number of old examples to give some idea of the forms, fashions and qualities of the ancient Venetian glass, whilst its other multifarious types are admirably illustrated in the artistic reproductions of the present Salviati and Venezia–Murano companies.” The revival of interest in historic Venetian glass began about 1860; Antonio Salviati founded his company in London and Venice in 1866. By the time of the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1878, the full range of historic styles had been developed to include copies of ancient Egyptian, Phoenician, and Roman models as well as the traditional Murano forms of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. At that point, there were two rival factories: Salviati and the Venice & Murano Glass and Mosaic Company. Their products were rarely signed or marked, and therefore they are often indistinguishable. Jarves bought from both. The dating is equally problematic. The output of both factories remained much the same from the 1870s until well into the first decade of the twentieth century, and so it has been difficult to date their pieces within those four decades. However, the Jarves gift of 1881 presents a group of nineteenth-century Venetian glass

pieces that must have been made within the first fifteen years of the industry's revival. It is thus one of the very few datable groups outside Murano. In Jarves's words, “These serve to compare with the workmanship of the preceding centuries, and to mark the vigorous condition of the industry in our own time in the few years of revival.”

Among the categories to which Jarves devotes special praise are the “reproductions of Christian glass of the fourth and fifth centuries found in the tombs and catacombs, in the form of paterae and cups, with emblematic designs and figures of the primitive Church traced in gold inclosed between two pieces of glass in a very skillful manner . . . chiefly heads of saints and Bible stories, imbedded in the glass itself or placed in the form of medallions between two layers of different colors, which are fused together in the furnace into one compact mass.” Jarves would have been well aware that the reproduction of this long-lost technique was a recent development. Indeed, he mentions these reproductions in the context of the *Esposizione Industriale Italiana* of 1881 in Milan, which he evidently attended and where he may have purchased his gold-glass group. What is of special interest here is that the revival of Early Christian gold-glass is well documented as dating from 1878, when reproductions were first shown at the Exposition Universelle in Paris. We can therefore date Jarves's examples, exceptionally, to 1878–81.

The three examples with which Jarves chose to represent this category of work are a bowl, a plate, and a large roundel or base of a plate (Figures 1–3). Both bowl and plate are of very pale green glass with threads of contrasting color around the edge, a feature derived from Roman glass that invariably appears on nineteenth-century copies. The bowl has two small handles. In the center is a roundel depicting Jonah resting beneath the gourd vine incised in gold leaf trapped between two layers of glass (Figure 1). The plate has incised and trapped gold-leaf decoration depicting a single male figure and medallions of saints surrounding a central medallion (Figure 2). In both

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The notes for this article begin on page 313.

305

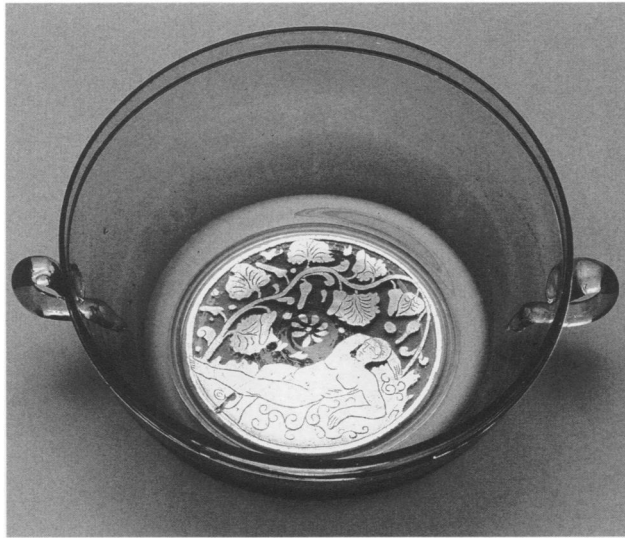


Figure 1. Glass bowl with gold-leaf decoration of Jonah resting beneath the gourd vine. Venice, Murano, 1878–81. Diam. 5 1/4 in. (13.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of James Jackson Jarves, 1881 (81.8.261)



Figure 2. Glass plate with gold-leaf medallions of saints. Venice, Murano, 1878–81. Diam. 7 7/8 in. (20 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of James Jackson Jarves, 1881 (81.8.262)

of the above, the gold leaf has been applied to a glass disk made separately and attached to the base. The large roundel is formed of two colorless glass layers; the upper one is much thicker and has been deliberately cracked. At the top the lower layer protrudes beyond it, revealing the gold leaf on the surface of the

lower layer. The scene depicts a young Christ holding wreaths above the heads of two seated saints, their names on either side (Figure 3). Around the edge can be seen the remains of an inscription, most of which has been broken away. The edges of the roundel were left rough.



Figure 3. Glass roundel with gold-leaf decoration of Christ crowning saints. Venice, Murano, 1878–81. Diam. 10 1/4 in. (26.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of James Jackson Jarves, 1881 (81.8.233)



Figure 4. Gold-glass roundel depicting Christ giving the martyr's crown to Saints Peter and Paul. Probably Rome, ca. 350. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1911 (11.91.4). The fragment is still embedded in mortar. It is inscribed "Worthy among thy friends" and "Joyful in Christ"



Figure 5. Base of an Early Christian bowl of the 4th century, copied in the bowl shown in Figure 1 (photo: after R. Garrucci, *Vetri ornati di figure in oro trovati nei cimiteri dei cristiani primitivi di Roma* [Rome, 1864], pl. 4, no. 5)

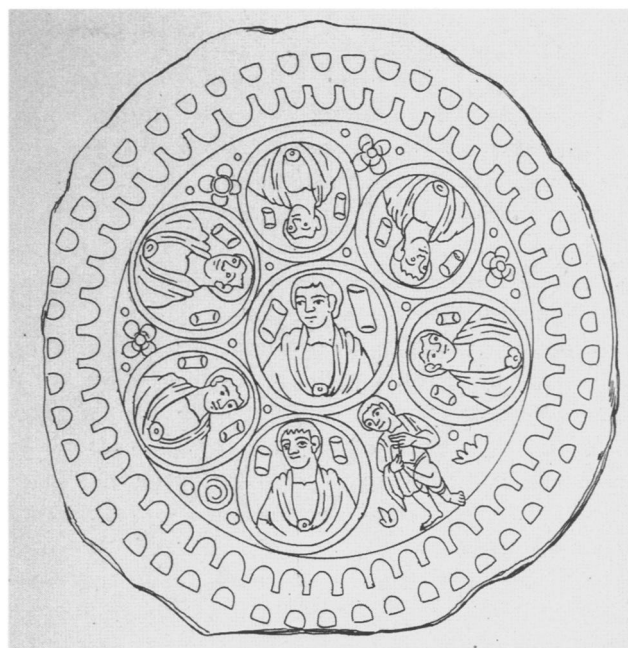


Figure 6. Base of an Early Christian bowl of the 4th century, copied in the plate shown in Figure 2 (photo: after R. Garrucci, *Vetri ornati*, pl. 18, no. 3)



