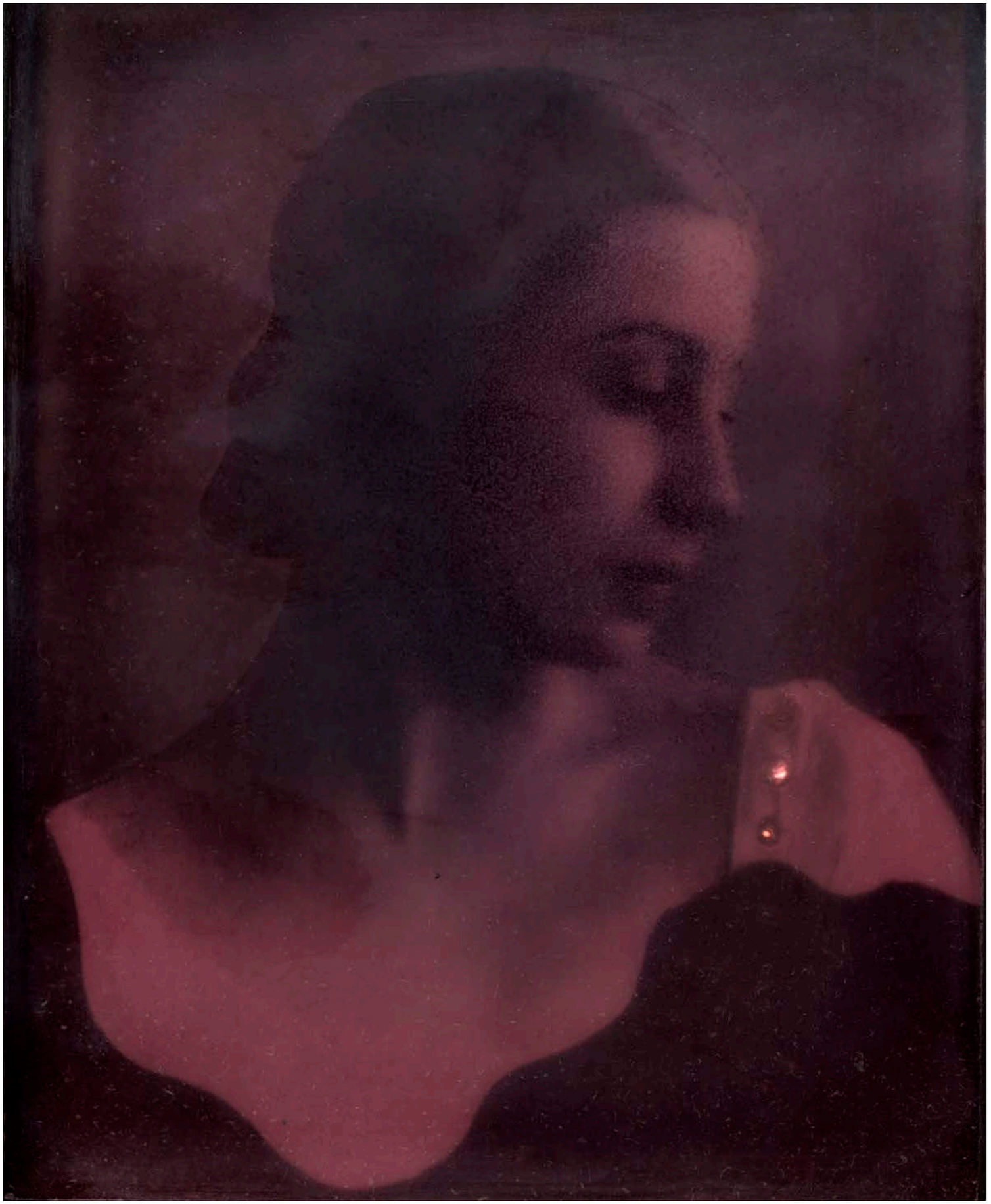


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Illustration on p. 2: Joseph Cornell, *Tamara Toumanova (Daguerreotype-object)*, 1941. See fig. 1, p. 60

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Founded in 1968, the *Metropolitan Museum Journal* is a double-anonymous, peer-reviewed scholarly journal published annually that features original research on the history, interpretation, conservation, and scientific examination of works of art in the Museum's collection. Its range encompasses the diversity of artistic practice from antiquity to the present day. The *Journal* encourages contributions offering critical and innovative approaches that will further our understanding of works of art.

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ABBREVIATIONS

MMA The Metropolitan Museum of Art
MMAB The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin
MMJ Metropolitan Museum Journal

Height precedes width and then depth in dimensions cited.

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The 1869 Regensburger Silberfund: A Seventeenth-Century Hoard of Silver

ALLISON STIELAU

Two German drinking vessels in The Metropolitan Museum of Art's collection were found in Regensburg in 1869 as part of a cache of early modern artifacts that had been hidden in the seventeenth century (figs. 1, 2). If such a discovery were made today, its contents would most likely be kept together in a local institution, where interpretive emphasis would be placed on the treasure as a collection of objects with a precise context of concealment.[1] However, the so-called Regensburger Silberfund came to light in an era less concerned with the hoard as a subject of archaeological analysis and with heavy financial pressures on objects to be sold or moved from their original findspots. Dispersed by the end of the nineteenth century, the trove is likely impossible to recover as a complete set of objects and, in some cases, individual

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fig. 1 Abraham Riederer the Elder (German, ca. 1546/47–1625). Tankard, ca. 1580–85. Gilt silver, H. 4 in. (10.2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1911 (11.93.16)



fig. 2 Simon Pissinger (German, act. 1582–1609). Double cup, ca. 1600. Gilt silver, H. 11⅝ in. (29.5 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1911 (11.93.15a, b)

artifacts have been severed from their association with the treasure.[2] It was only later in the twentieth century, for example, that The Met's two vessels acquired in 1911, a double cup now attributed to the Regensburg smith Simon Pissinger and the small tankard given to Abraham Riederer the Elder, of Augsburg, were linked back to the Silberfund, making them the only known survivors from an original group of twenty gilt-silver cups and tankards.[3] While the Regensburg discovery is mentioned in recent catalogue entries on the two objects, the formal provenance information does not include this earlier history.[4] Yet information about the vessels' owners extending back through the nineteenth century to the home in which they were found, and perhaps even to some of the people who may have hidden them in the 1630s, is available.

It was a group of Regensburg historians who were best placed to record and report on these circumstances, down to the specifics of the hoard's archaeological *provenience,* its findspot.[5] This article reconstructs the finding of the Regensburg silver and the media event that followed in its wake using their sketches, photographs, newspaper articles, and a detailed inventory of the find made within days of its discovery. It traces the process by which historical information was associated with the treasure's objects by means of circulated text and image and how those details slowly fell away as the silver was dispersed into the art market in the late nineteenth century. By attending to the lost local context of the Regensburg Silberfund, much of that information can be connected anew to its surviving objects, whose journeys are traced here by means of the original inventory. This research yields not only the unbroken provenance of The Met's two vessels, including their complete exhibition history in the nineteenth century, but also the reidentification of two additional cups from the original hoard, one of them in The Met's own collection.

In addition to revealing more extensive provenance for several early modern silver artifacts, re-creating the treasure's discovery brings us closer to two distinct moments of material emergency: the upheaval of the Thirty Years' War in the 1630s and the destruction and displacement of cultural heritage in the 1860s. While the seventeenth-century component must await further archival investigation, the battle over historical preservation in nineteenth-century Germany is here thrown into stark relief by the fate of the Regensburg Silberfund. For amateur historians struggling to save local material histories in the face of modernization campaigns and an intensifying art market, the alienation of historical metalwork was a significant loss. When it could not be avoided, it was assuaged through rigorous recordkeeping and the employment of modern replication technologies that allowed singular artifacts to exist in multiple.

DISCOVERY

Located on the Danube River in the southern German state of Bavaria, Regensburg is a city with Roman roots that played an important role in the cultural and political life of the Holy Roman Empire in the Middle Ages and early modernity. In the 1860s it was experiencing significant physical transformation as it modernized its city plan and infrastructure, including the rerouting of traffic and the construction of the central train station, completed in 1860.[6] Alongside, and sometimes in response to, these often destructive upgrades, there was also a deep engagement with the city's past. Between 1859 and 1869, after four hundred years, the towers of Regensburg's medieval cathedral were finally finished in Neo-Gothic style. In addition to large-scale public works, there were also private renovations changing the urban landscape. On January 9, 1869, a needle manufacturer named Christoph Erich acquired the building that stood in front of the fountain known as the Rudererbrunnen, midway between the cathedral and the old town hall (fig. 3).[7] The house's most famous residents had been the patrician Bärbinger family, which included in its ranks a *Bürgermeister* (mayor) of Regensburg in the period of the house's construction in

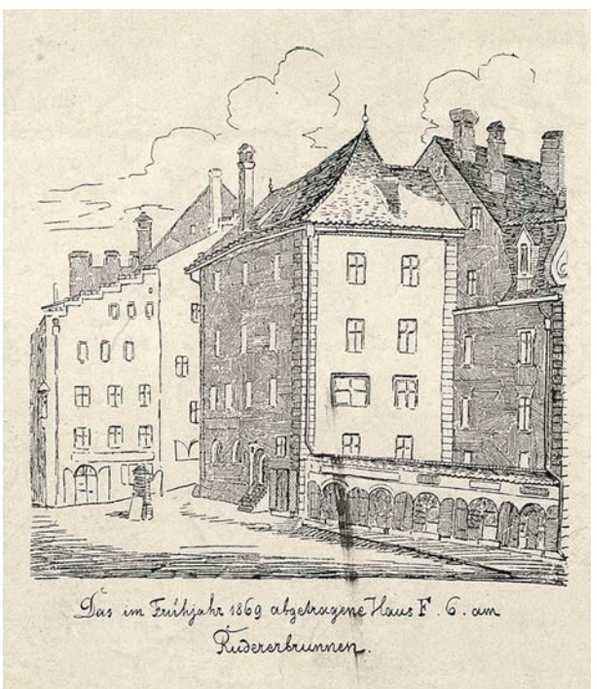


fig. 3 After Hans Weininger (German, 1818–1870). "House F. 6 on the Rudererbrunnen, which was demolished in early 1869." Print, 3⅞ × 3⅜ in. (9.9 × 8.6 cm). Museen der Stadt Regensburg (inv. G 1980/300,43,2)

the late thirteenth century.[8] Erich quickly set to demolishing the structure and its medieval foundations, with plans to install shops and apartments in the new building. On February 26, workers taking down the staircase between the third and fourth floors found a wooden chest under the treads.[9] Inside, packed carefully in paper, were twenty silver drinking vessels, sixty-six spoons of silver, wood, and bone, knives contained in leather cases, two silver girdles and other adornments, a personal seal with ivory handle, and thirteen documents, some on parchment.[10]

Just two days after the discovery, a writer for a local newspaper was able to report on specific details of the chest and its contents. He enthused that the silver objects "had remained so fine and sparkling it was as if they had come directly out of the workshop of a jeweler." This surprising state of preservation would become a trope as the find was discussed subsequently in newspapers in and beyond Regensburg. The unnamed writer continued:

> I hear the metal value itself has been estimated to be around 2000 florins and the value of the find is increased because individual pieces are especially finely worked. . . . Because of the years engraved on some of the pieces, this chest could have been hidden around the time of the Swedish War. . . .[11]

Thus the find had been evaluated immediately by persons with expertise in historical metalwork and early modern history, with enough knowledge of Regensburg in the seventeenth century to identify the likely moment the hoard was hidden during the Thirty Years' War (1618–48), when the threat posed by conquering or quartering armies was high. The descriptions alluded to here betray a distinct and serious interest in the silver's seventeenth-century context, including the objects' connection to local families and the events that shaped the city's passage through tumultuous times.

