

tribution to the development of a particular type of material expression. Combinations of precious and non-precious materials are certainly one of the characteristics of jewellery and some hollow-ware of this period and art nouveau, the first truly popular international design style in modern times, was successful in reaching new markets because of this. These combinations also contribute to the *fin-de-siècle* aesthetic of complexity and restlessness of form. Not that this piece is a particularly excessive example of this attitude. There is a certain arts and crafts solidity to it which is reminiscent of some of C.R. Ashbee's work, but the flourishes brought to the piece by the combinations of chasing, turned wood and ivory are significant. Another version of this piece (with the handles of the pot and whisk painted green) can be found in the Bröhan Museum, Berlin.

A retrospective exhibition of Lucien Bonvallet's work was held at the Pavillon Marsan in 1913. The catalogue is keen to point out how, in the context of the development of French silver in the late nineteenth century, Bonvallet's efforts were relatively restrained and the stronger for it.<sup>5</sup>

Alors qu'autour de lui règne la fièvre de nouveauté quand même et à tout prix, l'incohérence et l'excentricité ... il demeure mesuré et sage, se discipline, se refreène.

[Whereas all around him still reigned the fever of novelty, incoherence and eccentricity at all costs ... he remains measured and wise, self disciplined and in check.]

However, much more 'measured and wise' than Bonvallet's piece is the pitcher produced by Maison Keller in 1900.[fig 3] If one was looking for a piece which was expressive of the transition from art nouveau to art deco, then this serves us well. There is a fascinating plasticity to this piece which to some extent belies its date. It was presented at the *Exposition Universelle* in 1900 and although one can see in it the generous curves of art nouveau, the total lack of applied ornament and angularity of form points to a style of work that was to become part of the future of modern French silver. At the same time, however, this piece is not in the slightest utilitarian in its aesthetic and remains an object of luxury, but is used strategically (and placed conspicuously) at the entrance to a set of rooms which ushers in the art deco phase.

### Art deco

The art deco rooms are a fascinating collection of themed areas, reconstructions of famous interiors and displays of individual objects. Here, the emphasis is placed on the emergence of geometric forms and the challenge to traditional materials with the onset of the machine age. To this end, one of the rooms features a display of utilitarian vessels in polished steel by the silversmith Jean Desprès. However, the silver objects maintain a seemingly obstinate presence in the midst of ensembles that are intended to convey simultaneously the idea of luxury and restraint.

The large silver vase by Jean Puiforcat of 1927 was displayed at the *salon de la société des artistes décorateurs* in Paris.[fig 4] Before Puiforcat made his decisive split with this organisation (to help form the *Union des artistes modernes* in 1929) he was a regular contributor to the salon. The generous size of this piece, together with the suspicion that materials other than silver could have easily been used to produce it without compromising the aesthetic, makes this a useful comparison to the work in base metals by Jean Desprès in



3 Ewer, silver-gilt, Maison Keller. Height: 26cm (10¼in). Exhibited at the *Exposition Universelle*, Paris, 1900. (*Les Arts Décoratifs*, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris; photo: Laurent Sully Jaulmes)

5 Gabriel Mourey, 'Exposition Lucien Bonvallet', Musée des arts décoratifs, Pavillon de

Marsan, janvier-février 1913, *Union Centrale des Arts Décoratifs*, 1913, pp6-7.





4 Vase. Jean Puiforcat. Height: 27cm (10½in). Exhibited at the salon de la société des artistes décorateurs, Paris, 1927. (Les Arts Décoratifs, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris; photo: Jean Tholance)

the same collection. A restrained classicism prevails here: one row of beaded decoration around the base being the only concession to ornament. The flared sides are dramatic and functional, allowing the flowers to spill out creating, one assumes, a more interesting and dynamic arrangement. (How useful it would be to see pieces like this in use!) This is the Jean Puiforcat who, after his triumph at the 1925 *Exposition*, was beginning to establish himself as a modern metalsmith of renown.

By 1930, Maison Tétard had established a firm reputation as modern silversmiths of renown.[fig 5] As is often the case, some observers stressed the parallels between modern architecture and modern silver in the 1920s and '30s. G. Rémon in a special edition of *Mobilier et décoration* for that year was also keen to point this out:<sup>6</sup>

Toute l'architecture moderne...évoluait de plus en plus vers la simplicité, proscrivait avec une rigueur parfois excessive les moulures et les moindres ornements.

[All modern architecture...was evolving more and more towards simplicity, banishing with often excessive rigour mouldings and lesser ornaments.]

adding that in the case of the work of Tétard frères:

Ce ne sont pas les grandes pièces somptueuses, ce n'est pas un art de vitrine, ou de musée qui force aujourd'hui notre admiration. C'est l'exquise ingéniosité dépensée pour renouveler les formes de l'argenterie usuelle, pour modifier le décor moderne de la table.

[These are not grand sumptuous pieces, this is not an art for the shop window or museum which forces our admiration today. It is exquisite ingenuity expended to renew the forms of ordinary silverware, to modify modern table decoration.]

5 Breakfast service, with gold inlay, ivory and rosewood, Maison Tétard. Height of coffee pot 15.5cm (6in). Exhibited at the salon d'automne (1930) and at the Exposition coloniale internationale, Vincennes, 1931. (Les Arts Décoratifs, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris; photo: Jean Tholance)



In these pieces, however, we can observe both the abstractions of modernism, the architectural and industrial aesthetic (which was to become more and more prevalent as the decade progressed) but also a luxuriousness embodied in the combinations of materials. An explanation for the large amount of ivory used in this set may reside in the fact that it was intended to be shown at the 1931 *Exposition coloniale internationale*, at Vincennes. As Ghislaine Wood has pointed out, 'France's extensive African and Asian colonies provided a rich source for exotic materials', including ivory and rosewood as used here by Tétard.<sup>7</sup> Colonial competition was still, of course, raging amongst the major European powers in the 1930s and this affected art deco design in a number of conspicuous ways, and this is a very good example.

Another interesting combination of materials can be found in the silver cigarette box by Després, which is given an extra twist with the addition of Jean Mayodon's small ceramic panel depicting *Leda and the Swan*. [fig. 6] The aesthetic here is classical in that peculiar

<sup>6</sup> G. Rémon, 'Orfèvrerie d'argent: Les dernières créations de Tétard Frères', *Mobilier et décoration*, mai 1930, Editions Edmond Honoré. The document is unpaginated.

<sup>7</sup> Ghislaine Wood, 'Collecting and Constructing Africa', in T. Benton, C. Benton and G. Wood, *Art Deco 1910-1939*, V&A Publications, 2003, p88.



1930s fashion. This cigarette box is not the type to be slipped into the pocket. It is for display on a table. Unlike some of its counterparts by Raymond Templier (which it is displayed alongside) there are no rounded or smoothed edges to facilitate this. The combination of silver and ceramic is not incongruous, though. The geometric form of the silver box and the sleekness of the panel are a perfect complement. The fact that one material (silver) communicates its value partly through its material presence and the other (ceramic) from its aesthetic treatment is a further demonstration of the development of full-blown art deco.

The *surtout de table* by Jean Puiforcat is displayed in its original context atop a circular table by Maison Dominique in a room dedicated to the work of the *Union des artistes modernes* (UAM). [fig 7] The piece was made for the Paris exhibition *le décor de la table* at the Musée Galliéra in 1930. An adept combination of rock crystal and silver produces this piece's remarkably modern aesthetic. Clearly, Puiforcat was very keen on it. After the exhibition, he kept it and the table for his own personal use at his modernist house at Urrugne in south-west France. With Puiforcat's well-known love of precision, one can imagine how this centrepiece would have been the object of contemplation of a particular kind: the modern and the Platonic. His passion for order comes across clearly here. The UAM were, of course, always keen to assert their modernity wherever possible and often did so through exhibiting their own modern ensembles throughout the 1930s. At the Musée des Arts décoratifs, Puiforcat's piece takes its place amongst the assortment of modern furniture, carpets, flooring and sculpture destined to remain as statements of the desire to move the applied arts into the territory usually occupied by architects and fine artists as expressions of modernity.

### Conclusions

The art nouveau and art deco rooms at the Musée des Arts décoratifs are not replete with examples of modern silver. However, those that are there are deployed effectively to show that the break with historical styles in France was inevitable given the amount of material invention that had emerged from the industrial genius of the nineteenth century. The art deco period (with its backdrop of the Depression and the drift towards war) arguably saw silverware fatally challenged by a combination of social change, economic instability and the impact of modernist design theory. The quest for beauty of form remained, but with the impact of the machine, traditional materials, techniques and markets began to be questioned. The reasons for this are many and varied and must be considered in detail elsewhere. On the other hand, there is something quite defiant about Puiforcat's pristine *surtout de table*, surrounded as it is by objects whose material provenance was less important than their design identity.

In the museum, as one moves from the psychological disturbances of art nouveau to the more restrained art deco forms, one is left with the clear impression that both of these grand styles developed against a backdrop of profound change. In this respect, the museum tells a familiar story but with great clarity and it uses silver effectively, if sparingly, to augment the narrative.



6 Cigarette box, parcel-gilt with ceramic panel, Jean Desprès and Jean Mayodon, circa 1938. Length: 12cm (4¾in). (Les Arts Décoratifs, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris; photo: Jean Tholance)



7 Table centrepiece, with rock crystal finial, Jean Puiforcat. Height: 20cm (8in). Exhibited at the exhibition *le décor de la table*, musée Galliéra, Paris, 1930. (Les Arts Décoratifs, Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris; photo: Jean Tholance)

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## Catalogue of the Royal Naval Exhibition, 1891

If you think we live now in the age of the blockbuster exhibition, think again. This show may not stand comparison with the Crystal Palace in 1851 or later international exhibitions, but you would have needed considerable stamina to get round its 5,355 entries. It was held in Chelsea between May and October 1891; opening hours were 11am to 11pm six days a week.

The catalogue is a remarkable resource for anyone interested in Naval history. It includes a list of Naval actions, covering 41 pages, from the burning of *Regent* off Brest on 10 August 1512 to the blockade of the Zanzibar coast in 1889. Biographical information is given of those whose portraits were shown (some 350 names) and several of the battles depicted are described.

As was the norm in those days, the cataloguing of the silver, snuff boxes and miniatures gives no information as to maker or date; the catalogue simply lists each item and gives the name of the owner. An exception to this is a group of about 30 ship models loaned by the Duke of Edinburgh, which are described as 'Nuremberg work', 'Antique Dutch' and so on, and the last two items in the Plate section, models of HMS *Britannia* and HMS *Victoria*, 'jubilee offerings of the Royal Navy and Royal Marines to HM the Queen' which have lengthy explanations of the niceties of ship design and were made by 'R. Hodd & Son, at Minerva Works, 30 & 31 Hatton Garden'.

Some sample descriptions of other entries are given below:

1929. Silver Drinking Cup which belonged to Sir Francis Drake. Lent by the Lady Elliott-Drake.

1925. Combined Gold Knife and Fork, used by Admiral Lord Nelson. Lent by General Viscount Bridport, Duke of Bronte.

1948. Silver-gilt cup and cover, presented by Queen Anne to Capt Robert Fairfax for service at the taking of Gibraltar, 1704.

1961. A well-worn Knife and Fork, for one hand; formerly belonged to Admiral Lord Nelson. Lent by W. Eyre Matcham Esq.

1941-45. Communion plate from HM Dockyard Church, Portsmouth, circa 1704 and 1705.

1954. The Royal Victoria Yacht Club Gold International Challenge Cup.

1955. The Venus Dish ... designed by the late Chevalier Schlick and manufactured by Elkington & Co. Lent by Messrs Elkington & Co.



1969. The Marseilles Plate, presented to Admiral Lord Exmouth by the town of Marseilles, 1815.

Amongst the presentation plate were five Patriotic Fund Vases, freedom boxes presented to Nelson (from Plymouth, Thetford, London and Oxford (the latter gold)), and Earl St Vincent's gold freedom box from the City of London. Further freedom boxes were included in the section on Snuff Boxes (nos 2412-2477E).

'Swords, Dirks, &c' (nos 2639-2819M) contains historical information on many of the presentation swords; the section 'Relics &c' (nos 2937-3883 2K) also has several items of silver such as a gorget and a gold anchor 'for the watch chain, such as was worn by

every officer who had been on board the flag-ship at the battle of the Nile...'. This section, in particular, contained several items with those rather flaky descriptions, linked to family legend, of which we have learned to be wary, including such gems as 'the cocoa-nut out of which Captain Bligh ate his allowance of bread and water', 'Sir Francis Drake's walking stick', a 'Cat-o'-nine-tails, which was used on board a man of war less than a quarter of a century ago (now obsolete)', and many items clearly looted from campaigns in Africa, including Assante gold. Hidden amongst all this is (no 3383) 'jewel given to Sir John Hawkyns by Queen Elizabeth' lent by the Earl of Rosebery. In addition we find numerous watches, watch chains, orders and decorations, worn by officers, together with gold-headed canes, seals, snuff boxes, rings, pins, a nutmeg grater, etc. etc.

The catalogue is perhaps not widely known: the London Library copy was last borrowed 28 years ago! VB



## CHUBB'S JEWEL SAFES,

With or without Special Fittings of Velvet, Cloth or Wood, and Encased in Carved Oak and Walnut Cabinets.



# The 'Plunkett' spoons – a reappraisal

CONOR O'BRIEN

The 'Plunkett' spoons were so named by Commander G.E.P. How following their sale after the death of Mrs Lachlan White of Dublin in 1942. One depicts St Christopher and is engraved with the initials CP/IP and the date 1518. The other five comprise the Master and four apostles (St James the Greater, St Simon Zelotes, St Matthew and St Paul) and are engraved IP/KL and the date 1538, the initials on the Master and St Simon being connected by 'true loves', generally thought to signify a marriage. The six spoons were sold again in 1973<sup>1</sup> and in the following year were presented by Mrs Elizabeth Miles to the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, Connecticut.

An account of the spoons was given by Cdr How in 1943.<sup>2</sup> He claimed that they 'possess a fully authenticated history of just over four hundred years, a circumstance that entitles them to rank among the aristocracy of early Apostles', adding that the Christopher was the only existing example known (a claim which still holds).[fig 1] He provided a thorough technical description of the spoons, and while none of the spoons bears either a maker's mark or hallmarks, their form and the engraved dates and initials in Lombardic capitals on the back of the bowls left How, the foremost authority on spoons at the time, in no doubt as to their authenticity.

## Provenance

It was apparently believed in Mrs White's family, the Graces of Mantua, Co. Roscommon and Gracefield, Queen's Co. (now Co. Laois), that the spoons were inherited through many generations. Cdr How, with assistance from the Grace family's solicitor and Mr Charles R. Beard, derived a pedigree (summarised in the *Appendix*) allegedly tracing the spoons back to a Sir Christopher Plunkett of Dunshaughlin, Co. Meath. How admitted that

The Plunkett pedigrees for this period are full of lacunae, and have been built up principally from family traditions, and references often misinterpreted in official documents. Those in Burke's *Peerage and Landed Gentry of Ireland* do not parallel one another and are quite irreconcilable with those in O'Hart, which differ from one another in various important details.

Nonetheless he declared that

it is quite evident that the initialling on the St Christopher must refer to Sir Christopher Plunkett of Dunshaughlin and his son John (afterwards Sir John), also of Dunshaughlin, born c.1518 and that on the remainder of the spoons to the same John Plunkett, and of Katherine Luttrell, his wife whom he presumably married in 1538.

Apart from citing O'Hart<sup>3</sup> as his authority that Sir Christopher Plunkett was 'the first Plunkett owner of Dunshaughlin', How provided no details whatever of his other sources, either family traditions or official documents.



1 St Christopher finial from one of the six 'Plunkett' spoons, unmarked, circa 1518 (enlarged detail). (Taken from *The Connoisseur* 1943)

1 Sotheby's London, 13 December 1973 lot 70.

2 G.E.P. How, 'The Plunkett St Christopher and Apostle Spoons', *The Connoisseur*, vol 112 (1943), pp13-17; see also E.B. Miles, *English*

*Silver*, Wadsworth Atheneum, 1976.

3 It may be presumed he refers to John O'Hart's *Irish Pedigrees*, a work not noted for its reliability.



How's most fundamental error was to confuse Dunshaughlin, Co. Meath, with Dunsoghly, a district some few miles north-west of Dublin city centre where since about 1480 its castle (now ruined) had been the seat of that branch of the Plunketts with whom we are concerned here. How claimed that the set of spoons 'descended in direct line at Dunshaughlin to Mary Plunkett, the last of the Plunketts of Dunshaughlin, who married Michael Grace of Mantua (died 1797), from whom they descended directly to Mrs White'. In the *Appendix* we give the descent of the Dunsoghly Plunketts down to their connection with Mrs White. It seriously undermines Cdr How's assertions about the provenance of the spoons.

Cdr How remarked that Apostle spoons made before the beginning of the seventeenth century that can be traced with certainty to their original owner are practically unknown outside the great corporate collections at Cambridge. This is understandable when we consider the popularity of silver spoons, single or several, as bequests in wills – inherited sets commonly being split up for these purposes over several generations of a family. And of course silver spoons were often consigned to the melting pot in times of financial stress. In a country not noted for its peaceful and tranquil history, it would seem to have been a virtual miracle that these six spoons would have remained together for some 400 years. This seems all the more remarkable in the light of the vicissitudes of the Dunsoghly Plunkett family in the later seventeenth century. However, given the evidence that a Christopher and John Plunkett lived at the time of the inscribed dates on the spoons, and that John Plunkett married a Katherine (or Catherine) Luttrell, we will tentatively accept the tradition in Mrs White's family about the spoons until it can be disproved.

#### Source of the spoons – Dublin or London?

It is possible that the five spoons dated 1538 were once part of a larger set of a dozen. St Christopher was not an Apostle, which explains why he does not feature in such sets, and thus the rarity of this spoon. With twenty years between them, it is important to think of them as 1 + 5, rather than a set of six.

How remarked that

Bearing in mind their provenance, and the circumstance that their original owner was an Irishman, the possibility that they were actually made in Ireland cannot be ignored. But the form of the spoons themselves, the modelling of the Apostles, and the way the finials are let into the stems with a V cut, render it a practical certainty that they are actually of London manufacture.

There are several possible explanations for the way a London-made spoon could have ended up in Dunsoghly. For example, the Plunketts were lawyers and would have spent some time in London as students and possibly, later, on official business, when the spoons

could have been commissioned. Alternatively the spoons could have been supplied from London to a Dublin goldsmith for retailing, or the finials themselves, or moulds, could have been brought by a goldsmith trained in London, moving to Dublin to work. How commented on the fine modelling of the St Christopher. But since no other St Christopher is known we cannot look for comparisons with others. The modelling of the five Apostles, though less fine than the St Christopher, he considered very good. And as regards matching English examples, they have been observed to be 'not dissimilar' to some in the Swaythling set.<sup>4</sup> However, while a London origin cannot be dismissed, it would seem plausible for the Plunketts to have adopted the more convenient course of commissioning them locally, provided the capabilities existed in Dublin. Possibly unconscious of Ireland's history in fine metalworking going back some millennia, as attested by surviving examples of goldsmiths' work, Cdr How seems to have dismissed this possibility out of hand. The likelihood of the spoons having been commissioned locally by the Plunketts does, however, seem worthy of some consideration.

#### Ireland in the sixteenth century

It may be helpful to give a snapshot of society and the institutions of Ireland in the later Middle Ages. At the outset it must be said that the destruction of source material in Ireland has been unparalleled in Western Europe. Even up to present times, private archives, of great value to historians, continue to be burnt or consigned to dumps. The greatest catastrophe was the destruction of the Public Record Office of Ireland in 1922. As well as central government and legal records, here were housed most of the Irish wills, along with church records and a variety of other important historical source material. Not everything is lost, however, and informative archives still occasionally turn up in unlikely private and institutional repositories around the world, obliging historiographers to revise earlier versions of Irish history on a continuous basis. The history of metalworking has not, however, featured prominently in their writings.

The sixteenth century in Ireland was a bloody and complex period. Since the twelfth century Ireland had been constituted a lordship of the Kings of England. By the fourteenth century, however, it was clear that the king's lordship in reality only amounted to about half the island, and that it had been contracting. Around the time we are most concerned with here, the years around 1518-38, it had become apparent that the King, Henry VIII, was losing his grip on the country, with his authority in practice limited to an area embracing Dublin and parts of the adjoining counties (known as the Pale), and the larger coastal towns such as Cork, Waterford and Limerick. The rest of the country was run in more or less autonomous fashion by Anglo-Norman magnates



(exemplified by the Earls of Kildare and Ormond) and by Gaelic chieftains.

In theory Ireland had its own parliament but its legislative power was severely curbed in 1494 by an Act known as Poynings' Law, which in effect subordinated its authority to the King in London and his Privy Council. The administration of the king's lordship in Ireland was largely left to his viceroy, variously known as Lord Deputy or Lord Lieutenant. The viceroy operated in conjunction with the king's Irish council which normally included the Lord Chancellor, the Vice-Treasurer, the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Chief Baron of the Exchequer and the Master of the Rolls. It will be seen therefore that the Dunsoghly Plunketts, prominent members of the judiciary, enjoyed influential positions.