Figure 7. Base of an Early Christian bowl of the 4th century, copied in the roundel shown in Figure 3 (photo: after R. Garrucci, *Vetri ornati*, pl. 20, no. 3)

The technique of applying gold leaf to the surface of glass or sandwiching it between two layers of glass seems to have been practiced from the Hellenistic to the late Roman period. But it was in fourth-century

Rome that glassmakers exploited it to the full with a series of roundels, either made as medallions in their own right or set at the bottom of bowls, known as “gold-glass.” These roundels depict portraits, deities, genre scenes, animals, and, above all, Christian motifs, and were usually produced by the sandwich technique. The gold leaf was incised with designs, often enhanced with painted or enameled details, then trapped between two layers of colorless glass. The German term *Zwischengoldglas* (gold between glass, or gold sandwich glass) is thus most accurate for this type of work. The fourth-century roundels with Christian scenes were found mainly in the catacombs of Rome, having been purposely broken away from their vessels and mortared into niches, perhaps to mark individual burials (Figure 4). Some display a variant of the technique, in which gold leaf was trapped beneath blobs of blue and green glass applied to a colorless glass base. Few complete vessels survive.

Antiquarian interest in glass from the catacombs goes back to the early eighteenth century, with Filippo Buonarroti’s study published in 1716.³ However, the first illustrated survey was not published until 1858, Raffaele Garrucci’s *Vetri ornati di figure in oro trovati nei cimiteri dei cristiani primitivi di Roma*, with a second enlarged edition in 1864. Garrucci’s detailed lifesize line drawings were copied unaltered on countless Venetian reproductions. Jarves surely knew that all three of his pieces were direct copies of Early Christ-

ian gold-glass roundels in the Vatican Museums, and as a serious glass collector, he likely knew the motifs were taken directly from Garrucci's pioneering publication (Figures 5–7). The gold-glass roundels in the center of the Jarves bowl and plate are executed to virtually the same size as the illustrations in Garrucci, and the glass craftsman who made them simply completed their vessels. But the large roundel, at 10½ inches across, is almost three times the size of the illustration, which measures about 3¾ inches in diameter, and is a tour de force. Had the craftsman completed the vessel, the resulting dish would have measured at least 14 inches in diameter, a scale unheard-of in Roman glass. It must have been much more difficult to execute a gold-glass roundel of this size—the larger the area, the greater the risk that the gold leaf would slip out of place when the two glass layers were fused. Its exceptionally large size suggests that it was made as a showpiece to demonstrate the skill with which the Roman technique could be reproduced. Interestingly, the outer inscription survives complete on the original roundel in the Vatican. The edges of the Murano copy may have been broken away because the gold leaf misfired, but the most likely answer is that it was done deliberately to suggest antiquity. Although virtually illegible on the nineteenth-century copy, the inscription is clear from Garrucci's illustration: "DIGNITAS AMICORUM VIVAS CUM TUIS FELICITER" (The worth of friends. May you live happily among your friends and relations). The motif of Christ crowning saints, usually Peter and Paul, is a common subject in Early Christian gold-glass roundels. In this instance, the figure on the right, labeled "ISTEFANUS," is Saint Stephen. The left-hand figure is likely another saint, mistakenly labeled "CRISTUS" by the craftsman.

There is much evidence that ancient gold-glass was becoming fashionable among collectors by the mid-1860s. One might therefore expect that historicist copies would have appeared simultaneously. However, while some imitations were being passed off as the real thing, it was years before imitations were promoted as modern reproductions worthy of note in their own right. This evolution had much to do with the personalities behind the revival of interest in glassmaking in Venice and the course that revival took. The two key figures were Antonio Salviati (1816–1890), a lawyer of Vicenza, and the Englishman Henry Layard, who had made his name as a youthful archaeologist in the 1840s with his discoveries in ancient Assyria. He then turned politician and diplomat but maintained a lifelong interest in the arts of Italy.

Salviati initially became fascinated with mosaics and got to know the few glassmakers in Venice still able to make glass tesserae to replace those in the dilapidated

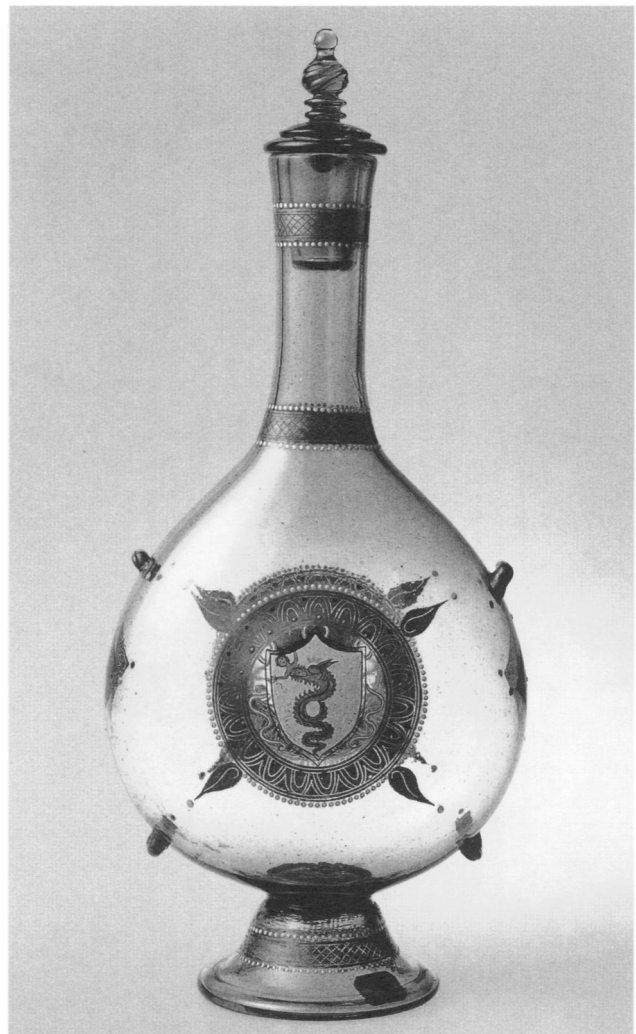


Figure 8. Glass bottle with enameled and gilded coat of arms of the Bentivoglio family. Venice, 1878–81. H. 14¾ in. (37.5 cm). Copy by the Venice & Murano Glass and Mosaic Company of one of a pair of 15th-century glass bottles in the Museo Civico Medievale, Bologna. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of James Jackson Jarves, 1881 (81.8.223ab)