Using information found in the documents, eventually a more specific hypothesis emerged connecting the stockpile of silver plate to Georg Hoffmann, one of the house's previous owners, an assertion supported by the seal and one spoon in the chest that bore his initials.[12] Hoffmann was a wealthy merchant and while many of the circumstances of his life and the hoard's storage remain unclarified, a deposit date between 1632 and 1634 is likely. In this period, Regensburg experienced the alternating presence of both Bavarian and Swedish forces and was besieged.[13] The decision to hide valuables stemmed from fears not just of loss through battle damage and plunder but also the *Brandschatzung,* a citywide ransom payment, as well as forced contribution, a system in which citizens were required to pay quartering armies.[14] More recent discoveries of caches hidden during the Thirty Years' War show the actions people took to protect everything from iron pots and pewter plates to currency, and the most sentimentally and financially valuable objects they owned.[15]

Regardless of the precise historical context of the Silberfund as it was understood in 1869, the find had caused huge excitement, particularly in the area in front of Erich's construction site. The *Regensburger Tagblatt* reported on March 10:

> Our historians and gossips now have the opportunity to grab fresh material on a daily basis. In fact, the square in front of the . . . [Bärbinger House] is never empty and people suspect to see a pot or chest full of ancient talers or silver plate rolling out of every hole in the walls or floorboards.[16]

To satisfy, and philanthropically capitalize on, the public's curiosity, the find was put on display in glass cases in Regensburg's town hall, which was only a two-minute walk from the site of the Bärbinger House. Viewing hours ran from 10:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. on March 7 to 17.[17] An entrance fee of six kreuzers was charged, with all profits going to the poor, with the exception of Sunday the 14th, when entrance fees went to the men working on Erich's building site.[18] All in all, the hastily arranged exhibition earned more than four hundred gulden profit for Regensburg's poor, a sum that likely reflects about 5,400 visitors, or close to 500 per day.[19] Publicly disclosed costs included advertising the event but also the "Autographie" (transfer lithograph) of the find's description.[20] This line item refers to a handwritten inventory of the finds, reproduced through the process of transfer lithography, that was circulated to newspapers (fig. 4).[21] In addition to obvious interest from publications engaged with historical and artistic topics, the popular press also devoted column inches to the Silberfund; some newspapers even chose to typeset and print the inventory in full.[22]

We might pause here to consider why the Regensburg find caused enough excitement to create raucous crowds, a five-thousand-visitor-strong exhibition, and daily newspaper coverage with detailed descriptions of early modern metalwork. Beyond the fascination that treasure hoards hold in general, there was the specific context of an ancient and once powerful city forging a new identity in relationship to its past.

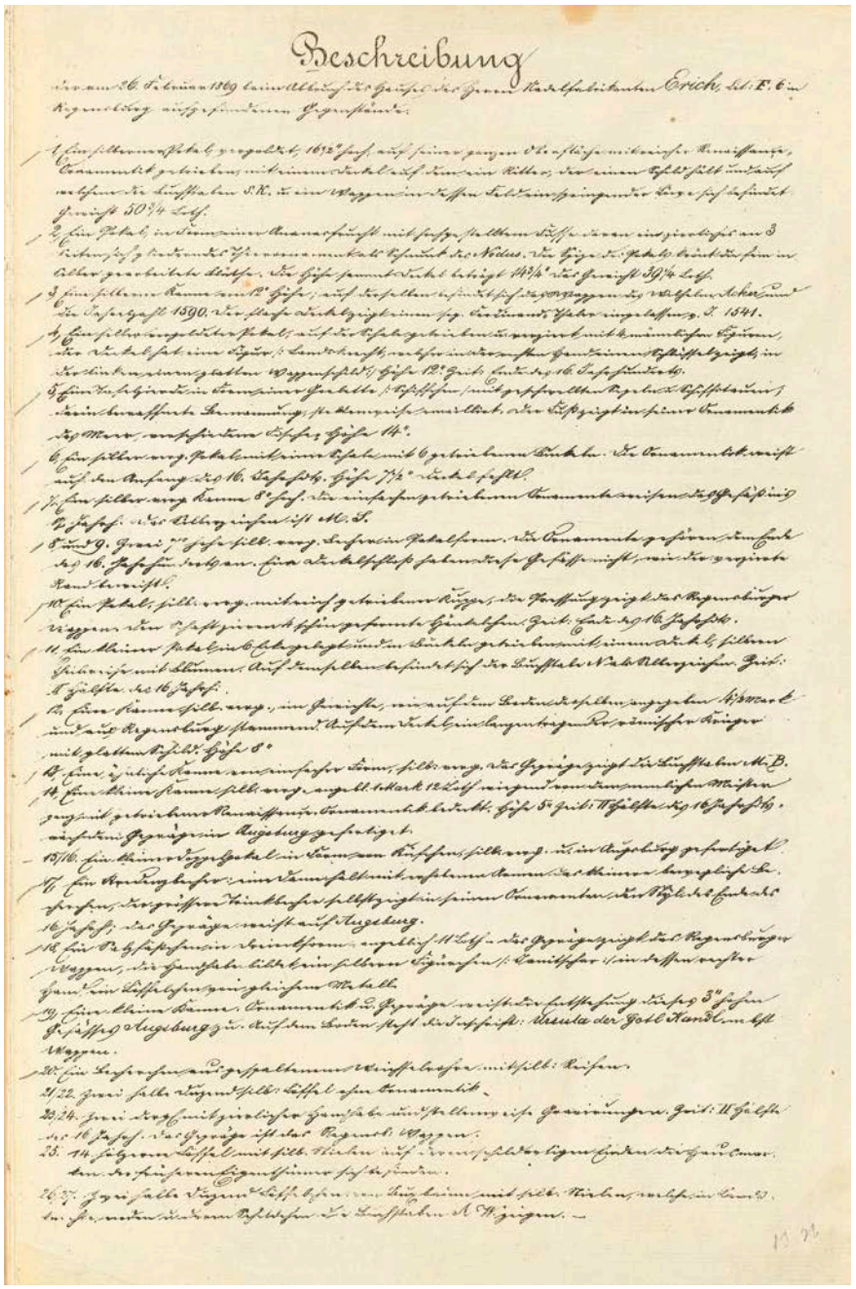


fig. 4 "Description of the objects found on 26 February 1869 during the demolition of Needle-Manufacturer Erich's House." Transfer lithograph, 14 9/16 × 11 1/16 in. (37 × 29 cm). Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek, Weimar

For centuries Regensburg had been a strategic site for trade and political rule. A free imperial city from the thirteenth century, it became a favored location for diplomatic meetings and later played a central role in the governance of the Holy Roman Empire. The presence of emperors, bishops, princes, and visiting dignitaries, along with the city's three monasteries, made Regensburg a cultural center.[23] But by the mid-nineteenth century, Regensburg's importance had declined significantly. In 1803 the city lost its free imperial status and was later incorporated into the Kingdom of Bavaria. The resurfacing of the seventeenth-century treasure in the mid-nineteenth century provided an arresting visual testament to the glories and dramas of the city's early modern history and made Regensburg newsworthy again.

The secular precious metal vessels found in the Bärbinger House were particularly evocative of Regensburg's historical past. From the Middle Ages onward, gold and silver covered standing cups were important signifiers of honor, reward, and political rule. Noble and patrician families bought such vessels to commemorate births, weddings, and deaths; guilds commissioned cups for drinking ceremonies; cities built up collections of *Ratssilber* (council silver), with cups that were used on civic occasions but could also be given as gifts to esteemed visitors with whom advantageous political relationships were desired.[24] This market for secular metalwork fostered the development of talented goldsmiths. Although the hoard contained many examples from the renowned metalsmithing cities of Augsburg and Nuremberg, there were also objects from Regensburg craftsmen, attesting to the existence of an impressive local goldsmithing tradition. By 1869 the social position and professional requirements of goldsmiths had changed radically, a reality confirmed by the fact that the centuries-old register of Regensburg's goldsmiths' guild received its final entry in 1864.[25] Beyond the erosion of a craft tradition that had historically signaled a city's financial, political, and cultural might, Regensburg also lacked enduring evidence of that lost tradition in the form of surviving examples.[26] The Bärbinger House trove thus made accessible again a sliver of Regensburg's lost cultural patrimony and with it a glimpse back toward its earlier status.

The Silberfund may also have resonated with the German public more broadly because of the recent uncovering of another treasure hoard. Less than six months prior, in October 1868, a massive collection of first-century Roman silver—likely war booty or a military commander's personal plate—was unearthed in Hildesheim. The find caused an absolute sensation and the popular desire to experience the objects spurred campaigns to reproduce them in both two and three dimensions.[27] The Hildesheim discovery perhaps prepared the public for yet another find of primarily silver objects, which also came to be known by the same term, *Silberfund*.[28] But if Hildesheim evoked Germany's distant Roman past, the Regensburg find spoke to a closer historical moment, not only the Thirty Years' War, which remained meaningful to the shaping of German identity in the nineteenth century, but also the longer period in which silver vessels formed by renowned South German smiths were ubiquitous and constituted a store of material wealth and resonant symbolism.[29]

DESCRIPTION AND DOCUMENTATION

As the first textual document of the Regensburg find, and the means by which it was communicated to the press, the lithographed inventory is a key primary source. It still provides the most direct means of discussing and tracking the hoard in full, given that so many objects are lost, and its numbering offers a useful shorthand for discussing individual pieces.[30] The inventory's medium conveys a proximity to the find's discovery and speaks to the urgency to circulate details about it. *Autographie* was a form of lithography in which special ink and paper were used to transfer a manuscript page to the lithographic stone for replication. This direct-to-matrix method had the advantage of speed—it was much faster than typesetting or wood engraving, for example—and accuracy.[31] Because it could reproduce handwriting, moreover, it delivered an authenticity that, in the case of the Regensburg treasure, meant bringing the reader near to the moment of the find's sensational discovery and the experience of its first handlers.

The writer of the inventory was not identified, but a later oral tradition held that a pair of goldsmiths had been brought in to examine the contents of the chest.[32] Proceeding by object type from vessels, to spoons and cutlery, to adornments and finally documents, the inventory follows an obvious order. The measuring, weighing, and notation of ornament and marks on the plate suggest a familiarity with metalwork and specifically the forms of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century South German vessels, but the descriptions are by no means systematic; they vary in the notation of measurements, marks, and other features. *Autographie* could be an extremely finicky process that was not conducive to making corrections.[33] While the Silberfund inventory certainly represented a finished final draft organized from what must have been more fragmentary notes taken during the process of evaluation, its medium—and the pressing need to advertise the find's exhibition—may have hindered further amendment, which perhaps explains some inconsistencies across its entries. A fair amount of historical knowledge is on display in the inventory: coats of arms, inscriptions, and inset coins are identified, and the thirteen documents are set into the context of early modern Regensburg. But it also reflects moments of misapprehension, as when the small wreath of silver wire, silk, and pearls (R42) was described as a *Serviettenband* (napkin ring), a form that came into use only in the eighteenth century.[34]

Members of the Historischer Verein für Oberpfalz und Regensburg (local historical society) played central roles in documenting, analyzing, and disseminating news of the find, and it is possible that they were closely involved in producing the inventory.[35] Their interest in the Bärbinger House stemmed from an acute awareness of what was being lost in its erasure and a desire to salvage what they could from this example of medieval Regensburg architecture. The society's secretary was Hans Weininger, a retired army officer who was an amateur artist and researcher who published extensively in local historical periodicals.[36] Just before demolition work began, Weininger produced several drawings of the old Bärbinger House, depicting features of the exterior and interior (see fig. 3).[37] His captions to two drawings of stonework and vaulting in the house—"recorded at the time of demolition" ("aufgenommen beim Abriss"; "Aufgenommen zur Zeit des Abbruches")—express the urgency of preserving in visual form the soon-to-be-destroyed historic building. Though Christoph Erich remains a somewhat obscured character in this story—he is exclusively referred to in all available reports only as Needle-Manufacturer Erich or Needle-Master Erich; his first name is never given—he certainly seems to have been cooperative, not only consenting to Weininger's sketches but also donating to the historical society fragments of architectural sculpture that had appeared in those sketches.[38] After the hoard was discovered, he also agreed to exhibit it for a charitable cause and to have its detailed inventory copied and disseminated, efforts that also, of course, produced free publicity for his newfound collection.