In 1519 Henry VIII had debated with his council 'how Ireland may be reduced and restored to good order and obedience', but without a meaningful outcome. In an effort to assert his authority over the whole island Henry VIII was acclaimed King of Ireland in 1541. The new title changed little; the King's marital problems and consequent religious reforms were largely ignored by most of his ordinary Irish subjects outside the Pale. It was not until the accession of Elizabeth I in 1558 that the Reformation began really to bite. She made the complete conquest of Ireland a priority, fearing that Spain would make common cause with the Irish who remained obstinately Catholic. Her ambition was achieved the year before her death, with the defeat of the Irish and their Spanish allies at the Battle of Kinsale in January 1602. Elizabeth died on 24 March 1603. Unaware of her death, the leader of the Irish, Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, formally submitted to Lord Mountjoy, her Lord Deputy in Ireland, on 30 March 1603, renouncing all dependence on foreign rulers and his traditional Gaelic rights and titles. This date may be said to mark the end of the old Gaelic order.

There were many stark differences between the Gaelic and the Anglo-Norman worlds. English law applied in the Pale and the larger coastal cities; elsewhere Irish law (known as Brehon law) was used, and sometimes a hybrid of English and old Irish law, with occasionally Roman or European law grafted on. Gerald FitzGerald, 9th Earl of Kildare, intermittent Lord Deputy, 1513–34, was said to have used both Brehon and English law, 'whichever he thought most beneficial, as the case did require'. Culturally, the worlds of the Anglo-Norman gentry and their counterparts in Gaelic Ireland were far apart. Within the Pale language, culture and social structures accorded most closely with lowland English norms. Priorities in medieval Gaelic society were somewhat different. The professional learned men, usually following hereditary occupations such as lawyers, physicians, historians and musicians, were held in particularly high esteem in the courts of the Irish chieftains. Foremost amongst this group were poets, who were treated almost as sacred personages. The honorific title of *ollave* (*ollamh*) was occasionally conferred on the officially recognised head of a learned profession by the lord of a particular territory.

While less is recorded about artist craftsmen than about members of the more liberal professions, sometimes the deaths of distinguished artisans were noted by the medieval chroniclers. For example the *Annals of Ulster*, compiled in the late fifteenth century, record the death in 1479 of one Matthew Ua Maelrunaigh (*anglice* Mulrooney), described as a skilled goldsmith who was *ollave* in metalwork to the Maguire chieftains of Fermanagh,<sup>5</sup> while the death in 1491 of Tadgh Ua Siriden (*anglice* Timothy Sheridan), described as the best goldsmith in the northern half of Ireland, was another recorded. Some Anglo-Norman magnates residing outside the Pale seem also to have adopted particular local goldsmiths: by an indenture dated 1 March 1572 Thomas Butler, 10th Earl of Ormond, granted a lease of

4 My thanks to Timothy Kent for this information

5 While the piece does not bear a maker's mark or signature, it is conceivable that Ua Maelrunaigh's unknown successor made the extraordinary Dunvegan Cup, long in the custody of the MacLeod

family at Dunvegan Castle, Isle of Skye. A Latin inscription states that it was commissioned in 1493 by the wife of John, the Maguire chieftain of Fermanagh; see J.J. Buckley, *Some Irish Altar Plate*, Dublin 1943, p12-14.



2 Engraved initials and dates on the 'Plunkett' spoons. (Sotheby's)



6 Calendar of Ormond Deeds, H.M.C. London (1902-20), vol V, p86.

7 D.F. Gleeson, 'The silver mines of Ormond' in *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, vol 67 (1937), pp101-16.

8 P. Connolly and G. Martin (eds), *The Dublin Guild Merchant Roll, c.1190-1265*, Dublin 1992.

9 C. Lennon and J. Murray (eds), *The Dublin City Franchise Roll, 1468-1512*, Dublin 1998.

10 *Cal. close rolls, 1461-1468*, p247; *ibid 1468-1476*, p104. For an account of Lynch see T. O'Neill, 'A Fifteenth

Century Entrepreneur, Germyn Lynch, fl.1441-1483' in J. Bradley (ed), *Settlement and Society in Medieval Ireland*, Kilkenny 1988, pp421-27.

11 W.G. Strickland, *A Dictionary of Irish Artists*, vol 1, Dublin and London 1913, p575.

a house and land in Callan, Co. Kilkenny, to Edmund Walsh of Callan, goldsmith, subject to the provision that Edmund would

bestow his labour in amending said Earl's plate that at any time shall chance to be battered or broken without requiring any allowance therefor, said Earl finding stuff necessary to be occupied for that purpose.<sup>6</sup>

Finding the requisite silver for that purpose should not have been a problem for the earl, as there was a silver mine in the Ormond territory, well known back to the middle of the thirteenth century.<sup>7</sup>

Across the divide, in the Anglo-Norman world of the Pale, we are slightly better informed about the personnel engaged in the craft of goldsmithing, albeit with major *lacunae* in the records. Dublin obtained its first charter in 1171/2 from Henry II, and in 1192 Prince John, Lord of Ireland, granted the right to the citizens to organise themselves into guilds. It seems that the merchants of Dublin were the first to do so, and the Dublin Guild Merchant Roll, circa 1190-1265 is apparently the earliest municipal record of its kind to have survived anywhere in Britain and Ireland.<sup>8</sup> Over this period of about 75 years 24 goldsmiths are listed as members of the Merchants' Guild of whom at least nine emanated from England, such as, for example, Godardus Aurifaber de London, listed in an undated entry circa 1200. That this immigration trend continued over the centuries is apparent from the next surviving Dublin municipal record, the roll of freemen 1468-1512.<sup>9</sup> Over this period 14 goldsmiths were listed as becoming freemen of Dublin and it is clear that some of them had been apprentices in England. Malachy Kelly, goldsmith, was admitted a freeman of Dublin on 26 October 1498 by virtue of having served his apprenticeship to John Snow of London. On 21 October 1502 Philip Walsh, goldsmith, 'was admitted by reason of the liberties of Bristol'. Patrick Kenne, goldsmith, was admitted on 28 April 1469 by 'special grace' and on 22 October 1473 Dermot Lynchy was admitted by 'special grace and a fine of 6s 8d'. We know from other sources that these latter two had worked in London. Germyn (Dermot) Lynch, a native of Ireland, was sworn as a 'Dutchman' (ie, a foreigner) by the London Goldsmiths' Company in 1441 upon payment of two shillings. Five years later Lynch was admitted a freeman of the London Company, and over a period of years took on three apprentices, including Patrick Keyne in 1460. In 1461, with the approval of Edward IV, he was appointed keeper of the Irish mints for life. He maintained his business interests in London, the calendars of Close Rolls showing him settling debts on various occasions, including that owed him by George Neville, Archbishop of York, in 1470.<sup>10</sup> In 1471 his former apprentice, Patrick Kenne (or Keyne), was appointed Surveyor of Coins in Dublin, Trim and Drogheda, and Master of Coins in the mints in those towns.<sup>11</sup> It may be presumed that there were other goldsmiths working in Dublin at this period who were not freemen of the city, since the benefits of full citizenship were not liberally shared out. For instance, on 18 January 1493 Sir Thomas Plunkett of Dunsoghly (Christopher's father) was admitted a freeman but this privilege was granted 'at the instance of Elen Strangwise, his wife, free woman [of Dublin]', not because of his wealth and position in the judiciary. While we lack records for the period with which we are concerned, 1518-38, it can be readily appreciated that there would have been goldsmiths working in Dublin at this time who were well acquainted with the practices of London spoonmakers.



### Why no early Irish spoons?

It is rather remarkable that no silver spoons made in Ireland in the fifteenth or sixteenth centuries appear to have survived. And very few from the seventeenth century. This contrasts with the situation applying to Irish ecclesiastical plate, of which a relative abundance of crosiers, crosses, chalices and such like has survived. Possibly the high survival rate of the latter is related to reluctance of devout owners to consign objects of a sacred character to the melting pot, unlike what might be the attitude towards a worn or unfashionable spoon. Many of the goldsmiths who made ecclesiastical objects are known because they inscribed their full names on their works; the application of makers' marks as such was not adopted by Irish goldsmiths until the seventeenth century, and even then but slowly, even well after the establishment of the Dublin Assay Office in April 1638, when the maker's mark became compulsory. There had been an attempt by Dublin City Council in 1605 to introduce a system of quality control which would have required goldsmiths to stamp their wares with an identification mark, but there is no evidence that the Council's resolution was ever enforced. In any event it would have only applied within the Dublin Council's jurisdiction. Possibly it was in keeping with the spirit of the Council's 1605 resolution that a communion cup and cover, dated 1611, attached to the Church of St Nicholas-without-the-walls in Dublin, was stamped by the maker with a mark, apparently of a moor's head, suggested to be the mark of John More.<sup>12</sup> Nothing is known about More except that he had plate assayed in Dublin in 1638. A seal top spoon bearing the same mark is in a private collection. It is tentatively dated circa 1610, and is considered to be the earliest surviving Irish spoon.

The question must be considered as to how that seal top might have been catalogued if the cup and paten bearing the same maker's stamp had not been linked to an old Dublin church. The same problem arises with spoons bearing no marks, provenance or identifiable inscriptions. We are more and more discovering that goldsmiths proliferated in provincial Ireland in the middle and early modern ages as well as in Dublin. While clearly ecclesiastical objects would have comprised a substantial portion of their output, commonsense would suggest that domestic objects, such as spoons in particular, would constitute much of their business. A challenge facing silver historians is how to recognise surviving examples.

<sup>12</sup> The mark is shown in Jackson's 2nd edn, p716.

### Notes to the Appendix

<sup>13</sup> E.E. Ball, *Southern Fingal*, Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, 1920, pp63–80.

<sup>14</sup> J. Lodge, *The Peerage of Ireland* (4 vols, Dublin 1754; revised by M. Archdall, 7 vols, Dublin 1789). While not germane to the subject in hand, it is of interest to note that Archdall, a clergyman and antiquarian scholar, became a freeman of the Dublin Goldsmiths Company in 1744 by virtue of his father, William Archdall, who was Master of the Company, 1713–14, and Assay Master, 1736–51.

### Acknowledgement

Dr Thomas Sinsteden of Hartford, Connecticut, has been very helpful to me in researching these spoons.

## Appendix

### Notes to the Dunsoghly Plunkett family tree (on page 89)

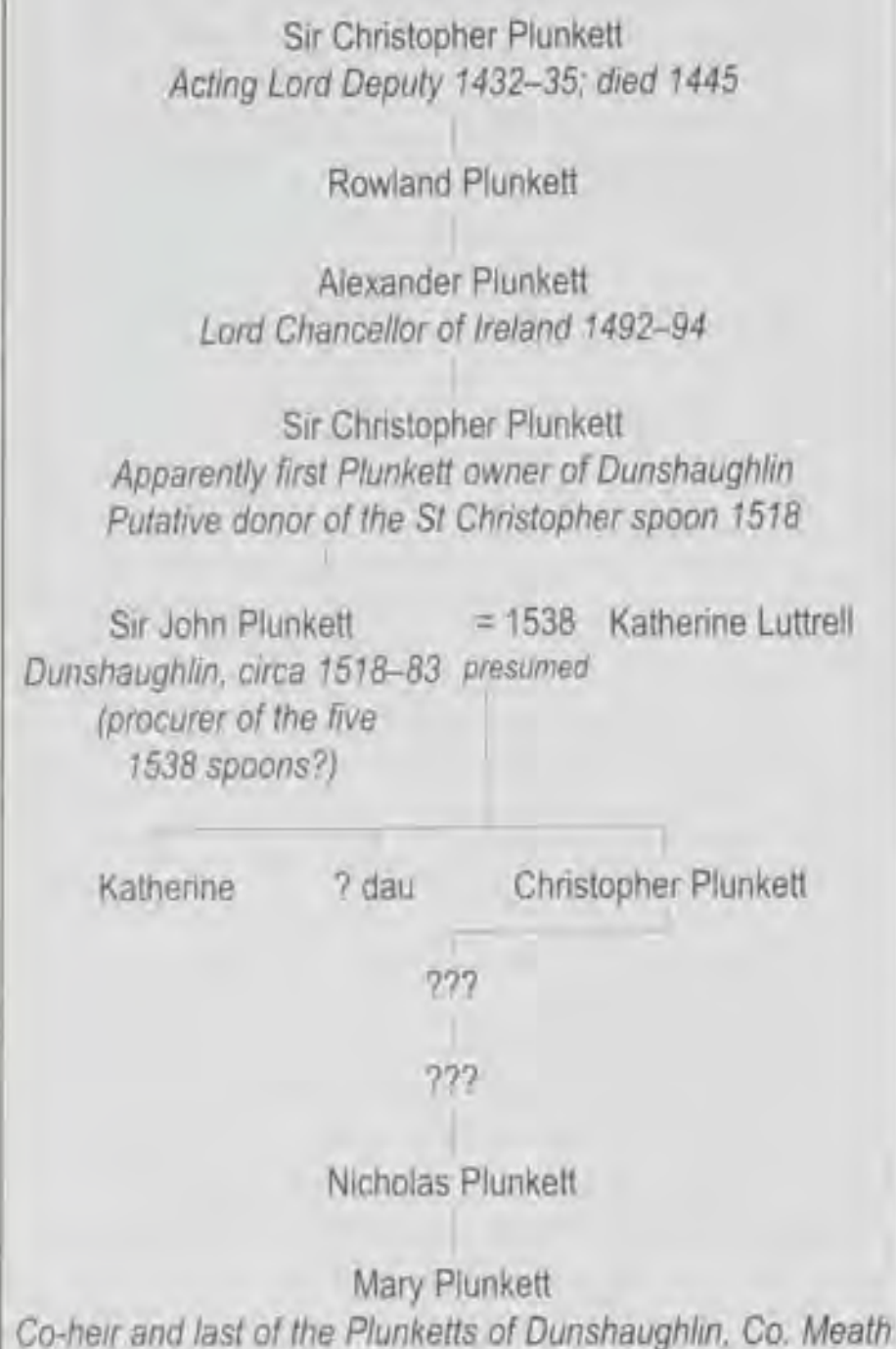
#### Sources

What would appear to have been a well researched history of the Plunketts of Dunsoghly is contained in Dr Francis Ball's *Southern Fingal*, part VI of his *History of County Dublin*, published in 1920.<sup>13</sup> Ball relied extensively, but not uncritically, on Mervyn Archdall's revised and enlarged edition<sup>14</sup> of Lodge's *Peerage of Ireland* which had been originally published in 1754. Lodge had unusual access to genealogical documentary sources, being Deputy Keeper of the Records in Dublin Castle,

Deputy Clerk and Keeper of the Rolls, and Deputy Register of the Court of Prerogative. Dr Ball had additionally the benefit of access to archival material accumulated since Lodge's and Archdall's day, including documents in the Irish Public Records Office. It was here where most of the Irish wills were housed, along with church registers and a variety of other important historical source material, most of which was later consumed by fire during the civil war in Ireland in 1922.



**The Plunketts of Dunshaughlin, Co. Meath**  
(per Charles R. Beard and Cdr G.E.P. How)



[1] Robert Plunkett was the fourth son of Sir Christopher Plunkett, the first Lord Killeen by right of his wife Joan Cusack. Sir Christopher was acting viceroy in 1432 and died in 1445. His other sons included John, the second Lord Killeen, ancestor of the Earls of Fingall; Sir Christopher, his second son, was ancestor of the Lords Dunsany; Sir Thomas Plunkett, his third son, became Chief Justice of the King's Bench or Common Pleas and, by right of his wife, the first Lord Rathmore.

[2] Robert Plunkett's son and heir, Thomas Plunkett, was a lawyer and landed proprietor and appears to have been the first Plunkett to reside in Dunsoghly Castle. He was raised to the bench as Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in 1482 but having been numbered amongst the followers of the royal imposter Lambert Simnel (crowned as Edward VI in Dublin in 1487), he lost that office and was heavily fined. Ball showed that in part payment of his fine his cupboard could provide such trophies as 'two gilt salts, a standing cup with a representation of a great griffin's egg on the cover, a group of twelve pieces with a cover, a double bowl and a pot, two standing cocoanut cups with covers, two mazers and three chased pieces', while presuming that their removal did not leave the cupboard bare. He was a generous benefactor of gold and silver to Christ Church Cathedral. He died in 1519 and was succeeded by his son Christopher.

[3] Ball found evidence suggesting that Christopher must have been at least 50 years of age when he succeeded to Dunsoghly in 1519, and had then children of mature years. Christopher's wife Catherine was a daughter of his father's colleague, Philip Bermingham, Chief Justice of the King's Bench. According to Lodge he had four sons and two daughters by her and was succeeded by his son Robert, who in turn was succeeded by his brother John. Appearing to disagree with Lodge as to the existence of Robert, Ball states that Christopher had three sons, the eldest of whom, John, maintaining the legal tradition of the family, adopted the Bar as his profession. He had succeeded to Dunsoghly Castle before 1547 and it became his chief residence until his death.

[4] Citing the Rolls Office as his source, Lodge states that Sir John Plunkett of Dunsoghly was born in the year 1504.<sup>15</sup> Ball seems to have had reservations about quoting this detail, and merely implied that John was of mature years in 1519 when his father succeeded to Dunsoghly. Ball is also at variance with Lodge in regard to the sequence of Sir John's three marriages. Lodge, without citing his sources, stated that John had married firstly, Elizabeth Preston who had no issue; secondly Catherine Luttrell, daughter of Richard Luttrell and widow of Nicholas Barnwall, by whom he had a son, James, and three daughters; and thirdly Jennet Sarsfield but by her had no issue. Ball places Catherine Luttrell as the first wife and Elizabeth Preston as the second. That the Preston marriage was the later one is supported by a Fiant of Elizabeth I granting licence to her on 10 February 1560 to marry John Plunkett, of Dunsoghely, esq.<sup>16</sup>

Sir John was a diligent servant of government in many capacities during a very turbulent period of Irish history involving much religious and political strife and was knighted in 1567. He had attained a great age by the time of his death on 1 August 1582 and three years before that was said to be so blind as to be unable to see his food. His son James having predeceased him, he provided in his will for his grandson and heir, Christopher Plunkett, then aged about 14 years, to inherit fully at the age of 24 years, and from that age to have the use of all his 'plate and silver vessels gilt, parcel gilt or ungilt, for life'. However, in the event of Christopher failing to produce a male heir then it was stipulated that his inheritance should pass to Sir John's other heirs male, 'to remain in the House of Dunsoghly for ever'.<sup>17</sup> Amongst his other bequests, Sir John left 'his best horse and a couple of spoons' to the Lord Chancellor as a remembrance. At the time the Lord Chancellor was Adam Loftus, Archbishop of Dublin. One is tempted to wonder if the prelate obtained a couple of Apostle spoons, and if they might have matched those that passed to Mrs White some centuries later!

[5] Ball describes the last named Christopher as enjoying a life of comparative tranquillity, but this 'was not the lot of his son and successor, James Plunkett. Through his marriage to a daughter of Francis Tregeon [Tregian] of Goldon, James Plunkett involved himself in the misfortunes of a Roman Catholic family of high rank in Cornwall, and in an attempt to recover the confiscated Tregeon estate, loaded his Irish estate with debt.' Owing to his inability to meet his liabilities, James was imprisoned, when his health gave way. His death appears to have occurred in early 1641. Around the time of rebellion breaking out in Ireland

<sup>15</sup> Archdall (as note 2) vol VI, p192, fn 3. *in Ireland*, Dublin 1879.

<sup>16</sup> The Fiant of Elizabeth I, no338, Appendix 3 in *The 11th Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records*

<sup>17</sup> Archdall (as note 2) p194.



in 1641, Dunsoghly became the residence of its mortgagee, Sir Henry Tichborne. A year later it is found garrisoned by the government. When the Restoration came, Tichborne was still in possession of Dunsoghly, but at his death in 1667 it is found as the residence of one John Avery.

It would seem impossible to trace who was in possession of the ancestral spoons during this unsettled period. Their survival at Dunsoghly would have been rendered all the more problematic by two Acts of State in January 1642/3 requiring the citizens to surrender half their plate to be coined.

[6] James Plunkett's only son, John, married Elizabeth Roper, daughter of Lord Teynham. He died around 1631, and when James himself died in 1641 his grandson Nicholas Plunkett, born in either 1626 or 1629, became entitled to Dunsoghly, while then a ward of Sir Henry Tichborne who paid £2,000 for the trust.

In 1645 Nicholas Plunkett married a daughter of Sir Thomas Esmonde of County Wexford. Ball states that when Nicholas became of age he secured an order to enter into possession of his estate, then in the custody of Tichborne, 'but he was subsequently ordered as a Roman Catholic to transplant into Connaught, or to leave the country, an alternative which he accepted, and he is said to have been afterwards imprisoned in England and Flanders, where he saw military service'. After the Restoration he had difficulty regaining his estate and was in difficult financial circumstances and forced to live in a dower house. He was then a widower with four children, but a few years later appears as the husband of Elizabeth Fisher, his children having increased to seven. About the time of the Glorious Revolution (1688) he withdrew from Ireland, never to return. In the summer of 1689 he was in France, but two years later was back in London where he remained until his death in 1718.