mosaics of San Marco. To assist with their restoration, Salviati set up a mosaic workshop in 1859. At the International Exhibition of 1862 in London, Salviati exhibited his workshop's mosaics to such acclaim that he received immediate commissions for prestigious buildings such as Saint Paul's Cathedral and Windsor Castle. In Venice, meanwhile, with Layard's support, the antiquarian Father Vincenzo Zanetti founded in 1861 a school for glassmakers, and an associated museum, the Museo Artistico Industriale del Vetro (later the Museo Vetrario), was set up in 1864. Zanetti had single-handedly assembled a collection of historic glass that served as models. This prompted Salviati to turn his attention to blown glass, and with the financial support of Henry Layard and two of Layard's

associates—Lachlan Mackintosh Rate and William Drake—he founded a new concern, Salviati & Company, in 1866. It had premises in St. James's Street, London, and Campo San Vio, Venice. Layard's support continued, and he became in effect an agent for the promotion of Venetian glass: he ensured a place for Venetian glass at the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1867, where every piece in Salviati & Company's display sold, and arranged displays at the Workmen's International Exhibition in London in 1870. In 1869 Zanetti sent him a guidebook he had written on the occasion of an exhibition of Murano glass in Venice, asking Layard to have it translated into English and noting, with a certain amount of flattery, "you will be delighted to hear that the most beautiful and brilliant part of the exhibition belongs to your company."⁴

At the insistence of its English backers, Salviati & Company's name was changed in 1870, at the time of the Workmen's International Exhibition, to the Venice & Murano Glass and Mosaic Company Ltd. In 1877 Antonio Salviati left the Venice & Murano Company to form two independent glassworks: Salviati & Company for mosaics, and Salviati Dott. Antonio for art

glass, each with its own premises in Venice, near San Gregorio on the Grand Canal, and a London shop in Regent Street. He was underwritten by another Englishman, W. H. Burke, and the new firm was advertised in London as Salviati, Burke & Co. The Venice & Murano Glass and Mosaic Company continued to practice under that name at St. James's Street and under its Italian name, the Compagnia Venezia-Murano, in Campo San Vio.⁵ Its new artistic adviser was Alessandro Castellani (1824–1883) of Rome, antiquarian, dealer, and partner in his father's celebrated goldsmithing firm. Castellani had his own family collection of ancient Roman glass, which became a rich source of inspiration for the Compagnia Venezia-Murano. The two concerns exhibited separately at the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1878, with considerable rivalry. The Compagnia Venezia-Murano was awarded the *diplôme d'honneur* and two gold medals for its contribution. Salviati appealed and was assigned the *diplôme* instead, provoking the Compagnia Venezia-Murano to bring a counterappeal. In the end, the prize was given to the city of Venice!⁶

The display of modern Murano glass at the 1878



Figure 9. Glass shown by the Venice & Murano Glass and Mosaic Company at the Paris Exposition Universelle of 1878. In the center is a copy of the Bologna bottle similar to that shown in Figure 8 (photo: after *Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue of the Paris International Exhibition* [London, 1878], p. 126)

exhibition in Paris received widespread critical acclaim. Most accounts credit Salviati with the revival of glassmaking in Venice but say far more about the works shown by the Venice & Murano Glass Company. The reason, according to the German critic H. Frauenberger, was that Salviati's reduced means limited his production: "The Murano Company . . . possesses all the marvelous techniques rediscovered by Salviati, together with the excellent workmen that Salviati trained, but because they have so much English capital at their disposal, have come with larger, more impressive works than those shown in the display of Dr Salviati, who, having just set up his own factory, has to train new workmen."⁷ So the Compagnia Venezia-Murano was in a better position to begin with. Moreover, it had trumped Salviati by publicizing its display with a privately printed catalogue in French and English, the English edition entitled *The Venice & Murano Glass and Mosaic Company. Catalogue of a selection from the articles exhibited by the Company at the Paris International Exhibition of 1878*.⁸ It included seventy-nine entries for enameled and blown glass, followed by chandeliers, glass mosaics, and mural decorations. The blown glass included copies of antique pieces in the Murano museum and other Venetian collections; the Bologna museum; the Naples museum; the Vatican Museums; Saint Petersburg; the collection of Carl Disch in Cologne; the Castellani collection in Rome; and no fewer than seventy items copied from the famous collection of ancient and later glass that Felix Slade had bequeathed to the British Museum in 1868.⁹

The Murano revival had hitherto concentrated on copies of historic Venetian glass from the fifteenth century on, mostly based on originals in Venetian or at least Italian collections. Some are easily identifiable with pieces in the Jarves gift. For example, number 24 is described as a "Gourd-shaped vase with four handles, in straw-coloured glass, enamelled in dull gold colours, bearing in the centres two escutcheons of noble Roman families. Height 16 in. *After an original in the Bologna Museum.*" There is no doubt that this description corresponds to a bottle in the form of a Renaissance pilgrim flask in the Jarves gift to the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 8).¹⁰ Further evidence that the Jarves piece is the work of the Venice & Murano Company is provided by the *Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue of the Paris International Exhibition* (London, 1878), which devoted three whole pages to the Venice & Murano Company—perhaps not surprising, since it was in effect an English firm. The page in question is captioned "recent reproductions, and for the most part copies of antiques, specimens of which abound in Italy and in the collections of English connoisseurs" (Figure 9). In the center is a bottle of iden-

tical form but with a different coat of arms. The "original in the Bologna Museum" is in fact a pair of fifteenth-century Murano flasks, each bearing on either side the coat of arms of the Bentivoglio family and the Sforza family. They may have been made as a marriage gift or for some other commemorative purpose and are extremely rare survivals.¹¹ The version illustrated in the *Art Journal Catalogue* shows the Sforza arms, a serpent devouring a child. Both coats of arms appear on the Metropolitan Museum's flask, as on the originals. Both the originals and copy are of virtually colorless glass.

What was new in 1878 was the huge number of copies of ancient Roman or Early Christian glass. The sources for these copies were to be found, as has been noted, in collections throughout Europe. It is perhaps of interest that one of these ancient originals, from the collection of Alessandro Castellani, survives in The Metropolitan Museum of Art: a gold-banded skyphos, or two-handled vase. It was included in the sale of Castellani's effects held after his death in 1884 and subsequently owned by Edward C. Moore, art director at Tiffany & Company, who bequeathed it to The Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1891. Copies of this skyphos by the Venice & Murano Company are in the Corning Museum of Glass and the Museo Vetrario in Venice.¹²

Despite his smaller display, Salviati had also introduced copies of ancient Roman glass, including gold-glass reproductions. The *Gazette des beaux-arts* remarked on his "Christian vessels with designs in gold between two layers of glass."¹³ If only the catalogue produced by the Venice & Murano Company in 1878 had been illustrated, we might be able to say with certainty which factory made the three gold-glass pieces from the Jarves gift. (None of the *Art Journal* pages illustrates copies of gold-glass either.) In the catalogue section headed "Christian and other 'Sgraffito' [scratched] glass," number 74 is listed as "PATERAE, ornamented with medallions in etched gold leaf, enclosed between two layers of glass. *These are imitations of the famous 'Christian' glass preserved in the Library and in the Christian Museum of the Vatican at Rome.*" Numbers 77 and 78 were "Dishes, with feet and etched gold-leaf ornaments, in the style of the VI century," and "Various pieces of the same style and character of work." Fortunately, however, pieces of gold-glass shown by the Venice & Murano Company at the 1878 exhibition survive, as they were purchased by some of the great decorative arts museums of Europe: the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin, the Museum für angewandte Kunst in Vienna, and the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Zurich. All are very close in conception and execution to the Jarves group.¹⁴