Weininger's sketch of the house's ground-floor vaulting places him at the site on February 19 (fig. 5).



fig. 5 Hans Weininger. "The vaulted room on the ground level—left from the entrance—of Haus F. 6 on the Rudererbrunne, demolished in early 1869. Recorded at the time of the demolition on 19 February 1869." Pen drawing with watercolor, 8 × 10⅜ in. (20.3 × 26.5 cm). Museen der Stadt Regensburg (inv. G 1980/300,42)



fig. 6 Unknown engraver. First illustrations of the Regensburger Silberfund, after photographs by Peter Schindler. Wood engraving. *Illustrirte Zeitung*, no. 1348 (May 1, 1869): 332 (one page of two-page spread). Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna

Seven days later the chest filled with silver was found beneath the stairs in the upper floors. It would not have been lost on him or fellow local historians that it was only through the house's destruction that this rich time capsule of the seventeenth century came to be uncovered. Later that winter, as the society noted in its summary reflection on the year, the demolition of the Bärbinger House would also reveal a section of Roman wall and drainage pipe, an even deeper cut into Regensburg's history.[39] Weininger may have been behind some of the early newspaper reporting on the find; echoes of his obvious concern for the house can be heard quite distinctly in some. But it was only in May that an article on the Silberfund under his initials appeared, in the *Illustrirte Zeitung*, accompanied by a two-page spread of images (fig. 6).[40]

This text, which was foundational to most later discussions of the Silberfund, shows Weininger's attention to the find's historical context and its specific provenience. It included the details of the Bärbinger House he had recorded and a rare description of the chest in which the silver was found—it was apparently decorated with two arches supported by three columns. Weininger added more details and interpretive framing to the descriptions of the objects, suggesting that he and perhaps others had undertaken further research after the inventory was produced. This commitment to preservation undergirded by a belief in the significance of material evidence of the past was entirely in keeping with the ethos of nineteenth-century amateur historical associations in Germany, as Peter Miller has shown.[41]

Published in Leipzig, the *Illustrirte Zeitung* was a weekly news magazine modeled on the *Illustrated London News*. Images of the Regensburg find appeared in the typical form of wood engravings, which were quickly copied by other outlets. The German art monthly *Gewerbehalle* printed them over one spread with brief captions; its American edition, *The Workshop,* put out the same set of images with descriptions translated into English.[42] The selection and arrangement of vessels varied, appearing in differing groupings and sometimes depicted as if they sat on a supporting surface or shelf. *Kunst und Gewerbe* placed one half of the Regensburg *Doppelpokal* (R8 and R9) between two Augsburg lidded tankards (R14 and R19), inadvertently pairing the vessels that would come together, decades later, to The Met.[43]

The *Illustrirte Zeitung* and others cited the original source for their illustrations: a series of photographs by Peter Schindler of Regensburg (fig. 7). This project of photographic documentation had been reported locally on March 22, as were plans to make the prints available for purchase.[44] By May 1, Weininger could inform readers that individual images mounted on card were available for thirty kreuzers apiece. Two weeks later, a more professionally formulated notice appeared in the *Illustrirte Zeitung* advertising seventeen photographs in large folio format, at forty-five kreuzers apiece, distributed through J. G. Bössenecker's publishing house in Regensburg: "These fine photographs are of great interest for historical societies, antiquities researchers, art collections, schools of art and industry, gold- and silversmiths, etc." (The fine print called the previously quoted price an oversight.)[45]

These glimpses into Schindler's and Bössenecker's publishing endeavor suggest it was formulated quickly, in response to the huge amount of popular interest in the Regensburg find, and shifted as the true cost of producing luxurious folio format images emerged. The idea for the series must have been informed by the many efforts being made in the 1860s to record historically significant works of art and architectural monuments and make them accessible to cultural institutions and to the wider public.[46] In this case, perhaps the photographs were not originally created with an audience of art



fig. 7 Peter Schindler (German, 1822–1882). Regensburger Silberfund photographic series, plates 1–16 (R1–R20), 1869. Albumen print, each print and mount 8⅜ × 6¾ in. (21.3 × 17 cm); cardboard support 18¾ × 12½ in. (47.6 × 31.8 cm). Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna (inv. KI 4442-1–KI 4442-8 and KI 4442-10–KI 4442-17)

students and connoisseurs in mind, but the clamor for images made such a venture viable. Schindler likely took the photographs as preparatory material for illustrations in the *Illustrirte Zeitung*.[47] Or they were a record of the objects that had been put on display in the town hall. Or it might simply have been an attempt to capture the objects in the first light of discovery, before anything happened to them, like the lithographed inventory and like Weininger's sketches designed to "record" (*aufnehmen*—a verb used later specifically for film and photography) the architectural features of the Bärbinger House before it was demolished.

Bössenecker operated a multipronged publishing business and bookstore in Regensburg that by 1869 had expanded to include the sale of photographs of local monuments, some of them by Schindler.[48] One of six photographers in the city in 1868, Schindler had pioneered the trade a decade earlier by opening an atelier where he produced both hand-colored and monochrome portraits.[49] Schindler's interest in historical preservation and local monuments is evidenced by his appearance in the membership rolls of the historical society and by the *Visitenkarte* (carte de visite) he produced that captured the changing face of the developing city, including the cathedral under construction.[50] Endeavors to utilize photography to record historical sites and objects in Regensburg resonated with similar projects elsewhere in these decades.[51]

Comparing Schindler's photographs of the Regensburg find against the wood engravings that derive from them, the eye is drawn to elements that the latter erase—the details of context, scale, and the ephemeral reflection of the image maker's immediate surroundings as they were captured in the "fresh" surfaces of centuries-old silver vessels. While the location of photography is not known, it was likely to have been in Schindler's light-filled studio, located only a ten-minute walk from the Bärbinger House, on the poetically named Straße zur schönen Gelegenheit.[52] Evidence revealing the makeshift approach to capturing these newly found objects for posterity abounds, from the edges of tables that seem casually caught at the borders of the silhouetted albumen prints, to the coin peeping from below one cup, where it seems to have been placed to steady the foot.[53]

The final plate organizes objects in such a way that they cannot be extricated singly into white space—the *Illustrirte Zeitung* captures the dense rectangle of the gathered objects as a single unit.[54] The form of the cut oval competes for visual dominance with the wooden rectangle of what was presumably one of the display cases used to exhibit the find in the town hall (fig. 8).



fig. 8 Peter Schindler. Regensburger Silberfund photographic series, plate 17 (R21–R42), 1869. Albumen print, photograph 8⅜ × 6¾ in. (21.3 × 17 cm); cardboard support 18¾ × 12½ in. (47.6 × 31.8 cm). Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna (inv. KI 4442-9)

Against the moiré pattern of a paper or textile background hang carefully tied sets of spoons, girdles spread and framing the leather purses, and three sets of cutlery in their heavily ornamented cases. (Other leather cases without applied silver ornament were apparently not included in the display.)[55] The arrangement of vast quantities of discovered treasure in decorative trophy-like form was an approach employed for other hoards unearthed in the nineteenth century.[56] But Schindler's photograph recalled a much more immediate local context, the set of seventeenth-century paintings of unexplained function that hung in the Regensburg town hall and appear to show the city's accumulated treasure, including precisely the types of objects—double cups, saltcellars, spoons, girdles—found in 1869 (fig. 9).[57] Though produced in the modern medium of the albumen print, and regardless of their original intended purpose, Schindler's photographic series participates in a similar tradition as the town hall paintings, that of the practically wordless visual inventory.

Full sets of Schindler's albumen prints currently reside in five collections in Germany and Austria.[58] The set in Berlin's art library bears an acquisition number from 1870, suggesting that, by appealing directly to connoisseurs, artists, and art historians, Bössenecker's advertisement may have had its intended effect, prompting almost immediate purchase by major art research collections in German-speaking Europe.[59] Each of the five versions varies in ways that highlight the hand labor required to produce this photographic series, as well as differing choices in the reception and archiving of the prints. How they were packaged for purchase is not clear, but they seem always to have been accompanied by the "autographiert" version of the inventory, whether to save on the cost of a typeset and printed pamphlet, or because it conveyed an immediacy in keeping with Schindler's photographs. The prints are often numbered by later hands in an order roughly following that of the inventory, which underscores its significance to the study and analysis of the images. The inventory serves as a kind of extended set of captions, as Schindler's mounts gave no other information. The Regensburg set bears captions in elegant script copied directly from the inventory. In Weimar, the prints have been removed from their original substrates and pasted onto plain paper, then bound.[60]



fig. 9 Anonymous Regensburg painter (German, 17th century). A collection of silver plate and ornaments associated with Regensburg's city council. Oil on panel, 22⅞ × 33¾ in. (58 × 85.7 cm). Museen der Stadt Regensburg (inv. AB 313,3)



It was presumably in Schindler's atelier that the prints were made, cut down, and then carefully mounted onto the card stock preprinted with the photographer's name and the assertion of copyright. A pale green rectangle framed in a simple line offered a blank oval onto which the prints were glued. Spots where the white of the interior oval peeps out highlight the often uneven edge of the hand-cut print. Comparison between the same plates across the five known sets of Schindler's photographic series reveals the variation with which the oval template for cutting was placed, thereby shifting the edges of the visible image and the angle at which each vessel appears to stand. In one case entirely different photographs were printed, which switch the positions of the Museum's Augsburg tankard (R19) and the barrel-shaped double cup (R15 and R16),



fig. 10 Peter Schindler. Regensburger Silberfund photographic series, plate 8 (R8–R9), 1869. Albumen print, photograph 8⅜ × 6¾ in. (21.3 × 17 cm); cardboard support 18¾ × 12½ in. (47.6 × 31.8 cm). Museen der Stadt Regensburg

fig. 11 Peter Schindler. Regensburger Silberfund photographic series, plate 14 (R17), showing the Augsburg maiden cup, 1869. Albumen print, photograph 8⅜ × 6¾ in. (21.3 × 17 cm), cardboard support 18¾ × 12½ in. (47.6 × 31.8 cm). Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna (inv. KI 4442-1)

perhaps to better catch light on the angel's face, an adjustment that hints tantalizingly at Schindler's process and the intention of the photographs—clearly the securing of detail was important.[61]

Later on, when the Regensburg silver appeared in collection and exhibition catalogues, it was almost always photographed in groups, sometimes even with unrelated objects.[62] What is extraordinary about Schindler's images is the space and the time devoted to individual vessels and carefully chosen pairs, the actual time in front of the camera, and the time spent developing, printing, retouching, and then cutting and pasting each one of these large-format images onto its card (fig. 10).[63] Plate 17 offers an image of bounty, highlighting the impressive number of spoons (though fewer than half of the original sixty-six are pictured) and a diversity of forms. But the plates that depict the vessels singly convey the cups' individuality—even the Regensburg *Doppelpokal* (R8 and R9) gets two images, so both sets of the repoussé faces on its surface can each be viewed right side up. The close crop of the oval, a shape often used in the 1850s and 1860s for portraiture, gives the vessel, no matter its size, personality and monumentality. Thus the figure in the Augsburg maiden cup, a form of Scherzgefäß (trick vessel) (R17; see fig. 14), is not some quaint silver doll but a sculpture with arms thrown powerfully upward, raising her lace collar (fig. 11).[64]

These single-sheet photographic portrayals of individual silver vessels find visual counterparts in early modern German prints that utilized the then-new representational media of engraving and etching to engage with the ascendant craft of the goldsmith.[65] In the 1520s, Regensburg's own Albrecht Altdorfer depicted covered standing cups and double cups in etchings that captured them often against dark backgrounds, cropped tightly to the vessels' contours, or indicating the form of a niche.[66] In general silhouette and function they were probably similar to the many cups, stored in various boxes and sacks, recorded among the artist's possessions upon his death in 1538.[67] They certainly bear details of the vessels and spoons in the Regensburger Silberfund, hidden almost a century later: bulbous lobes, graduated feet, scrolled engraved ornament, grotesque heads, inscribed initials, even top ornaments of warriors standing contrapposto and holding shields and lances (fig. 12). Though often depicted singly, Altdorfer's cups and double cups were later taken up by other printmakers, copied, resized, and grouped together, much like the wood engravings made after Schindler's single photographs, which similarly took on a new, recombinatory existence in the pages of art periodicals in 1869.[68]