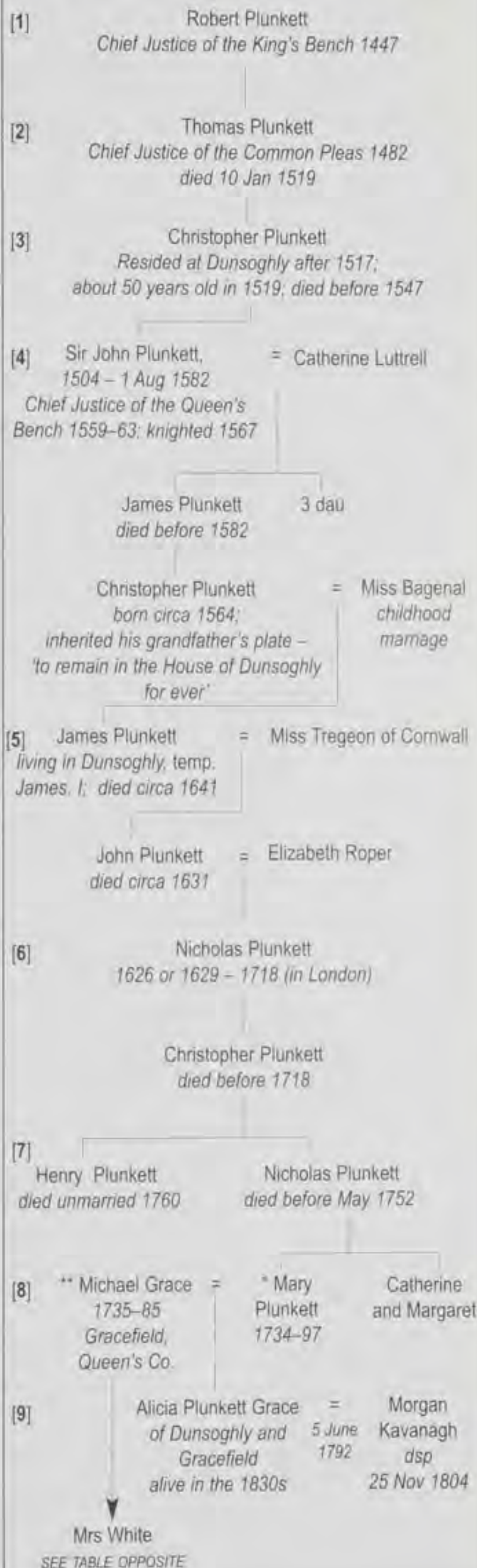
[7] After Nicholas's death, ownership of Dunsoghly again skipped a generation. His eldest son Christopher having predeceased him, the estate passed to his grandson Henry Plunkett. Henry died, unmarried, in Usher Street, Dublin, in December 1760 but had been predeceased, before 26 May 1752, by his younger brother Nicholas. Nicholas Plunkett had married first, Alice, sister of Viscount Netterville, who bore him a daughter Alice, and secondly, Alice Dunne of Brittas, Queen's County, who bore him a son who died young and three daughters who succeeded to Dunsoghly.

[8] The eldest daughter, Mary, married Michael Grace of Gracefield, Queen's County; the second, Catherine, married Henry Malone of Pallas Park; and the third, Margaret, married Francis Dunne of Brittas. According to How, Michael Grace died in 1797 and his wife Mary was the last of the Plunketts of the line in question. This is at odds with a Grace pedigree compiled circa 1820 in the Irish Office of Arms (now the Genealogical Office),<sup>18</sup> which states that Michael Grace, a son of Oliver Grace of Gracefield, Queen's Co., by his wife Mary Dowell of Mantua, Co. Roscommon, died 25 August 1785, aged 50, administration of his estate being granted a month later to his widow Mary, described as daughter and co-heir to Nicholas Plunket of Dunsoghly Castle. Her death was listed as on 9 October 1797, aged 63. This pedigree also shows that Mary Plunkett Grace had an only child and heiress, Alicia Grace of Gracefield, Queen's County, and Dunsoghly Castle, Co. Dublin.

[9] Alicia married Morgan Kavanagh of Borris, Co. Carlow, on 5 June 1792. A nephew of John, Earl of Ormonde and Ossory, he died on 25 November 1804 without surviving issue. Writing in the late 1830s, the historian John Dalton stated that Dunsoghly was then 'the property of Mrs Kavanagh, one of the descendants and co-heiresses of Sir John Plunkett', which implies that Alicia was living at this time.<sup>19</sup> If there had been a tradition in the family to respect the wishes of their ancestor, Sir John Plunkett, for his plate to 'remain in the House of Dunsoghly for ever', it would seem likely that as the last of the Dunsoghly line the spoons would have passed to her.

Presumably it was after Mrs Kavanagh's death that these heirlooms passed out of the Plunkett family and were acquired by the family of her uncle, Oliver Grace, who was married to Mary Dowell of Mantua, Co. Roscommon. We must assume that through this circuitous route not alone the spoons, but the associated family tradition about them, passed to Oliver Dowell John Grace who had inherited Mantua, and through the latter's son, Richard Joseph Grace, on to his daughter Mrs White.

### The Dunsoghly Plunkett pedigree (Based mainly on F.R. Ball and J. Lodge<sup>13,14</sup>)



18 National Library of Ireland, G.O. MS 171, p57

19 J. Dalton, *History of the County of Dublin*, Dublin 1838, p385.



## The Connoisseur, vol 112, 1943

Conor O'Brien's article on p83 caused me to borrow from the London Library the bound copies of *The Connoisseur* for 1943. It was a good year. Inch for inch the index listings of *Silver and Gold Plate* stand up well to those of *Pictures and Drawings*, or *Furniture*.

It contains:

E. Alfred Jones, 'Some notes on Nicholas Hilliard, miniaturist and goldsmith'

Cdr G.E.P. How, 'The Plunkett St Christopher and apostle spoons'

H.C. Bainbridge, 'Peter Carl Faberge, an estimate'

Helen Comstock, in 'The Connoisseur in America', focused on 'Communion plate by J.B. Merick'

Cyril G.E. Bunt, 'Swords of Honour', illustrates numerous examples of the hiltmakers' craft

Extensive listings for silver in 'In the auction rooms'

In an article on furniture, R.W. Symonds has two designs of virtually identical dressing tables, one from a book of designs by Johann Jacob Schubler, showing two small dishes, a candlestick and a large tray (which may have been in silver, or lacquer), which was copied and published in 1750 by Batty Langley. The same author, in another article on 'The Evolution of the cupboard' reproduces six miniatures depicting pewter and silver on display.

E.A. Entwistle writes on paper-stainers' and decorators' bills, from a collection he fails to name. His final paragraph is a lesson to us all:

The appearance of these bills from out of the blue, and their subsequent arrival into the hands of those who understand their significance is indeed a fortunate accident. But how many more such documents are there, one wonders, hidden from sight in basement and storeroom, and how long will it be before they are sent with other piles of 'unwanted' paper to the salvage dump?

(Ironically, I read this only a couple of weeks after the present archivist at Hoare's had been lamenting to me how the best of their invoices were sold in the 1930s and 1940s to a dealer. Then they were prized for their decorative billheads, today we also realise the importance of the financial transactions they record. One wishes they had been left in 'basement and storeroom' undiscovered by those who 'understand their significance'. The latter included Ambrose Heal, who visited Hoare's to see their collection. Many of the billheads have disappeared into the ether.)

'WR' reviewing 'A Handlist of Masonic documents' begins with a sentence which perhaps explains why book-reviewing has become so problematic in our present, less robust, period:

As much drivel has been talked, written and published about Freemasonry as about any other severely technical subject; and by 'drivel' one means not only ignorant or malicious matter, but those loosely handled statements which, however well-intentioned they may have been, provoke the scorn of all who value correct documentation and historical fact.

And all this in wartime, under paper rationing! VB

## PROTECTION FROM ROBBERY.



FRIEND of ours has hit upon the following expedient, which he assures us has answered with the greatest success for the last eight or nine years. He declares that it is infinitely more efficacious than bars, bolts, alarums, gongs, bulldogs, man-traps, fire-arms, or anything else. He lives in a remote part of the country, and all he does to ensure his safety is to erect in front of the house a board with the following inscription conspicuously painted upon it:—

### NOTICE!!!

BURGERS, THIEVES, ROBBERS, TRAMPS, POLICEMEN, SERVANTS, and others, are respectfully informed that every piece of PLATE used in this establishment is

ELECTROTYPED.

The above friendly piece of information has been responded to in the same liberal spirit; for the gentleman states, that ever since he has been a resident in his suburban house, which, by the way, is in a very lonely district, he has not lost even as much as a teaspoon, nor has he been disturbed with the smallest nocturnal visit.

From Punch, 18 July 1857

'The Occupations of the People in Great Britain and the Islands in the British Seas in 1851 (from the census population tables, presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of her Majesty).

Jeweller, lapidary (see also Goldsmiths, Silversmiths) 400  
Goldsmith, silversmith 11,242

Goldbeater 731

Goldbeaters' skin maker 42

Gold miner 3

Gold and silver refiner, cutter, worker 629'

(contributed by Eileen Goodway)

It is interesting to see how this compares with 100 years earlier.

'...it was elicited from the Exise authorities that there were 465 silversmiths in the City and a further 246 in the country who had been charged with duty, and that the total number of all traders in gold or silver wares in the City, including watchmakers, toymen and pawnbrokers was 954. Gabriel Sleath and John Swift ... estimated that there were some 4000 dealers in plate in the whole of England...'

(John Forbes, *Hallmark*, 1998, p210)



# Temp. Anne Boleyn

## The cup in Cirencester parish church

ERIC J.G. SMITH

We may safely say that the most beautiful of all these is a cup at Cirencester, which is of almost priceless value and of unique interest, for it must have been made for some member of the Boleyn family, and in all probability made for the unfortunate Anne Boleyn herself.<sup>1</sup>

The 'beautiful cup', lauded over by Wilfred Cripps, belongs to Cirencester's fourteenth-century parish church of St John the Baptist, whose massive tower overlooks the small Gloucestershire market town. In his *Tour*, Daniel Defoe wrote of Cirencester 'as a very good town, populous and rich, full of clothiers, and driving a great trade in wool'.<sup>2</sup> The silver-gilt cup and cover is situated to the south of the chancel arch, now securely encased in a permanently illuminated glass wall safe.[fig 1]

The cup's provenance, and how and when it came into the possession of the parish church, has been the subject of numerous articles by a host of authorities. Is there any truth in Cripps' suggestion that the cup belonged to Anne Boleyn? If it did not belong to her, then to whom? The cup is struck with London hallmarks, but was it imported, the work of a native-born goldsmith or a craftsman of foreign birth working in London? These and other issues the writer will attempt to answer and, it is hoped, resolve.

### The falcon finial

Purely on the basis of the falcon finial surmounted on the cover, and nothing more, virtually every authority has written to the effect that the cup belonged to Anne Boleyn (1507–36) and that at some time it came into the possession of her daughter Elizabeth I (1533–1603) and, again without a shred of documentary evidence, that she simply gave the cup to her surgeon, Richard Master (circa 1520–87) who, we are told by the same authorities, in turn gave what would be considered by many families a precious heirloom to Cirencester's parish church.

One has to ask how many of these authorities actually handled the cup and noted the mutilated cover? It would appear that apart from the present writer only one other did so, namely Timothy Schroder.<sup>3</sup> Some years past the writer was granted the rare privilege of being allowed to examine and handle the cup, and viewed it again recently, in its case. This confirmed that the heraldic device was not originally wrought with the cup. The cover is marred by the disproportionate size of the finial, which is crudely affixed by an iron screw. Schroder opined that the falcon device and its circular platform 'protrudes quite irrationally from the ogee apex of the cover and its shape'.<sup>4</sup> Schroder considered the device as 'possibly not its original finial; it is attached to the cover by an iron screw, which is certainly not original and its tooling is less well executed than the chasing of the cup'.<sup>5</sup> The finial is poorly wrought, probably



1 Cup and cover, maker's mark three flowers, London 1535/36, probably by a Flemish goldsmith. Height: 31cm (12½in), weight: 583g (18oz 15dwt). The cast crowned falcon finial is the device of the Boleyn family, its right claw grasping a partly broken-off sceptre. (St John the Baptist Church, Cirencester)

1 W.J. Cripps, 'On some Ancient Church Plate at Cirencester', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, vol 2 1877, pp100–01.

2 Daniel Defoe, *A Tour through the whole island of Great Britain*, vol 2, J.M. Dent & Sons 1962 edn of the 1724–26 original.

3 T. Schroder, 'The Boleyn Cup', in *Gothic Art for England 1400–1547*, exhib

cat, 2003, no13, pp156–57.

4 T. Schroder, 'Sixteenth Century English Silver, some problems of Attribution', *Proceedings of the Silver Society*, vol III no1–2, 1983, fig 2.

5 *ibid*, Schroder suggested 'an altogether different origin, perhaps as the terminal of a drinking horn, such as that in the possession of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge'.



of a lower standard of silver and made originally in haste to fit the cover of a long lost bowl or large cup that probably was part of the plate that previously had belonged to Sir Henry Guildford, given by Henry VIII to Anne in 1532/3 (see below).

### Documentary evidence

The question arises as to whether there is any documentary evidence, dating to the late sixteenth/early seventeenth century, itemising a cup, cups or a bowl given by Richard Master to the parish church of Cirencester. The straightforward answer is 'no'. On the other hand, there are accounts of Master exchanging New Year gifts of plate with Queen Elizabeth, a supposed reference to him owning some cups, and a totally unrelated cup belonging to the church in 1614.

Writing of Richard Master's role as Elizabeth's physician, Anthony Sale<sup>6</sup> related how, as a member of the court, Master indulged in the exchange of New Year gifts, and continued:

only a few parchment rolls have survived recording the gifts ... On 1st January 1563 Doctor Master gave 'two pottes of conservasses' ... and received 'one guilt haunches pott weighing 15 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub>oz' from Elizabeth. On 1st January 1577 he gave her 'oij pottes of ginger' and received 'in guilt plate 14 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>4</sub>oz.'

Perhaps a cup? If so, there is no reference to it having belonged to Anne Boleyn and, in any case, the gift weighed some 4oz less than the Cirencester cup. Sale continued:

Neither of these [items] correspond to the Boleyn cup, but Master could have received it on another New Year's Day, for which the Rolls have not survived. If so, it is likely to have been before 1574 when an inventory of the Jewels and Plate of Queen Elizabeth ... was taken and in which the Boleyn cup does not appear.

While uncertain as to how Cirencester came to acquire the cup, Sale cites an inventory of church property 'taken in 1614 (and) recorded in the Vestry Book' that 'specifically mentions the cup'. What cup? According to Sale it refers to the present cup which by tradition 'passed through the Master family'. With respect to Sale, there is absolutely no evidence whatsoever to link the Cirencester cup with the cup recorded in the 1614 Vestry Book.

Ignoring tradition or legend as to how the cup came into the possession of Cirencester parish church, the obvious source, in attempting to trace the vessel's true provenance, must surely be the records of the Master family and of the church.<sup>7</sup> With the kind co-operation of the staff of Gloucestershire Archives, the writer could find no mention whatsoever of a cup, either referred to as once owned by Anne Boleyn or belonging to her daughter Elizabeth and, importantly, no reference to Richard Master owning or giving such a cup to the church.<sup>8</sup> The search for information then led the writer to the Tudor royal inventories where one would expect

to find such an important article of plate recorded.

The *Inventory* of Henry VIII, compiled after his death in 1547<sup>9</sup> is a record of every item of household possessions found in Henry's various palaces, including the Jewel House within the Tower of London. In total some 17,791 items are recorded, including 3,669 articles of wrought gold and silver plate, a high percentage bearing the armorials and crests of Henry and his wives, some having belonged to Anne Boleyn. There are 280 cups of different forms, some the work of Flemish, Spanish and German goldsmiths. However this writer's trawl through the descriptions failed to identify any account of a standing cup and cover that resembled the one now in Cirencester parish church, although the inventory does record a number of cups of similar form, that is to say inspired by the Renaissance Venetian glass goblet *vetro a retorti*. For example no717<sup>10</sup>

Item one Cuppe glasse fashion of siluer and guilt chased with a Couer hauing a boye shoting in a bowe poiz xix oz di.

The nearest record of a cup that could have belonged to Anne Boleyn or had a doubtful association with Henry's fourth wife, Anne of Cleves (1515–47), is no703:<sup>11</sup>

Item one other Cuppe glasse fashion gilt graven with H and A crowned vpon the body with a couer parcel of the vices wayeng xix oz quarter.

Having failed to find in the inventory a cup of Venetian form that could have been the Cirencester example, the writer sought out a different type of plate bearing Anne Boleyn's falcon badge, perhaps referred to as her 'sipher', which Elizabeth might have given as a New Year gift to Richard Master. The nearest item is inventory no1005:<sup>12</sup>

Item one Barbours potte of siluer (parcel) gilt thandle crested hauing Quene Annes Sipher grauen in the lidde weying xxxix oz.

Apart from various furnishings, the only item of plate recorded as having the falcon device is no141:<sup>13</sup>

Item twoo Spones of gold th(e) one having a rose at the(e) end and th(e) other a Fawcon crowned poiz togethers iij oz di quarter.

On the other hand there are a number of objects that had belonged to Anne Boleyn, recorded with her crowned falcon arms, in the 1574 *Inventory* of the jewels and plate of Elizabeth I.<sup>14</sup> Collins cites, for example (inventory no377)<sup>15</sup>

Item oone litel Cup guilt glass fashion with a Couer chased with H and A knytte th princes Armes joined with tharames of Queen Anne poiz x oz.

In his footnote to the entry Collins refers to the cup as 'a self proclaimed relic of Anne Boleyn, though made between 1 June 1533 and 19 May 1536'.

Mention has also to be made of a superb article apparently given by Anne as a New Year gift in 1534/35 to Henry VIII, in the form of an elaborate fountain, actually part of a larger centrepiece suite, which is known by



a sketch by Henry's celebrated court artist, Hans Holbein the Younger.<sup>16</sup>[fig2] It is sometimes overlooked that besides his skill as a painter, Holbein executed a number of designs for wrought plate particularly, it would seem, for his close friend Hans of Antwerp and also for the latter's Flemish compatriot Cornelius Hayes or Heyes.<sup>17</sup> The drawing clearly shows the crowned falcon flanked between figures of naked women, 'on the stump of a tree couped and erased from which spring red and white roses, a crowned falcon holding a sceptre'.<sup>18</sup> The *Inventory* description mentions also

oone Bason of siluer guilt ... with the Quenis Armes and Quene Annes therin poiz together ... cccxxxij oz'.<sup>19</sup>

Elsewhere in his detailed account of the *Inventory*, Collins noted the appointment of five commissioners in 1570 who were employed to bring up to date the 1547 and 1553 collections, the process of which involved recording whatever plate, including the Crown Jewels, that in the intervening period had been acquired, removed for the use of the monarch, given away as gifts, or was missing, albeit stolen. By all accounts this was a difficult task and one that had not been undertaken since 'the appointment of John Astley to the Jewel House in the first weeks of Elizabeth's reign in 1559; Astley was Elizabeth's first "Master and Treasurer" of the Jewels and Plate'.<sup>20</sup> Accordingly, the compilation of the 1547 and 1553 collections formed the basis of the 1574 *Inventory*. The present writer, following his research through Collins' publication of the *Inventory*, could find no documentary evidence of the cup associated with Cirencester parish church. On the assumption, therefore, that the commissioners had followed through their brief and every piece of plate had been accounted for, it would seem that such a cup had never been in the possession of Anne Boleyn or Elizabeth.<sup>21</sup>

Nevertheless, Collins illustrates and refers to the 'Boleyn cup' although it would appear that he was not convinced concerning the cup's royal provenance. He wrote:<sup>22</sup>

Sometimes a romantic story finds a measure of corroboration. Thus a cup known as the 'Boleyn Cup', now used for Holy Communion in the parish church of Cirencester, is reputed to have come to Richard Master, physician to Elizabeth, by gift from his royal patient. This much is certain, that Master figures regularly upon the New Year Rolls as a recipient of plate. ... Yet, however strong the claims of such objects to an association with the Queen may be, proof still has to be found that any of them ... ever stood upon the shelves of her Jewel-house.



2 Hans Holbein the Younger (1497/98–1543), design for a table fountain, showing the falcon badge of Anne Boleyn. (Kunstmuseum Basle, Kupferstichkabinett, Kunstmuseum Basle, Martin Buhler)



3 The falcon badge of the Boleyn family, and the Tudor rose, used frequently by Elizabeth I.\*

\* Efforts to seek permission from the author of *Henry VIII and his Court* (Weidenfeld & Nicholson 1971) to reproduce these images have failed; his copyright ownership is acknowledged herewith.

6 A. Sale, 'The Anne Boleyn Cup', *Gloucestershire*, January 1990, p19.

7 Now preserved in Gloucestershire Archives.

8 Master family records (D674b); letter from Paul Evans, Gloucestershire Archives, 8 November 2004 to the writer, who confirmed this from his search through the church's records, which are 'particularly detailed so [he] would have expected a note to be made if the [church] documents contained any information of relevance'.

9 Referred to by David Starkey as 'the equivalent of a probate inventory for a lesser mortal' in David Starkey (ed), *The Inventory of Henry VIII*, 1998, transcribed by Philip Ward, indexed by A. Hawkyard, Society of Antiquaries MS 129 and British Library MS Harley 1410.

10 *ibid*, p30: 'Receaved out of the kinges secrete Jewelhouse in tholde Galarie next the privye gardeyne at Westmynster as before'.

11 *ibid*, p29: 'Receaved at the Castle of wyndesor as

before'.