One is tempted to wonder why it was that both the

Venice & Murano Company and Salviati introduced reproductions at the Paris exhibition of 1878, given that examples of Early Christian gold-glass had been available and well published over the previous twenty years. Left to their own devices, the Venetian glassblowers would probably have continued to produce traditional Venetian forms. But with Alessandro Castellani's appointment as artistic adviser to the Venice & Murano Company in 1877, when Salviati went off on his own, a new intellectual impetus was provided. Henry Layard was no doubt behind this appointment, having been closely acquainted with Castellani since the 1850s.¹⁵ Contemporary accounts leave little doubt that Castellani was the driving force behind the use of Roman and other models from antiquity. Julius Lessing, then director of the Kunstgewerbemuseum in Berlin and Germany's most influential art critic, purchased a number of pieces for his museum and in a report on the 1878 exhibition wrote: "The production of Venetian glass has seen a new activity since Dr Salviati, who has run the excellent Venice & Murano Glass Company so successfully, has withdrawn from the company and set up his own workshops. The old factory continues and has received a new artistic stimulus through the collaboration of the celebrated Alessandro Castellani, whose radical influence is brilliantly demonstrated in the exhibition."¹⁶ Castellani's own account explains his role in encouraging new sources of inspiration:

The occasion of the Paris Exposition spurred the Company to give a more traditional and artistic impulse to its products. They invited me to come to Venice and offer suggestions for improvement. Once there, I reviewed the technical procedures then in use on Murano, and saw that there was no reason to choose models only from the recent past. Rather, I felt, the challenge of studying and reproducing the most beautiful examples of ancient Graeco-Roman glass should be boldly met, in an attempt to recover the shapes, glass paste and colours of the originals. I suggested that they also reproduce the glass vessels found in early Christian tombs, following the methods described by Theophilus the monk. . . . The craftsmen of Murano, realising the validity of my ideas, which I propounded, explained, and illustrated with examples of antique glass from my own collection, set to work. . . . In a short time they were able to reproduce the Early Christian prototypes as well as Arab-Byzantine pieces, including the famous goblet in the treasury of St Mark's. Some of the more perfect examples were mounted in silver and gilt-silver in the style of the beautiful vases in this treasury.¹⁷

Not only did Alessandro Castellani suggest that the Venetian glassmakers copy Early Christian gold-glass; he also directed them to the twelfth-century treatise *Schedula diversarum artium* by Theophilus so that they could work out how to do it. In his passage on "Glass Goblets which the Byzantines Embellish with Gold and Silver," Theophilus describes the process in detail:

They take gold leaf, and from it shape representations of men or birds, or animals, or foliage. Then they apply these on the goblet with water, in whatever place they have selected. This gold leaf must be rather thick. Then they take glass that is very clear, like crystal, which they make up themselves, and which melts soon after it feels the heat of the fire. They grind it carefully on a porphyry stone with water and apply it very thinly over the gold leaf with a brush. When it is dry, they put the goblet in the kiln in which painted glass for windows is fired. Underneath they light a fire of beechwood that has been thoroughly dried in smoke; and when they have seen the flame penetrating the goblet long enough for it to take on a slight reddening, they immediately throw out the wood and block up the kiln until it cools by itself. This gold will never come off.¹⁸

By studying Theophilus, the Venice & Murano Company discovered the ancient method of making gold-glass, enabling far greater accuracy than in previous reproductions. This is confirmed by the German critic Frauenberger, quoted earlier: "For some time now, much effort has been made to produce every glass technique that has come down to us from antiquity: such as figures on gold grounds within the glass, yet the gold cannot be felt on the surface, being beneath a layer of glass and so no one knew how it was made. Now this time the Murano Company in Venice have exhibited successful copies of these ancient vessels."¹⁹ As for Salviati's gold-glass reproductions, Murano is a small place. He must have been aware of the experimentation taking place in the rival workshop.

It is highly likely that Jarves was personally acquainted with Castellani or Layard, but his references to them are few, and one can only speculate. He mentions them both in his 1882 article and in a letter to General Luigi di Cesnola, director of The Metropolitan Museum of Art, dated January 7, 1881. (The Layard papers in London contain no letters from Jarves.) His letter to Cesnola suggests he knew Layard, at least in the realm of discussing antiquities, and viewed Castellani as a formidable competitor in snapping up archaeological discoveries. He also writes of Etruscan objects being found in excavations, including the contents of a child's tomb which he "bagged, as Castellani was after them." Despite their rivalry, Jarves bought directly from Castellani. A later letter

mentions Mrs. Castellani as perhaps willing to lower the price of some antiquities because Castellani was in poor health.

The circumstances of the acquisition of the Jarves collection by The Metropolitan Museum of Art are interesting for what they reveal about Jarves's activities in Italy and his passionate wish to fill American museums with European art. Jarves had lived in Italy, mostly in Florence, for long periods since the early 1850s. It was during the 1850s that he assembled his collection of Italian primitives, for which he is best known and which was purchased by Yale University Art Gallery in 1868. From 1877 he was vice-consul in Florence. He continued his own collecting but was also instrumental in advising other American collectors in their purchases of Italian art. In 1880 Jarves persuaded Cornelius Vanderbilt, then a trustee of the Museum, to purchase from him a collection of old master drawings and present it to the Metropolitan Museum. These arrangements put him in contact with Cesnola. At the end of March 1881 Jarves again wrote to Cesnola from Florence, this time offering his collection of Venetian glass: "I have been preaching to others to give to the Museum, & now would like to practise in a humble way, if but as the widow's mite, what I wish I was able to do on a large scale. Recalling to you what I wrote March 15th regarding the collection of about 200 pieces of old Venetian glass, & the offer of a gentleman to buy it for 50,000 francs to give to the Museum, I would now state that I propose to make it my own personal gift." This suggests that Jarves had earlier hoped to sell the glass to Vanderbilt, who would then give it to the Museum, as had been done with the drawings. Jarves's letter goes on to say that the gift is offered on the conditions that it be kept together by itself; be known as the Jarves Gift; be the "inalienable" property of the Museum; and be arranged in locked cases, as far as possible according to styles and epochs; and that he should be permitted to "add to it as I find opportunity."

This official letter was followed by one marked "confidential," in which Jarves said: "By all rules of Yankee prudence I cannot afford to give it, as I have no fixed income and still have debts to pay in Boston before my real-estate is cleared of encumbrances made by an unfaithful agent. But my wife and children beg me to do it, & are willing to economize much & trust to providence in the future, that I may have the satisfaction of *doing what I preach to others* [the italics are his]."