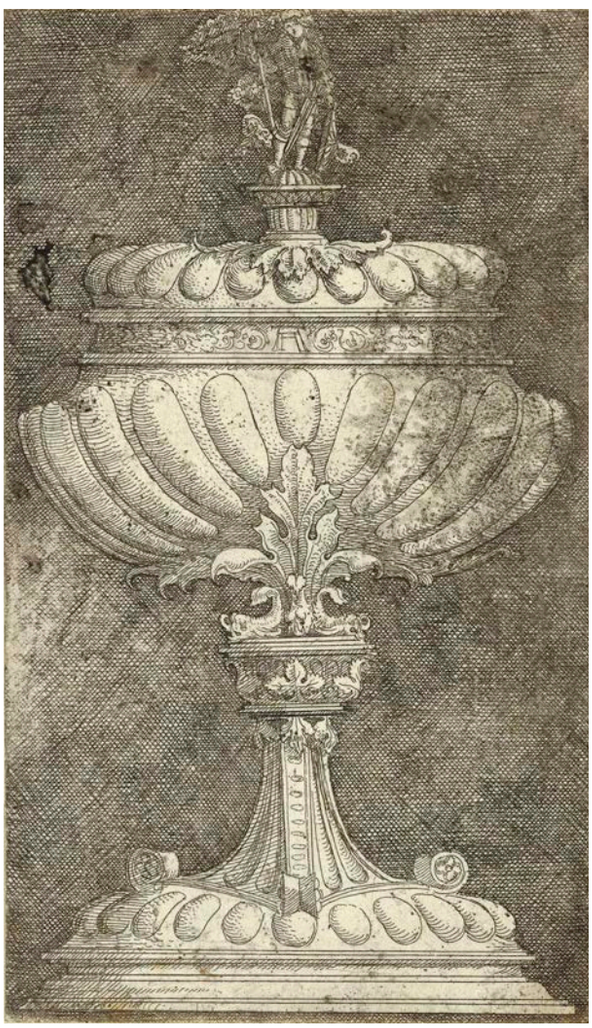


fig. 12 Albrecht Altdorfer (German, ca. 1480–1538). *Covered Goblet with a Knight on the Lid*. Etching, sheet 7 × 4 1/16 in. (17.8 × 10.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1924 (24.82.2)

His vessel etchings are now understood to be designs ostensibly destined for use in the goldsmith's workshop, thus positioned on the opposite end of production from Schindler's documentary project. But Altdorfer is never far from discussions of Regensburg's historical goldsmithing tradition because in the face of a vastly depleted archive, his etchings stand in to represent the now poorly preserved accomplishments of Regensburg's smiths.[69] Altdorfer also shared with Weininger and Schindler a similar urge to record for posterity the endangered material fabric of their city. In February 1519 he famously etched two views of the interior of the Regensburg synagogue before it was demolished after the city's Jewish community had been exiled.[70] Although on a social and political level the synagogue's destruction was orders of magnitude more catastrophic than the tearing down of the Bärbinger House almost exactly three hundred and fifty years later, Altdorfer's and Weininger's portrayals of these still, empty medieval vaulted spaces both have the weighty finality of having been "aufgenommen beim Abriss" (recorded at demolition). Produced in the fresh flush of an unexpected recovery of Regensburg's past, Schindler's photographs would nevertheless also come to serve an elegiac purpose.

DISPERSAL

Weininger closed his article on the Silberfund by warning of the "pity if these things were to be scattered all over the world."[71] That is, however, what eventually came to pass. A year after the Bärbinger House was razed, the new structure built in its place was finished and Erich was advertising shops and apartments for rent; a shoemaker and stationer opened there in 1870. In June the collector Eugen Felix of Leipzig visited the needle-manufacturer and his family and soon left with the hoard in tow, having paid Erich 4,600 talers in cash.[72] From a twenty-first-century perspective interested in archaeological documentation, a purchase keeping the find together seems ahead of its time. But for Felix, who amassed a magnificent art trove partly by buying up already formed collections, it may have been a matter of an astute business deal.[73] Certain crucially important components of the find seem to have been separated out and some were never carefully documented, including the wooden chest and the material in which the objects were packed. Items appearing

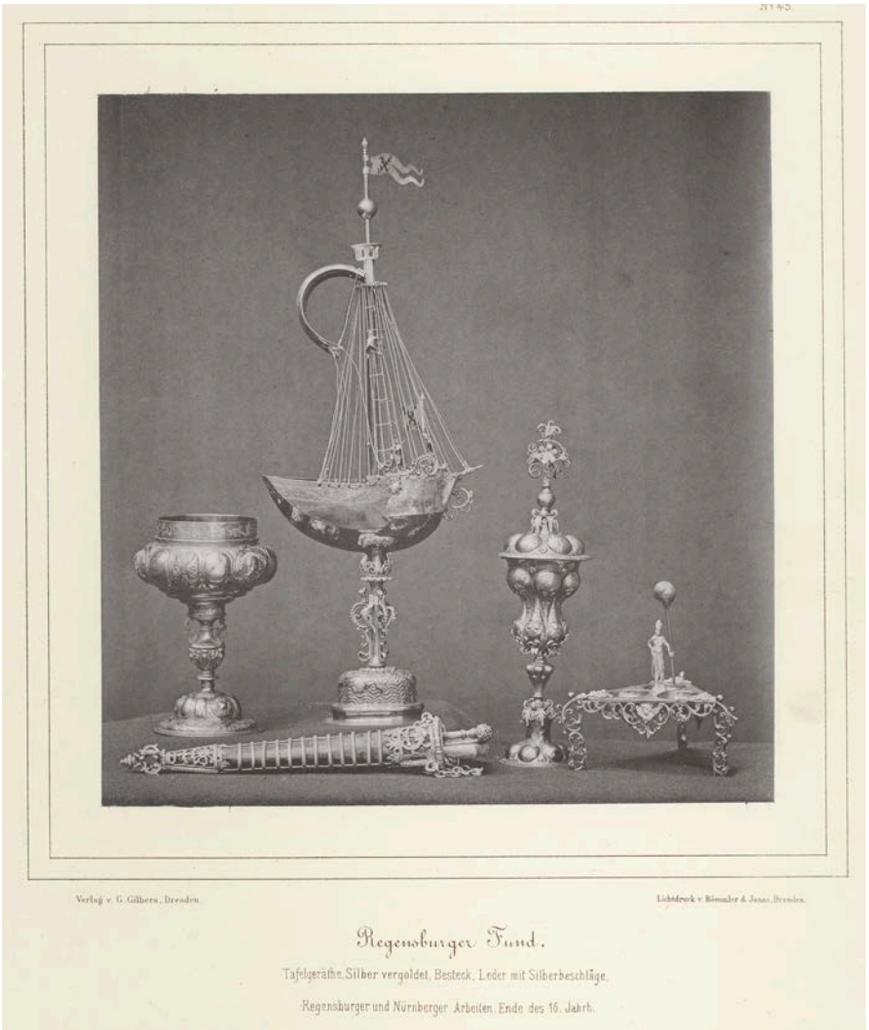


fig. 13 Römmler & Jonas (Emil Römmler [German, 1842–1941] and Leopold Erasmus Jonas [German, 1839–1905]). Plate showing artifacts from the Regensburger Silberfund, 1875. Collotype. From Dresden 1875, no. 45

in the original inventory that were not photographed by Schindler—the non-silver components of the Silberfund—also seem to have gone missing, including a small pendant of amber beads, the thirteen documents, and the seal linking the documents to the posited original owner of the chest and its contents, Georg Hoffmann (R44–48). Of the additional silver objects reportedly found on the same site in March, only the pocket watch later appeared in Felix's collection.[74]

It was a farsighted purchase in other ways, anticipating a desire for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century silver that would increase as old collections and treasuries were dispersed into developing museums and the art hoards of wealthy robber barons. A successful purveyor of silk fabrics, Felix collected European prints, paintings, decorative art, and numismatic material. The Met owns several items formerly in Felix's collection, including ivories, painted glass beakers, German stoneware, fifteenth- and sixteenth-century jewels, and paintings, such as Albrecht Dürer's *Salvator Mundi*.[75] It was through Felix that the Regensburger Silberfund was for the most part comprehensively catalogued and published, recording information on rarer and more ephemeral objects that had received less detail in Schindler's photographs and in contemporaneous newspaper reports, like the leather purses ornamented with silver buttons (R37–39), or the goose feather decked in pearls and gold wire (R41). Marc Rosenberg, the compiler of German goldsmiths' marks, used the information in Felix's catalogues to make attributions for his indispensable handbooks.[76] Felix exposed many of the vessels, spoons, and cutlery to a wider public by loaning them to a major exhibition in 1875, for which they were photographed in a more stable, professional, yet less revelatory manner than Schindler had achieved in the medium of albumen print a few years earlier (fig. 13).[77] The phrase "Regensburger Fund" (Regensburger Find) appears conspicuously in almost all descriptions and captions of these objects while in Felix's possession. This provenance mattered not only for the association with the hoard and its sensational discovery, but also because it lent an irrefutable authenticity at a time when copies, replicas, forgeries, aggressively restored originals, and historicist fantasies were common.[78]

In 1880, likely as a means to build interest toward an eventual sale, Felix published a lavish catalogue of his collection with a pendant atlas of 35 collotypes, an early form of photolithography, including some of the Regensburg silver.[79] In the end his prints were sold in 1885, and the bulk of his remaining collection was auctioned by J. M. Heberle (H. Lempertz) in Cologne, beginning on October 25, 1886, and lasting five days.[80] The hefty accompanying catalogue includes photographs that, along with the 1880 collotypes, may be the only documented close-up images of some of the find's spoons and cutlery. Object descriptions correspond for the most part with those written in 1880, though with some variation in the identification of makers' marks. Much more extensive than the brief lines of the lithograph descriptive inventory of 1869, these entries reflect more consistent recording of measurements and marks, and were undoubtedly informed by the increasing sophistication, and scientific documentation standards, of connoisseurship for sixteenth- and seventeenth-century silver in the intervening years.[81] But in some cases they strangely overlook important identifications made by the local compilers of the original inventory, like the coat of arms on one set of silver spoons (R30).[82] Such oversights emphasize the enduring significance of the inventory and the local knowledge on which it was based.

The Felix sale became a public spectacle and prompted extensive discussion in the art press, which took a critical view of the astronomical prices reached by some of the top objects (the Silberfund pieces alone came to more than 55,000 marks).[83] With little quality Renaissance German silver on the market, the authenticity of the Regensburg vessels and utensils was thought to have driven up the prices.[84] In reality not everything in the 1886 sale went to buyers. Observers had already speculated in the month before the sale that Felix would have trouble breaking even on many of his best pieces.[85] It was later revealed that he purchased back several items, including a few that had appeared to go to the dealers Bourgeois Frères in Cologne.[86] These pieces stayed with the family and passed upon Eugen Felix's death in 1888 to his son, Hans E. C. Felix. In 1894 Hans was said to be shipping the remains of the collection to New York, where he lived, to achieve higher prices than possible in Europe.[87] He later made an agreement with the dealer Julius D. Ichenhauser to put these pieces up for private sale, receiving an advance that would be deducted from the final proceeds.[88] They were on view at the Anglo-American Fine Art Company at 523 Fifth Avenue in October 1909.[89] When Ichenhauser died the following year, his widow went forward with a public auction in order to settle her husband's estate, which Hans Felix attempted to stop by means of a temporary injunction. These legal issues gave a notably uncomfortable atmosphere to the auction in May 1911, which appeared to spook potential buyers and keep prices down.[90] The Met was able to purchase several items of European decorative art, including stoneware, glass, and ivories, in addition to the Augsburg tankard and the Regensburg *Doppelpokal*.[91]

Forty-two years after their discovery under a Bavarian staircase, the two German vessels finally had found a permanent home in The Met. Notably neither the detailed sale report by curator Wilhelm Valentiner nor the acquisition notes in *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* mentioned the vessels' origins in the Regensburg hoard.[92] That provenance, which Eugen Felix had vigilantly maintained in all publications of his collection because it remained crucial to the cultural and monetary value of the surviving objects, apparently had begun to slip during Hans Felix's stewardship. When he lent some of the remaining Regensburg vessels to a Leipzig decorative arts exhibition in 1897, they appeared with his name, but no mention of the Silberfund.[93] Perhaps the association no longer conjured the thrill it had decades earlier, or seemed crucial to the reception of these artifacts. The interpretive shift away from the vessels' specific provenance placed renewed focus on the objects themselves, their physical features, ornament, and the Augsburg and Regensburg smiths to whom they were now attributed, but it also severed them from the first stage of documentation that had been undertaken within days of their discovery, and thus from later research that grew out of it.

