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Front and back covers: Harlequin and Columbine, traditionally identified as Mezzetin and Lalage. Models by Franz Anton Bustelli, Nymphenburg, about 1760

Inside front cover: Detail of the platter from the Swan Service (p. 28)

Inside back cover: Detail of The Audience of the Chinese Emperor (p. 37)

Photography of Museum objects by Bruce White
of The Metropolitan Museum of Art Photograph Studio

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The Metropolitan Museum’s collection of German porcelain was inaugurated at the turn of the century by gifts from Henry G. Marquand and the Reverend Alfred Duane Pell, and has reached its present strength almost entirely through succeeding gifts of discerning and generous collectors. Of these, four have contributed most substantially to the exceptional quality and diversity of the Museum’s holdings. At a time when subtle aspects of scholarship and connoisseurship were still little recognized in this country, R. Thornton Wilson, Judge Irwin Untermyer, Lesley and Emma Sheafer, and Jack and Belle Linsky were each forming collections remarkable for their adventurousness. Meissen—long and justifiably held to be preeminent among the German porcelain factories—is naturally well represented, particularly in the Wilson and Sheafer collections, which include pieces of great artistic as well as documentary interest. The factories outside Dresden attracted Judge Untermyer and Thornton Wilson, and Mr. Wilson’s resolute acquisition of little-known examples from the most obscure of the factories enriched our collection and our knowledge. More recently, the Linskys’ almost exclusive concentration on the small porcelain figure has brought into sharp focus sculpture as a genre of paramount significance to eighteenth-century German porcelain.

Together with numerous other gifts and occasional purchases, the latest of which are the spectacular Meissen lions created for the Japanese Palace in Dresden (see pp. 16, 17), the Metropolitan’s collection of German porcelain has grown to about 1200 pieces; from these a selection has been made for discussion in this Bulletin by the author, Clare Le Corbeiller, Associate Curator of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts. Most of the objects illustrated here are on view in the galleries devoted to the decorative arts of Central Europe, 1700–1800, a permanent installation opened in October 1989 and made possible through generous funding by Jayne Wrightsman with additional support from Mr. and Mrs. John H. Gutfreund.

Philippe de Montebello
Director
Porcelain manufacturing centers of eighteenth-century Germany
From Prussia in the north to Bavaria and the Palatinate in the south and west, eighteenth-century Germany, in the aftermath of the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), was studded with a host of princely domains, presided over by electors, prince-bishops, or dukes. Each domain was independent in its spiritual or temporal power, and each ruler sought to assert his authority through the building and furnishing of palaces and the laying out of extensive gardens graced with statues and pleasure pavilions. To the patronage of architects, sculptors, painters, and craftsmen these projects entailed was added another, unique to the eighteenth century, that of the manufacturers of porcelain.

Germany was not the first European country to produce porcelain. Several manufactories had been attempted in France and one, Saint Cloud, was flourishing by the 1690s. But it was in Germany, at Meissen, that hard-paste porcelain approximating the Chinese was reinvented, and the commercial and artistic success of the factory generated by the support of Augustus the Strong, elector of Saxony and king of Poland, established a pattern that was to be emulated at one court after another throughout Germany.

Westerners' enthusiasm for porcelain resulted from decades of trade with China. In the course of the seventeenth century over three million pieces of blue-and-white Chinese porcelain were imported and dispersed throughout northern Europe, and the demand they created later extended to Japanese porcelain as well. One consequence of this enormous volume of trade was the transformation of relatively ordinary bowls, bottles, dishes, and plates into decorative components of the great porcelain rooms of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The first of
these was in Germany, at the palace of Oranienburg, outside Berlin, where the wife of Friedrich Wilhelm I of Brandenburg-Prussia formed her Porzellankabinett between 1652 and 1667. The collection was rearranged after 1688, when Oranienburg was rebuilt by the future Frederick I of Prussia; and Frederick included a mirrored Kabinett to display his collection of 400 pieces of Chinese porcelain in his palace of Charlottenburg (1695–1706). Visiting Berlin in 1709, Augustus the Strong would certainly have seen these rooms, which must have set the stage for the future acquisition of his own collection of oriental porcelain and a building to house it, the Japanese Palace. A second effect of the China trade was that it gradually accustomed Europeans to the appearance of porcelain on the table, promoting an increasing elaboration and refinement of table etiquette and, consequently, the need for forms and decorations that could not be satisfied by the comparatively limited oriental repertoire even when supplemented by European shapes made to special order.

That the first European hard-paste porcelain should have been produced at Meissen is almost fortuitous, requiring the unpredictable convergence of several circumstances. It was not porcelain but alchemy that brought Johann Friedrich Böttger (1682–1719) into the elector’s service in 1701, and not until about 1705 did he begin to concentrate on “white gold.” Given Böttger’s unsettled background, it is unlikely that he would have been so quickly successful had he not been able to build on fusion experiments by the mathematician and physicist Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus (1651–1708). These in turn would have been to little purpose without a suitable white clay, of which the first deposits were found at Colditz in 1700. (Kaolin from Aue was not used until after 1708.) For Augustus the manufacture of porcelain was at first as much an industry that would contribute to the improvement of the Saxon economy as it was a potential resource of profound cultural importance.

Plan for the decoration of the porcelain room at Charlottenburg Palace, by Johann Friedrich Eosander, about 1706
Indeed, not only was a material invented, but an entirely new artistic medium. Hard-paste porcelain introduced into European ceramics a white body that could be potted to a thin translucency, molded and cast in intricate forms with precise detail, and decorated in a previously unattainable range of colors. The important requirements were kaolin, the clay, and kilns capable of reaching temperatures of 1300 to 1400 degrees Celsius necessary to fuse the kaolin with quartz and feldspar and, in a separate firing, to fix the glaze (the enamel colors, applied over the glaze, were fired at lower temperatures already familiar to the decorators of earthenware and glass).