A few months earlier, Cesnola had been accused by the French dealer Gaston Feuardent of having induced the Museum to buy supposedly forged Cypriot antiquities—the celebrated Curium trea-

sure—so Cesnola suspected Jarves of being a similarly unscrupulous dealer who might have ulterior motives. Cesnola wrote to the president of the Museum, John Taylor Johnston, for instruction, enclosing Jarves's official letter, noting that the collecting of glass was said to be worth \$20,000, and recommending that it be accepted as soon as possible. To this he added a private note:

I do not know personally Mr Jarves and I correspond with him only since Mr CV bought from him the drawings now in the Museum. I am afraid, between us, that Mr Jarves is somewhat of the same stamp as Mr Feuardent, wishing to make use of our Museum as a *lever* to make money for themselves; with this difference that Mr Jarves knows this country better than the Frenchman and Jarves finds rich Americans in Europe and makes them purchase his wares for the Museum. This donation from him direct to the Museum may be a smart move in some other direction on his part. However, we have no right to consider his donation in any other light but that of a generous contribution to our museum. I have heard a great deal of the said glass collection and though it may not have cost Mr Jarves \$5000 to secure it, there is no doubt that it is worth much more and could not be secured in France or England for double the amount.

Please let me know what answer I have to send to this Mr Jarves.²⁰

The Museum accepted the glass. On July 3, 1881, Jarves wrote to tell of the packing and dispatch of the glass from Livorno. By this time the collection had grown significantly; it is clear that once his offer had been accepted by the Museum, Jarves was determined to make the collection as representative as possible. Correspondence between Jarves and Cesnola in the Museum archives indicates that between January and July 1881, it grew from 80 to 280 pieces. On January 7 he wrote that he had secured "about 50 pieces, but hearing of some remarkable specimens near Rimini I went further. I now have 80 very choice pieces. I got them mostly direct from first hands needing money." The assumption is that all 80 pieces were historic and that he had acquired the first 50 of them while in Florence, between 1877 and 1880. When he offered the collection in March he made no mention of modern examples, even though the collection had by then grown to 200 pieces. In June he wrote to Cesnola, "there are about 50 pieces of the modern Salviati glass," and as an afterthought inserted "Venezia-Murano etc." (Because Salviati was so closely associated with the Murano revival, "Salviati glass" had become a generic term for all modern Venetian glass, as Jarves recognizes in his addition here of the second

factory name.) On July 3 he writes that the collection numbers 280 pieces. This sequence indicates that the modern pieces were added in the last six months before the collection arrived in the Museum. We can probably be even more precise: In his 1882 article for *Harper's*, Jarves noted that the rival glass companies "both have made extraordinary progress, as the Exposition at Milan of 1881 of Italian industrial art clearly showed." The Milan exhibition ran from the end of April through May 1881. Knowing that the future of his collection was assured, Jarves must have gone to the Milan exhibition specifically to bring his collection up-to-date. This would explain the appearance of the modern pieces between March and June 1881.

Jarves obviously believed the inclusion of the modern pieces was important but saw no need to describe them in detail or to distinguish those made by Salviati from those made by the Venice & Murano Company. The old pieces, by contrast, all had labels "indicating appropriately their epochs by centuries, as given by the best experts. I have been assisted by Professor Zanetti, Director of the Museum of Murano, from whom I procured some of the oldest and most interesting examples, duplicates of the types in that Museum." Jarves goes on to say that he also had valuable aid from the glass expert Alexander Nesbitt in London²¹ and recommends that the catalogue prepared for the glass in the South Kensington Museum (later the Victoria and Albert Museum) would be a good model to follow, if the Metropolitan Museum were to consider issuing a catalogue.

As an expression of the Museum's gratitude, Jarves was elected a patron, at the suggestion of Cornelius Vanderbilt. When the glass was installed, Vanderbilt wrote him that it looked "superb." Jarves supported Cesnola throughout the attacks against the Cypriot collection, which went on until 1884, and they continued to correspond. Jarves assisted the Museum with the acquisition of art objects abroad, as well as purchasing items for the private collections of Vanderbilt and another trustee, Henry Marquand. Jarves was preoccupied with obtaining art treasures for America to the end of his life. In 1886 he wrote to Cesnola from Italy that the duke of Monte de Marigliano was asking for the hand of his daughter, Italia Jarves: "[The duke] has a buried city on his property which he means to excavate. This touches me in my weak spot; & if the probation ends well & marriage takes place, I shall keep a sharp eye on that city for our museums." By that time, any suspicions that Cesnola had had must have been conquered.

Quite apart from his collecting activities, Jarves wrote at length on art and on museums.²² Space does not permit an examination of his ideas on those

subjects, but some of them are as resonant today as they were upon publication. It seems appropriate to close this account with Jarves's own words: "In a co-operative, well-directed plan, first class museums might be speedily built up in our large cities on comparatively small endowments for running expenses, and supporting a competent corps of experts in the different departments to catalogue, decide and care for the objects. Should American legislators ever adopt the European idea as to the importance of museums in an educational sense, they may then follow the example of the older civilizations, and give them as prominent a place in their financial budgets as they do elementary and superior education in general. Until they do, however, our museums must subsist and increase by voluntary support."²³

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Many members of the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts at the Metropolitan Museum have helped in various ways. I am especially indebted to Jessie McNab, who provided information about the gold-glass pieces and kindly read the Jarves correspondence in the Museum's Archives for me; her detailed notes have enabled me to summarize it here. James David Draper (who first encouraged me to write about the Jarves Gift), Jeffrey H. Munger, and Stephanie Post have answered numerous queries.

NOTES

1. Jessie McNab, "A Species of Creation," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* n.s., 19 (November 1960), pp. 91-100.
2. James Jackson Jarves, "Ancient and Modern Venetian Glass of Murano," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 64 (February 1882), pp. 177-90. This article was reprinted in Jarves's *Italian Rambles: Studies of Life and Manners in New and Old Italy* (London, 1883), but without illustrations.
3. Filippo Buonarroti, *Osservazioni sopra alcuni frammenti di vase antichi di vetro ornati di figure trovati nei cimiteri di Roma* (Florence, 1716).
4. Letter from Zanetti to Layard, June 18, 1869, in the British Library Layard Papers, Add. MSS 38996, fol. 288. For Zanetti's role in the Venetian glass revival, see *Vincenzo Zanetti e la Murano dell'Ottocento*, exh. cat. (Venice, 1983).
5. In the absence of a much-needed monograph on Salviati, I have taken the information about the firm from various sources. The most recent is Aldo Bova's chapter, "Alcune notizie sui protagonisti e le ditte muranesi dell'800," with its detailed biographies, in *Draghi, serpenti e mostri marini nel vetro di Murano dell'800*, exh. cat., Galleria Antiquaria s.a.s. di Aldo Bova (Venice, 1997),