One small example of this dissociation, in this case literally an obscuring of knowledge about social relations, pertains to The Met's small Augsburg tankard, which bears on its base a coat of arms and the inscription "Ursula der gotl Kandl," a line of text that has remained undeciphered.[94] But when Weininger wrote about the tankard in 1869, he offered a translation for *Gotl*, the South German dialect term for godmother (*Taufpathin*), which suggests the vessel may have served as a christening gift.[95] Christening gifts in gold and silver have a long tradition in this region and inscriptions often followed the pattern of naming the child, then the godmother or godfather, who had likely given the gift.[96] The inscription may be identifying the tankard (*Kandl,* South German dialect for *Kanne*) as having belonged to, or a gift from, Godmother Ursula, a further data point that, along with the currently unidentified coat of arms, could lead to more definitive identification and recovery of information about the social relationship to which the tankard attested.[97]

In addition to the obstacles it posed to tracking surviving objects, the lost association with the Regensburg hoard and its documentation also obscured an important section of the vessels' lengthy itineraries, bookended by their careful protection in the 1630s and their impactful revelation two and a half centuries later. Both moments have important lessons to teach about the shifting meaning of these sixteenth-century objects, as well as their shifting value.[98] Knowing that an object has come from a hoard brings awareness to the great lengths that were taken to preserve it at a specific historical moment. The act of preservation speaks not only to the way it was valued, but also to the extremity of the crisis at hand. The wartime necessity that had caused the Silberfund's deposition in the early 1630s was met in 1869 by a different material emergency, the threat of destruction that Regensburg's historians responded to with a similar intention to protect and preserve.

COMPENSATORY COPIES

In 1910, the year before the dregs of Eugen Felix's original collection went up for sale in New York, the graphic artist and collector Otto Hupp published a book on the

Regensburg town hall, which included extended discussion of its civic plate and an appendix on the city's historical goldsmiths.[99] A kind of pall hangs over his recounting of the city's lost treasures, as he explains that not a single example of Regensburg's once extensive and dynamically changing collection of civic plate survives.[100] Though undocumented, these losses likely occurred over centuries and stem from the general vulnerability of precious metalwork.[101] Nor were they uncommon for German cities that had experienced war, financial crisis, and the destructive effects of changing fashion and mores. But the removal of precious metalwork testifying to local histories had taken a different turn in the nineteenth century as the desirability of early modern silver grew and the dispersal of long-standing collections sped up. Regensburg's local historians witnessed this firsthand, lamenting what, in the eventful year of 1869, had begun to seem like a pattern of alienation. In addition to the discovery and swift sale of the Silberfund, they noted the loss of a Regensburg vessel that had been in use by the local shooting club for more than three centuries. It went, along with an archive of associated documents, to a Munich antiques dealer.[102] "In addition to these old Regensburg treasures," they wrote of the Silberfund, "we had to see yet another magnificent cup disappear from the city."[103] By the time Hupp was attempting to reconstruct the history of Regensburg's goldsmiths, little local secular silver survived in its city of origin.

Against this backdrop, the Silberfund offered crucial additional data. Hupp reconstructed the find with help from a set of manuscript documents borrowed from the son-in-law of Christoph Erich, the landlord of the demolished house and thus by law the hoard's first modern owner. These included an eyewitness recollection of its sale to Eugen Felix.[104] An opportunity had been missed, Hupp asserted, when no attempt was made in 1886 to buy back some of the pieces in the Felix sale and return them to Regensburg.[105] He noted that the sale catalogue's illustrations did not capture the objects known to have been produced in the former free imperial city. For that, he had to turn to the "old photographs," by which he meant the albumen prints Schindler had made immediately after the find's discovery, which Hupp included as tightly cropped details that in his text on the town hall stood in for Regensburg's lost civic plate.[106]

The reliance on photographs to gain traction on lost metalwork leads us to the rhetoric that was used by Schindler and others to describe the nature of his photographic work. In the first mention of his studio, Schindler advertised services for producing portraits, but also for copying artworks of all types ("Copiren von Kunstgegenstände jeder Art").[107] When it came to the Regensburg find, the assertion that Schindler's photographs "copied" the original objects was made more than once.[108] Bössenecker worded the advertisement for the series of prints in such a way that the silver vessels came before acknowledgment of their representational medium: "obtainable through all book and art dealers: The Silver Plate Found in Regensburg. . . . 17 Sheets of exquisitely executed photographs in large folio format."[109]

The implication of this language of copying and the silver plate made "obtainable" in shops was that photographs could substitute for the objects themselves, facilitating possession, admiration, and study. That the majority of Schindler's prints were devoted to a single vessel made possible an intimate, focused gaze that heightened the sense of direct access. The production of substitutional facsimiles by means of photography resonates with other contemporary replication technologies, notably transfer lithography, which reproduced the manuscript pages of the original inventory for dissemination, and electrotyping (known in German as *galvanoplastische Kopiren*), which used modern chemical-electrical technology to reproduce metalwork for private pleasure, public display, and professional artistic and industrial ends.[110] The stupendous silver finds at Hildesheim were electrotyped and later appeared in international exhibitions, eventually making their way into far-flung museums.[111]

There was another use for electrotypes in the nineteenth century, which we might think of as *compensatory copies*: replicas—whether copied by hand or with the aid of industrial processes—standing in for works that had been alienated, usually in a context of financial pressure. The most famous example is the Lüneburger *Ratssilber*, a large collection of late medieval and early modern silver vessels once owned by the northern German city of Lüneburg.[112] In 1874 the city finally agreed to sell its historic civic plate to the Prussian State for the sum of 220,000 talers. Electrotype replicas took the place of the originals in the town hall, allowing Lüneburg to retain these symbols of civic pride and history while also capitalizing on the historical and artistic value of their carefully preserved plate. Similarly, the city of Basel had been forced to auction off its medieval cathedral treasury in 1836, but subsequently welcomed back copies of its lost artifacts in many forms, including plaster casts, electrotypes, and hand-formed silver copies.[113] The use of nineteenth-century replication

technologies in these contexts brought complication to the traditional notion of financial extraction in regard to precious metalwork. During the Thirty Years' War, as it had been for centuries, plate was confiscated and melted down to win its melt value, signaling a definitive end to a vessel's existence. In the nineteenth century, the extraction of historical plate might mean instead the exchange of the vessel for hard cash, with the possibility of substitution in a different material or medium.

PHOTOGRAPHY FACILITATING REIDENTIFICATION

Schindler's photographs, and the accompanying lithographed inventory, now reside in Berlin, Braunschweig, Regensburg, Vienna, Weimar, and perhaps in other collections not yet identified. Through digitization and the access made possible by the internet, the same images can be viewed now from almost anywhere and compared against contemporary photographs of surviving metalwork. It was through such digital comparisons that, in the course of research for this article, two more Silberfund vessels were located.

The first is the silver ship with enameled sea monsters on its base and a teeming crew of miniature figures (R5) (see fig. 13). Although Schindler did not intentionally capture detailed marks on the vessels he photographed, in the albumen print of this nef the Nuremberg mark and the maker's mark of the smith Tobias Wolff are clearly visible.[114] The placement of these marks and the accompanying assay bite on the ship's hull are identical to that of the marks on the Wolff nef, now missing its mast flag, recently sold at auction.[115] When exhibited in 1992, no mention was made of this vessel's origins in the Regensburg hoard, suggesting that this special provenance had, sometime after 1886, become dissociated. Now in a private collection in Germany, the nef can be contextualized not only against Wolff's many other tabletop ships, but also against another cache of silver plate deposited in the same region. Found in 1912 in a town about 175 kilometers north of Regensburg, the Pörbitsch Schatz remains intact and can be linked through archival documentation to a local merchant family that buried their plate for safekeeping probably in 1632.[116] It includes many forms similar to those found in Regensburg, such as silver spoons, gilt-silver standing cups, and female adornments, as well as a nef with the figure of Fortuna produced by none other than Tobias Wolff of Nuremberg.[117]

The second object reidentified thanks to Peter Schindler's albumen prints is perhaps more surprising, for it turns out also to reside in The Met. Received as part of J. Pierpont Morgan's gift in 1917, the vessel was made by the Augsburg smith Hieronymus Imhof between 1620 and 1630.[118] Known as a *Jungfrauenbecher* (maiden cup), it consists of one larger cup in the form of a woman in Venetian dress with a voluminous embossed skirt who holds above her head another, smaller cup able to swing on pins (fig. 14).[119] A specialty of Nuremberg and Augsburg smiths from the mid-sixteenth through the mid-seventeenth century, this type of cup is associated with drinking games and wagers, such as whether two drinkers can manage simultaneously to sip from both beakers. They have also been connected to drinking rituals around marriage and in that context reflect a gendered differential in the amount considered appropriate for men and women to imbibe in early modern Germany.[120]

With its ornamented skirt and attention to the details of elite, exotic dress, The Met's maiden cup finds several comparanda, but the face and décolletage painted in pink flesh tones are more unusual. Other examples by Imhof have small beakers decorated with embossed ornament to match the female figure's skirt, and their faces are bare. The *Jungfrauenbecher* that came from the Regensburg treasure was notably polychromed: "the upper part of the figure is painted and enamelled; the wide ruff is cut out of silver; the upper beaker is smooth."[121] A note in the curatorial file for The Met's "wager cup" had raised but then dismissed a connection to the Felix collection based on a discrepancy between the cup's measured height and the published measurements of the cup in Felix's possession, as well as the fact that Imhof had created multiple similar vessels.[122]

Documentation in Morgan's correspondence suggests, however, that the Felix and Morgan cups were one and the same. In 1902, Morgan had bought a large collection of silver plate including the Augsburg maiden cup from the German banker Eugen Gutmann. Soon after, this acquisition was published in a luxurious catalogue, and Morgan loaned the German plate to exhibitions and museums in England and Scotland.[123] These catalogues do not mention where Gutmann had acquired the cup. Felix's *Jungfrauenbecher* was still in his son Hans's possession in 1897, when it was exhibited in Leipzig.[124] But in the short period between this loan exhibition and Morgan's acquisition of Gutmann's collection, Hans Felix must have sold the cup to Gutmann. A printed inventory drawn up in the course of sale to Morgan includes a marginal notation in ink asserting that the "Frauenbecher" with enameled face carrying a small cup in her outstretched arms derived from Felix's collection.[125]



fig. 14 Hieronymus Imhof (German, act. 1620–1635). Maiden cup, ca. 1620–30. Silver, partly gilt, enameled, 8 × 4 in. (20.3 × 10. 2 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917 (17.190.579)

Nowhere in this series of private and published records is the Regensburg Silberfund mentioned. It is possible that Gutmann was unaware of the connection. The most convincing evidence that The Met's Augsburg maiden cup derived from the hoard in the Bärbinger House comes once again from Schindler's photography. The albumen print captures all the minute detail of the ornamented skirt, which matches in each scroll and flourish that of The Met's *Jungfrauenbecher* (compare figs. 11 and 14). Inspired by contemporary ornament prints but embossed by hand, these elements could not have been replicated perfectly across vessels. Even if Imhof had produced a cup of the same form, including the same cast details of the head and upraised arms, the tool marks on the skirt's repoussé surface would have varied.[126] A small inconsistency at the base of the figure's bodice, which lops off the point of its V shape, provides further confirmation that the vessel photographed by Schindler in 1869 and by the Museum's Imaging department in 2023 is the same.

What can locating Imhof's maiden cup in the Regensburg Silberfund add to its future study and interpretation? The early newspaper reports of the find emphasized the silver's "freshness," meaning its remarkably undamaged condition. Painted components remained intact, rather than severely abraded or lost over the centuries, as was common. Although in monochrome, Schindler's albumen print records the

Jungfrauenbecher and its painted face in this unusual state of preservation. It offers an additional data point for the vessel's conservation history and perhaps a further case study for those engaged with the scientific and art historical investigation of early polychromed silver.[127] The Met's example deserves examination beside other contemporary maiden cups that were given pinkish hands and faces.[128]

The Regensburg treasure also gives The Met's *Jungfrauenbecher* potentially illuminating historical context, including connections to a series of additional objects that might begin to explain its social significance and function. Although research into the hoard's seventeenth-century owners is just beginning, comparisons with other depositions of silver plate from the Thirty Years' War suggest that the objects hidden under the stairs did not represent the possessions of a single person, but were more likely the gathered valuables of a family or larger social group, perhaps even including the dowries of married women.[129] Did this particular maiden cup, along with the silver girdles and silver-buttoned purses, form part of the possessions of the women, as yet unidentified, who lived in the Bärbinger House in the 1630s? Could it have commemorated a marriage as such cups are sometimes thought to have done?[130] What can be known without a shadow of a doubt is that it and its dozens of silver companions in the concealed chest were deemed worthy of protection in a moment of enormous uncertainty. As stores of financial value, social identity, and individual memory, they were placed in a temporary estrangement from their owners that became, for reasons still unclear, permanent.