Because Meissen was the only porcelain factory in operation in Germany between 1710 and 1750, the precedents it set in matters of style were to carry considerable weight. From the beginning the employment of court artists such as the silversmith Johann Jakob Irminger and the lacquerer Martin Schnell assured the elector’s influence; and Augustus was also active in forming the artistic character of the factory through commissions of porcelain for his personal use or as diplomatic gifts, as well as through the loan of objects from his collection of oriental porcelain to be copied. With such gestures he was effective in promoting Meissen productions as reflections of electoral taste, adding to the factory’s prestige as well as his own.

The increasing role of porcelain in court life demanded an appropriate repertoire, and two main lines of production evolved at Meissen that were to remain standard for the later German factories. One was the table service, which was a natural outgrowth of the China trade. Although unmatched in pattern and execution, the assembled sets of bowls, plates, and dishes of export porcelain were unified by their blue-and-white palette and certainly suggested the possibility of a planned ensemble. Added to this was the influence of the French silver table service, fully devel-
oped by the end of the seventeenth century and an established feature of the court at Versailles, whose splendor Augustus the Strong so much admired. In Dresden court festivities required banquets, and the porcelain table service gradually evolved into a requisite form of display, culminating in the unequaled extravagance of the Swan Service (pp. 28–29).

Eventually associated with princely dining was sculpture, a genre that was Meissen’s most original and influential contribution to the art of porcelain. As vivified by Johann Joachim Kändler (1706–1775), the small porcelain figure emerged during the late 1730s primarily as an element of the banquet table in the decorative scheme for the dessert course, replacing sugar sculptures, or trionfi, whose popularity had spread north from the Italian courts, where they had been prominent during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The subjects of these sugar sculptures, part of the thematic program of a court festival, were chosen for their symbolic content; in the eighteenth century the porcelain figure frequently reflected the specific tastes and interests of a court but was rarely of any particular political significance. Arranged in gardenlike settings amid parterres of colored sands and artificial flowers, such figures mirrored the pageantry of court fêtes, which, spread over many days, included ballets, hunts, and theatrical performances, many of them in gardens with statuary that was occasionally echoed in small porcelain versions on the banqueting table.

Following in Meissen’s steps were numerous factories that started up about 1750. Almost all, for some period of their existence, were either subsidized or owned outright by a member of the ruling nobility, whose favor, like that of Augustus the Strong, was active and influential. At Ludwigsburg Duke Carl Eugen of Württemberg maintained a court of exceptionally cosmopolitan splendor. Traveling in Rome as a young man, he had been accompanied by Johann Christian Wilhelm Beyer, who became a modeler at his porcelain factory; and the pleasures of the duke’s stay in Paris were later translated into performances of the French ballet at Ludwigsburg during his birthday celebrations, festivities that were commemorated by numerous porcelain figures of dancers produced for the banqueting tables. At Mainz and Mannheim the court sculptors were modelers for their patrons’ respective porcelain factories of Höchst and Frankenthal; at Fürstenberg, Carl I, duke of Brunswick, opened his Kunst- und-Naturalienkabinett to the public in 1754 and made available to the factory artists for copying his extensive collection of bronzes, ivories, medals, and prints. Frederick the Great of Prussia dominated his Berlin factory with commissions of table services for his own use and for gifts. Throughout the country, between about 1750 and 1775, this type of prudential patronage encouraged and supported the German porcelain factories.
When Meissen was formally established in 1710, Böttger’s “red porcelain,” a hard, fine-grained stoneware imitating Dutch red earthenware, was the first material put on sale; white porcelain was not marketed until 1713. The beauty of this stoneware was its receptivity to a wide range of treatments, such as carving (by glass cutters hired by the factory) and polishing on a lapidary wheel. Its hardness made it well suited to the crisp designs of metalwork origin introduced by Johann Jakob Irminger (1635–1724), the Dresden court silversmith appointed artistic director of Meissen in 1712. This little pilgrim bottle is an Irminger design of about 1710–12 and is known in a number of undecorated versions. Here it has been sheathed in a glossy black that, as Böttger boasted to Augustus in 1710, true connoisseurs preferred by far to oriental lacquer. The decoration in unfired colors has traditionally been attributed to Martin Schnell (ca. 1685–ca. 1740), the Dresden court lacquerer whose name appears in the Meissen wage lists of 1711–12, but the schematic composition and bright flat colors differ from the softer palette and more painterly style now considered to be characteristic of his work and may indicate the hand of another artist.
Two figures of Pantaloon announce the early importance of the commedia dell’arte as a subject for porcelain sculpture. The stock characters in this improvisatory Italian theatrical genre were widely known, both from prints and from the wandering troupes of actors who had made their robust antics popular throughout Europe since the sixteenth century. Pantaloon, by custom a Venetian merchant and, in the plays, usually the father of one of the heroines, is seen in this unpainted version in his traditional costume. The model, copied from a 1597 print by Robert Boissard, has recently been attributed to Paul Heermann (ca. 1673–1732), who has shown off the fine textural capabilities of Böttger’s stoneware by contrasting matte and polished surfaces. The other figure, attributed to the Dresden court sculptor Benjamin Thomae (1682–1751), has been painted in unfired, or “cold,” colors, which, as expected, are now worn and abraded. The character represented has long been identified as the swaggering servant Brighella, but the costume does not correspond exactly to any character in the Italian Comedy, and the model is here considered to be an atypical portrayal of Pantaloon. The occasion for the modeling of these and four other characters en suite may well have been the performance of a troupe at Dresden in 1709 during festivities held in honor of the visit of Frederick IV of Denmark.