- pp. 33–46 for the various Salviati companies, and pp. 30–32 and 51–21 for the Compagnia Venezia–Murano. This has a parallel English translation, but in the section on the Compagnia Venezia–Murano (CVM), the word “Salviati” appears erroneously instead of CVM, so it is less confusing to read the Italian. Equally useful is Bova’s chapter, “Il vetro di Murano alle esposizioni dell’800” in *Murrine e millefiori 1830–1930*, exh. cat., Galleria Rossella Junck (Venice, 1998). Previous literature includes Giovanni Mariacher and Rosa Barovier Mentasti, *Antonio Salviati e la rinascita ottocentesca del vetro artistico veneziano*, exh. cat., Museo Civico di Palazzo Chiericati (Vicenza, 1982), pp. 3–16, and the unpaginated artists’ biographies in Barbara Mundt, *Historismus. Kunsthandwerk und Industrie im Zeitalter der Weltausstellungen*, exh. cat., Kunstgewerbemuseum (Berlin, 1973).
6. See L. Enault, “L’Italie à l’Exposition Universelle,” *Journal Officiel de la République Française* (1878); quoted by Bova in *Murrine e millefiori*, pp. 199–200.
 7. H. Frauenberger, *Die Kunstindustrie auf der Pariser Weltausstellung 1878* (Leipzig, 1879), pp. 49–52.
 8. A copy of this rare catalogue is in The Metropolitan Museum of Art’s Department of Drawings and Prints.
 9. See A. W. Franks, ed., *Catalogue of the Collection of Glass formed by Felix Slade, Esq., F. S. A. with Notes on the History of Glass Making by Alexander Nesbitt, Esq., F. S. A.* (London, 1871). The Slade collection of 944 pieces was well known before 1868 since Slade had lent pieces to a number of exhibitions in London and elsewhere. It is significant in this context that the Paris 1878 exhibition also had a section devoted to ancient art, as opposed to contemporary productions. A fine group of Roman, Venetian, and eighteenth-century glass was lent by a number of private collectors and fully described by Alfred Darcel. See Louis Gonse, *L’art ancien à l’Exposition de 1878* (Paris, 1879), pp. 276–81.
 10. McNab, “A Species of Creation,” fig. 8. Acc. no. 81.8.223.ab.
 11. For the Bologna flasks, see Renzo Grandi, ed., *Introduzione al Museo Civico Medievale* (Bologna, 1987), no. 34.
 12. For the gold-banded skyphos, see Andrew Oliver, “Late Hellenistic Glass in the Metropolitan Museum,” *Journal of Glass Studies* 9 (1967), pp. 28–29; for a more recent account, see J.-A. Page, L. Pilosi, and M. T. Wypski, “Ancient Mosaic Glass or Modern Reproductions?” *Journal of Glass Studies* 43 (2001), pp. 115–39. This article illustrates a number of pieces from the Jarves gift. For the copy in the Museum Vetrario, see Rosa Barovier Mentasti et al., *Mille anni di arte del vetro a Venezia*, exh. cat., Palazzo Ducale and Museo Correr (Venice, 1982), no. 422.
 13. *Gazette des beaux-arts* 18 (1878), pp. 669–70.
 14. See Mundt, *Historismus*, no. 23, for an example in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin; Renate Pillinger, *Studien zu Römischen Zwischengoldgläsern I. Geschichte der Technik und das Problem der Authentizität*, Österreichisches Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse Denkschriften, 110 (Vienna, 1984), p. 77, pl. 229, for an example in the Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna, Inv. HI 4672, Gl. 1350; Pillinger, *Zwischengoldgläsern*, p. 75, pl. 203, for an example in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Zurich. Further examples of nineteenth-century gold-glass reproductions are discussed and illustrated in J. Rudoe, “A Venetian Goblet Made for the Paris Exhibition of 1878 with Gold Leaf Medallions of Early Christian Martyrs,” *Festschrift for David Buckton*, forthcoming.
 15. I have discussed the relationship between Castellani and Layard elsewhere. See J. Rudoe, “The Layards, Castellani and Cortelazzo: New Information from the Diaries of Lady Layard,” *Jewellery Studies* 1 (1983), pp. 59–82, and idem, “Alessandro Castellani’s Letters to Henry Layard: Extracts Concerning the 1862 International Exhibition in London and the Revival of Granulation,” *Jewellery Studies* 5 (1991), pp. 107–19.
 16. Julius Lessing, *Berichte von der Pariser Weltausstellung 1878* (Paris, 1878), p. 228.
 17. “Note Parigine: Dentro e fuori dell’Esposizione,” *Fanfulla* 9 (Rome, May 13, 1878), no. 130 (quoted by Bova in his chapter on “Il vetro di Murano alle esposizioni dell’800” in *Murrine e millefiori*, p. 201).
 18. *On Divers Arts: The Treatise of Theophilus*, trans. from Latin with introduction and notes by John G. Hawthorne and Cyril Stanley Smith (Chicago, 1963), p. 59.
 19. Frauenberger, *Die Kunstindustrie*, pp. 49–52.
 20. Selections from the correspondence between Jarves and Cesnola are quoted in Francis Steegmüller, *The Two Lives of James Jackson Jarves* (New Haven, 1951), pp. 276–78. The passages quoted here all come from this source.
 21. Nesbitt had also contributed to the catalogue of the Slade bequest to the British Museum; see note 8.
 22. Jarves’s works include *Art-Hints: Architecture, Sculpture and Painting* (London, 1855); *The Art Idea: Part Second of Confessions of an Inquirer* (New York, 1864); and *Art Thoughts: The Experiences and Observations of an American Amateur in Europe* (New York, 1870). Jarves also wrote on life and manners in Italy, on the art of Japan, and what has remained a standard text on the history of Hawaii.
 23. Jarves, “Ancient and Modern Venetian Glass of Murano,” p. 179.

Balthus's Mountain Guide Revisited

SABINE REWALD

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IN THIS BRIEF NOTE I will reveal the identity of the actual model for the figure of the mountain guide in Balthus's large painting *The Mountain* (1937) (Figure 1). Many years ago I rashly related this figure to one by an obscure eighteenth-century Swiss painter whose work Balthus had copied, to which it bears only a superficial resemblance; probably I was seduced by the fact that both men are shown smoking pipes.¹ Balthus himself regarded *The Mountain* as a *tableau clef*.² He displayed in the painting, his largest to that date, a rich brew of references—veiled ones with regard to figures taken from his own life, transparent ones with regard to figures borrowed from the painters he admired. In the picture's subtitle—it was exhibited at the Pierre Matisse Gallery in New York in 1939 with the label "Summer: the first of four panels depicting the seasons"—Balthus paid homage to Poussin's famous allegorical landscape cycle of the Four Seasons (1660–64).³ The overall composition of the painting was, however, based on Courbet's *Young Women from the Village* (1852; inv. 40.1754) in The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The Mountain presents an imaginary plateau at the top of the Niederhorn, a mountain in the Bernese Oberland of Switzerland. Having taken a cable lift to the top of the mountain in the summer of 1980, I can confirm that Balthus's landscape is composed of real, though transformed, elements, as well as invented ones. All the mountains can be identified, from the Sigriswiler Rothorn on the left to the Burgfeld Stand on the right, across the deep valley of the Justistal, the actual width of which has been suppressed. At the foot of the Niederhorn, out of view and a day's hike away, lies Beatenberg, the quaint Swiss village above Lake Thun where Balthus spent several of the summers and autumns of his youth, between 1922 and 1927.