CONCLUSION

After having remained still and undiscovered for more than two centuries, the speed at which the Silberfund circulated in the art press in spring 1869, and the rapidity with which the artifacts themselves left Regensburg for Leipzig, was staggering. Despite defying detection by the military plunderers of the seventeenth century, the Silberfund faced a new threat from the rapacious seekers of the nineteenth century, who wore the guise of the wealthy art connoisseur. What went unacknowledged among those lamenting its removal from Regensburg was the role that careful documentation of the hoard likely played in precipitating Eugen Felix's purchase. After all, it was through the detailed inventory circulated to the press, the widely advertised exhibition, the diligent reporting of local journalists, and Peter Schindler's photographs in particular that the Silberfund entered the awareness of a collector like Felix, who happened to live in Leipzig, where the *Illustrirte Zeitung* published the first images of the find in May 1869.

Schindler's photographs contributed to the alienation of the silver treasure from Regensburg, but they also offered a form of compensation for that loss. By multiplying the silver vessels, girdles, and spoons, they made these historical artifacts accessible in many places, no matter the fate of individual works. Even after the dispersal of Felix's collection in 1886, Schindler's photographs and the lithographed inventory thus continue to allow narratives of the hoard to be written, facilitating research that opens up for examination the historical contexts of these objects, not only in 1869 but also in the periods of their production, use, and possession beginning in the sixteenth century.

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NOTES

1 See, for example, the Erfurt treasure. Ostritz 2011.

2 The attempt to track down individual components of the Silberfund is ongoing. Consulted in research for this text were numerous catalogues of early modern German silver and the online databases of museums in Europe and the United States, including the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich; Cleveland Museum of Art; Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nuremberg; Los Angeles County Museum of Art; Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna; Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe Hamburg; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; National Trust Collections; the Royal Collection; Victoria and Albert Museum, London; Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, Hartford; and the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore. I thank the curators who searched for surviving articles from the hoard in their collections, in their own memory banks, and with help from their colleagues: Zofia Herman (National Museum in Warsaw), Rachel King (British Museum, London), Chassica Kirchhoff (Detroit Institute of Arts), Erika Kiss (Hungarian National Museum, Budapest), Petja Matějovič (the Museum of Decorative Arts, Prague), Alice Minter and Sophie Morris (Rosalinde and Arthur Gilbert Collection at the Victoria and Albert Museum), and Evelyn Reitz (Museen der Stadt Nürnberg). Sales catalogues after 1886 and documentation of spoliation in World War II are a future avenue of research, as is a more systematic look at major European collections of silver in the late nineteenth century.

3 Angerer 1987, 76.

4 Cleland 2017a; Cleland 2017b. The Pissinger double cup: "Eugen Felix, Leipzig; [Ichenhauser, until 1911; sold to MMA]"; the Riederer tankard: "Ichenhauser (until 1911); [Silo, 1911; sold to MMA]."

5 On archaeological provenience, see Joyce 2012.

6 See Anke Borgmeyer, "Veränderung von Stadtgestalt und Stadtbegriff im 19. Jahrhundert," in Schmid 2000, 2:1204–20.

7 The Bärbinger House, which was called by different names over the course of its existence, is referred to in all official documents and public reports by its unique address: Lit. F 6. (Lit. is an abbreviation for *Litera,* letter), based on Regensburg's rationalized system of addresses. Bauer 2014, 21, 84–85.

8 Fendl 1982, 19–20.

9 *RT,* February 28, 1869.

10 *VHVO* 1872, 289.

11 "Wie ich höre, ist der Metallwerth auf circa 2000 fl. geschätzt und erhöht sich der Werth des Fundes insoferne, als einzelne Stücke ganz besonders schön gearbeitet . . . werden . . . Nach den Jahreszahlen zu schließen, welche auf einzelnen Stücken eingravirt sind, dürfte diese Kiste um die Zeit des Schwedenkrieges (1633) versteckt worden sein . . ." *RT,* February 28, 1869; *BL* 50, morning edition, March 1, 1869, 3.

12 Hupp 1912, 27.

13 On Regensburg in the Thirty Years' War, see Lübbers 2018.

14 On forced contribution, see Redlich 1959.

15 Krabath 2014. A useful English comparandum is the seventeenth-century Cheapside Hoard, which appears to contain a jeweler's stock, and was probably also hidden in a period of political and financial upheaval. Forsyth 2013.

16 "Unsere Historiker und Neuigkeitskrämer haben jetzt Gelegenheit, sich tagtäglich mit frischem Kram zu versehen. In der That steht der Platz beim . . . nie leer und man wähnt fast hinter jedem Mauerloch und Bretterboden einem Topf oder eine Kiste mit uralten Thalern oder silbernen Geräthen hervorkollern zu sehen." *RT,* March 10 (pub. March 11), 1869.

17 The high cost of the display cases (22 fl., 36 kr.) suggests they may have been custom-built. *RT,* March 18, 1869, 316.

18 The funds apportioned to the construction workers may have been meant to preempt a claim to the find and its market value, which they might potentially have had a right to as its finders. For an example of a disputed treasure trove claim between property owner and finder involving a seventeenth-century *Schatzfund*, see Kneidl 1974, 22–23 and passim.

19 The net profit was reported to be 539 fl., 58 kr., with sixty kreuzers to the florin. In Munich between 1870 and 1876, a liter of milk cost 6 kreuzers; a bricklayer earned 120 kreuzers per day. Klose and Jungmann-Stadler 2006.

20 *Neues bayerisches Volksblatt,* March 5, 1869, 260.

21 The "autographiert ausgegebene Beschreibung" was mentioned explicitly in at least one instance. *Anzeiger für Kunde der deutschen Vorzeit* 16, no. 7 (July 1869): 223.

22 *BL* 56 (March 8, 1869); *Conversations-Blatt* (Regensburg) 31 (March 12, 1869); *Augsburger Abendzeitung* 72 (March 13, 1869): 900; *Bayreuther Anzeiger* 2, no. 70 (March 18, 1869); "Ein interessanter Fund," *Palatina* [Speyer] 37 (March 27, 1869): 147–48.

23 Meixner 2012.

24 Groebner 2002, 22–35.

25 Angerer 1992, 142.

26 Hupp 1912.

27 Boetzkes and Stein 1997.

28 The finds were so temporally close together that illustrations of their vessels sometimes shared space in the same bound annual volumes of art journals. For example, see *Kunst und Gewerbe* 3 (1869).

29 Cramer 2007.

30 In this article I identify individual objects using the initial R (for Regensburg Inventory) and the number of their appearance in the lithographed inventory. See the Appendix to locate descriptions of objects, where footnoted documentation tracks every known description or reference for lost and surviving artifacts.

31 Engelmann 1843, 210.

32 In 1868, Regensburg had approximately fifteen craftsmen still working in gold and silver. They would have been potential candidates for evaluating the Silberfund, as many of them handled and evaluated old silver. Hupp 1912, 26; Marchner 1868, 73.

33 Engelmann 1843, 216.

34 The wreath is similar to those seen in German portraiture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and sometimes associated with marriage. See Lucas Cranach's portrait of Princess Sibylle of Cleve from 1526 in Weimar. Cranach Digital Archive, accessed April 1, 2023, https://lucascranach.org/en/DE_KSW_G12/.

35 On the historical society, see Martin Dallmeier, "Gelehrte Vereine in Regensburg," in Schmid 2000, 2:940–50.

36 For example, see Weininger 1860. The significant facts of Weininger's biography are sketched in *VHVO* 1872, 389–402.

37 These drawings and prints after them are now located in the Museen der Stadt Regensburg, inv. G 1980/300,42; G 1980/300,43,1; G 1980/300,43,2; G 1980/300,43,3; G 1980/300,43,4.

38 Marchner 1868, 84; *VHVO* 1872, 289. The Museen der Stadt Regensburg still has in its possession four fragments of architectural sculpture from the Bärbinger House (inv. HVE 119,1; HVE 119,2; HVE 120; KN 1998/17).

39 *VHVO* 1872, 289.

40 Weininger 1869.

41 Miller 2017, 128–39.
42 *Gewerbehalle* 7, no. 10 (1869): 152–53; *The Workshop* 2, no. 10 (1869): 152–53.
43 *Kunst und Gewerbe* 3, no. 16 (April 17, 1869): 123 and suppl. 36, 39, and 43.
44 *BL*, March 22, 1869.
45 "Für historische Vereine, Alterthumsforscher, Kunstsammlungen, Kunst- und Gewerbeschulen, Gold- und Silberarbeiter etc. sind diese schönen Photographien von grossem Interesse." *IZ*, no. 1350 (May 15, 1869): 380.
46 An example is the Arundel Society in London; Ledger 1979, 261–65. See also the contemporaneous work of Isabel Agnes Cowper, who photographed objects in the Victoria and Albert Museum; Lederman 2022.
47 It had published an illustration based on one of his photographs a year earlier. *IZ*, no. 1302 (June 13, 1868), front page.
48 Neumann 1869, 52–53.
49 Marchner 1868, 85; Gebhardt 1978, 344–48; Angerer and Weigl 2000, 38–41.
50 Marchner 1868, 305.
51 See, for example, the Society for Photographing Relics of Old London, the photographs of which are held in the Royal Academy of Arts. See https://www.royalacademy.org.uk/art-artists/organisation/society-for-photographing-relics-of-old-london.
52 The meaning of this phrase had shifted over the centuries from a literal, spatial description to something more abstract. Where it once had identified a wide street offering a lovely prospect over the river, it now meant something like "Street toward Fine Opportunity." Schwäbl 1910, 14–16.
53 Schindler 1869, pl. 10.
54 Weininger 1869, 33. The wood engraving reproduces the entire rectangle and frame of the wooden case, with the obvious implication that the engraver was working from the original albumen prints (standard rectangular prints rather than the cut ovals).
55 R32 and R33 had leather cases not included in this image.
56 Prokisch and Kühtreiber 2004, 820.
57 Angerer 1992, 142.
58 The Museen der Stadt Regensburg and the Kunstbibliothek in Berlin each have a set. The Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Vienna, and Technische Universität Braunschweig versions are available online. I thank the Leverhulme Trust for funding my request to digitize the version at the Herzogin Anna Amalia Bibliothek in Weimar, which is now also available online. https://haab-digital.klassik-stiftung.de/viewer/image/4076337972/2/.
59 Bössenecker's advertisement likely circulated only in German publications, which may explain why the Victoria and Albert Museum does not seem to have acquired Schindler's albumen prints. I thank Erika Lederman for searching the Victoria and Albert Museum's internal databases for any evidence of their acquisition in 1869–70. The albumen prints were likely no longer widely available by the time The Met's library was formally established in 1880.
60 Removing the prints may have created some of the damage visible on their surfaces. See, for example, the print of R5 in the Weimar set.
61 The sets in Weimar and Vienna have The Met tankard on the left; the Technische Universität Braunschweig and Regensburg sets have the version with the tankard on the right. Berlin has both versions, one acquired in 1870, the other in 1888.
62 Dresden 1875; Von Eye and Börner 1880b; Felix sale 1886.
63 Retouching marks show up in many of the surviving prints, covering up spots in the background and particularly at the edges of the oval, perhaps erasing the intrusion of some contextual detail.
64 Regensburg's cathedral was also photographed in oval format in the same period by one of Schindler's colleagues. Angerer and Weigl 2000, 42–45.
65 Stielau 2014.
66 Angerer 1987, 74.
67 Boll 1938–39.
68 See, for example, etchings by Hieronymus Hopfer after Albrecht Altdorfer, such as MMA 28.97.81.
69 Hupp 1912; Angerer 1987, 74; Angerer 1992.
70 West 2017.
71 "Es wäre auch schade, wenn diese Sachen in alle Welt zerstreut würden." Weininger 1869, 334.
72 Hupp 1912, 28.
73 In Felix's collection, the Regensburg pieces had consecutive inventory numbers below 200, which may indicate they were among the earliest of acquisitions in a collection that would eventually number in the thousands. Von Eye and Börner 1880a.
74 A newspaper report mentioned that on March 10 an additional pocket watch, additional silver spoons, a small silver figure, and a small spice spoon had been found on the site. Of these, only a sixteenth-century ornamented round pocket watch of gilt brass is recorded as coming from the Regensburg hoard in the catalogues of Felix's collection. *RT*, March 11, 1869; Von Eye and Börner 1880a, 63; Felix sale 1886, 144, lot 779.
75 MMA 32.100.64.
76 See Appendix notes for Rosenberg's attributions.
77 Dresden 1875.
78 Hackenbroch 1984–85, 163. See also the historicist silver being produced in Hanau in this period. Thiele 1992.
79 Von Eye and Börner 1880a and 1880b.
80 Max Lehrs mentions in several texts the 1885 auction of Felix's print collection, but I have not been able to identify a surviving catalogue for this sale. See Felix sale 1886.
81 The precision of the measurements may be placed into doubt, however. See discussion of the maiden cup (R17), below.
82 Felix sale 1886, 156, lot 853. Four of these spoons are now in the GRASSI Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Leipzig. Another is in the Museen der Stadt Regensburg, where the coats of arms have been confirmed as those of the Weinsprunner and Mendel von Steinfels families. Lempertz sale 2011, 16, lot 285. I thank Caitlin Miller for making this source available to me.
83 Prices are recorded in the Thomas J. Watson Library copy of the Felix sale 1886; Thode 1887, 63.
84 *Kunstgewerbeblatt* 3 (1887): 38–39.
85 "Die Sammlung Felix," *Kunstchronik* 21, no. 43 (1885–86): 713–15.
86 Schweizerisches Landesmuseum 1897, 65.
87 Felix's Renaissance medals were sold in Frankfurt in 1895; Felix sale 1895.
88 *American Art News* 9, no. 31 (May 13, 1911): 4.
89 Ibid. 8, no. 2 (October 23, 1909): 5.
90 Press coverage of this sale helps to reinsert Hans Felix into the provenance of these pieces. Valentiner 1911.
91 Ibid., 476.
92 Ibid.; *MMAB* 1911a; *MMAB* 1911b.
93 Leipzig 1897, 15–16.
94 See Cleland 2017b, where the inscription is described as "unintelligible as it stands." The curatorial file suggests that the