Pantaloon, painted in unfired colors, Meissen, about 1710–12

Pantaloon, unpainted stoneware, Meissen, about 1710–12
The pair of vases are in Böttger’s white porcelain, which is characterized by a warm, faintly tawny tint (the clear, cool white generally associated with the Meissen paste came later only after several changes of formula). The band of springing acanthus foliage is certainly from an Irminger design, but the pictorial decoration is not factory work. From this time until about 1740 blanks—usually slightly warped or considered defective in some other way—were sold off to independent decorators or Hausmaler (literally, “painters at home”). The decoration of these vases, and of two others from the same set in the Art Institute of Chicago, is by the Hausmaler Ignaz Preissler (1676–1741) in his characteristic manner of painting in black enamel (Schwarzlot). Basing his compositions on a set of engravings commemorating the War of the Spanish Succession (1701–14) published after 1714, Preissler reversed the engraver’s method of printing in black on white by laying down a ground of enamel and scratching through it with a fine needle, so that the waves of his stormy seas are literally white capped.
The firing of enamel colors was not satisfactorily accomplished until after Böttger’s death, but experiments with glazes led to the development of a particularly luminous lavender luster that is found on a very few cups, teabowls, and saucers, of which the Museum is fortunate to have examples. Described in 1717 as “mother of pearl” by the factory inspector Johann Melchior Steinbrück, the subtle iridescence of the glaze beautifully complements the soft gilding. Some years later experiments in tainting the white paste itself were made: these were mostly in shades of dark to light gray-blue and paralleled, presumably intentionally, the range of cobalt-based monochrome clair de lune glazes of K’ang-Hsi porcelain (opposite). This experimentation, apparently unrecorded by the factory, was brief and obscure. Unaware of it, Josiah Wedgwood, in 1787, innocently described his own jasperware as capable of “receiving colours through its whole surface, in a manner which no other body, ancient or modern, has been known to do.”

Johann Gottlieb Kirchner (1706—after 1737) was the modeler of the figure of Minerva atop a covered cup presented by Augustus the Strong to Queen Sophia Dorothea of Prussia (mother of Frederick the Great) in 1728 (p.14). The cup itself, less certainly modeled by Kirchner, reminds us of the dependence of Meissen in its early years on metalwork prototypes, apparent here in the bands of relief ornament, the “jeweled” bosses of translucent enamel, and the shape, common to German silver during the seventeenth century. Contrasting with the baroque solidity of the model is the liveliness of the chinoiserie vignettes. On the evidence of signed or otherwise documented work, these can be attributed to Johann Gregor Höroldt (1696–1775), who filled his richly painted scenes with allusions to the Prussian queen in the form of her repeated monogram, the portrayal of the cup in two of the vignettes, and a tactfully fictionalized portrait of the sturdy Sophia Dorothea as a slender oriental empress.
The connection between architectural and garden sculpture on one scale and porcelain sculpture on another is exemplified by a puzzling, and incomplete, object (p. 15). It was perhaps part of a table decoration, although its flat undecorated back and unfinished entablature with a recess in the center raise questions as to its purpose. It was described by the factory in 1727 simply as a “Venus temple” and was the current work of Kirchner, who had been hired that year as Meissen’s first chief modeler. He had trained under his brother Christian, a court sculptor and collaborator with Balthasar Permoser and Thomae on the architecture and ornamental sculpture for the Zwinger, the Dresden court palace. In the only other known, and more complete, example of this model, in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, a figure of Juno stands on the pedestal at the right, her pose echoing that of a sandstone figure made by Permoser for a garden in Leipzig. Even the architecture of this Venus temple recalls Permoser’s work, specifically the Nymphenbad of the Zwinger, with which this piece shares a similar design of the entablature and shellwork in the niche, while the vivid streaking of the columns evokes Permoser’s coloristic use of marble.

Covered vase, Meissen, about 1730
Covered cup, with figure of Minerva by Johann Gottlieb Kirchner, Meissen, 1728
Venus temple, Meissen, about 1727
Johann Kirchner’s career at Meissen concluded with a series of exceptionally large figures of animals commissioned by Augustus the Strong. In 1717, two years after he had purchased his first collection of oriental porcelains from Count Jakob Heinrich von Flemming, Augustus acquired Flemming’s house, which, soon named the Japanese Palace, he clearly intended from the beginning to transform into a museum to display his collection. In 1722 plans were laid to enlarge the building to exhibit Meissen porcelain as well, and a visitor to Dresden in 1730 commented that there would be a gallery 270 feet long in which “there will be all sorts of native and foreign birds and animals of pure porcelain, furnished in their natural sizes and colors.”

Firing objects of such great size (up to 53 inches) was a daring experiment that stretched the material beyond its intrinsic limits, necessitating adjustment of the formula, larger kilns, and, equally significant, the conception of porcelain as a material of the same sculptural import as stone or bronze, a bold misjudgment that proved both exciting and—ultimately—impractical. The models for this lion and lioness were first mentioned in factory records of 1733 and 1734, respectively. Although

_Lion and lioness, Meissen, about 1732–35_
they were not described at the time as Kirchner's work, their firmly handled, lightly tensed bodies and deeply carved features and mane are characteristic of other animals known to have been modeled by him for the Japanese Palace, and they show Kirchner in his natural element as a stone sculptor. From 1731 Kirchner's collaborator on this series was Kändler, who succeeded him in 1733 as head of the modeling studio, a position Kändler retained until his death. Like all the animals and birds completed by the two sculptors for the Japanese Palace the lions display numerous cracks and other firing accidents that were unavoidable, making Kirchner's mastery of the material on this monumental scale all the more remarkable.