12 *ibid*, p37: 'Receaved the xijth of Julye Anno 1547 parcell of the pothycarie and Surgerye plate as before'.

13 *ibid*, p11: 'Receaved at Otelands of the saide Sir Thomas Cawarden knight'.

14 A. Jefferies Collins, *Jewels and Plate of Queen Elizabeth I, The Inventory of 1574*, edited from Harley MS 1650 and the Stowe MS 555 in the British Museum, London 1955.

15 *ibid*, p354.

16 Illustrated by Collins (as

note 14) pl V, p468, inventory no998.

17 Hans or John of Antwerp, variously Andwerpe, van Andwarpe, settled in London in 1523/24; goldsmith to Henry VIII, Anne Boleyn and Thomas Cromwell, free of the Goldsmiths' Company 27 September 1537, worked to designs by Holbein the Younger (1497–1543), friend of the artist and witness to his will. Cornelius Hayes or Heyes, goldsmith and jeweller from Bruges; worked also with Holbein, gold-

smith to Henry VIII, Anne Boleyn and Edward VI, free of the Goldsmiths' Company 1529/30, died 1547/48.

18 Collins (as note 14) p469.

19 *ibid*.

20 *ibid*, p199.

21 *ibid*, ch I, 'The (Inventory) Manuscripts and the nature of the collection'.

22 *ibid*, p197. The cup is rarely removed from its case for administering communion, but the church does possess a replica.



Collins had virtually nothing to say on the supposed Boleyn provenance, but included a detailed footnote for every other important article. He noted that Jackson<sup>23</sup> had wrongly described 'Queen Ann Boleyn's Badge which surmounts the cover' and apparently likened the cup to 'The bolle of fine gold ... having Queen Ann Boleyn's sipher vpon the toppee of the couer (40oz) bought from Thomas Trappes, goldsmith for £90 ... was somewhat similar in appearance'.<sup>24</sup> How can a bowl be similar to a cup? Collins referred to the quandary of the Tudor scribes over whether or not 'to grade a piece of (plate) as a cup or bowl... (or) sometimes as .. a cup bolle fation'.<sup>25</sup>

### The falcon badge and Anne Boleyn's plate

It is important to put to rest once and for all the myth that the falcon badge was, to quote Arthur Grimwade, 'the peculiar device of Anne Boleyn [and] reason therefore to claim that this cup was her personal possession'.<sup>26</sup> Anthony Sale, perhaps influenced by Grimwade, stated that Anne Boleyn 'was the only person entitled to the Badge [therefore] the cup must have belonged to her'.<sup>27</sup> The falcon badge rightly was the heraldic device of the Boleyn family and not 'peculiar' to Anne Boleyn. Charles Oman was careful to suggest only that the cup is 'traditionally believed to have belonged to Anne Boleyn'.<sup>28</sup> The badge was used by Anne Boleyn's grandfather, Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormonde (died 1516) and by her father, Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Ormonde and Wiltshire (died 1539)<sup>29</sup> and also by her daughter.<sup>30</sup>

... the falcon badge, which was a favourite badge of Elizabeth and had been previously used by her mother Ann Boleyn.

Elizabeth rightly was entitled not only to display the falcon badge, but to use it on plate she gave as New Year gifts to her courtiers. We learn from Neville Williams that Henry VIII apparently asked 'old lady Norfolk':<sup>31</sup>

Has not the Marquess a grand dot and a rich marriage, as all that we can see and the rest of the plate belongs to her?

and that during the Christmas of 1532

Henry lavished all manner of gilt cups, flagons, goblets, bowls and chandeliers on Anne, which she put on show in her apartments in Whitehall, and a month later they were married.

However nothing is recorded that matches the Cirencester cup and no examples of the plate Anne Boleyn acquired before and immediately after her marriage are known to have survived. However various personal items are in museums and private collections, such as her Book of Hours, her psalter, music books, a ring, etc.<sup>32</sup> Henry's boast to Lady Norfolk is related in more detail by Collins, who noted that on 1 January 1532/33 Anne received from Henry

an enormous service of plate, amounting to 5234 ounces, including some bowls which were one day to belong to her daughter Elizabeth.

Collins questioned Henry's apparent generosity, the same man noted for 'practising economies'. Was it, Collins wondered 'the act of a tender lover, shall we say? ... All the vessels, as it turned out were second hand; many had been hastily planished, re-burnished and stamped with Anne's arms'. In fact the bulk of the plate had originally belonged to Anne Boleyn's late enemy, Sir Henry Guildford.<sup>33</sup>

Henry referred to Anne as the Marquess [Marquis]. On 1 September 1532, in a ceremony held at Windsor Castle, Henry bestowed on Anne the unique title of Marquis of Pembroke 'in her own right and on her offspring the title of Marquis', including any illegitimate children she might have (bearing in mind this was before she agreed to marry him). Henry also confirmed on Anne, whether or not she married him, the right to display the 'crowned white falcon badge'.<sup>34</sup> [fig 3]

### A lack of evidence

The cup bears the date letter for 19 May 1535 to 19 May 1536.<sup>35</sup> Anne Boleyn was beheaded at the Tower of London on St Dunstan's Day, 19 May 1536. Who can say that the cup was not assayed during the final months of Anne Boleyn's life, even up to the very day before the change-over of the date letter and the few hours before Anne's execution? In any event it is unlikely Anne knew of the cup, even less so her daughter Elizabeth, who was barely three years old. It appears there is no evidence to link the cup with Anne Boleyn or the Master family, nor is there proof that it is the vessel recorded in the church's 1614 Vestry Book. How did the cup come to be associated with Richard Master and how did it come into the possession of Cirencester parish church?

23 C.J. Jackson, *Illustrated History of English Plate*, part I, Dover edn 1969, p167, fig 185.

24 Collins (as note 18).

25 *ibid*, p27. See also E.J.G. Smith, 'The subject of much controversy, the Founder's Cup at Oriel College, Oxford', *Silver Studies*, no16 2004.

26 A. Grimwade, *Silver Treasures from English*

*Churches*, exhib cat, in aid of the Historic Churches Preservation Trust, at Christie's London, January 1955, no15, p13 pl IV.

27 Sale, as note 6, p19.

28 C. Oman, *English Domestic Silver*, 6th edn, 1965, p54, pl II.

29 E. Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn, the Boleyn and Howard family tree*, 2004.

30 N. Williams, 'The Arms of Philip and Elizabeth I', in A. Fraser (ed), *The Lives of the Kings and Queens of England*, 1993, p196.

31 Neville Williams, *Henry VIII and his Court*, 1971, pp123-24.

32 Ives (as note 29).

33 Collins, as note 14, p99. Sir Henry Guildford, Controller of the Royal Household, had angered

Anne by supporting Catherine of Aragon. Anne forced him to resign but Henry VIII persuaded him to return. Following Guildford's death in May 1532, Anne acquired much of his plate. See also Ives (as note 29) pp107, 143, 155, 250. Anne Boleyn, having been presented with the plate that belonged to Guildford, would have had the covers of bowls and

cups topped with her badge of the crowned falcon, one of which may have survived to be on the cover of the Cirencester church cup.

34 In his *Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of York and Lancaster*, 1542 (H. Ellis (ed), 1809), the chronicler Edward Hall (1498-1547) noted that after Henry and Anne landed at Dover from Calais on 14



Richard Master (circa 1520–88) was born in Streetend, Willesborough, Kent. He graduated from All Souls College, Oxford with an MA in 1553, obtained an MD and was admitted to the Royal College of Physicians. On 26 June 1559, by patent, he became Elizabeth I's physician at an annual fee of £100. In 1562 he was made a prebendary of York.<sup>36</sup> In the same year Elizabeth almost died from the smallpox, her life saved not by Master, but by a Dr Burcot 'a skilled though extremely irascible German physician'.<sup>37</sup> One wonders why Master was unable to heal the Queen, but nevertheless he continued as her physician and on 6 January 1564/65 by letters patent and for the 'consideration of £590 16s 4d' was 'granted to him and his heirs the reversion of the site of the late monastery of Cirencester and the lands thereto belonging'.<sup>38</sup> However, as noted by Anthony Sale, Richard Master was unable to take immediate possession of the estate, which had been leased out for 30 years, and he did not become the owner until 1583. Sale was of the opinion that it was unlikely Master lived in Cirencester; it would appear he continued to live in London where, at his address in Silver Street, he died in January 1587/88.<sup>39</sup> Interestingly John Stow, in his *Survey*, noted 'Down lower in Wood Street is Silver Street in which be divers fair houses'.<sup>40</sup> Most probably Richard's eldest son George (? born 1556) was the first to settle into the Cirencester estate; he twice represented the town as its Member of Parliament. No doubt he inherited his father's plate, including the aforementioned New Year gifts.

While accepting that Richard Master did not give the cup to Cirencester, although noting that 'tradition has it that Richard was the donor', Sale considered an alternative option, that George Master or his son Sir William 'could have given the cup to the church before the 1614 inventory was taken'. During the Civil War Cirencester supported Parliament and, following a bloody siege by forces commanded by Prince Rupert, the town was captured.<sup>41</sup> Master's estate was sequestered as Prince Rupert's headquarters and was used on two occasions as an overnight stop by Charles I, and Sir William was forced to contribute towards the maintenance of the royalist garrison in Cirencester. This left him virtually penurious '... in 1646/47 he begged to compound. He was still in difficulties in 1652 when he was the father of

12 children'.<sup>42</sup> It is likely that Sir William had little option but to sell his plate; in the unlikely event that he actually owned the 'Anne Boleyn cup' it would most certainly have finished up in the hands of the royalist sequestrator, destined for the melting pot.

### Traditionally believed ...

There is, however, about the use of the words 'traditionally believed' a timeless quality that more often than not contains a spark of truth relating to some occurrence that happened perhaps centuries ago, but which down the years has become somewhat distorted. The parchment Rolls referred to by Sale and Collins do refer to New Year gifts of plate between Queen Elizabeth and Richard Master but there is no reference to the Cirencester cup. Sale admits that how the 'Boleyn cup' 'came to belong to Cirencester parish church is not known with certainty'. The one certainty is that the poorly wrought falcon device is a relic from some other article of plate that probably did belong to Richard Master.

There is some indication that the cup was acquired by the church not, as has so long been claimed, in the sixteenth century, but during the latter half of the nineteenth. The writer's view is that the finding of a rare cup in the nineteenth century prompted the belief that it had belonged to the people referred to in this article, an illusion foisted by two members of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society who should have paid more attention to their research. One was an obscure clergyman, the Revd E.A. Fuller, who rated himself an authority on silver, the other his friend the better-known Wilfred Cripps. Cups such as the Cirencester example were obtainable from auction houses or reputable dealers. For example Sir William Holburne (1793–1874) amassed a large collection of early plate from such places, that may now be seen in the museum bearing his name in Bath.<sup>43</sup>

Until Octavius Morgan published the first table of London date letters in 1853,<sup>44</sup> hallmarking was meaningless to most people. The clerks who made the inventory of Queen Elizabeth's plate had no apparent understanding of the punch mark, for example: 'Item 433. Thre standing Bolles chaised ... streken with the letter N poiz' – presumably the letter denoted 1550/51.<sup>45</sup> Surely

November 1532, which was St Erconwald's Day, 'the King after his return married privily the Lady Anne Boleyn ... which marriage was kept so secret that very few knew it'. See D. Starkey, *The Queens of Henry VIII*, 2004, p463, also Ives (as note 29) p170. The November marriage was more of a 'formal commitment' (the two were by now sleeping together). A

'more regular ceremony' took place in January 1532/3 (probably on the 25th), the month Anne conceived Elizabeth (?) and preceding her coronation on 25 May 1533. Ives, pp158–59, 172–73. 35 *ibid*, pp357–59. See also J.S. Forbes, *Hallmark*, 1998, pp38, 40. 36 Gloucestershire Archives, ref D674b. Manorial records, deeds

and other documents of the Master family (Cirencester Abbey Estate) 1350–1824, no1. See also Royal College of Physicians publications, 'Munks Roll: index details (ID-2971); *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol XXXVIII, 1894, p22. 37 N. Williams, *The Life and Times of Elizabeth*, 1972, p58; C. Hibbert, *The Virgin Queen*, 1990, pp85–88. 38 DNB, vol XXXVII.

39 Sale (as note 6), p19.

40 *Stow's Survey of London*, repr J.M. Dent & Sons, London 1956, p267.

41 P. Gaunt, *Cirencester, the Cromwellian Gazetteer*, 1987, p56; St Clair Baddeley, *Cirencester during the Civil War*, 1924.

42 Royal College of Physicians (as note 36). Sir William died 1662; he was also MP for Cirencester and

Lord High Sheriff for Gloucestershire [Sale].

43 A. Butcher and E.J.G. Smith, *Catalogue of Silver at the Holburne Museum*, 1996, ppvii–viii.

44 Octavius Morgan, 'Table of the Annual Assay Office Letters', *The Archaeological Journal*, London 1853, pp33–43.

45 Collins (as note 14), p362.





4 Cup and cover, Bruges circa 1540–45.  
Height: 20.5cm (8½in)  
(St John the Baptist, Aldbury, Tring  
team parish)



5 Cup and cover, Venetian glass with silver-  
gilt mounts, Reijnier van Jaersvelt, Antwerp  
1546/47. Height: 37cm (14½in). (Now in  
the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam; photo:  
Rockoxhuis, Antwerp)



6 Cup and cover, vetro a retorti glass,  
mid-sixteenth century. Scratched with a  
later inscription 'PI V P 1598 / IS'.  
Height: 34.5cm (13½in).  
(The British Museum)

Morgan, a friend of Cripps who helped the latter with his chapter on church plate in *Old English Plate* (1st edn 1878), would have included the Cirencester cup among the rare plate listed with the mark tables. But it is not mentioned, which would suggest that at the time of his publication the cup had not been acquired?<sup>46</sup> This is also the case with William Chaffers, who included no mention of the cup either in the first edition of *Hall Marks on Gold and Silver Plate* in 1863 or the seven that followed up to 1896.<sup>47</sup>

In a paper read to a Cirencester gathering on 29 August 1877 by Wilfred Cripps, a quotation from which heads this article, Cripps wrote<sup>48</sup>

The badge had, many years ago, attracted the notice of the Revd E.A. Fuller, and upon his authority the cup has long been credited with a royal descent which goes, be it said, to account for its coming into the possession of the parish of Cirencester.

In his *Old English Plate*, published the year after this paper, Cripps confined his account of the cup to little more than a paragraph of twelve lines. For how long before he published his paper Cripps had known of Fuller's so-called authority for the cup's Boleyn provenance, is not known. Fuller, in his 1882 *History of Cirencester Church*, that included an account of the cup, had nothing to reveal in the way of evidence:<sup>49</sup>

... on the crowned and sceptered falcon on a mount ... the badge of Queen Anne Boleyn. ... Richard Master had more than once on New Year's Day received ... a covered cup ... this cup may very likely have been one of them.

One would not put it past Mr Fuller to have united the

badge of the Boleyn family to a newly-found cup. Whoever was responsible for joining the two appears to have hired a blacksmith rather than a silversmith for altering the falcon device to fit the cover!

### The design of the cup

The engraved design in fig 7 appeared in a book compiled by the German engraver Hans Brosamer (Fulda circa 1500–54) entitled *Ein Neu Kunstbuchlein*, published in about 1545 – post-dating the Cirencester cup by some ten years. Brosamer was part of a group of sixteenth-century German engravers known as the 'Little Masters', described by Arthur Hind as 'an engraver of small technical power' and 'an imitator of Barthel and Hans Sebald Beham'.<sup>50</sup> Charles Oman, in an extraordinary attempt to explain away Brosamer's ten-year post-dated engraving of the supposed design for the Cirencester cup, wrote 'Evidently loose sheets of Brosamer's designs must have been circulating before the publication of his *Kunstbuchlein* in 1545'.<sup>51</sup> Whether the Cirencester cup was inspired by the early sixteenth-century form of the Venetian *vetro a retorti* glass goblet or, as some authorities believe, the silver form preceded that of glass, is debatable.<sup>52</sup> While Brosamer obviously used the Venetian glass form for the design of his cup, the ornamentation comes from designs by the Beham brothers, Heinrich Aldegraver (Paderborn 1502–57) and Albrecht Altdorfer (Regensburg circa 1480–1538), all of whom drew much of their inspiration from the work of Albrecht Dürer (Nuremberg 1471–1528).<sup>53</sup> Timothy Schroder referred to the decoration on the Cirencester



cup as 'the curious band of engraved ornament around the lip [which] is not like any other English engraving of the period with which I am familiar, nor does it appear in Brosamer's design'.<sup>54</sup> Allowing for artistic licence, the present writer found in a book of German single-leaf woodcut designs a motif by Hans Sebald Beham depicting very similar style of stemmed leafage as that engraved on the cup.<sup>55</sup> It is possible that the goldsmith based the rest of the cup's ornamentation on a Hans Beham design. Whether Beham or designs by Altdorfer or Aldegraver, the same patterns are to be observed in their respective designs

Fig 4 shows a cup that belongs to Aldbury parish church, near Tring in Hertfordshire which, like Cirencester church, is dedicated to St John the Baptist. In 1993 the cup was exhibited by Bruges Museum.<sup>56</sup> Apart from E.A. Jones and Philippa Glanville who, in their respective accounts briefly refer to the cup, nothing appears to be known of its past. In correspondence with a previous Aldbury incumbent, both Jones and W.W. Watts impressed that the cup was not English, Jones rightly suggesting that it came from Bruges.<sup>57</sup> The nearest cup in form and decoration to the Cirencester cup is a Venetian glass standing cup with silver-gilt foot and cover by the Antwerp maker Reijnier van Jaersvelt, 1546/47.[fig 5] The finely moulded conical glass body is lobed in the German manner; the cast and chased cover, supporting what appears to be a bear passant, and the similarly decorated knopped stem and foot, are typical of sixteenth-century Flemish goldsmithing.<sup>58</sup>

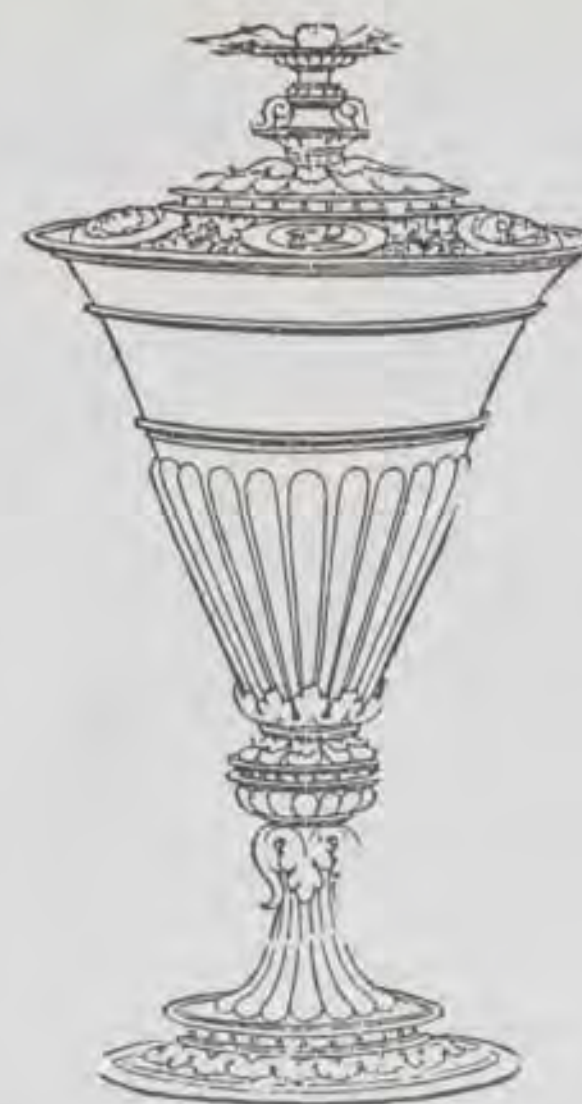
### Conclusion

Whilst it is impossible to know who was the maker of the Cirencester parish church cup, from the style and form of the article he was not a native-born London goldsmith, but either worked in the city or more likely wrought the cup in Flanders, with the hall-marks punched on it following its import into London.

The cup and the legend of its provenance are understandably important to the people of Cirencester, so it is important to reiterate that the cup was made or imported during the lifetime of Anne Boleyn and there is every reason to continue to refer to it as 'The Anne Boleyn Cup'. After all, the falcon device surmounting the cover was Anne's heraldic badge and had probably originally belonged to an item of plate she had owned and which passed into the possession of her daughter, Elizabeth. As if to continue the legend of Richard Master's ownership of the cup, the wall safe in which it is now permanently displayed was given in November 1968 by Col William Alfred Master, as a memorial to his ancestor.

### Acknowledgements

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7 Design for a standing cup and cover, engraving, Hans Brosamer (circa 1500–54?). (Victoria and Albert Museum)

46 W.J. Cripps, *Old English Plate*, 9th edn 1906, p xi.

Morgan's list of early plate included such examples as the 1527/28 Trinity College, Oxford, chalice and paten given by Henry VIII, the 1573/74 Ashmolean Museum tankard, as well as fifteenth- and seventeenth-century rare plate.

47 W. Chaffers, *Hall Marks on Gold and Silver Plate: and A History of L'Orfèvrerie Française*, 8th edn 1896, pp110–11, that included a wide variety of early domestic and church plate, but no mention of the Cirencester cup.