inscription is the engraver's mistaken rendering of *Ursula dem göttliche Kindl* ("for Ursula, the good little girl [*sic*]"). I thank Elizabeth Cleland for providing this information from the curatorial file.

95 Weininger 1869, 334.

96 Felix sale 1886, 88, lot 453.

97 Further research is required to determine if Weininger's identification of the tankard's inscribed coat of arms with the Gossenbrot family is plausible. Weininger 1869, 334; Hupp 1912, 27.

98 The exhibition organized by Elizabeth Cleland at The Met, *Relative Values: The Cost of Art in the Northern Renaissance* (2017–22), included the Augsburg tankard and Regensburg *Doppelpokal*.

99 Sections of Hupp 1910 were later republished in alternate formats. Hupp 1912, 174–82.

100 Hupp 1912, 20.

101 Ibid., 21.

102 *VHVO* 1872, 290. The vessel was later bought by Baron Alfons von Rothschild. Angerer 1987, 83; Rothschild sale 1999, lot 129.

103 "Außer diesen alten Regensburger Schätzen mußten wir noch einen andern prachtvollen Pokal aus der Stadt schwinden sehen . . ." *VHVO* 1872, 290.

104 The fate of these documents is not known. The manuscript inventory Hupp was working from seems to have been ordered differently from the lithographed version and included clocks that were likely those found later at the site. Hupp 1912, 26–28.

105 Ibid., 28. Items known or presumed to have been produced in Regensburg include R6, R8 and R9, R10, R12, R18, R23 and R24, R30, R31, R36, and R40.

106 Ibid., 26–28.

107 *RT,* June 2, 1858, p. 652. Schindler produced photographs of copperplate engravings for the historical society. *VHVO* 1869, 104.

108 *BL*, March 22, 1869; *IZ*, no. 1350 (May 15, 1869): 380.

109 "Regensburger Silberfund aus der Renaissancezeit. . . durch alle Buch- und Kunsthandlungen zu beziehen: Die zu Regensburg aufgefundenen Silbergegenstände . . . 17 Blatt vorzüglich ausgeführte Photographien in gross Folio-Format." *IZ*, no. 1350 (May 15, 1869): 380.

110 I thank Daniela Maier for kindly sharing with me her knowledge of electrotypes and the nineteenth-century market for historical silver. Engelmann 1843, 210–22; Maier 2022.

111 Boetzkes and Stein 1997; Lane 2014.

112 Bursche 2008.

113 Husband 2001, 29.

114 Although these marks were noted, sometimes inaccurately, in the catalogues of 1880 (Von Eye and Börner 1880a, 14) and 1886 (Felix sale 1886, lot 426), the specific association with Tobias Wolff was not made while the nef was in Felix's collection.

115 Sotheby's sale 2021, lot 41; Pechstein et al. 1992, 171–72, no. 39. I will discuss this identification in greater detail in a forthcoming article.

116 Popp 1984, 48–54.

117 Glaser 1980, 474, no. 764.

118 Here I adopt the dating of Helmut Seling in his comprehensive catalogue of Augsburg goldsmiths. Seling 1980, 3:160.

119 Hackenbroch 1977, 35–36.

120 Tlusty 2001, 134.

121 "der obere Theil der Figur ist bemalt und emaillirt; der breite Spitzenkragen aus Silber geschnitten; der obere Becher glatt." Felix sale 1886, 78, lot 418.

122 Note by Clare Vincent, December 1962, in object file for MMA 17.190.579 in the Department of European Sculpture and Decorative Arts. I thank Ana Matisse Donhefer-Hickie for providing this note to me. The current measurement of 20.3 cm is very near the 20.5 cm given in Von Eye and Börner 1880a, as opposed to the 21 cm given in Felix sale 1886, 78. On Imhof, see Rosenberg 1922, 78; Seling 1980, 3:160.

123 Gardner 1903, pl. XIII, fig. 1; Jones 1907, 16, pl. XVII.

124 Leipzig 1897, 15.

125 The note reads "from the Felix Collection." G Goldschmidt J S 1902, Morgan Collections Correspondence, 1887–1948, The Morgan Library and Museum, New York. I thank Sal Robinson and Kaitlyn Krieg for providing me with an image of the printed inventory.

126 I thank Annette Schommers of the Bayerisches Nationalmuseum for discussing technical details of metalworking visible in the Schindler photograph with me.

127 See Witting and Weinhold 2020.

128 For example, see the *Jungfrauenbecher* by the Nuremberg smith Hans Kallner now in the Museum Pfalzgalerie Kaiserslautern (inv. K1291).

129 Popp 1984, 48–54.

130 Hackenbroch 1968, 381.

APPENDIX

Inventory of the Regensburger Silberfund, 1869

A transcription of the lithographed inventory circulated with Peter Schindler's photographs appears below. Endnotes correlate individual objects to later catalogue entries and further literature.[1] Heights were measured in *Zoll,* a unit of length close to the modern inch. Weights were given in *Mark* and *Loth* (1 *Mark* = 16 *Loth*). In Bavaria the *Loth* equated to 17.6 grams.

Beschreibung der am 26. Februar 1869 beim Abbruch des Hauses des Herrn Nadelfabrikanten Erich, Lit. F. Nro. 6 dahier, aufgefundenen Gegenstände.

1) Ein silberner Pokal, vergoldet, 16½″ hoch, auf seiner ganzen Oberfläche mit reicher Renaissance-Ornamentik getrieben, mit einem Deckel, auf dem ein Ritter, der einen Schild hält, und auf welchem die Buchstaben S.K. und ein Wappen, in dessen Feld ein springender Loewe sich befindet. Gewicht 50¾ Loth.[2] [R1]

2) Ein Pokal in Form einer Ananasfrucht mit hochgestelltem Fuße, daran ein zierliches, an drei Seiten sich gliederndes Thier-Ornament als Schmuck des Nodus. Die Spitze des Pokals krönt die fein in Silber gearbeitete Blüthe. Die Höhe sammt Deckel beträgt 14¼″, das Gewicht 39¼ Loth.[3] [R2]

3) Eine silberne Kanne von 12″ Höhe; auf derselben befindet sich das Wappen des Wilhelm Acker und die Jahreszahl 1597. Der flache Deckel zeigt einen sog. Ferdinand-Thaler eingelassen vom Jahre 1541.[4] [R3]

4) Ein silbervergoldeter Pokal; auf der Schale getrieben und geziert mit 4 männlichen Figuren; der Deckel hat eine Figur (Landsknecht, welcher in der rechten Hand einen Schlüssel zeigt, in der linken einen glatten Wappenschild). Höhe 12″ Zeit: Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts.[5] [R4]

5) Eine Tafelzierde in Form einer Goellete (Schiffchen) mit geschwellten Segeln und Schiffstauen, darin bewaffnete Bemannung, stellenweise emaillirt. Der Fuß zeigt in seiner Ornamentik das Meer, verschiedene Fische etc. Höhe 14″.[6] [R5]

6) Ein silbervergoldeter Pokal, mit einer Schale mit 6 getriebenen Buckeln. Die Ornamentik weist auf den Anfang des 16. Jahrhunderts. Höhe 7½ ″. Deckel fehlt.[7] [R6]

7) Eine silbervergoldete Kanne, 8″ hoch. Die einfach getriebenen Ornamente weisen das Gefäß ins 17. Jahrhundert. Das Silberzeichen ist M.S.[8] [R7]

8) und 9) Zwei 7″ hohe silbervergoldete Becher in Pokalform. Die Ornamente gehören dem Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts an. Ein Deckelschloß haben diese Gefäße nicht, wie der verzierte Rand beweist.[9] [R8 and R9]

10) Ein Pokal, silbervergoldet, mit reich getriebener Kuppe, die Pressung zeigt das Regensburger Wappen. Den Schaft zieren 4 zierlich geformte Hänkelchen. Zeit: Ende des 16 Jahrh.[10] [R10]

11) Ein kleiner Pokal in sechs Ecke gelegt und in Buckeln getrieben, mit einem Deckel, silbern, theilweise mit Blumen. Auf demselben befindet sich der Buchstabe N. als Silberzeichen. Zeit: die zweite Hälfte des 16 Jahrhunderts.[11] [R11]

12) Eine Kanne, silbervergoldet, im Gewichte - wie auf dem Boden derselben angegeben – 4½ Mark und aus Regensburg stammend. Auf dem Deckel ein lanzentragender römischer Kriegsmann mit glattem Schilde. Höhe 8.″[12] [R12]

13) Eine ähnliche Kanne von einfacher Form, silbervergoldet. Das Gepräge zeigt die Buchstaben M.B.[13] [R13]

14) Eine kleine Kanne, silbervergoldet, angeblich 1 Mark 12 Loth wiegend, von dem nämlichen Meister, ganz mit getriebener Renaissance-Ornamentik bedeckt. Höhe: 5″. Zeit: zweite Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts, nach dem Gepräge in Augsburg gefertigt.[14] [R14]

15) und 16) Ein kleiner Doppelpokal in Form von Kufchen. Silbervergoldet und in Augsburg gefertigt.[15] [R15 and R16]

17) Ein Kredenzbecher; eine Dame hält mit erhobenen Armen das kleinere bewegliche Becherchen, der größere Trinkbecher selbst zeigt in seinen Ornamenten auf die Zeit des spätern 16. Jahrhunderts, das Gepräge zeigt auf Augsburg.[16] [R17]

18) Ein Salzfässchen in Dreieckform, angeblich 11 Loth. Gepräge zeigt das Regensburger Wappen, die Handhabe bildet ein silbernes Figürchen, in dessen rechte Hand jedoch die Standarte fehlt.[17] [R18]

19) Eine kleine Kanne. Die Ornamentik und das Gepräge weist die Entstehung dieses 3″ hohen Gefäßes Augsburg zu. Auf dem Boden steht die Inschrift: Ursula der Gotl Kandl, nebst Wappen.[18] [R19]