Work on the Japanese Palace had another result. In 1729, while the building was being remodeled, part of Augustus's oriental collection was delivered to the factory to be copied. What is curious about this episode is that, despite the historical preeminence of Chinese blue-and-white, and Augustus's own collection of some 10,000 pieces of Chinese porcelain, it was the elector's Japanese porcelains in the Kakiemon style that were most reproduced.
The teabowl and saucer derive from late seventeenth-century Japanese examples, and variant models of sake bottles were owned by the elector by 1721. The spare decoration and clear, bright palette of this Meissen version, especially the light turquoise, are faithful to the Kakiemon spirit. All three pieces bear a mark of the inventory of Augustus’s collection, indicating they would have been included in the decorative scheme of the Japanese Palace.

The several kinds of porcelain in the electoral collection were identified by coded symbols incised and painted on the pieces, but no such curatorial distinction was observed at the factory, where oriental styles were freely confused and combined. On being employed by Meissen in 1720, Höroldt, who from 1731 was head of the painting studio, was requested to imitate “Indian pieces,” and the playful figures that we identify as chinoiserie (a word first cited in English in 1883) were called Japanese in the factory records. This large vase combines both Chinese and Japanese elements. The form is Chinese, as are its satiny gold-yellow ground and shaped reserves, inspired by K’ang-Hsi and Yung-Chêng traditions; the small flowers scattered about the neck are in the Kakiemon manner, while the pictorial decoration is an invention. In each of three reserves are groups of oriental figures amid flowers and birds, one man astride an improbable animal, a doglike horse. Such compositions with fabulous beasts have been attributed to Adam Friedrich von Löwenfinck (1714–1754), who was apprenticed to Höroldt in 1727 and left Meissen in 1736. But identification of Löwenfinck’s autograph work is still uncertain, and since others were presumably painting in the same style, we can consider this vase only to be in his manner.
Vase, Meissen, about 1730
Pieces from a tea and coffee service, Meissen, with Augsburg decoration, about 1724–26
The flat, linear quality and clear colors associated with Löwenfinck are quite different from Höroldt’s style. In his sketches and very painterly polychrome work, Höroldt’s figures are fully modeled human beings of individual character and expression, their costumes richly patterned and deeply shaded. Höroldt’s sketchbook was the primary source of the factory’s chinoiserie decoration for nearly two decades, and since the painters under him worked anonymously it is impossible to do more than note that his studies appear on the porcelains in distinctly different styles. On this tea and coffee service of about 1724–26 the figures are more cartoonlike, the colors lighter and brighter than Höroldt’s. An apparently unique feature of this service is the tooled gold ground surrounding the polychrome vignettes. Gold landscapes were being painted on Meissen by the Dresden gilder Johann Georg Funke and, after 1726, by his son, and “gilt Japanese figures” are mentioned as factory work in 1725 and 1731, but this particular type of exotic landscape has been considered to be the work of Augsburg decorators. Further indications of Augsburg decoration are evident in the frames of the cartouches, with areas of an opaque brownish color in place of the factory’s usual violet luster, and in the series of dotted scrolls, a typical feature of Augsburg borders. The silver-gilt rims of the coffeepot are by Elias Adam (ca. 1669–1745), an Augsburg silversmith whose mark appears frequently on the mounts of Meissen coffeepots and tankards of this period. Böttger had sent porcelain to Augsburg to be mounted as early as 1711, and Adam’s specialty would have arisen from this practice. It seems likely that only the chinoiseries and flower decoration had been applied before the service was sent to Augsburg to be completed.
A conspicuous use of gold decoration by Augsburg Hausmaler was surely as related to the prevalent taste for gilding by the silversmiths of that prosperous commercial city as were the ornamental designs to the stream of pattern books issued by Augsburg printers and applied widely throughout the decorative arts. In the workshop of the silversmith and Hausmaler Johann Auffenwerth (1693–1728) there evolved a style in which the pictorial subjects were enclosed within frameworks of broad interlaced bands and diapered cartouches, usually painted in black like the engravings that had inspired them. On this set of three bottles of Japanese form simple chinoiserie scenes of the Höroldt type are all but submerged in the bold strapwork panels typical of Johann’s daughters, Sabina and Elizabeth. Comparison of their signed pieces (they often introduced their initials cryptically into the strapwork pattern) does not help to identify their pictorial style, which differs little from one to the other; but there are variations in their ornament, and the formal complexity of the patterns on these bottles is closer to pieces signed by Sabina than by her sister.
In Breslau, where Ignaz Preissler had found his patrons among the landowning aristocracy of the region, Hans Gottlieb von Bressler (d. 1777), himself a member of that social class, worked as a gentleman Hausmaler. His subjects, as on this plate, were frequently taken from engravings published in 1667 by Claudine Bouzonet Stella after designs by her uncle, Jacques Stella (1596–1657). In *Les Jeux et plaisirs de l’enfance* Stella’s plump infant-children spin tops, play leapfrog, or, as here, take aim at a decoy parrot fixed atop a pole. These figures are more firmly drawn than those in Bressler’s few signed pieces, but attribution to him is made on the grounds of subject matter, the monochrome palette he seems to have favored, and the fact that portions of this set of plates (now widely dispersed) were in his family until the twentieth century. The brilliant polychromy and assured technique of the remaining decoration, which is unrelated to the figures, may be the work of another hand.
There was a close technical association between *Hausmaler* and painters on glass. Preissler’s *Schwarzlot* technique had reached porcelain by way of Nuremberg-decorated glass and faience, and the same metallic oxides were used by the porcelain and glass painters to produce their enamel colors. Thus it is not surprising to find centers of *Hausmaler* activity near glasshouses and a shared decorative vocabulary. On this beaker the full armorial achievement of Augustus the Strong is presented with the initials of his title (Frederick August Rex Poloniae et Saxoniae) on a ribbon above and, flanking the shield, an impressive array of banners and weapons. The entire armorial scheme, painted at Meissen about 1728, is also known on glass attributed to the Pretzsch workshop in Dresden, the only significant difference between the two being the addition on our beaker of the oriental figures of Höroldt type. This beaker, perhaps ordered for presentation, and the standing cup made for Sophia Dorothea of Prussia are early examples of Augustus’s promotional use of Meissen.