As I have written elsewhere in greater detail, in the pose of the sturdy sleeping *Wandervogel* (Figure 2) Balthus continued his reference to Poussin by evoking

the figure of Narcissus from the latter's *Echo and Narcissus* (ca. 1627).⁴ Balthus had copied this exquisite small painting in the Louvre in 1925.⁵ The actual model for the sleeping figure in *The Mountain*, however, was seventeen-year-old Sheila Pickering (1918–1978), an exuberant English friend who lived in Paris and had delighted Balthus with her mischievous adventures. Sheila, who later married the English journalist Sam White, had posed earlier for Balthus; the result, *Sheila, Princess of Cats* (1935; private collection, New York), is a companion work to the artist's *Self-Portrait as King of Cats* (1935; private collection, Switzerland).

While the *Wandervogel* sleeps after the strenuous climb to the peak, her tall blonde companion is already up and about, stretching against the deep blue sky (Figure 3). The model for the blonde Amazon, whose arms reach so dramatically above her head that they echo the peaks of the mountains, was a twenty-five-year-old Swiss woman, Antoinette de Watteville (1912–1997), from an old and prominent Bern family. Antoinette and one of her brothers, Robert, had been Balthus's friends since the late 1920s. He stayed in their family mansion when visiting Bern, and he courted Antoinette for some seven years. Unknown and without prospects, Balthus had little to offer as a suitor to Antoinette, who disdained to become the wife a "poor artist." As it happened, however, she broke her engagement to a diplomat and finally consented to become the artist's wife in April 1937.

The posture of the pensive mountain guide (Figure 4) recalls that of the kneeling figure in Courbet's *Stone Breakers* (1850; destroyed). The actual model for the guide, however, according to a recently discovered letter from Balthus, was the handsome young peasant Fritz Grossniklaus (1905–1928).⁶ Balthus had known Fritz during the summers of his youth in Beatenberg. Three years older than Balthus, Fritz was one of the five children of the baker of Beatenberg, also named Fritz Grossniklaus (1875–1945). Each summer the younger Fritz took his cows up to the meadows of the Niederhorn. In the only surviving photograph of Fritz,

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The notes for this article begin on page 319.



Figure 1. Baldus (1908–2001). *The Mountain*, 1937. Oil on canvas, 98 x 144 in. (249 x 366 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Gifts of Mr. and Mrs. Nate B. Spingold and Nathan Cummings, Rogers Fund and The Alfred N. Punnett Endowment Fund, by exchange, and Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1982 (1982.530)

from about 1921, he is shown with one of his cows (Figure 5). Fritz died of peritonitis in 1928, at the age of twenty-three. In *The Mountain*, Fritz is thus shown nine years after his actual death. However, his sixteen-year-old features in the photograph—the broad chin, almond-shaped eyes, finely drawn eyebrows, and curve of dark hair over the forehead—resemble those of his reincarnation as a thirty-two-year-old man in *The Mountain*. When Baldus painted the picture in 1937, he did not know that Fritz had died. He learned this only later, as he explains in the same letter: “many years ago in Bern (when it was not yet so degraded by sex-shops), I was told by Marili, whom I met in the street, of the death of her brother Fritz, who is depicted in the painting *La Montagne*.”⁷

Baldus had spent several months of 1927 in Beatenberg, from April until the end of June, painting wall decorations for the small Protestant village church. During that spring Baldus had already chosen one of

Fritz’s relatives—his distant cousin, fourteen-year-old Egon Grossniklaus (1913–1996)—as the model for the main figure of the church decoration, the coquettish Good Shepherd. The irreverence of Baldus’s colorful wall paintings had led to their removal during the church’s restoration in the autumn of 1934. Baldus was deeply hurt over this decision by the Beatenberg parish church council, and he never returned to Beatenberg.

Thus, when painting *The Mountain* in 1937, Baldus had not seen the familiar landscape for ten years. So that he could refresh his memory of it, he asked Antoinette, who at that time was in Switzerland, to send him pictures or postcards of the view from the Niederhorn.⁸ Likewise, when painting Fritz Grossniklaus, who was indigenous to the landscape, he must have done so from no-longer-extant studies or drawings that he had made of him in 1927, during the artist’s last stay in Beatenberg. The addition of ten



Figure 2. Detail of Figure 1

years to the young model's age seems to have required no leap of imagination on the painter's part.

The Mountain alludes to, among other things, the artist's marriage to Antoinette de Watteville. Her final capitulation must have suggested to Balthus that he had become acceptable both as a man and as an artist—especially since she married him only after his first exhibition in Paris in 1934 had catapulted him, if not to fame, then to notoriety, and he had been chosen by members of Parisian society to paint their portraits. Interwoven with these multilayered, personal allusions in *The Mountain* may also be an allegory from the writings of Pierre Jean Jouve (1887–1976), a close friend, which had probably struck a chord with Balthus's own situation as an artist at that particular time. Jouve's *La scène capitale* had appeared in 1935, two years before Balthus painted *The Mountain*. The book contains two novellas: *La victime*, a work dedicated to Balthus—with a title Balthus reused for one of his paintings—and *Dans les années profondes*. The second novella takes place in an Alpine region of the Engadine and contains literary images the magical clarity of which corresponds to the sharpness that forms can assume in high mountain regions, not unlike the forms in Balthus's painting. The novella tells of the love of the young poet Léonide for Hélène, a beautiful married woman. She finally yields to him but dies during their lovemaking. Only when the poet