48 Cripps (as note 1), p101.

49 Gloucestershire Archives, B524/29782.

50 A.E. Hind, *A History of Engraving and Etching from the 15th century to the year 1914*, 1923, rev. Dover Publications 1963, pp86, 345. Barthel Beham 1502–40; Hans Sebald Beham 1500–50.

51 C. Oman, *English Engraved Silver 1150–1900*, London 1978, p33 note 1 and p53.

52 For example Hugh Tait, *The Golden Age of Venetian Glass*, London 1979, p22 fig 1, illustrated a medieval

eleventh-century Italian manuscript drawing depicting a glass blower in the act of shaping a conical cup or goblet.

53 G. Bartrum, *Albrecht Dürer and his Legacy, the graphic work of a Renaissance Artist*, V&A Museum, London 2002.

54 Schröder, as note 4.

55 M. Geisberg, *German Single-leaf Woodcuts 1500–1550*, translation of the original (1723–30), 1973, p273.

56 It is also illustrated in *English Church History*, exhib cat, Town Hall, St Albans, 24 June–15 July 1905, no225, p49 fig2.

57 E.A. Jones, *Old Silver of Europe and America from Early Times to the 19th Century*, 1928, p61; Philippa Glanville, *Silver in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, London 1990, pp104–05. Letters Jones and Watts, preserved by Hertford Archives and Local Studies, Hertford.

58 *Zilver Uit de Gouden Eeuw Antwerpen*, exhib cat, 1988, p79 no24. See also A.G. Grimwade, 'Silver and Gold Cups', *Connoisseur*, 1953, vol 131 pp86–87.



## Basics

# Desk and writing equipment

Computers were supposed to lead to the paper-free desk. For most of us the futility of this concept was discovered long ago. A cluttered or clutter-free desk speaks volumes about its owner – but receptacles to keep things tidy can in themselves overload a desk and there are probably few of us now who have a workspace that contains the objects in *fig 1*. Nevertheless, the materials necessary to write and read letters and books can be numerous and go far beyond the basics of paper, pen and ink. It is impossible to cover the subject in these few pages, but here is a selection of items that includes a few things for those who carry writing equipment with them – a need that has progressed to the palm-held computer.

An early term is *standish* usually now used to describe seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century inkstands, particularly those with a hinged lid or lids. The term is also sometimes extended to those occasionally monumental objects, particularly in *ormolu*, the function of which was as much about proclaiming the status of the person behind the desk, as a container of tools.

The basic components of an inkstand did not change much between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries: receptacles for quill or pen, ink, and pounce to dry ink (before blotting paper). Before envelopes were thought of, wafers, or wax and a seal, were used to fasten a letter and identify the sender. Wax has to be melted, hence the need for a taperstick or bougie box. In grand households a bell was helpful to summon a servant to deliver the recently-written missive.

Ease of use is important and so there are remarkably few novelty inkwells, such as the globe design [*fig 18*] because if they are too complex ink might be spilled. Much of the variation in design and size of inkstands probably has to do with the room in which they were used: drawing room, library, study or office and bedroom, and whether the user was writing on a large flat surface, a portable slope, or a small and delicate *escritoire*.

Many of the small items are enthusiastically collected by devotees of a particular type, for example seals, stamp boxes, fountain pens, pencils or glue pots. Other objects that were useful to have on a desk could be used elsewhere in a house, particularly tapersticks or clocks. A penknife was vital to sharpen a quill, or a lead. *Etuis* containing writing utensils [*fig 2*] were made to be carried in a pocket or reticule, but were no doubt also useful on a desk. Calendars and postal scales are sometimes now categorised as scientific instruments and sadly are seldom seen in sales of silver.

It will probably not be long before the purpose of a blotter is forgotten, just as some question the size and bluntness of paper knives [*figs 1 & 5*], not realising that books and newspapers were sold with uncut pages. But the biggest change of recent years must be the switch from writing with liquid ink (using a quill, dip pen or fountain pen) to felt-tips and biros – or seldom writing by hand at all – which sadly now makes inkwells largely redundant except for decorative purposes.



1 Desk set with silver mounts, circa 1900.

In previous issues of  
the Journal:

*Basics:*

Sauceboats (no 19  
2005)

Spoons (no16 2004)

Teapots (no21 2006)

*Visual identification:*

Beakers (no 16 2004)

Chalices and goblets  
(no15 2003)

Sauceboats and sauce  
tureens (no19 2005)

Teapots (no21 2006)

Illustrations 4, 6 and  
26 Woolley & Wallis,  
the remainder Sotheby's





(left)  
2 Etui containing writing implements, unmarked, English, mid-eighteenth century.

(right)  
3 John Isbrand, Copenhagen 1863.



4 Bougie box, John Green & Co., Sheffield 1798/99.



(above left)  
5 Desk set, inset with stones, comprising two paper knives, a pencil, a knife and a seal, late nineteenth century.



(left)  
7 Blotter and paper holder, overlaid with openwork silver decoration, late nineteenth century.



6 Pencils, Morden & Co., London circa 1850–1920.

There are no major complications when looking at inkstands, other than to ensure that marks on the individual pieces match. It is easy for a part to have been lost over the years. Be watchful, however, for salvers or snuffer trays that have been converted into an inkstand. In particular, check whether any handle is original to the piece or a later adaptation. The flat tray is often engraved with initials or armorials, although because of the lack of available space, these are usually of simple design.

In early eighteenth-century examples there are often rings attached to the tray to hold the pots in place. When, later, glass bottles were used, the containers into which they fit were usually fixed with screws or sliding pins. If possible look for bottles that are original, but it is common (for obvious reasons) for them to have been replaced.

Bells and tapersticks have often been separated from an inkstand because they are desirable objects in themselves. However as there was no hard-and-fast rule as to the elements of an inkstand, it is sometimes difficult to tell what it might once have contained: the only definite requirements were an inkwell and pounce pot. A taperstick that sits on top of a wafer box [as in *fig23*] should fit snugly.

There are so many desk seals, sealing wax cases, pencils and paper knives surviving, in a multitude of materials, that each type of object is worthy of an article. Etuis, too, survive in large numbers made in gilt metal or silver and, occasionally, gold. It is relatively rare to find them with a full complement of original fittings such as the one illustrated, [*fig 2*] which has writing, eating and sewing implements.



# A visual approach to identification: 5 – Inkstands



8 Maker's mark IB, London circa 1680.



9 Avignon, late seventeenth century.



10 William Lukin I, (London) circa 1700.



11 Maker's mark ES, London 1652/53.



12 Benjamin Pyne, London 1725/26.



13 Anthony Nelme, London 1703/04.



14 Peze Pilleau, London 1735/36.



18 English, circa 1790-1800.



15 Giuseppe Bartolotti, Rome, circa 1740.

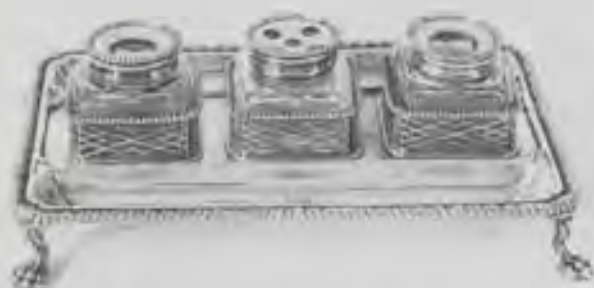


16 London 1750/51.



17 Edward Wakelin, London 1755/56.

20 (left) C. Bartolotti, Rome circa 1790.  
(right) Maker's mark LIM, Lisbon circa 1810.



19 E. Aldridge & J. Stamper, London 1755/56.



22 D. Scott & B. Smith for Rundell, & Bridge, London 1803/04.



21 William Bateman 1834/35, the inkwell John Bridge 1825/26, both London.



23 Silver-mounted hooves, second half nineteenth century.



24 W. Ker Reid, London 1836/37.



26 H. Matthews, Chester 1908/09 (loaded base).



25 (left) Paul Storr for Storr & Mortimer, London 1837/38.  
(right) E.E.J. & W Barnard, London 1841/42.



27 (left) Joseph Willmore, Birmingham 1839/40.



# A snuff box with a story

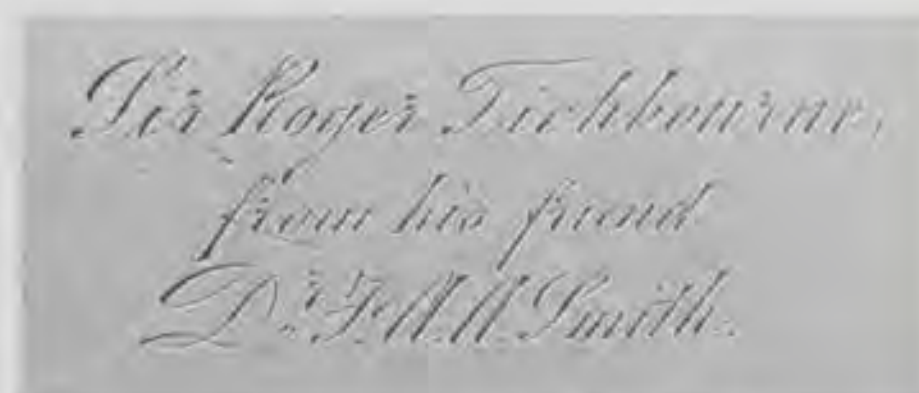
TIMOTHY A. KENT

Legal historians will know that the Tichborne Case (which involved two trials, civil and criminal 1871–74) was one of the most celebrated courtroom battles of the nineteenth century. It concerned an attempt by Arthur Orton,<sup>1</sup> who originated from Wapping and had emigrated to Australia, to pass himself off as Sir Roger Charles Doughty Tichborne (who had in fact been lost at sea off Chile) and claim the extensive family estates.<sup>2</sup> The claimant's civil action opened in May 1871 and lasted until 6 March 1872 when it collapsed and he was charged with perjury. The Tichborne family trustees received a solicitor's bill for £91,677 12s 2d<sup>3</sup> and a special Act of Parliament was necessary to permit sale of part of the settled estates in order to meet it.

Katharine dau of 9th Baron Arundell of Wardour	=	Edward Tichborne 9th Bt assumed surname Doughty 1826 1782–1853	James Doughty Tichborne = Henriette Felicite 10th Bt died 1862	died 1868
Sir Joseph Radcliffe 3rd Bt	=	Katharine 1854	Roger assumed dead 1854	Alfred 11th Bt born 1839

The whole episode began when the dowager Lady Tichborne,<sup>4</sup> elderly and eccentric, declined to believe that Roger was dead, and advertised for him in Australian newspapers.<sup>5</sup> Remarkably, she accepted the claimant, as did a number of men of substance and impeccable standing, most notably Lord Rivers, Guildford Onslow MP, James Winter Scott of Rotherfield Park near Alton (Hampshire) and Anthony Wright Biddulph JP, who was related to the Tichbornes. The claimant gained credibility in the Alresford area of Hampshire, near which town Tichborne Park is situated, and in particular it was noted that he was a good fisherman and capital shot: the relevance of the latter will soon appear. It was thought that an adventurer from Wapping would be unlikely to display these qualities.

Many leading barristers of the period were involved in the two trials. In the civil action Serjeant Ballantine QC<sup>6</sup> and Hardinge Giffard QC<sup>7</sup> led for the claimant, assisted by several juniors includ-



1 Inscription on the box in fig 2.

1 Arthur Orton, alias Castro (1834–98), the claimant.

2 Sir Edward, 9th Bt (1782–1853) had in 1826 assumed the surname of Doughty on succeeding to the estates of Miss Doughty of Snarford Hall, Lincolnshire. He married Katharine, daughter of the 9th Baron Arundell of

Wardour and had a surviving daughter Katharine who married in 1854 Sir Joseph Radcliffe, 3rd Bt. Sir James, 10th Bt, who succeeded in 1853 and was Sir Edward's younger brother, obtained a Royal Licence to bear the name of Doughty in addition to Tichborne. The Doughty and Tichborne inheritances therefore involved a degree of over-

lap and different trustees, bearing in mind Katharine Radcliffe's interest.

3 Using the Bank of England conversion table for 2002, this is the equivalent of approximately £3,922,858.

4 Neé Henriette Felicite, daughter of Henry Seymour by a natural daughter of Prince

Bourbon-Conti. Illegitimate, the Tichbornes were somewhat ashamed of her. Died 1868, before the litigation.

5 In April 1854, during the lifetime of his father Sir James, 10th Bt (died 1862), Roger's death was assumed and Sir James' younger son Alfred (born 1839) succeeded as 11th Bt.

His mother considered that he must give way to Roger when he came back. Advertisements for Roger began in 1863.

6 William Ballantine QC (1812–77), common-law leader, serjeant-at-law 1856.

7 1823–1921. QC 1865, trenchant advocate, later Lord Chancellor, 1st Earl of Halsbury.



ing Francis Jeune<sup>8</sup> who was, like Giffard, destined for eminence. The Tichborne family trustees briefed Sir John Duke Coleridge QC, Solicitor-General,<sup>9</sup> and the redoubtable Henry Hawkins QC,<sup>10</sup> their team including the highly-erudite Charles Bowen.<sup>11</sup> The Doughty interests were represented by Henry Matthews QC.<sup>12</sup> The claimant emerged poorly from Coleridge's cross-examination, in particular concerning Roger's schooldays at Stonyhurst.

In the criminal trial, before Lord Chief Justice Cockburn,<sup>13</sup> which followed, Henry Hawkins QC led for the Crown and the claimant, now defendant, was represented by Dr Edward Vaughan Hyde Kenealy QC,<sup>14</sup> an ebullient Irishman whose conduct of the case was such that he was subsequently deprived of his patent and disbarred. Orton was convicted of perjury and sentenced to 14 years penal servitude. However by now the matter was a controversial one in the public domain, with feeling whipped up to the effect that the claimant was the victim of Jesuit machinations. The now-disbarred Kenealy stood as 'the People's Candidate' in a by-election at Stoke-on-Trent and won by a majority of 3,000 over his Conservative and Liberal opponents. Pro-claimant journalism discovered that Sir Alexander Cockburn, Lord Chief Justice (formerly of Trinity Hall) had produced three illegitimate children by the wife of a Cambridge greengrocer.



2 Snuff box, Thomas Shaw, Birmingham 1833/34. Width: 7.25cm (3in). The lid is well engraved with a scene depicting pigeon-shooting from a trap.

The claimant survived his sentence, earning full remission, and after a somewhat bizarre later career, died in poverty and was buried under the name of 'Sir Roger Charles Doughty Tichborne, Bart'.

So much for the background history: now for the snuffbox.[figs 1 and 2] When I acquired the box, out of interest in the Tichborne case, I had no idea that there was a very good reason for the scene depicted. It was only when reading *The Tichborne Claimant, A Victorian Mystery* by Douglas Woodruff,<sup>15</sup> that the underlying facts came to light. The claimant was an expert shot at trap-released pigeons, and this was one reason why many people believed in him. Even when out on bail (granted by Mr Justice Brett)<sup>16</sup> he practised this activity:

He continued to show himself to the public at pigeon-shooting matches, where both his proficiency and his equanimity made him very popular. *The Morning Advertiser* for 18 August 1873 reported a match of the previous Saturday, at the Grove Hotel, Chiswick, for £200 a side. The claimant just won, bringing down 22 out of 31 pigeons against his opponent's 21. At these meetings derisive remarks were shouted – wishes that the birds were Coleridge and Hawkins.

It was decided that this particular activity was contrary to the claimant's bail conditions, and he had to stop.

The popularity of snuff-taking during the nineteenth century was immense, as evidenced by the great number of snuff boxes that have survived. A great snuff-taker was Charles Russell QC (Lord Chief Justice 1895-1900, Lord Russell of Killowen),<sup>17</sup> whose biography by Barry O'Brien I have just been reading.<sup>18</sup> At p227 the following appears, when Russell was asked:

'Do you remember' I asked 'Dr. Kenealy's theory about snuff-taking ... that excessive snuff-taking destroyed the intellect? And he urged that excessive snuff-taking had weakened the memory of Roger Tichborne.'

It is rare that research produces a scenario as positive as this, but it all hangs together. The claimant's last years were spent in penury, and he must have parted with his box, but it remains part of the story. It would have been acquired second-hand by Dr Smith, who was an Army doctor, and was buried in Epsom Cemetery in 1879.

8 1843-1905. QC 1888, later President of Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division, 1st and last Baron St Helier.

9 1820-94. QC 1861, great-nephew of S.T. Coleridge, Lord Chief Justice 1880-94, 1st Baron Coleridge. A serious-minded High Churchman, favoured by

Gladstone.

10 1817-1907. QC 1858, High Court Judge 1876, created Lord Brampton 1899.

11 1835-94. High Court Judge 1879, Lord of Appeal in Ordinary 1893, Life Peerage.

12 1826-1913. QC 1868, Home Secretary 1886-92,

1st Viscount Llandaff.

13 Sir Alexander Cockburn (1802-80), Lord Chief Justice 1859-80. Succeeded his brother in a Scottish baronetcy.

14 1819-80, QC 1868, MP for Stoke-on-Trent 1875-80.

15 London 1957, Hollis and Carter.

16 William Baliol Brett (1815-99), High Court Judge 1868, Master of the Rolls 1883, 1st Viscount Esher.

17 1832-1900. QC 1872, brilliant advocate, Lord Chief Justice 1894-1900, succeeding his fellow-Liberal Lord Coleridge. He would have been Lord

Chancellor if Gladstone had been able to change the law prohibiting a Roman Catholic from holding the office.

18 R. Barry O'Brien, *The Life of Lord Russell of Killowen*, London 1901, Smith Elder and Co.



## A church – a trowel

MICHAEL SHERRATT

The inscription engraved on the front of the blade of a small presentation trowel [fig 1] I acquired a little while ago, aroused my curiosity about St Jude's.[fig 2] Nothing has so far been discovered about its recipient, but the origins of the church and its first incumbent are better documented.

### The church

William Dalton was born in Co. Down, N. Ireland in 1801. After ordination he held a curacy in Kilcoo, and helped found the Protestant Reform Society. In 1827, on a mission from that body, he visited Liverpool 'preaching the Gospel' where he 'met with such favourable response that the people of Liverpool offered to build him a church, to be called St Jude's'. During a preaching visit to St George's church, Wolverhampton, he met and later fell in love with Sarah Marsh, a wealthy heiress and widow, who made a large donation to his cause. Dalton returned to Ireland and resigned his post there, 'fully intending to take up the promised post in Liverpool'. During a later visit to Wolverhampton to see Sarah, Dalton found she had offered to endow St George's church and had asked the bishop to appoint him as the first incumbent, even though Dalton 'had already agreed to accept the Liverpool position'.

Love had blossomed. He proposed to Sarah and was accepted, and she 'made it a condition that she should return ... for a few months each year until he found a permanent position near Wolverhampton'. Unfortunately the trustees of St Jude's were not prepared to release him, and they 'insisted that he serve them in Liverpool'. Sarah agreed to this subject to their dividing their time between Wolverhampton and Liverpool. They married in London in June 1831 and bought a home in Toxteth Park in Liverpool. In 1832 Sarah went back to the Midlands 'leaving Dalton to care for his flock among whom cholera had broken out'.

Meanwhile Sarah endowed a new church, and when it was discovered that the intended minister was unsuitable, a new minister had to be found. By a happy coincidence a Dr McNeil, Rector of Albury, Surrey, had fallen out with his patron and was asked by Dalton if he would take over at Liverpool if he, Dalton, moved to the new church. This was agreed and 'St Jude's would now have a man whose heart was not away in Wolverhampton'.<sup>1</sup>

The church of St Jude was consecrated on 20 October 1831. Built on land given by the Marquess of Salisbury, it stood on Hardwick Street which ran between Prescott Street and West Derby Street, a site covered since the late 1960s by the Royal Liverpool University Hospital. Designed by Thomas Rickman, the church was

built with lancet windows, between which are bold projecting buttresses; the whole is covered with cement, and ornamented with pinnacles



1 Fiddle pattern trowel, Robert Jones II of Liverpool. Chester 1829/30. Length: 15.2cm (6in). Inscribed: Presented to/Willm Jones Esqr./on laying the/Foundation Stone/of/St. Jude's Church/13 Augt, 1830. The reverse engraved: Other foundation /can no man lay/ than that is laid/ which is Jesus Christ/1.Cor.3.11.



2 St Jude's church, Liverpool, consecrated 1831, designed by Thomas Rickman, now demolished. (The Bluecoat Press)

<sup>1</sup> P. Hickman, *The Remarkable Story of the Reverend William Dalton*.



and four large square turrets. It was erected by subscription, and was 87 feet long, and 53 feet wide, having pews capable of accommodating about 1,500 persons, of which about 500 are free sittings.<sup>2</sup>

In the late nineteenth century it underwent alteration, and in 1891, along with other churches and property, was damaged by a severe thunder storm.