Even more than these single objects, however, it was the table service that came to represent the epitome of princely display or presentation. The first Meissen service is believed to have been one made for Augustus in 1726; this was followed by others, increasingly dramatic and sculptural in form, that culminated in the Swan Service of 1737–42.

The tea caddy and sugar bowl came from the first of two services made for Clemens August (1700–1761), elector and archbishop of Cologne (and son of Maximilian III of Bavaria, founder of the Nymphenburg factory). The caddy is inscribed—as are two other pieces from the now-

*Beaker, with arms of Augustus the Strong, Meissen, about 1728*
dispersed tea and coffee service—with the elector’s birth date and the
date 1735, but the significance of that year in Clemens August’s life is
obscure. That some important event or status was being honored is clear
from the decoration. The chinoiserie vignettes, which are by several
different hands, are enlivened by the playful incorporation of the mono-
gram CA into the compositions—held like a lyre, painted on a vase or
scroll, or carried, a letter in each hand, by a prancing oriental. Accom-
panying this are wreaths and coronets of laurel and attributes of Clemens
August’s official positions, all turning the decorative scheme into a
witty apotheosis of the elector.
Very different in character are the services made for Counts Alexander Joseph von Sulkowski and Heinrich von Brühl. Saxon prime minister until 1738, Sulkowski was succeeded by his rival, Brühl, who, in 1734, had been appointed director of Meissen, a position he held until his death in 1764. For both men the factory's productions were perquisites of high office, and both commissioned work that was appropriately ostentatious. The tall candelabrum is one of twelve made as part of a table service for Count Sulkowski in 1736 and bears his arms, alongside those of his wife, on two shields on the pedestal. The model is by Kändler, who deftly merged a fully sculptural figure with the conventional format of a utilitarian object.

Work on the Swan Service, commissioned by Brühl, began in 1737. Also designed for the table, it comprised over 2000 pieces, now widely scattered, and epitomized the final conflict between the artistic directions of Höroldt and Kändler. As a painter, Höroldt was jealous of the smooth surfaces that gave his painting scope; Kändler's intrusion of sculptural form into tablewares was irritating to Höroldt. The tension was ultimately resolved by a separation of the two disciplines: after the completion of the Swan Service in 1742, tablewares reverted to forms with plain surfaces suitable for painting, and a repertoire of small-scale sculpture emerged as a complementary element of table decoration.

Every piece of the Swan Service is alive with movement (overleaf). A pair of swans amid reeds and rushes float on rippling water that even shapes the foot rims of the cup and saucer; a crane swoops toward another that has just caught a fish; on the large dish all this is modeled in low relief on an undulating ground punctuated by S-curved ribs. No surfaces have been left entirely smooth, and few are flat enough for painting. The only color appears on the coats of arms of Brühl and his wife, and on small scattered sprigs of Kakiemon flowers. The swan motif has been traced to an etching after Francis Barlow (1626–1702), whose work was much plagiarized well into the eighteenth century. The cranes, which do not appear in Barlow's composition or in the only known German reengraving of it, may have been drawn from life by Kändler; but they may also have been adapted from a design on Japanese porcelain.
Pieces from the Swan Service, made for Count Heinrich von Brühl, Meissen, 1737–42
The tea and coffee service made for Clemens August in 1735 was followed, in 1741, by a table service painted with his monogram and, in the same year, by a hunting cup (or Jagdpokal) ordered on his behalf by the Estates of Westphalia to commemorate the eleventh stag killed during the hunting season of 1739. The model, by Kändler, was derived from a traditional silver form, but the design of the cover was very similar to—and may conceivably have been copied from—a drawing tentatively attributed to the workshop of Johann Conrad Schlaun (1695–1773), who, as Clemens August's architect, devised numerous decorative schemes on hunting subjects for the archbishop's castle of Clemenswerth. Kändler's original cup is believed to have been lost, but its appearance is known from three other versions made about the same time (possibly as insurance, as has been suggested, in case of a fault in the primary example). This one was decorated for Augustus III of Saxony, who succeeded his father, Augustus the Strong, in 1733. His arms are shown in the cartouches on either side of the cup, and the horn-blowing hunter wears the yellow-and-blue livery of the Dresden court. Like Clemens August, the elector was an avid hunter, and it is likely that he knew of the earlier cup and ordered one for himself.
Hunting cup, decorated for Augustus III of Saxony, Meissen, about 1741
Royal commissions extended well beyond the borders of Saxony. As the fame of Meissen porcelain grew so did its value as a diplomatic gift. In 1738 Maria Amalia Christina, a granddaughter of Augustus the Strong, married the king of the Two Sicilies, who is better known today as Charles III of Spain, the throne to which he succeeded in 1759. There can be little doubt that royal gifts of Meissen porcelain stimulated Charles's determination to establish a factory of his own at Capodimonte, a factory that he took with him from Naples to Madrid and reestablished at Buen Retiro. This cup is part of a service ordered for Maria Amalia by her mother, Maria Josepha of Saxony, and delivered in 1748. No inventory of the completed service has survived, but a tabulation of the pieces commissioned between 1745 and 1747 indicates that it was a combined breakfast and toilet service, with most of the decoration the work of Gottlob Siegmund Birkner (ca. 1731–1771). The decorative scheme of figures, drawn in black and washed over in a darkish green, was copied or based on engravings after Watteau and was a feature of several Meissen services of the 1740s.