Figure 3. Detail of Figure 1



Figure 4. Detail of Figure 1

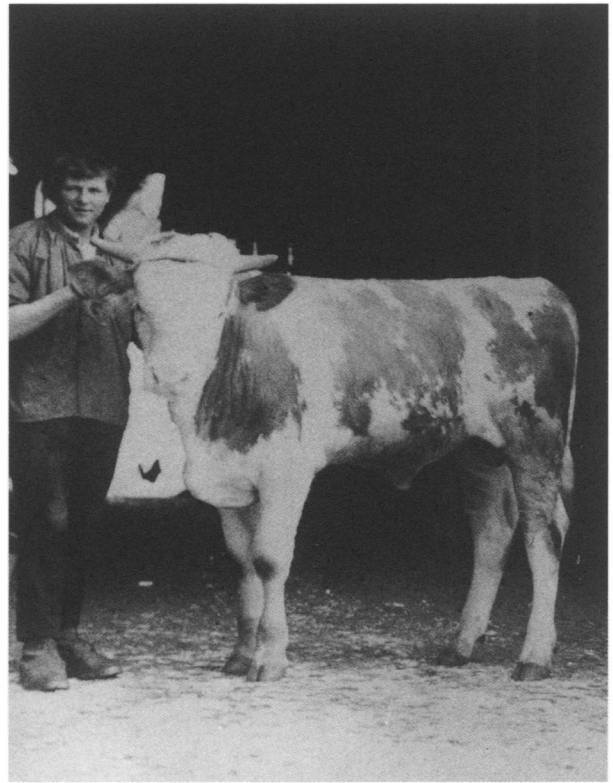


Figure 5. Fritz Grossniklaus in Beatenberg, ca. 1921 (photo: courtesy of Antoine Weber, Neuchâtel)



Figure 6. Detail of Figure 5

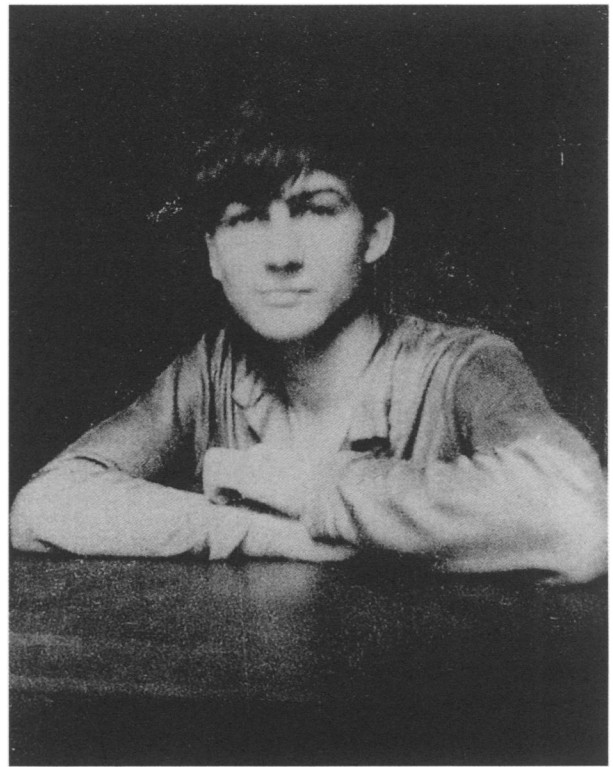


Figure 7. The young Balthus, ca. 1922 (photo: Alfio de Bella, Rome)

re-creates her in his poetry does he realize his potential as an artist. Balthus's two female figures, one sleeping in the shade, the other triumphant in the light, may allude to Jouve's heroine who dies and is reborn in art.

It is tempting, therefore, to see in the figure of the mountain guide who is watching over these two women an alter ego of the artist—of Balthus himself. If one compares the face, in close-up, of the sixteen-year-old Fritz of about 1921 (Figure 6) with that of the fourteen-year-old Balthus in a photograph of about 1922 (Figure 7), their features—coarser in Fritz, more refined in Balthus—do show a possible resemblance. This very resemblance is probably what initially guided Balthus's choice of this model in *The Mountain*.

NOTES

1. See Sabine Rewald, *Balthus*, exh. cat., Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (New York, 1984), p. 23. In that catalogue I misidentified the mountain guide's face as that of Christian Heumann in *Kanton Freiburg* (ibid., p. 22, fig. 22), from the Swiss Peasant cycle (1787–97) of Joseph Reinhardt (1749–1829). In 1932, Balthus had copied ten paintings from Reinhardt's cycle in the Bernisches Historisches Museum, comprising some 125 images, including *Kanton Freiburg* (ibid., p. 22, fig. 23). Since then I have perpetuated this incorrect identification in articles and on the Museum's wall labels.
2. Balthus to James Thrall Soby, June 20, 1956: "*La Montagne* . . . always remained in my mind as a so-called *tableau clef* of my work." James Thrall Soby Papers, 1.7.2, Museum of Modern Art, New York.
3. See *Balthus Paintings and Drawings*, exh. cat., Pierre Matisse Gallery, New York (New York, 1939), no. 1. Balthus never painted the other three seasons in this planned series.
4. See Sabine Rewald, "Balthus's Magic Mountain," *Burlington Magazine* 139 (September 1997), pp. 622–28.
5. Balthus dedicated his copy, which is now lost, to the poet Rainer Maria Rilke by inscribing "À René" upon a rock; this tribute was in response to Rilke's "Narcisse" (1925), a poem in French dedicated to the young Balthus. See Rainer Maria Rilke, *Sämtliche Werke*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden, 1958), p. 7.
6. Balthus to Antoine Weber of Neuchâtel, Switzerland, May 7, 1998. Weber is a distant nephew of Fritz Grossniklaus. In March 2001, Weber sent me documentation of the entire Grossniklaus family, as well as a photograph of Egon Grossniklaus, who had posed for Balthus's figure of the Good Shepherd in 1927. Weber also kindly included a copy of Balthus's 1998 letter to him. At my prodding, Weber contacted numerous members of the large Grossniklaus family and, after many months of searching, was able to obtain the photograph of Fritz from one of the latter's nephews, Fritz Wüthrich, the son of Fritz's sister Rosa. This was not an easy task, since few photographs were taken at that time in peasant families.
7. Balthus to Weber, May 7, 1998.
8. As told by Balthus to Antoine Weber, and as recounted in Weber's letter to the author dated April 1, 2001.

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Catacombs": James Jackson Jarves and the Revival
of the Art of Glass in Venice
JUDY RUDDOE

Balthus's Mountain Guide Revisited
SABINE REWALD

COVER ILLUSTRATION: Clockwise from top,
Plate, French, Sèvres, 1791. Hard-paste porce-
lain, diam. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (24.3 cm). The Metropolitan
Museum of Art, Gift of Lewis Einstein, 1962
(62.165.1); Boy riding a dog, French, Mennecy,
ca. 1745–50. Soft-paste porcelain, H. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.
(14.9 cm), L. 6 in. (15.2 cm). The Metropolitan
Museum of Art, The Lesley and Emma Sheaffer
Collection, Bequest of Emma A. Sheaffer, 1973
(1974.356.587); Lucien Falize (1839–1897),
Box in Islamic style, mark registered by Alexis
Falize et Fils in 1875. Enameled gold, H. 1 in.
(2.4 cm), L. 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (7 cm), W. 2 in. (5 cm). The
Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Friends
of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts Gifts,
in honor of Clare Le Corbeiller, 2002
(2002.258); Candelabrum (one of a pair),
French, ca. 1740–45. Gilt bronze, lacquered
wood, and hard-paste porcelain, H. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (17.2
cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Jack
and Belle Linsky Collection, 1982 (1982.60.87)

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