Thomas Rickman was born in Maidenhead in 1776. After working in his father's shop, a grocer and chemist, he studied medicine and practised as a doctor in Lewes for two years. He moved to London in 1803, and worked at a cornfactor's for four years. When the firm failed, leaving him deeply in debt, he moved to Liverpool in 1808, where he worked for a firm of insurance brokers until 1813. He took to travelling, studying and drawing churches. He became well known, giving public lectures which were so successful that he was elected Professor of Architecture to the Liverpool Academy in 1812. His friendship with James Smith, a fellow Quaker, led to the lectures being published in parts which eventually became the encyclopaedia *Attempt*. Through his interest in medieval architecture he came to know iron-master John Cragg, and also designed two churches which were mainly built in cast iron. One of them, St Jude's, was condemned as having 'the horrors of cast-iron tracery, mouldings run in cement, stucco façades, and galieried and ceiled interiors'.<sup>3</sup> He suffered ill health for the last few years of his life, and died in 1841. He was buried in St George's churchyard, Birmingham.

The church closed in 1965, and was later demolished during redevelopment of the whole area.

### The trowel

The fiddle pattern trowel is recorded in the Chester Plate Duty Book<sup>4</sup> only one week before the ceremony for which it was ordered:

1830		Gross wt
Aug 6	R. Jones & Co. 1 Silver Trowel	2oz. 8dwt. -grs.
1/6 allowed	Nett wt.	Nett Duty
-oz. 8dwt. -grs.	2oz. -dwt. -grs.	£ - 3s -d

The only other recorded trowel by the Jones family is an example by Robert Jones I which appears in the Plate Duty Book under the year 1806.<sup>5</sup>

Although marked with the letter 'L' for 1829/30, the trowel should have been marked with the letter 'M', as the date for the change of letter at Chester was 5 July. This discrepancy is probably accounted for through the slackness of the then Assay Master, John Walker, who was eventually dismissed.



### The silversmith

Robert Jones I was the son of Robert Jones, who came from Tatton, near Knutsford, Cheshire, and had taken over the business of the Branckers in Liverpool in 1752, where he had been assistant to Benjamin Brancker. On Robert's death, Joseph Walley, who also came from Tatton, married Maria, Robert's widow, and took over the business. Twelve years after his mother's second marriage, Robert I set up in business for himself and registered his mark at Chester. In 1790 his home address was 1 Water Street, and his shop was at 72 Castle Street. In 1777 Joseph Walley registered his mark at Chester, and by 1801, the year he died, he and Robert were sharing premises at 1/2 Water Street. Robert continued the business, and in 1823, his son, Robert II joined him as a partner. Two of his brothers, Christopher and Josiah also helped in the business. By 1825 'Rt Jones and Sons' are recorded at 72 Castle Street, and the following year the Jones's business as silversmiths was located at 22 Pembroke Street, which would have been within a few hundred yards of the site of the proposed St Jude's church. Robert I died at his residence, Stonehill House, Walton, Walton on the Hill, Anfield on 8 August 1826, and was buried in the Necropolis, Liverpool. By 1834 'Jones and Sons, Silversmiths' were at 22 Pembroke Street, where they continued in business until the Second World War. Robert II moved into the family home at Anfield, and lived there until 1869 when he moved to Everton. He died on 1 August 1876 and was buried at Anfield cemetery.<sup>6</sup>

### Acknowledgement

My thanks to Simon Davidson for pointing out the intriguing date letter discrepancy.

2 Anon, *Picture of Liverpool or Strangers Guide*, 1834.

3 J.A. Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool historical and topographical*, 2nd edn, vol 2, Howell, Liverpool 1907,

pp240, 435.

4 M.H. Ridgway, *Chester Silver 1837-1962 with special reference to The Chester Plate Duty Books 1784-1840*, Denbigh 1996, p88.

5 *ibid*, p87.

6 M.H. Ridgway, *Chester Silver 1727-1837*, Chichester 1985, pp68-69, 91-94, 205.



# Plate duty

## Its origins, marks and variations

ANTHONY DOVE

*The normal duty mark (the head of the reigning monarch), in use in England and Scotland 1786–1890, is in an oval punch. The Dublin Assay Office paid duty from 1807 and had a variety of shapes to all their punches (including ovals). This article focuses mainly on variations to the shape of the duty head. These were necessary due to changes in legislation but did not always coincide with the start of a new reign.*

A duty was first imposed on wrought silver in the United Kingdom from 1 June 1720. The Plate Duty Act<sup>1</sup> establishing this states

... that there shall be raised, levied, collected and paid unto and for the use of his Majesty, his heirs and successors for ever, for and upon all silver plate which shall be imported, made or wrought in Great Britain after the said first day of June [that] shall or ought to be touched, assayed or marked in the same kingdom as aforesaid, a duty after the rate of sixpence for every ounce troy [or proportionately part thereof]. After the said first day of June any wrought plate exported by way of merchandise chargeable with the said duty of sixpence per ounce and [if] the same shall appear to have been made or marked as aforesaid after the said first day of June [1720], the collector or receiver of the said duty on plate shall forthwith pay a drawback after the rate of sixpence for every ounce of such plate. This was to come under the Commissioners of Excise. All the monies arising by the said duties on plate shall be duly entered in one or more books to be kept in the offices of the Auditor of the receipt.

An early example of payment of this duty can be found in the eighteenth-century House of Commons Sessional papers. In an inventory of Sir Robert Chaplin Bt, dated 16 March 1720/1, an account entry reads:<sup>2</sup>

By Mr Lemery [ <i>sic</i> ] silversmith	£52. 12. 10.
By the King's Duty upon it and fashion	£21. 12. 6

The price of silver at this date was 5s 8d<sup>3</sup> which makes the weight of the object(s) 185oz: duty of 6d per ounce produces a figure of £4 12s 6d, leaving the sum of precisely £17 for workmanship or 'fashion'. It is interesting to note that the duty was recognised as the 'King's' at this early date as stated clearly in the Act quoted above.

In 1721 this Act was amended from 1 July<sup>4</sup> to exempt certain small items from marking and duty if weighing under 3dwt, with certain exceptions (namely handles, hafts, spoons, thimbles, buckles, clasps and buttons). In 1739, from 28 May, this was further amended<sup>5</sup> stating that

... no drawback shall be paid on the exportation of plate out of this kingdom if the same shall have been made seven years or more before the day of exportation.

### Repeal of duty and introduction of licences

The Plate Duty Act was repealed in 1758<sup>6</sup>

... from the first day of June the said duty of sixpence per ounce troy shall cease, and be no longer payable, except in all cases relating to the



*Throughout this article, marks are not illustrated to scale. See p113 for a concordance of duty marks.*

1 6 Geo. I c.11, commonly known as 'Sunderland's plate tax'.

2 Eighteenth-century House of Commons sessional papers (hereafter 'papers'), vol 4 p403. Presumably Paul de Lamerie.

3 Papers (as note 2), vol 49 p293. All prices quoted here are per troy ounce.

4 7 Geo. I (stat 1) c.20 (section XXXIV).

5 12 Geo. II c.26 (section X).

6 31 Geo. II c.32 (section I).



recovery of any arrears incurred before the first day of June.<sup>7</sup> And be it further enacted that no drawback whatsoever shall be allowed or paid upon the exportation of any silver plate which shall have been or shall be either before, on or after the said first day of June.

From 5 July duty was replaced by a licence of £2 for 'all traders and vendors of plate',<sup>8</sup> which was increased to £5 the following year.<sup>9</sup>

### Dating of silver and gold

At this juncture an interesting question arises. How were the authorities of the eighteenth century in the customs, excise and stamp offices able to date silver? It could be argued that for the purpose of the 1720 Act a basic distinction between a lion passant and a lion's head erased would suffice. Although referred to as 'Britannia' in 1720 inventories, small items of plate such as teaspoons or part-marked elements were only hallmarked with the lion's head erased, showing that this was regarded as the standard mark equivalent to the lion passant. However, this definition would include wrought silver before 27 March 1697 and any goldsmiths working in the (now voluntary) Britannia standard after 1720 – notably Paul de Lamerie among others.

Even if the fundamental difference between the two standards, as outlined above, could be overcome, the problem relating to the seven-year requirement in the 1739 Act would still arise. By 1758 the blanket exclusion of all refunds would (if continued) have eventually solved the problem. This presupposes an early form of Bradbury's.<sup>10</sup> As the 'King's tax' was being refunded on the export of such goods, it was clearly very important to ensure this was correct. It would not only have affected plate assayed at London but could also have included that from the English provincial offices and Edinburgh. (See the customs document quoted later in this paper, p112.)

A guidebook for customs officers in the British Library dated 1732<sup>11</sup> states that

... drawback of the duty is to be delivered to the exporter in order to be produced to the collector of the duty on wrought plate at the point of exportation [author's emphasis] who is forthwith to pay the drawback or allowance.

This suggests the necessity of having full details of all hallmarks at every port.

An interesting manuscript document (in a private collection) has recently come to light showing London assay date letters from 1696 to 1835. Presumably dating from 1835, it accurately describes the duty marks: 'Dec. 1784 King's head in an oval [*sic*] sunk' [incuse?] and the increases in 1797, 1804 and 1815 as being in an oval convex [punch]. Mention is also made of 'wrought plate marked with the Britannia which is eight and a half dwts [*sic*] better than standard'. A footnote states that 'on wrought plate exported as merchandise, not having been used, a drawback for the duty is allowed upon

oath of the manufacturer'. This manuscript, in giving such accurate representations of the date letters, would seem to have come from an official source, possibly the Goldsmiths' Company.

### Duty dodging

When any new tax is introduced there are always those who will use their ingenuity and try to avoid paying it. The so-called 'duty dodger' is basically of two types. The first, as used in hollowware, usually involves submitting a small piece of silver for assay and duty which is then dropped into another object, such as a castor, a coffee pot or even larger items.<sup>12</sup> This ploy is often apparent in that a double layer of silver is used and the impression of the marks cannot be seen on the inside. Where marks have been 'let in' (inserted into another object) this is usually indicative of a fake rather than a duty dodger. The other method, usually involving flatware, is to strike the maker's mark four times (in itself not illegal). In the latter instance, most examples seen with multiple maker's marks could be dated stylistically to circa 1760–80, when there was no duty to dodge! The reason for doing this is probably to replace a damaged article from a set and would merely avoid the cost of assay.

### The incuse duty mark

Duty was re-introduced on plate from 1 December 1784, and this time it also applied to gold. As the timing of this occurred in the middle of an assay year all the offices could have plate bearing the date letter for 1784 both with and without the duty mark. The Act<sup>13</sup> states that

for and upon all gold plate which shall be imported, made or wrought in the kingdom of Great Britain which shall or ought to be touched, assayed and marked, a duty after the rate of 8s for every ounce troy and proportionately, and silver plate [as above] sixpence per ounce (section 1). Plate made in Great Britain is to come under the Commissioners of Stamps and if wrought plate is imported, the duties [as above] are to come under the Commissioners of Customs.

And be it further enacted that the wardens or other person appointed by the assay officers shall mark with the following new mark, that is to say the King's head, over and besides the several other marks directed by law, all parcels of gold or silver plate so sent to be touched, marked and assayed and shall, previous to the touching, marking or assaying, ask demand and receive for the use of his Majesty, his heirs and successors, the sum of 8s for every ounce of gold plate and sixpence for silver plate, and shall give a receipt for the duty so paid (section V).

As the price of Sterling silver at this date was approximately 5s per ounce, this Act thereby effectively imposed a tax of 10 per cent on the finished product.

At the London Assay Office the incuse head mark was used only with the 1784/85 (i) and 1785/86 (k) date letters.[*fig 1*] From May 1786, with the introduction of the 1786/87 date letter (l) it was decided to incorporate the



duty with the hallmarks in a combined punch or 'stub'.<sup>14</sup> This punch, combining the hallmarks and duty together in a single block, was then used in a machine press, enabling a neater appearance of the marks, especially on flatware. As it was impractical to have one incuse punch with others that were in cameo, the duty mark was made to conform and the king's head appeared in an oval punch, facing right instead of left. These punches were all supplied for the Commissioners of Stamps in London, with whom lay the ultimate responsibility for the return of all the duty received, by John Pingo, and 'Mr Pingo, Engraver of the Company's punches also supplied the duty mark to the other assay offices'.<sup>15</sup>

The provincial assay offices used the incuse punch until 31 December 1786, giving rise to items with a 1786/87 date letter and incuse head. Examples are known from Edinburgh, Newcastle, Birmingham, Sheffield, [figs 2–5] and Exeter. The assay offices outside London began to use their cameo oval duty head on 1 January 1787.<sup>16</sup>

### Specific reason for the duty mark

With the introduction of the duty head it is very important to appreciate its precise purpose. Although applied by the London Assay Office at Goldsmiths' Hall (and at a later date actually incorporated with their marks), it was not technically a 'hallmark'. It had nothing to do with the standard or where or when a piece of silver was made and was there for one reason and one reason only. The punch was simply a receipt for the payment of duty. It served no other purpose whatsoever.

This is emphasised in a report made in 1856<sup>17</sup> in which the question was asked about the purpose of Queen Victoria's head on silver. William Garnett, Inspector General of the board of Inland Revenue told the inquiry

The Queen's head is merely to denote that the duty has been paid upon the plate. It has nothing to do with the quality, it merely denotes the payment of the duty; there are separate marks provided to denote the standard, but those are not government marks.

This explains the apparent inconsistency of London silver assayed with 1837/38 date letter (B) having the duty head of William IV, after his death on 20 June, for the whole assay year until May 1838. As the head was only a receipt it was not necessary to recut all the punches, which could wait until the start of the next year. On provincial silver this can be even more noticeable where the punch was struck separately, the most extreme example seen to date being a York item of 1839 bearing the head of George III – 19 years after his death! A more recent analogy would be the legal requirement some 50 years ago of signing a receipt over a twopenny stamp. As all stamps before decimalisation were legal tender, this did not have to be a stamp of the reigning sovereign.

### Export/import of plate and the marks used

The 1784 Act also stated that

... all gold and silver plate which shall appear to have been made and marked after the first day of December [1784] which shall be intended to be exported into any foreign parts, before the same is shipped, shall be brought to the assay office and shall be there stamped or marked with the figure of a Britannia ... in order to denote that such plate is to be allowed the drawback thereon.

The problem of determining the precise date of exported silver



1 London incuse duty, 1785/86.



2 Edinburgh incuse duty, 1786/87.



3 Birmingham incuse duty, 1786/87.



4 Sheffield incuse duty, 1786/87.



5 Newcastle incuse duty, 1786/87.

7 Papers (as note 2) vol 50 p411. Arrears on this tax were still being collected in 1787.

8 31 Geo. II c.32 (section II).

9 32 Geo. II c.24 (section V).

10 *Bradbury's Book of Hallmarks*, now published annually by Sheffield Assay Office. *The Final*, Jan/Feb 2005, pp13–15.

11 A complete guide to the officers of His Majesty's Customs 1732, BL 188 f.4.

12 Notably a water fountain by Peter Archambo, at Goldsmiths' Hall, see John Forbes, *Hallmark*, London

1998, p189.

13 24. Geo. III c.53 (sections I, III).

14 Susan Hare, *Touching gold and silver*, exhib cat, Goldsmiths' Hall, London 1978, p83.

15 op cit, p83. See also David McKinley and Chris Bell, 'The Pingo family and eighteenth-century hall-marking', *Silver Studies*, no19 2005.

16 Maurice H. Ridgway, *Chester Silver 1727–1837*, 1985, p29.

17 Nineteenth-century sessional papers, vol XVI p231.



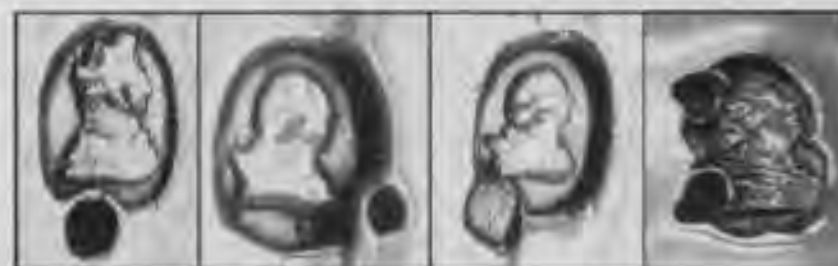
would seem to have been at least partially overcome by this time as plate was to be sent to the (local?) assay office, where such information would have been known. This, however, presupposed that the exports were only of items of plate from that particular office.

#### *Exportation (drawback) mark*

Reference is made in this Act of the figure of Britannia to be marked on all plate to be exported, in order to show that the refund of the duty had been made. Nowadays this is generally referred to as the 'drawback mark' presumably a reference to the drawback clause in the Act. However, the contemporary term as used by Goldsmiths' Hall in London is found in its records as, next to an impression of this Britannia, is the phrase 'exportation mark'.<sup>[fig 6]</sup> This punch, however, only lasted some eight months because as it was applied to finished articles it frequently caused damage. The 1785 Act<sup>18</sup> summarises this:

whereas striking the Britannia mark on many articles of gold and silver plate, in their finished state, can in no way be practised without doing material damage to such wrought plate from 24th July [1785] this requirement shall be repealed.

Although the actual exportation mark was no longer used, drawback was still allowed. The late Dr Ronald Grant, in doing research into this matter, noticed that some articles of silver, mainly flatware, had impressed into the duty mark a small blank punch. This was so placed that it deliberately distorted the outline thereby making it hard to fake. He also discovered a reference in the London Assay Office records to a 'secret mark' being applied to exported plate to ensure that duty could not be reclaimed a second time. While no specific details are given of this mark, and there is no actual proof that these 'Grant dots' represent this method of preventing fraud, there are nevertheless many examples known of this mark from 1785 to 1845. An Act was passed in 1821 specifically to deal with the overclaiming of drawback on gold rings.<sup>19</sup><sup>[fig 7]</sup>



7 'Grant dots' on spoons.

#### *Re-import marks*

The marks shown on the fork illustrated <sup>[fig 8]</sup> show what may be a re-import mark. As duty was refunded on export, if returned to Great Britain this had to be repaid. The item was assayed in 1834/35, yet the extra duty is the second head of Victoria struck only in 1839. There were only three impressions of this sovereign's head, in the years 1838, 1839 and 1840.<sup>20</sup> This last was used until duty was abolished in 1890. Contrary to popular belief, unlike the heads on Victoria's coinage which tended to 'age' with her, those struck on gold and silver plate did not. The phrase now used by some dealers referring to the 'young head' is therefore meaningless as they all were.<sup>[fig 9]</sup> This last hallmark stub has two duty heads, the one on the left overstriking the figures 18, as this particular spoon had been incorrectly struck with the hallmark for 18 carat gold.



8 (right) Two different duty heads on table fork, 1834/35.



9 Head of Victoria, 1886/87.



Two other examples of what are probably re-import marks, show a small duty head, deliberately and precisely struck in the centre of an original. The George III example was assayed at Edinburgh [fig 10] and the Victorian one at Glasgow.[fig 11] As mentioned earlier, the duty mark only related to a receipt of duty, so if these three items were re-imported into this country (in the case of the fork five years later), the importer would be perfectly entitled to proof that he had repaid the tax. In practice the possession of the items concerned, if imported legally, would probably be sufficient acknowledgement.

### Doubling of duty in 1797

In 1797 the Government increased the duty on wrought plate, doubling the tax to approximately 20 per cent. The Act<sup>21</sup> states that

from and after the said fifth day of July an additional duty on all gold plate imported, made or wrought in Great Britain of 8s for every ounce troy and on silver plate of sixpence for every ounce troy. Duties from plate made in Great Britain to be under the Commissioners for Stamps. Duties from imported plate to be under the Commissioners of Customs.

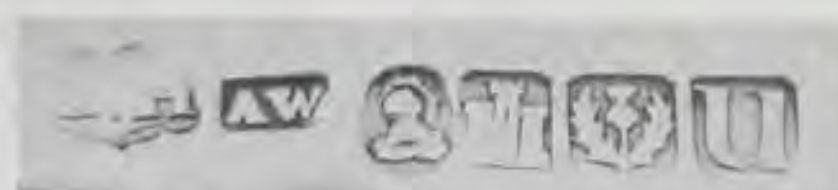
In the event of exportation it was going to be necessary to know whether items of silver or gold with a 1797 date letter had paid duty at the old rate of 6d or 8s per ounce or the revised rate of 1s or 16s respectively in order to refund the correct amount. This was done with cusp-like intrusions into the field of the duty punch which could be easily done with a sharp file on the original, thus avoiding the costly and time-consuming exercise of recutting all the punches immediately. It would also be very hard for anyone to fake without this being obvious (but see fig 32, where an attempt has been made to do so). A practical demonstration of this with a wooden pseudo punch impressed into blue-tack produces exactly the required effect.[fig 12]

### Double duty at the London assay office

At this date London was the only assay office to use a stub for most of its marking which incorporated the duty head with hall-marks. The assay plate for the year 1797 [fig 17] is inscribed 'July 5th New Duty Marks'. It will be noted that the position of the duty head is always the outer mark on the stub. This enables cusps to be inserted, either base and right, base and left, either side, or base and both sides (triple cusp).[figs 13–16]

The last mark was usually found in a watch case stub (at the base). It was also used occasionally as a single punch on very large items or those with a curvature so great as not to permit the use of a stub. This latter mark [fig 16] is the only time when the triple-cusped duty as a single punch is used at London (see below under provincial offices). It should be borne in mind that the cusped duty heads at the London Assay Office were used only for the one year of duty increase. Subsequent years would have automatically paid the increased duty.