The pastoral grace of Watteau subjects, which marked a clear shift in emphasis in factory style to the French taste, had its parallel in Hausmalerei, seen here in a plate painted by Franz Ferdinand Mayer of Pressnitz, in Bohemia. He, too, relied on an engraved source, in this case Sight from a series of the Five Senses by Gottfried Bernhard Götz (1708–1771). The work of Mayer and his son, Franz Ferdinand the Younger, is most readily distinguishable by the calligraphic flourishes of their gold borders.

Chocolate cup,
from a service made for Maria Amalia Christina of Saxony,
Meissen, 1745–47
Plate, decorated in Pressnitz with scene based on an engraving by Gottfried Bernhard Göz, Meissen, about 1760.
Given Meissen’s success and reputation, it is surprising that nearly forty years should have elapsed between the founding of this and the next of the German factories, a circumstance attributable to Meissen’s protection of its arcanum. Even so, a factory had been established in Vienna in 1718, and it was from there that Meissen’s monopoly was broken in the late 1740s, when a number of factories almost literally sprang out of each other as arcanists, workmen, and artists moved from place to place. The sequence began with, and was sustained by, Joseph Jakob Ringler (1730–1804). The first known stage of his career, in the late 1740s, was at Vienna, where he evidently learned the essentials of mixing the paste and of kiln construction, and he introduced this expertise at one place after another. Leaving Vienna, Ringler worked at Höchst (1750–52), Strasbourg (1752–53), Neudeck-Nymphenburg (1753–57), and three smaller factories before arriving in 1759 at Ludwigsburg, where he remained as director until his death.

Just as Ringler migrated from one factory to the next, so did painters and sculptors whose skills assured them of employment. This itineracy served to link many of the factories by providing a common ground of repertoire and iconography, but also makes it difficult on occasion to identify the personal style of a traveling artist at the different factories with “house” styles.
of their own. This coffeepot, which bears the Höchst mark of a wheel, is also signed by Louis-Victor Gerverot (1747–1829), who was born in Lunéville and is recorded at fourteen porcelain and faience factories in Germany, Holland, and England between 1764 and 1826. At many of these he stayed only a year, but he spent a longer period as manager at Fürstenberg (1797–1814). This highly finished genre painting is quite different from the dashing manner of bird painting on signed and attributed pieces at Höchst and Loosdrecht; moreover, it is not necessarily an indication of his style while at Höchst (1771, 1773), where, as an employee, he would have been discouraged from signing his work. As, by his own account, he purchased Höchst blanks for decoration after he left the factory in 1771, this coffeepot was most likely painted later and elsewhere, making it difficult to place in Gerverot’s stylistic career.

Quite the opposite is the case with Andreas Oettner (active ca. 1750–ca.1787), whose work at Höchst (1763–66), Frankenthal (1759), Ludwigsburg (1759–63), and Fürstenberg (1767) is instantly recognizable. Whether his figures are Watteau lovers, putti, or—as on this milk jug—actors in an oriental theatrical scene, they defy disguise: they are simply cheerful sturdy folk with long noses, comfortable double chins, and bright multi-lidded eyes.
Ceremony at the smaller princely courts also demanded banquets and, as at Meissen, all the later German factories devoted a significant part of their repertoire to sculpture for the dessert table. Inevitably there were some copies of Kändler models, but for the most part the sources were engravings of contemporary interest. Among the most persistently popular was the *Recueil de Cent Estampes représentant différentes Nations du Levant* after paintings commissioned by the comte de Ferriol, published in Paris in 1714 and in Nuremberg five years later. This standing figure of a Turk, a compilation of plates 4 and 20, is by an unknown Höchst modeler, but the painting is signed (unusual for factory practice) by Johann Zechinger (1723–after 1775). As he was at Höchst only from 1750 to 1753, the model is therefore among the first of that factory’s productions.

The seated scholar, or effendi, as he is identified in plate 24 of Ferriol (as the volume of engravings is known), was made at the small Thuringian factory of Kloster Veilsdorf, where there was a particular fascination for exotic figures. The modeler was probably Pfränger Senior, whose first name and dates are unknown but whose surname appears in the factory records as author of a number of models of Turks with which this one is stylistically consistent.

The chief modeler at Höchst for many years was Johann Peter Melchior (1747–1825), whose first work for the factory was this group of a Chinese emperor and attendants, which was ready for firing early in 1766. Although derived from an earlier Höchst group featuring a somewhat foolish-looking child dressed up as a pasha, Melchior’s composition is closer in spirit to the benign and sympathetic chinoiserie of François Boucher’s oil sketch, exhibited in 1742, for a Beauvais tapestry, the *Audience of the Chinese Emperor.*
Relief, with portrait of Emmerich Joseph, elector of Mainz, Höchst, about 1770
The interrelation of sculpture in stone and porcelain, introduced at Meissen by Permoser and Kirchner, was sustained by the later factories. J. C. W. Beyer created porcelain figures for Duke Carl Eugen at Ludwigsburg and, later, statues for the gardens of Schönbrunn Palace, outside Vienna; there, too, Joseph Weinmüller, formerly a Ludwigsburg modeler, repeated at least one of his porcelain models in a large stone version. Near Würzburg, in the gardens at Veitschöchheim, residence of the prince-bishop Adam Friedrich von Seinsheim, limestone sculpture was painted to imitate porcelain; and it is not surprising to discover parallels between the small preparatory models for such sculptures by Ferdinand Tietz (1708–1777), Seinsheim’s court sculptor, and porcelain figures made at the nearby Würzburg factory founded in 1770 by Seinsheim’s successor.