20) Ein Becherchen aus gespaltenem Weichselrohre mit silb. Reifen.[19] [R20]

21) und 22) Zwei halbe Dutzend silberne Löffel ohne Ornamentik.[20] [R21 and R22]

23) und 24) Zwei der gleichen mit zierlicher Handhabe und stellenweise Gravirungen. Zeit: zweite Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts. Das Gepräge ist das Regensburger Wappen.[21] [R23 and R24]

25) 14 hölzerne Löffel mit silbernen Stielen, auf deren schildartigen Enden die Hausmarken der früheren Eigenthümer sich befinden.[22] [R25]

26) und 27) Zwei halbe Dutzend Löffelchen von Buxbaum mit silbernen Stielen, welche in Landsknechte enden und deren Schildchen die Buchstaben A.W. zeigen.[23] [R26 and R27]

28) Sechs Löffel von Buxbaumholz mit silbernen in gothische Fialen endenden Stielen.[24] [R28]

29) Drei beinerne Löffel mit einfach silbernen Handhaben.[25] [R29]

30) Ein halbes Dutzend silberne Löffel mit Regensburger Gepräge. Auf den Löffeln befindet sich das Wappen der Mändl von Steinfels und die Jahrzahl 1607.[26] [R30]

31) Ein silberner Löffel mit Regensburger Gepräge, mit stellen-weisen Gravirungen und den Buchstaben G.H.[27] [R31]

32) Ein silbervergoldetes Besteck, bestehend aus Löffel, Messer und Gabel mit dem Wappen der Familie Frh. von Freiberg und der Jahreszahl 1626. Das Ganze steckt in einem leder-gepreßten Futterale.[28] [R32]

33) Ein damascirtes Doppelmesser in ledergepreßter Scheide. Die Ornamentik weist auf ventianischen Ursprung.[29] [R33]

34) Ein silbernes Eßgehänge, bestehend in Gabel, Messer und Streicher. Die silberne Ornamentik der Lederscheide weist auf den Anfang des 17. Jahrhunderts.[30] [R34]

35) Eines dergl. Die silbernen Ornamente sind hier getriebene Arbeit und stellen Lauten spielende Mädchen und dergl. dar. Besonders zierlich ist das Ledergepräge.[31] [R35]

36) Eines detto mit zwei Messern. Die Fassung der Lederscheide gehört in's 17. Jahrhundert und hat ihren Ursprung in Regensburg.[32] [R36]

37) 38) und 39) Drei Gürteltäschchen von Leder mit silbernen Kettchen und besetzt mit silberdurchbrochenen Knöpfen - dazu der lederne mit Silber verzierte Gürtel.[33] [R37, R38, and R39]

40) Ein Silbergürtel mit schön gearbeiteten Ketten und gepreßtem Schließstück. Regensburger Arbeit.[34] [R40]

41) Eine Zierfeder mit Golddraht und kleinen Perlen.[35] [R41]

42) Ein Serviettenband in Silberdraht und Seide in Form eines Blumenkranzes.[36] [R42]

43) Sechs silberne Löffelstielchen mit Monogramen.[37] [R43]

44) Ein kleines Gehänge von fünf Bernsteinkugeln.[38] [R44]

45) Siegelstöckchen von Silber mit elfenbeinernem Griff und den Buchstaben G.H.[39] [R45]

46) Zwei Schuld-Urkunden der churpfälzischen Landschafts-Commissaire von 1611 und 1616, auf den Namen Caspar Stögberer lautend. (Auf Pergament mit Siegeln in Holzkapseln.)[40] [R46]

47) Sieben Kaufbriefe auf Pergament auf die Behausung Lit. P. Nro 6., das Eck am Markt zum Stiegel genannt. Vom Ende des 16. bis Drittel des 17. Jahrhunderts.[41] [R47]

48) Vier Kaufbriefe auf Pergament über das Eckhaus D 72. am Römling in Regensburg aus dem 16. Jahrhundert.[42] [R48]

NOTES TO APPENDIX

1 Key: R = numbering from the original Regensburg inventory; S = Schindler 1869 (plate number according to the Technische Universität Braunschweig copy; a = left, b = right); F = Felix inventory number; FC (Felix Catalogue) = Von Eye and Börner 1880a; FS number = Felix Sale 1886. Sale prices are recorded in the copy of the Felix sale catalogue in the Thomas J. Watson Library, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, which is digitized and available online.

2 S1; F 141; FC, pp. 10–11; FS 420 (17,100 marks). Dresden 1875, pl. 29. Later attributed to Nicolaus Schmidt of Nuremberg. Rosenberg 1925, 137. In 1891 this cup was in the collection of Baron Geyr von Schweppenburg in Haus Caen, Straelen (Landkreis Geldern). Clemen 1891, 77–78, no. 420.

3 S2; F 137; FC, p. 12; FS 424 (1,005 marks).

4 S3; F 145; FC, p. 13; FS 429 (5,200 marks; bought back via Bourgeois Frères). Dresden 1875, pls. 29 and 95; Leipzig 1897, 16, no. 68.

5 S4; F 139; FC, p. 11; FS 422 (2,500 marks). In the Felix sale catalogue, this lid is associated with R10 rather than R4 (see FS, p. 79, lots 421 and 422). But this appears to be a mistake because the two are together not only in Schindler's photograph but also in Dresden 1875, pl. 29.

6 S5; F 138; FC, p. 14; FS 426 (2,310 marks). Later attributed to Tobias Wolff of Nuremberg. Based on photography of the marks and other details, this vessel appears to be the nef later in the collection of Alexis Gregory and sold after his death in 2021, now in a German private collection; a French import stamp indicates its presence in a French collection sometime after 1886. Dresden 1875, pl. 45; Rosenberg 1922, 176; Pechstein 1992, 171–72, no. 39; Sotheby's sale 2021, lot 41.

7 S6; F 131; FC, p. 11; FS 423 (365 marks). Attributed to the Regensburg smith Hannß Kurtz. Hupp 1912, 180; Rosenberg 1925, 293.

8 S7; F 133; FC, p. 14; FS 430 (670 marks).

9 S8 and S9; F 143; FC, pp. 11–12; FS 417 (10,000 marks; bought back via Bourgeois Frères). Dresden 1875, pl. 45; Leipzig 1897, 15, no. 67; Rosenberg 1925, 291. Acquired by MMA in May 1911 (2,040 marks). Accession number 11.93.15a, b. Valentiner 1911, 476; *MMAB* 1911a; *MMAB* 1911b.

10 S10; F 140; FC, p. 11; FS 421 (3,000 marks). Dresden 1875, pl. 105.

11 S11; F 134; FC, p. 11; FS 425 (1,550 marks). Dresden 1875, pl. 45.

12 S12; F 144; FC, p. 14; FS 433 (810 marks).

13 S16b; F 133; FC, p. 14; FS 434 (250 marks).

14 S15a; F 132; FC, p. 14; FS 432 (950 marks).

15 S13a; F 136; FC, p. 12; FS 437 (145 marks).

16 S14; F 146; FC, p. 12; FS 418 (6,000 marks; bought back via Bourgeois Frères). Probably acquired by Eugen Gutmann from Hans Felix after 1897, sold with Gutmann's collection of plate to J. Pierpont Morgan in 1902, then came via Morgan's gift to MMA in 1917. Accession number 17.190.579. Dresden 1875, pl. 105; Leipzig 1897, 15, no. 64; Gardner 1903, pl. XIII, fig. 1; Jones 1907, 16, pl. XVII; Rosenberg 1922, 78; Hackenbroch 1968, 383; Hackenbroch 1977, 35–36; Seling 1980, 3:160.

17 S15b; F 142; FC, p. 15; FS F445 (2,830 marks). Dresden 1875, pl. 45.

18 S13b; F 148; FC, p. 13. Not included in the 1886 Felix sale. Leipzig 1897, 16, no. 69. Acquired by MMA in May 1911 (1,040 marks). Accession number 11.93.16. Valentiner 1911, 476; *MMAB* 1911a; *MMAB* 1911b.

19 S16a; F 135; FC, p. 13; FS 436 (190 marks).

20 S17. Possibly F 150; FC, p. 32; FS 856 (20 marks).

21 S17; F 152 (2 spoons); FC, p. 18; FS 854 (85 marks). Rosenberg 1925, 292. Later attributed to Peter Praunsmenl (or Braunsmändl) of Regensburg. One of these spoons is now in the GRASSI Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Leipzig (inv. V153). The other, which had apparently been given to another collector by Felix before the 1886 sale, was acquired by Wolfgang Baumann, an antiques dealer in Regensburg, who details the object and its provenance on his website (Baumann n.d.). Its itinerary illustrates some of the complications of identifying and tracking the spoons from the Silberfund, which were not described or photographed completely or in detail. The spoons inventoried in 1869 do not match the number of spoons listed in Felix's catalogue. It is possible that, given their great numbers, some stayed in Regensburg or Felix kept or used some as gifts.

22 S17; F 158 (8 spoons); FC, p. 19; FS 811–17 (400 apiece). Six of these spoons are now in the collection of the GRASSI Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Leipzig (inv. V161–V167).

23 S17; F 157 (2 spoons); FC, p. 19; FS 808 (300 marks); and FS 809 (300 marks). GRASSI Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Leipzig (inv. V152a, b; two spoons). Museum für Angewandte

Kunst Köln (inv. G 936; 1 spoon, donated by Wilhelm Clemens in 1919–20). Sauerlandt 1926, 34, 36.

24 S17; F 156 (2 spoons); FC, p. 18; FS 806 (300 marks); and FS 807 (360 marks). Sauerlandt 1926, 34–35.

25 S17; F 155 (2 spoons); FC, p. 18; FS 819 (25 marks) and 820 (25 marks).

26 S17; F 151 (2 spoons); FC, p. 18; FS 853 (120 marks). Rosenberg 1925, 293. Museen der Stadt Regensburg (inv. K 2011/64; 1 spoon), acquired from Lempertz Cologne in November 2011. GRASSI Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Leipzig (inv. V171-174; 4 spoons). Further research is necessary to understand the relationship between these four and the two listed in Felix's collection in 1880, one of which was sold in 1886. Lempertz sale 2011, 16, lot 285.

27 S17; F 154; FC, p. 18; FS 855 (35 marks). Possibly by Simon Pissinger. Rosenberg 1925, 292. GRASSI Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Leipzig (inv. V175).

28 S17; F 161; FC, p. 16; FS 830 (450 marks). Dresden 1875, pl. 103 (the fork only). GRASSI Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Leipzig (inv. V180a, V180b, and V209). The fork, V180b, is now missing, as is the leather case with which the set had been sold in 1886.

29 S17; F 160; FC, p. 42; FS 795 (720 marks).

30 S17; F 162; FC, p. 16; FS 788 (240 marks). Dresden 1875, pl. 45.

31 S17; F 163; FC, p. 16. This is probably item 787 in FS (sold for 1,300 marks), though it is not associated with the Silberfund there.

32 S17; F 164; FC, p. 16; FS 789 (460 marks).

33 S17; F 165–67, FC, p. 7; FS 492 (30 marks), 493 (130 marks), and 494 (30 marks). The silver-decorated leather girdle: S17; F 165b; FC, p. 7; FS 497 (75 marks). One purse (probably F 166 / FS 494) is now in the GRASSI Museum für Angewandte Kunst, Leipzig (inv. 1991.58).

34 S17; F 168; FC, pp. 6–7; FS 495 (60 marks).

35 S17; F 169; FC, p. 107; FS 1052 (36 marks).

36 S17; F 170; FC, p. 107; FS 1051 (36 marks).

37 Likely because of their incomplete nature, these were not photographed by Schindler and may have been left out of the *Rathaus* exhibition. FS 821–24 (25 marks apiece).

38 Not photographed, not mentioned in Felix's collection.

39 Not photographed, not mentioned in Felix's collection.

40 Not photographed, not mentioned in Felix's collection.

41 Not photographed, not mentioned in Felix's collection.

42 Not photographed, not mentioned in Felix's collection.

REFERENCES

ABBREVIATIONS

BL *Bayerisches Landeszeitung* (Munich)
IZ *Illustrirte Zeitung*
R Regensburg Inventory
RT *Regensburger Tagblatt*
VHVO *Verhandlungen des Historischen Vereins für Oberpfalz und Regensburg*

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