16 Triple cusps on watchcase, 1797/98.



10 Edinburgh duty with head inside, 1826/27 (and detail).



11 Glasgow duty with head inside, 1884/85.



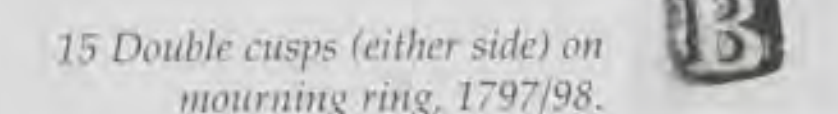
12 Demonstration of filing cusps into a punch.



13 Double cusps (base and right) on spoon 1797/98.



14 Double cusps (base and left) on sugar tongs, 1797/98.



15 Double cusps (either side) on mourning ring, 1797/98.

18 25 Geo. III c.64 (section II).

pp131–38.

19 Ronald Grant, 'Drawback and Smuggling', *The Silver Society Journal*, no4 1993,

20 Susan Hare, 'Heads you win', *The Goldsmiths' Review* 1984/5, p18 fig 5.

21 37 Geo. III c.90 (misc. sections).





18 Double duty heads at Sheffield, 1797/98.



19 Double duty heads at York, 1797/98.



20 (left) Double duty heads at  
Birmingham, 1797/98.

21 (centre) Double duty heads at  
Newcastle, 1797/98.

22 (right) Triple cusped duty head at  
Newcastle, 1797/98.

#### Double duty at the provincial assay offices

As the other assay offices in England and Scotland only used single punches at this date (not stubs), they were sent a request to strike the king's head twice until the new mark had been received. This was duly obeyed at Sheffield, Birmingham, and York.[figs 18– 20] The Newcastle tablespoons illustrated here [figs 21 & 22] demonstrate the replacing of the two heads with the triple cusped duty. The one with double duty marks is the only example of flatware known so far from this assay office to include a date letter.[fig 21] The other spoon has the same date letter 'G' and triple cusped duty which was introduced at a later stage in the assay year (see below).[fig 22]

The Edinburgh Goldsmiths' records, referring to the striking of two duty heads, in a marginal note state 'the incorporation refuses to do so'. This apparent lack of co-operation on behalf of the Scottish hammermen is interesting considering that when the final increase in plate duty took place on 1 September 1815, Edinburgh did agree to bring forward the date of the start of its assay year from the middle of September to the 1st to accommodate this.

Chester started its assay year on 19 July from circa 1750–96. By 1808 it had changed to 5 July.<sup>22</sup> The intervening registers are unfortunately missing but it would seem to be too great a coincidence to suggest otherwise than that the date of 5 July as a start of the assay year began in 1797. As Exeter's year started in July/August at this



date, it seems likely that this office did the same. If these last two did adjust their year to agree with the increase as Edinburgh did in 1815, the result would be that all items with that year's date letter would pay at the increased rate.

The 'new duty mark' to be used at all the assay offices other than London was the single punch of the king's head with three cusps, one either side and one in the base.[fig 22] Edinburgh Assay Office, for some reason as yet unknown, occasionally used a mark with a cusp either side.[fig 23] It is not known precisely when each individual office received this punch but the four offices that used the double-struck plain oval head [figs 18–21] also used the triple cusped version within the same 1797 date letter period.[fig 22]

The triple cusped duty head, used outside London, while never appearing before the first increase in 1797, appears to have been used indiscriminately from 1797 until circa 1820. Perhaps the significance of this cusped mark was not fully appreciated, even by some assay offices, as shown by being struck twice (presumably denoting double duty) on a caddy spoon dated 1797.<sup>23</sup> There is a rare example of three cusps<sup>24</sup> on a William IV head of 1834 at York.[fig 24]

The question sometimes arises as to why all duty heads appear to look the same, while lion passant punches have their own distinctive characteristics at each assay office. This is because, as mentioned above, London was held responsible for the duty collected at all the other offices, so duty punches were all made in London and sent out from there. Even when the provincial offices used the stub (combination punch), these were sent from London with the duty already engraved. The individual offices would then add their own lion passant, town mark and date letter. This was another reason for the duty mark to be always at the end of a group of punches (see above). Comprehensive records of payments of duty are known to exist from the Chester Assay Office, and London also has some surviving books but only giving total figures.

### The watch trade, its taxes and duty

In order to assist the watch trade, which was finding taxes punitive, the duty<sup>25</sup> on watches was rescinded in 1798.<sup>26</sup>

From and after 25th March 1798 the duties relating to gold and silver plate used or to be used as and for watch cases shall cease and be no longer payable, save in all cases relating to the recovering of any arrears (section I) and if any person shall export by way of merchandise to any foreign parts any gold or silver plate wrought into watch cases in this kingdom, before the 5th March 1799 the Commissioners of the Stamp duties shall forthwith pay a drawback of the whole of the duties paid on such gold or silver plate by virtue of said Acts.

In 1797 in addition to the doubling of duty on gold and silver watches, an extra burden was imposed<sup>27</sup> of an annual tax of 10s for the personal possession of every gold watch and 2s 6d for every silver watch. A Coventry watchmaker was asked whether the decline in the watch trade was due to the doubling of duty or the new annual tax on clocks and watches. It was his considered opinion that it was due solely to the annual tax.<sup>28</sup> This tax evidently proved so unpopular that it was repealed nine months later on 5 April 1798.<sup>29</sup>

### Additional duty increase in 1804 (on silver only)

In 1804 a further increase in duty was agreed, but only on silver, while that on gold remained unchanged.<sup>30</sup> (See below under Irish duty).



23 Double cusped head at Edinburgh, 1822/23.



24 Triple cusped head at York, 1834/35.

22 Ridgway (as note 16), p45.

23 John Norie, *Caddy Spoons*, London 1988, pl 127, fig i.

24 There is no explanation for this and the cusps must have been cut by the local assay master – perhaps he thought that cusps were essential?

25 37 Geo. II c.108 (section I).

26 38 Geo.III c.40 (section I).

27 37 Geo. III c.90 (section XVI).

28 Papers (as note 2), vol 117, p102.

29 38 Geo. III c.24 (section I).

30 44 Geo. III c.98 (schedule B).





25 London single basal cusp, 1804/05.



26 (left) London mourning ring cusp duty, 1804/05.

27 (centre) Single basal cusp on silver, 1815/16.

28 (right) Flattened base duty, 1815/16.



29 Single cusp on 18 carat gold, 1815/16.



30 Double cusp on 18 carat gold, 1815/16.



31 Exeter flat-based duty head, 1815/16.



32 Dublin faked duty mark, 1815/16.

From and after the tenth of October 1804 plate of silver made or wrought in Great Britain paid duty at 1s 3d per ounce. DRAWBACK<sup>31</sup> – In respect of gold and silver plate wrought in Great Britain which shall be duly exported by way of merchandise to Ireland or any foreign parts, the whole duties which shall have been paid for the same.

The amended punch used at the London Assay Office was, in all instances, a single basal cusp.[fig 25] Inscribed in the assay plate is the legend 'Additional duty marks took place Oct. 11th 1804'. It is interesting that the punch used for mourning rings (the only items of jewellery liable for hallmarking and hence duty at this date) also has a cusp in the base as there was no increase in gold this year.[fig 26] Silver mourning rings are virtually unknown at this period, although the possibility would have to be allowed for. It is not known at present how the other assay offices coped with this increase which, as before in 1797, would have been necessary in the event of export.

An interesting document dated 1805,<sup>32</sup> shows the export of goods, mainly silver, and details the plate at different rates. The number of ounces is stated before 1 December 1784, before and after 5 July 1797, and before and after 10 October 1804. Once again the question arises: how could the authorities do such precise dating at this time? They must have had details not only of date letters but also information about the cusps used in 1797 and 1804.

#### Final increase of duty in 1815 (with two variations)

The final increase in plate duty took place on 1 September 1815.<sup>33</sup>

From and after 31st August 1815 plate of silver made or wrought in Great Britain had duty payable of 1s 6d per ounce and gold of 17s per ounce.

There was unquestionably only one increase on plate in this year. Yet, curiously, items of London assayed plate have two very distinct variations to the normal oval punch on silver and the rectangular punch on 18 carat gold. On silver there is one variation with a single basal cusp to the duty as used in 1804 [fig 27] and another with a flattened base.[fig 28] These marks would also have applied to 22 carat gold (see below for section on gold). The 18 carat punches have one variation with a single basal cusp [fig 29] and another with an additional cusp in the top.[fig 30] It seems that one variation of the original punch was adapted from the other. This is noticeable in fig 28 where a trace of a cusp can be clearly seen in the centre of the flat base, proving that the bottom of the single cusp had been removed.

Having already established, above, that the duty mark itself is only a receipt of payment, with no further increase in duty, the only reason for this additional variation must be due to a change in export legislation. This can be explained by an Act effective from and after 14 June 1815:<sup>34</sup>

whenever merchandise of Great Britain or Ireland respectively shall have been imported into either country to the other, the exporter shall receive a drawback equal to the full amount of the duty which shall have been actually paid on such goods.[Author's emphasis]

To explain the complexities and repercussions of this Act, consider a London assayed article of silver with 1815/16 date letter, on which duty of 1s 3d per ounce had been paid. If it were exported to Ireland before 14 June 1815 drawback of this amount could be claimed in full but the article would then be subject to Irish import



duty of 1s. If subsequently re-exported on or after 14 June, this levy of 1s would itself be refundable but could be fraudulently claimed as 1s 3d per ounce as the Act allowed this amount to be refunded.

It would therefore be necessary, as before, where the duty had increased, to identify this 'Irish levy' increase by means of a single cusp as used in 1804. This amended variation would therefore have been used from 14 June until 31 August (inclusive) – the new duty rates of 1s 6d per ounce on silver and 17s on gold being applicable on 1 September. Incidentally, this must surely make the normal oval London duty the rarest mark, as it was used for only two weeks (from 30 May to 13 June 1815).

It is possible that the flat based duty used at Exeter in 1815 [fig 31] may be the equivalent of that used at London on 1 September. It is not known for certain how the other assay offices (apart from Edinburgh – see above) amended their duty punches to allow for the increases in this assay year.<sup>35</sup>

### Irish duty and its increase

As plate marked at the Dublin Assay Office was only liable for duty from 1807 the only punches involving increase were those for 1815 (date letter T). Douglas Bennet illustrates a stub on the assay plate with what he calls a 'broken duty mark'.<sup>36</sup> It is surely very unlikely that for the final impressions on the plate such a damaged punch would have been chosen. It is far more likely that the neat removal of the right-hand point of the duty mark was Dublin's way of showing the increase on 1 September. This amended punch agrees with all the criteria applied to the English and Scottish duty marks. It is an external punch on the stub, it would be quick and easy to make and would be hard to fake. Nevertheless, attempts were made to cheat the Revenue by crudely filling in the top right-hand corner of the duty mark with solder on at least one item.[fig 32]

### Duty marks on gold

Before the introduction of 18 carat gold, the only acceptable standard was, like the coinage, 22 carat. The hallmarks used were exactly the same as those for silver, except during the Britannia period (1697–1720) when wrought gold was marked with the lion passant and leopard's head. The lion passant was used at all the English assay offices for 22 carat gold, being replaced by the number 22 in 1844.<sup>37</sup>

In 1798, again in a concession to the watch and jewellery trades, 18 carat gold was first assayed.<sup>38</sup>

From and after 1st October 1798 it shall be lawful to make any gold vessel or plate of the standard of 18 carats of fine gold in every pound weight, which shall be marked with the new mark as follows; viz. the crown and the figures 18 instead of the mark of the lion passant.

It was also proposed that an additional standard of 14 carats should be introduced at the same time with a reduced duty of 11s per ounce, but this did not take place until 1932.

The London assay office used a 'stub' on the new standard of 18 carat with each mark in a rectangle with clipped corners. The 18 carat mark used at all the English assay offices outside London was the oval duty head and the crown and figure 18 (sometimes combined). The notable exception to this was the York Assay Office which apparently was never sent any punches for this standard. On all examples seen to date, the figure '18' has been shown with or without a crown, as an incuse punch.[fig 33] Scottish gold marks



31 44 Geo. III c.98 (schedule C).

32 See Anthony B.L. Dove, 'Refunding of duty on the export of silver', *The Silver Society Journal*, no.4 1993, p.130, where this document is transcribed in full.

33 55 Geo. III c.185 (schedule).

34 55 Geo. III c.83 (section III).

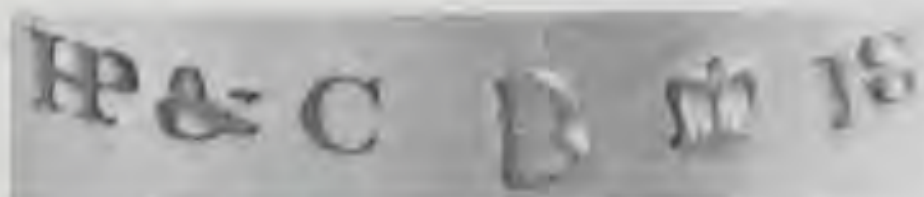
35 Ridgway (as note 16), p.45.

36 Douglas Bennett, *Irish Georgian Silver*, London 1972, p.285 fig 57.

37 7/8 Victoria c.22.

38 38 Geo. III c.69.





33 York 18 carat gold marks, circa 1800.



34 Eight reale piece with duty, 1797.



35 Pseudo marks on tongs, circa 1820.



36 (left) American spoon duty, circa 1810; and (right) English duty for comparison.



37 No duty on salt, 1889/90.

### Further reading

- Susan Hare, *Touching Gold and Silver*, exhib cat. Goldsmiths' Hall, London 1978  
 John Forbes, *Hallmark*, London 1998  
 Derek Fry, 'Unusual Duty Head on Exeter Teaspoons', *The Finial*, April/May 2003  
 Richard Stagg, 'A variation in the Duty Head', *The Finial*, Feb/Mar 2003

used the thistle for 22 carat instead of the lion passant, with duty marks as English provincial on both 22 and 18 carat standards.

When the lower standards of 15, 12 and 9 carat gold were introduced in 1854, they did not pay duty or have a crown as they were not regarded as proper gold standards, having such a high base metal content (of up to 62.5 per cent in 9 carat).

### Duty marks on foreign silver

In 1797 there was an acute shortage of silver crown pieces in current use in England. To obviate this it was decided to circulate Spanish dollars, which were overstruck with the sovereign's duty head in an attempt to have these coins accepted, although valued at only 4s 9d.[fig 34] One alleged cynical contemporary comment was that this represented 'the head of a madman on the neck of a fool' (Charles IV of Spain).<sup>39</sup>

Generally speaking, attempts to produce pseudo marks on colonial silver are usually obvious in that even if the other 'hallmarks' are realistic, the duty head is invariably the giveaway.[fig 35] One exception to this is the mark on a pair of American spoons by Johnson & Reat of Richmond, Virginia, circa 1810.[fig 36] In comparison with a genuine duty head it is a very good imitation, although the shield is of unknown shape. This is the only example so far recorded of a pseudo head appearing on an item of American silver on its own, with no other 'hallmarks'. Could this have been a punch deliberately made by an American resident who was secretly still loyal to the king at this date? As one bewigged head looks very much like another, if challenged this could easily have been claimed to be George Washington!

### Abolition of plate duty

Duty was abolished at all the assay offices on 1 May 1890.<sup>40</sup> What may be considered a rare mark is seen on the salt [fig 37] assayed between 1 and 28 May, as there is no duty on the stub.

### Articles by the author that were precursors to the present text

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Some new light on plate duty and its marks | <i>Antique Collectors Club</i> , September 1984 |
| Some observations on gold hallmarks        | <i>Antique Collectors Club</i> , September 1986 |
| Some observations on the drawback mark     | <i>The Finial</i> , October 1993                |
| The incuse duty mark (1784–86)             | <i>The Finial</i> , June/July 2000              |
| Irish duty increase and a faked version    | <i>The Finial</i> , Oct/Nov 2002                |
| Examples of re-imported marks              | <i>The Finial</i> , Dec/Jan 2002/03             |
| English duty marks on foreign silver       | <i>The Finial</i> , April/May 2003              |
| Double struck assay marks                  | <i>The Finial</i> , Dec/Feb 2003/04             |
| Cusped duty used from 1797                 | <i>The Finial</i> , Mar/April 2004              |
| Do 18th/19th century Bradbury's exist?     | <i>The Finial</i> , Jan/Feb 2005                |

### Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to express my gratitude to my many friends who, over the past two decades, have sought out and provided me with examples of what Timothy Schroder once delightfully described as 'marks of wondrous obscurity'. Without these, many of which are illustrated above, my research would not have been possible.

Secondly I wish to record my thanks to the late Ronald Grant, whose interest in the duty mark started at the same time as mine. We spent many happy hours discussing the esoteric questions of 'cusps' and 'dots' and their possible significance.

Thirdly, my thanks to the Goldsmiths' Company for their permission to reproduce the illustration of the 1797 assay plate, examination of which proved invaluable in my initial research. Also to the Edinburgh Record Office for access to their records.

Finally, my thanks to *The Finial*, Terry and Mary Haines, its founders, and Daniel Bexfield, the current owner; and their photographers (past and present) together with Simon Moore, whose enlargements of the marks on mourning rings appear here. Their journal has enabled me to produce my research in short papers over the years (listed above) and incorporate feedback which appears here together for the first time.

<sup>39</sup> *The Finial*, April/May 2003, pp6–7 for further details.

<sup>40</sup> 53 Victoria c.8.



# News

## Changes to the Hallmarking Act

*Goldsmiths' Review 2007* gives some small but interesting changes to the 1973 Hallmarking Act. To quote the Assay Office report in the *Review*:

Two amendments to the Hallmarking Act came into force on 6 April 2007. The first related to mixed metals where it is now possible to hallmark any combination of mixed metals irrespective of relative quantity. Also, combinations of precious metals and base metals are allowed. The second related to the extension in the cut-off date – from 1920 to 1950 – which allows articles to be described as 'unhallmarked silver'.

It may be of assistance, to those outside the trade, to have some clarification of what the situation was before 6 April 2007. This is done through examples.

### First amendment

*Example. A beaker consisting of two or three of the specified precious metals coming within the scope of the Act, namely, platinum, gold and silver. The construction is of a solid single precious base with vertical strips of precious metal only. SILVER PARTS EXCEEDING 50% BY WEIGHT OF THE BEAKER, THE BALANCE BEING OF GOLD AND/OR PLATINUM.*

*Previously: Fully marked on the base or rim as silver.*

*Now: Silver parts fully marked as silver but the parts made of the more precious metals stamped with the standard mark for those metal(s).*

*GOLD PARTS EXCEEDING 50 % BY WEIGHT OF THE BEAKER, THE BALANCE BEING OF PLATINUM ONLY.*

*Previously: Fully marked on the base or rim as gold.*

*Now: Gold parts fully marked as gold and platinum parts stamped with the standard mark for the metal.*

*PLATINUM. GOLD AND SILVER WHERE NO ONE METAL EXCEEDS 50% BY WEIGHT.*

*Previously: No provision for hallmarking.*

*Now: Silver parts fully marked as silver but the parts made of the more precious metals stamped with the standard mark for those metals.*

*In this example the fundamental change is the removal of weight as the factor governing the assay standard.*

*Example. Same beaker as above (whether or not any one precious metal exceeds 50% of the precious metal content) but with the inclusion of one or more different base metal strips.*

*Previously: No provision for hallmarking.*

*Now: All precious metals hallmarked in a manner at the discretion of the Assay Office, together with the mark '+METAL' adjacent to the hallmark. If practicable, the word 'METAL' must also be struck on the base metal components. The base metal component(s) must be clearly distinguishable from the precious metal component(s) by means of colour, texture or extent.*

*This example shows a fundamental change for bi-metal products. This is open to many base metals used in conjunction with precious metals, always providing they meet the 'distinguishable' regulation quoted above. Regulations regarding base metal attachments for technical purposes, eg jewellery pins, remain unchanged.*

### Second amendment

*Example: A Jensen spoon dated 1949. Always providing that it meets the minimum fineness of 800 parts per 1000.*

*Previously: Not allowed to be called 'unhallmarked silver' because the date letter indicated a date of manufacture post 1919, ie outside the cut-off date of 1920, which was amended from the original date of before 1900 in the 1973 Act.*

*Now: Permitted.*

*The Act is unyielding in that it firmly lays the burden of proof on the describer of the object as to date and fineness. Some objects have no hallmarks at all or perhaps a maker's/sponsor's mark only – which would at least give a indication of age. A foreign standard stamp cannot be taken as a guarantee of fineness, particularly when dealing with assay offices outside the mainstream areas. Possession of a touchstone would be of assistance to judge fineness.*

### Conclusion

The 1973 Act needs to be read in full with regard to the sections commented on above. There are numerous exceptions and rules governing more complex objects than a simple beaker.

However pedantic the prose in the Act may appear to the layman, the legalistic language is geared to the prevention of fraud. The new amendments give greater freedom to the designer who wishes his wares to have the approval of the Assay Office, and give comfort to the buyer.

The second amendment reflects the passage of time since the 1920 cut-off date, and the increased appreciation of later foreign silver made after 1919. The description 'unhallmarked silver' in respect of such items is now extended to include 1949.

Peter Bentley

### Acknowledgement

I wish to acknowledge the help given by Dr Robert Organ, Deputy Warden of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, in preparing this article.