This relief, on the other hand, revives the connection between porcelain and architecture. It originated as a sandstone sculpture for the pediment over the doorway of the riding school built for Emmerich Joseph, elector of Mainz, who from 1765 to 1778 was the chief stockholder of the Höchst factory. The relief was commissioned about 1770 from Melchior, whom the elector had named court sculptor that year. Although the sandstone and porcelain versions are believed to have been executed about the same time, there are significant differences between them. In addition to reversing the portrait of the elector, Melchior has made his porcelain relief more compact and symmetrical, more soberly neoclassical.

Pediment sculpture, from the doorway
of the former electoral riding school at Mainz, built about 1766–67
The recurrence of certain subjects at several factories, whether as painted decoration or as sculpture, often resulted naturally from the common use of a popular graphic source such as the Turkish figures after Ferriol that turn up at at least five factories. But repetition may also be a guide to the career of the wandering artist. Johann Friedrich Lück (1728/9–1797) worked at Meissen, Höchst, and Frankenthal. Several models, including this one of The Dancing Lesson—based on a painting by Philippe Canot (d. 1783) as engraved by J. P. Le Bas—occur at the two latter factories, and although not produced from the same molds, the appearance of the group at both places suggests Lück’s hand, or at least his intervention. The round faces, upright postures, and bright expressions are all features of Lück’s work and would support such an attribution. The model would in this case have to date from 1758, when Lück was briefly at Höchst before going to Frankenthal, where he stayed until 1764. It has also, however, been attributed to Laurentius Russinger (ca. 1740–1810), a modeler at Höchst (1753–67), and if completed by him before Lück’s arrival in 1758, it would have been at hand for Lück to borrow. The work of the two men is somewhat similar—and the painting of this group may obscure their differences—but style and circumstantial evidence both point to Lück’s authorship.
In porcelain as in gold, the snuffbox was the quintessentially graceful gift during the eighteenth century. Always an object of high fashion, it was also a mark of aristocratic favor. When decorated with a portrait of the factory’s patron or his coat of arms, a view of his castle or even of the factory itself, it was an elegant and highly visible reminder of the fruits of his patronage. The decoration of this box reflects the dual authority behind the Fürstenberg factory, which, with the arrival in 1753 of two workers from Höchst—Johann Benckgraff and Johann Zechinger—began production that same year. On the cover is a portrait in relief of Duke Carl I of Brunswick, with whose encouragement the factory was organized by his master of forests and hunts, Johann Georg von Langen. Langen’s coat of arms is painted inside the lid in a shield surrounded by the tools and products of the manufactory, while the factory buildings are seen in the background; the hunting subjects that make up the rest of the decoration refer to Langen’s occupation. The box would have been one of several commissioned by him to advertise the new factory and his association with it (an identical example is in the porcelain collection of the Staatliche Kunstsammlung, Dresden).
It was at the later factories that the rococo came into full bloom. The rhythmic grace of the style did not come easily to Meissen, which, founded in 1710 and under the artistic direction of the same two men for decades, remained essentially baroque in outlook. (J. G. Höroldt, appointed in 1720, served until his retirement in 1765; Kändler from 1731 to his death in 1775.) Whatever accommodation they might have reached with the newer style was foiled by the Seven Years’ War (1756–63), which disrupted production and displaced workmen. But to the younger factories, starting up at the height of the rococo, in mid-century, the idiom came naturally. The exuberant, almost wild, scrollwork of the cartouches on this Fürstenberg teabowl and saucer recalls the widely copied prints of the Augsburg engravers Johann Esaias Nilson (1721–1788) and Johann Georg Hertel (dates unknown). Characteristic of this genre of decoration at Fürstenberg is the simple combination of landscape and...
scrollwork dramatized by a bold and startling juxtaposition of colors: on these pieces a light orange-red and dark purple, and on others, purple and black. Two painters whose work in this style has been identified are Johann Heinrich Eisenträger (1730–1788) and Pascha Johann Friedrich Weitsch (1723–1803), but no specific attribution can be made here.

The more delicate character of the decoration on the plate is an attractive reminder of the French influence that imbued early Frankenthal work. Originating in Strasbourg, the factory was forced out of the country by the monopoly of Sèvres porcelain production in France, and the proprietor, Paul Hannong—finding a neighborly patron in Elector Carl Theodor of the Palatinate—moved to Frankenthal in 1755. The spaciousness of the decoration and the freshness of the painting bring to mind Hannong’s experience as a maker of faience.
Religious group, by Konrad Linck, Frankenthal, 1762–66
Much of Frankenthal’s sculpture followed the current taste for genre and exotic subjects. The work of Konrad Linck (1730–1793), however, is more serious and revived, late in the century, the sense of monumental scale and baroque tension seen earlier at Meissen. Little is known of Linck, who was at Frankenthal for only four years before leaving for Mannheim to serve as court sculptor to Carl Theodor. He is recorded chiefly as a sculptor of funerary monuments and also created animal sculptures in limestone for the gardens of Carl Theodor’s country palace at Schwetzingen. Linck’s models for Frankenthal are invariably stately and somewhat dramatically composed and are mostly of allegorical subjects. The treatment of this unidentified religious group, which is the only known example of the model, suggests that it is a fragment of a larger composition and that it was transposed to porcelain from a preparatory study for a larger work in stone.

At Nymphenburg, a factory born of the effervescence of the Bavarian rococo, porcelain sculpture attained its highest resolution. Like Kändler at Meissen, Franz Anton Bustelli at Nymphenburg was masterful in his realization of the small figure in the round; but Kändler’s skill is frequently obscured by overbearing palettes and costume patterns, while Bustelli’s is complemented by an unfailing harmony of modeling and painting.

Nothing of Bustelli’s background has been confirmed. He began to work at the factory in 1754 at its first premises at Neudeck, and he died in 1763 at the age of about forty. His figures have a vivacity, a spirited grace, that recalls the work of the two Munich sculptors Johann Baptist Straub (1704–1784) and his apprentice Ignaz Günther (1725–1775), and although Bustelli is not known to have studied with either, he was clearly influenced by them. These little putti, one in the guise of Saturn and the other of Minerva, compare closely with sketches by Günther, some of which are dated 1758. The white figure, one of the few signed by Bustelli, belongs to a set of Ovidian gods created in 1755 as dessert-table sculpture; the Minerva putto, rounder of cheek and body, can be associated with a second such set, recorded in 1758.
Bustelli's Italian Comedy models, on the other hand, suggest the attenuated asymmetry of Straub's work. The earliest of them, dating about 1757, is a tall figure of Columbine originally accompanied by a Harlequin. Independent, and smaller in size, is a set of sixteen figures, grouped by pairs, mentioned in Nymphenburg's records in 1760 (overleaf). Bustelli has been justly credited with great originality in this series, having imbued his characters with all the lively movement of dancers observed in performance. Most of his models appear to have been his invention, as were Kändler's, but the poses and names of some of the others are traceable to sources that reveal Bustelli's familiarity with the popular iconography of the commedia dell'arte. Columbine derives from one of four figures in Jean-Antoine Watteau's *Les habits sont italiens*, a lost painting of 1719–20 known from an engraving by Louis Simmoneau (1654–1727) that was copied and recopied during the century. Pantaloon, shown with Donna Martina and Lucinda, is a variant of Jacques Callot's 1617 etching, which was to serve as the standard model for the character at all the factories; and several of the charmingly dressed ladies of fashion—the heroines or inamorata—were given names known only from an engraving of commedia figures by Martin Engelbrecht that Bustelli owned in 1750.

*Etching of Pantaloon, by Jacques Callot, first published 1617*
Columbine, by Franz Anton Bustelli, Nymphenburg, about 1757
Donna Martina, Pantaloon, and Lucinda, by Franz Anton Bustelli, Nymphenburg, about 1760
All the factories, no matter how generously supported, depended for their livelihood on tablewares—chiefly services for coffee, tea, and chocolate, beverages that began to capture European taste toward the end of the seventeenth century. Their designers and painters are more difficult to trace, as individual identification was discouraged, and a roster of names in a factory list is no guide to personal style. At Ludwigsburg, by great exception, the work of Gottfried Friedrich Riedel (1724–1784), the head of the factory’s painting studio, is known from numerous surviving designs; this milk jug is a subdued variant of an ebulliently rococo model of about 1765 and is typical of his style. The decoration is signed by Friedrich Kirschner (1748–1789), who is seen here to have been an original and subtle flower painter. In place of the usual bright-colored bunches of simple garden flowers, often with leggy stems, Kirschner built up a dense composition of large many-petaled blooms painted in finely shaded somber tones combined with grisaille. This highly individual manner, however technically specific to Kirschner, may nonetheless have been influenced both by Riedel, who had been a bird and flower painter at Meissen and Frankenthal, and by the factory’s director, the ubiquitous J. J. Ringler, whose accomplished flower sketches are included in his surviving notebook of technical memoranda.

The modeler Jean-Jacob Louis (1703–1772) was another itinerant artist at Ludwigsburg, and there may have been a personal connection in his employment, as he had been first engaged at Tournai in 1754 (Carl Eugen had been born in Brussels, where his father had spent his childhood). Louis is reputed to have been employed at several factories before coming to Ludwigsburg, but as with Louis-Victor Gerverot, there is not enough of his confirmed work to identify the stages in his artistic career.

These two models of cockatoos by Louis recall Meissen’s large production of tropical birds in the 1730s, instigated by an expedition to Africa during 1730 to 1733 financed by Augustus the Strong. They bear the inventory sticker of Carl Eugen’s collection and are believed to have been made for a Chinese pavilion (which no longer exists) on the grounds of Solitude, Carl Eugen’s country house near Stuttgart. As at Meissen, one or two models served to populate an aviary, with repetitiousness being avoided by differences in decoration. It is unlikely that every example, incised with Louis’ initial or not, bears witness to his hand, but such must be the case with the gray parrot, which is impressed with an unusually elaborate form of his mark.

Milk jug, decorated by Friedrich Kirschner 1770–75, Ludwigsburg
Cockatoos, attributed to Jean-Jacob Louis, Ludwigsburg, about 1765
Fulda was the last of the major factories to be established, in 1764, and like many of the smaller ones it closed with the death of its patron, the prince-bishop of Fulda, in 1788. Adopting a conventional repertory and benefiting by the experience of personnel who had previously worked elsewhere, Fulda commands attention for an exceptionally clear paste and luminous glaze—quite unlike the dull gray-brown of the Ludwigsburg body, for example—and a brightness of palette that includes a particularly vibrant rose-purple. It is seen here in its full tonal range, heightened with gilding, on a mug that originally would have been fitted with a pewter or silver cover. The scene of children engaged in pipe smoking and preparing tea and coffee is copied from one of J. E. Nilson's widely popular engravings. Only the framing has been somewhat altered, Nilson's open architectural setting having been concentrated into a dense enclosure of flamboyant scrolls.

At Fulda, more noticeably than at any other of the German factories, there was a “house” style of sculpture that often makes it difficult to identify individual modelers. Whether the figures are shepherdesses, ladies of fashion, or allegories, there is an unexpected consistency of pose and gesture and a treatment of drapery that is at once crisp and sensuous (overleaf). The designs for this set of the Four Continents, by the court painter Johann Andreas Herrlein (1720–1796), were cited in 1771; based on certain characteristics of facial structure and posture, the models, first mentioned in 1775, may be attributed to Georg Schumann (d. 1780). Despite their late date, these figures retain the theatrical elegance that is at the heart of the German rococo.

*Engraving, by J. E. Nilson, about 1760 (?)*
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