# New discoveries concerning the Berlin silver buffet

ALFRED HAGEMANN AND MATTHEW WINTERBOTTOM

The courtly tradition of silver buffets was taken to its highest level at the court of Louis XIV, as were so many late-medieval rituals, but the climax was reached with the grand silver-buffet in the Rittersaal (Knight's Hall) of Berlin Palace. Prince Elector Friedrich III of Brandenburg (1657–1713) used this centuries-old tradition, in the last years of the seventeenth century, to demonstrate his princely dignity and to further his plans to make himself the first king of Prussia.<sup>1</sup> The Berlin buffet surpassed everything that went before. Previously buffets had been temporary displays for special occasions that used the accumulated, heterogeneous stock of a silver vault. In Berlin a stylistically homogeneous ensemble of silver was created as a permanent, fixed, part of the decoration in the newly built throne-room of the palace.<sup>2</sup> One of the most spectacular commissions of the time, most of the silver was made for the purpose in Augsburg by the brothers Albrecht, Lorenz II and Johann Ludwig I Biller. It was delivered in 1698 and was on permanent display opposite the throne in the Rittersaal from 1703.

The buffet consisted of a table painted to look like lapis lazuli, on which were arranged three monumental groups of cisterns and fountains and two coolers. Over this, on brackets against a mirrored wall, were nine ewers and basins and eight chain bottles. Although the majority of the pieces were gilded, the pyramidal composition was framed by white silver objects: two massive cisterns and fountains on the left and right of the table, a number of bottles and huge basin and ewer of older date at the top.[fig 1] These white silver pieces of the buffet were melted down in two campaigns during the Seven Years War in 1745 and 1757. The remaining buffet silver miraculously survived all further melts of the nineteenth century. Berlin Palace was destroyed in the Second World War and the buffet is now displayed in the Kunstgewerbemuseum, Schloss Köpenick, Berlin.

This huge accumulation of silver attracted the attention of all eighteenth-century<sup>3</sup> descriptions of the palace as well as a long line of scholars since the nineteenth century.<sup>4</sup> Most recently the history, meaning and artistic form of the buffet has been thoroughly investigated in the work of Christiane Keisch in 1997.<sup>5</sup> Although the work of Keisch forms the foundation of the following thoughts, new evidence has recently been discovered in the Jewel House records, in the National Archives at Kew, which offers possible solutions to a number of previously unanswered questions and casts new light on the artistic and historic development of the Berlin buffet. The sources are introduced here together with some first conclusions.

Previous authors on the buffet were unable to establish exactly when and why Friedrich III commissioned the buffet from the Biller brothers. The design and building of the Rittersaal cannot have been

*1 (opposite) Johann Friedrich Eosander, 'Dessein Du grand Buffet de vermeil d'oré, dressé dans la Sale des chevalliers au chateau Royal de Berlin', circa 1708, engraving from Theatrum Europaeum, vol XVI, (Kunstabibliothek Berlin)*

1 Friedrich made himself King of Prussia in 1701. Although this was two years before the buffet was permanently erected in the Rittersaal it is known that the buffet was displayed at the wedding of Friedrich's daughter in 1700.

2 Lorenz Seeling, 'Das große Silberbuffet aus dem Rittersaal des Berliner Schlosses' in Bayerisches Nationalmuseum München, *Silber und Gold – Augsburger Goldschmiedekunst für die Höfe Europas*, Munich 1994, p330.

3 For example; *Theatrum Europaeum*, vol XVI, 1701–03, Frankfurt am Main 1717; Friedrich Nikolai, *Beschreibung der*

*königlichen Residenzstädte Berlin und Potsdam*, 1786; Johann Daniel Rumpf, *Beschreibung der äußeren und inneren Merkwürdigkeiten der königlichen Schlösser in Berlin, Charlottenburg, Schönhausen, in und bei Potsdam*, Berlin 1794.

4 Julius Lessing, *Der Silberschatz des königlichen Schlosses zu Berlin*, Leipzig 1885; Sylvia Rathke-Köhl, *Geschichte des Augsburger Goldschmiedgewerbes vom Ende des 17. bis zum Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Augsburg 1964.

5 Christiane Keisch, *Das Grosse Silberbuffet aus dem Rittersaal des Berliner Schlosses*, Berlin 1997, pp147–50.



the original cause, as sources show that after several years of production the silver was delivered in 1698, the very year designs for the Rittersaal were begun. In fact it seems that the buffet was one of the elements on which the whole layout of the new throne room was based.<sup>6</sup>

Confusion about the early history of the buffet was created by the first description of the ensemble in *Theatrum Europaeum* in 1717.<sup>7</sup> This stated a foreign origin for some pieces:<sup>8</sup>

The two outer rinsing-cisterns set at top each other with their vases are of solid silver, made by the most able gold-workers of The Hague and were given by his late Royal Majesty of England as a godfather's present.

The homogeneous origin of the ensemble from Augsburg was thus in question. In addition, the two oldest inventories of the royal silver of 1702 and 1713 list the pieces as 'two large English rinsing-basins' and 'two large silver English rinsing-basins'.<sup>9</sup> However, due to the stylistic unity of the buffet silver, and the fact that there was no record of William III standing as godfather to a Brandenburg prince, or any evidence of such an important gift, most scholars have rejected the idea of a foreign origin for these pieces. Authors of even the most recent publications have remained convinced that the entire buffet was created in Augsburg,<sup>10</sup> although it was difficult to explain why the information was recorded in several independent sources.<sup>11</sup>

On 15 January 1692/3 the Jewel House Warrant Book records that William and Mary ordered:<sup>12</sup>

two large cisterns to be curiously Enchased and Embossed according to the Draughts their Maties have given

These were delivered fifteen months later, on 23 April 1694, when they were described as:<sup>13</sup>

2 silver cisterns for ye Duke of Brandenburg

The cisterns were further described in the *Accounts and Receipts Book* on 20 April 1694:<sup>14</sup>

Two curiously chased and embossed Cisterns wth the Duke of Brandenburgs Arms & supporters

These enormous objects weighed 10,203oz (5,129oz 2dwt and 5,073oz 2dwt) and cost an astonishing £5,363 17s.

Even knowing nothing of the Berlin buffet these entries are remarkable. They are two of the heaviest and most expensive presents ever supplied by the Jewel House. Their connection with the Berlin buffet was made by chance, but it soon became clear that here was the long-sought proof of the origin of the lost cisterns from the buffet.

The identification of these cisterns with the 'English rinsing-basins' in Berlin seems certain. Unfortunately both cisterns were lost during the partial melting of the buffet silver in the mid-eighteenth century. However they are shown in an engraving made in 1717 by Johann Friedrich Eosander of the entire Berlin buffet in its original form, [fig 1] and in an ink-drawing that Christian Eltester made before 1700 of one of the cisterns together with a fountain. [fig 2] The objects shown in these drawings fit well with the descriptions in the Jewel House records. The individual weight of the cisterns was not recorded before their melting in 1745,<sup>15</sup> but the weight

6 Keisch (as note 5), p67.

7 This was the German-speaking 'people's magazine' of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It was published from 1633 to 1738 in 21 volumes. It related important events at the European courts, such as marriages, peace conferences, new buildings, etc.

8 'Die beede äussersten und unten aneinandergesetzte Spühl-Wanne mit ihren Vasen waren von massiven Silber, von dem habiliten Gold-Arbeiter in dem Haag angefertigt, selbige waren von Sr. Höchsts. Königl. Majestät von Engelland zum Paaten-Geschenk verehret worden', *Theatrum Europaeum* 1717, p244.

9 Foundation Prussian Palaces and Gardens, Plankammer no20: 'Specification der Meublen welche den 10 November 1702 in den königliche Preuss. Residenz-Schlosse befunden worden' (f115 ff); and no26: 'Das Silber in

den Paradekammern und Kammern Friedrich I. Majest. im Schlosse zu Berlin Anno 1713'.

10 Paul Seidel, *Der Silber- und Golfschatz der Hohenzollern im Königlichen Schlosse zu Berlin*, Berlin 1895, p62 and Lessing (as note 4), p128.

11 Keisch (as note 5), p31. Only Baer argues that the pieces came from The Hague. The mix-up with England, Baer thinks, is explained by the union of the Netherlands and England under William III. See Winfried Baer, 'La culture de la table en Brandebourg-Prusse à l'époque baroque' in *Rencontres de l'école du Louvre - Tables Royales Et Festins de Cour en Europe*, Paris 1994, pp297-98.

12 National Archive London [NAL]: Jewel House Warrant Book, LC5/108, f127.

13 NAL: Jewel House Delivery Book, LC9/43, f212.





2 Christian Eltester, drawing, 'Der Kessel samt der Vase des großen Churfürstl. Buffets' [The basin and vase of the great electoral buffet], circa 1700. (Kupferstichkabinett Berlin, no79 D 25, f38, no43 (photo: Jörg Anders))

of the English cisterns in the Jewel House records – 10,203oz (317.3kg) – can be convincingly related to them. Each English cistern weighed about twice as much as the surviving third cistern (made in Augsburg). Eosander's engraving of the buffet depicts the English cisterns about one and a half times the size of the central, German, third cistern. According to the laws of physics this would roughly translate to about twice the weight.<sup>16</sup> It seems certain therefore that the two cisterns given by William III of England to Friedrich III of Brandenburg were those on the buffet in Berlin Palace.<sup>17</sup>

Further research in the National Archives brought to light the proof of the arrival of the cisterns in Berlin. In June 1694 George Stepney, English Envoy to Saxony, wrote to William Blathwayt, Secretary of State:<sup>18</sup>

I find ye King has given some noble pieces of plate, as Cisterns, Basins &c. to ye Elr of Brandenburg, & that they arrived in Berlin. Mr Ham (I suppose not out of an express design to mortify an Englishman) shewd me a letter he had received from Mr Dankleman upon this occasion advising him to make as hast he could over to Berlin, to present it in ye King's name to ye Ellr, wch are honours in wch few of our Nation are employed

14 NAL: Jewel House Accounts and Receipts Book, LC9/46, f151.

15 The only source that gives information about the weight of the objects melted in 1745 is unfortunately neither complete nor accurate. Until now the '2 large vases' from the 'buffet in the Rittersaal' mentioned there have been identified with the fountains and their vases (compare Seidel (as note 10), p13 and Keisch (as note 5), p33). Yet it is not conceivable that this entry, weighing only 1631 marks, should comprise both fountains and cisterns. Even more important is the fact that the weights given in the document are so high (andirons of 80kg (2,572oz) each, flasks of 106kg (3,408oz) or a lavabo-set of 350kg (11,254oz)), that one cannot

take the document as a reliable source. (See the copy of the now lost document in Seidel (as note 10), pp38–39.)

16 The third, existing, cistern is 21 $\frac{1}{4}$ in (54cm) high, 46 $\frac{1}{2}$ in (118cm) wide and weighs 2,3170oz (72.06 kg).

17 An occasion for this gift to Friedrich III could have been the reaction to an equally valuable gift from Berlin: John Evelyn reports in July 1693 about a visit in Whitehall: 'I saw the Queens rare Cabinets [...] especially a huge Cabinet, Looking Glasse, frame & stands all of Amber much of it white, esteemed worth 4000 pounds, sent by the D. of Brandenburg', *Diaries of John Evelyn*, vol IV, London 1955, p147.

18 NAL, State Papers, SP 105/54.



Mr Ham was the Dutch envoy to Saxony, and Stepney was obviously peeved that a Dutchman was to present the gift. This raises the question about the two fountains belonging to the cisterns. While the sources from the Jewel House explicitly speak of the cisterns only, both the cisterns and fountains are described in *Theatrum Europaeum* as an ensemble given by the King of England but made in The Hague. It is likely, therefore, that the cisterns came to Berlin via The Hague. Stepney writes of other 'noble pieces of plate' and one might conclude the fountains were made in The Hague and handed over to Friedrich III together with the cisterns. However, this must remain speculation until further evidence is found. In May 1694 William III was in the Netherlands. He received the Brandenburg envoy and began difficult negotiations about the pay for the Brandenburg troops who were assisting William against the French.

Stepney's letter provides, for the first time, an exact date for the commissioning of the Augsburg silver by Friedrich III. Soon after the uniquely rich presents arrived in Berlin, the Prince-Elector must have decided to make them the foundation of a splendid new buffet. As the Augsburg silver is known to have arrived in 1698 after several years of production, the commission must have been issued late in 1694.<sup>19</sup>

This date allows one to form a more precise picture of the historic context around the gift and the commission. Brandenburg had been heavily involved in the War of the Grand Alliance since 1688.<sup>20</sup> Brandenburg troops in the lower Rhine shielded Holland from French invasion and thus enabled William of Orange, Friedrich's cousin, to claim the English throne in 1688. However, in spite of his acknowledged role in helping William, Friedrich found his treatment by his allies humiliating. Friedrich's pride and ambition thus spurred him into negotiations to create a new royal crown for himself in his Duchy of Prussia.<sup>21</sup>

William III appears to have had mixed feelings about Friedrich in the 1690s. Although he continuously made him feel the difference in rank, he publicly acknowledged Brandenburg's role in the Glorious Revolution and made Friedrich a Knight of the Garter in 1690.<sup>22</sup> This ambiguous relationship is expressed in the gift of

the two cisterns; while they are truly royal gifts that acknowledge the receiver as an equal, commissioning the pieces to be adorned by the 'Duke of Brandenburg's arms' shows how little Friedrich was known in London and how little attention was given to the differentiation between Elector and Duke, a distinction so important in Germany.

Friedrich's reaction to the gifts was equally ambiguous. Although they formed the core of his new buffet, one cannot help feeling that they were at the same time marginalised by the new silver-gilt pieces from Augsburg that surrounded them.

The proof of a heterogeneous origin of the buffet-pieces also makes the iconographic programme of the Rittersaal buffet much clearer. Buffets were more than a display of wealth: they also manifested the dignity of their owners in the presentation of the centuries-old content of the silver-vaults. The idea of a completely new ensemble of uniform design seems an incongruous concept, especially as a means of demonstrating the ancient dignity of a family with ambitions of kingship. Yet with the royal gifts of the English king as their reference point, outdoing them with an ensemble of artistic pretension in the Berlin buffet becomes a very convincing demonstration of Brandenburg's self-confidence.

Against this background the complex artistic composition of the whole buffet ensemble also gains a new meaning. Its frame of white silver forms a steep triangle, stabilised by the English cisterns at the base and an older ewer and basin at the top. These foreign, older, pieces formed the defining corners of the whole composition. The traditions and dynastic relations of the House of Brandenburg are literally understood as the framework of Friedrich's reign, with the glittering silver-gilt in the centre as an expression of his ambitions.

The design of the Augsburg silver, too, gains new meaning in this context. While the extensive use of cast eagles is an allusion to the red eagle of Brandenburg, the equally frequent cast lions are probably an allusion to the Dutch lion.[figs 3 & 4] This combination of both animals could be read as a union of Brandenburg and Holland – something Friedrich, as William's oldest male heir, hoped for in the 1690s.<sup>23</sup>







3 One of three ewers with lion's masks, from the Berlin silver buffet, silver-gilt, Lorenz II Biller, Augsburg 1695–98. (Kunstgewerbemuseum Berlin, Schloss Köpenick, Inv no S.525 (photo: Pierre Abboud))

The knowledge that the buffet silver created in Augsburg was an addition to a slightly older foreign present, changes our understanding of the style of the Augsburg silver. The often-stated stylistic coherence between the components forces one to conclude that the gifts were set down as stylistic models when the buffet was commissioned in Augsburg.

Before the influence of the English silver on the style of the Augsburg pieces can be analysed in more detail, it is necessary to take a look at the form of the cisterns themselves. The two surviving depictions of the cisterns show them to be in the French court style that first appeared in the 1660s. This style continued to flourish in The Hague at the end of the century, long after Louis XIV had stopped commissioning such pieces. It is likely that the cisterns were designed by Daniel Marot as they bear close comparison to a design published by him in The Hague.<sup>[fig 5]</sup> The fountains too are closer in form and decoration to The Hague than to Augsburg.<sup>24</sup>

The Berlin buffet marked an abrupt change in style for Augsburg silversmiths.<sup>25</sup> Until the creation of the buffet, the Biller brothers had worked in a conventional mannerist style.<sup>26</sup> Yet while the forms of the buffet silver show French influence in many areas, it is impossible to pin down definite models in French design books.<sup>27</sup> It now seems likely that, instead of using the prints of Marot or Le Pautre, the Biller brothers derived their designs from William III's gifts. It was certainly not the Elector's wish to copy slavishly the cisterns and fountains – the Augsburg silver is in many details even richer

19 This date corresponds to the date Keisch (as note 5, p61) concludes from a number of other circumstances.

20 The War of the Grand Alliance, also known as the Nine Years War (1688–97). The Holy Roman Empire and its allies the protestant German Princes, Spain and Sweden formed a Grand Alliance with the Dutch Republic and Britain. Their aim was to force expansionist France back to her borders designated in the Treaty of Westphalia. The war ended indecisively with the signing of the treaty of Ryswick in 1697.

21 As Bohemia was the only kingdom permitted in the Holy Roman Empire, Friedrich could not become King of Brandenburg. However, his other domain, Prussia, was outside the Empire and therefore there was nothing to prevent Friedrich from making himself 'King in Prussia' in 1701.

22 Ernst Berner, *Geschichte des preußischen Staates*, Bonn 1896, pp213–28 and L. & M. Frey, *Friedrich I. – Preußens erster König*, Vienna 1984, p955, 63–65.

23 As William had no chil-

dren, Friedrich, as son of William's oldest aunt, saw himself in the 1690s as the legitimate heir of the Netherlands. He demonstrated this claim, for example, in ceiling-paintings in the palaces of Berlin and Oranienburg, depicting him as prince of Orange. After William's death 1702 his hopes were disappointed, as William had named his Frisian nephew as heir. See: Foundation Prussian Palaces and Gardens (ed), *Onder den Oranje Boom – Niederländische Kunst und Kultur im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert an deutschen Fürstenthöfen*, Munich 1999, pp421–22.

24 Because of their style Baer (as note 11) considers the ensemble of fountains and cisterns to have come from The Hague and argues that Adam Loofs could have been their maker. Cf Baer (as note 11), pp297–98.

25 See Seelig (as note 2), p334 and Keisch (as note 5), pp150–54.

26 Keisch (as note 5), p150.

27 See Seelig (as note 2), p334 and Keisch (as note 5), pp157–60.





4 Fountain and cistern, silver-gilt, from the Berlin silver buffet, Albrecht, Lorenz II and Johann Ludwig I Biller, Augsburg 1695–98.  
(Kunstgewerbemuseum Berlin, Schloss Köpenick, Inv no S.512/513 (photo: Pierre Abboud))  
Colour illustration p19

5. Design for a basin, engraving, Daniel Marot from Peter Jessen, *Das Ornamentstichwerk des Daniel Marot*, Berlin 1892. (photo: Jörg Anders)



and more extravagant and the majority of the pieces are gilded – but care was taken to link the gifts and the new silver stylistically. For example, a band of shells on the Dutch fountains reappears on the Augsburg cistern and the gadrooning along the edge of the English cisterns is also found on the Augsburg fountain.[fig 4]

These new ideas about the stylistic sources of the Augsburg silver do not contradict Keisch's convincing theses that Andreas Schlüter, architect of the Rittersaal, was the designer of the buffet's overall scheme. Schlüter arrived in Berlin in mid-1694 at the same time as the cisterns and fountains. The concept for a splendid new buffet therefore might easily have been one of his first tasks as court architect. In the autumn of 1694 he went for some months to France and certainly had ample occasion to study French prints.<sup>28</sup>

The stylistic synthesis of the new Augsburg silver with William's gifts succeeded so perfectly that the true, heterogeneous origin of the ensemble was soon forgotten. The uniform appearance was so strong that the inventory made after Friedrich III's death in 1713 did not mention the foreign origin of the cisterns and fountains<sup>29</sup> and the decision to melt them in 1745 appears to have been made on aesthetic grounds (all the white silver elements of the buffet were melted). No one remembered that they were the *raison d'être* of the entire buffet.

28 Keisch (as note 5), pp68–69.

29 Foundation Prussian Palaces and Gardens Berlin-Brandenburg, Plankammer, no27: *Manuel des königlichen Silbers*, 1715, f61–63v.



# Ein neues silbern Französisches Tafel Service: Linking the Penthièvre-Orléans service to Dresden

MAUREEN CASSIDY-GEIGER

*Shortly after becoming senior minister in 1738, Count von Brühl ordered a silver table service from Claude Ballin in Paris. Brühl may also have acquired, second-hand, items from the service now known as the Penthièvre-Orléans service, by Thomas Germain. New research indicates the service was commissioned around 1732 by François Joly de Fleury. He died before the service was completed, which brought it onto the market by 1740 and to Brühl's attention.*

Study of the artistic connections between Paris and the Saxon capital city of Dresden has until recently been a subject of limited scholarly interest despite the wealth of documentary and artistic evidence at hand.<sup>1</sup> The election of two succeeding Saxon electors to the Polish throne in 1697 and 1734 brought with it a significant change in rank, requiring new levels of representation at home and abroad based largely on the model of France.<sup>2</sup> These two kings of Poland, Augustus II (1670–1733) and Augustus III (1696–1763), had both visited Paris and its environs as princes on the Grand Tour, in 1687–88 and 1714–15 respectively, during the long reign of Louis XIV. Both kings relied on a network of agents, envoys and ambassadors, travelling or stationed abroad, to keep them informed on foreign policy matters, but also to shop for them and negotiate for works of art or recruit artists for the court in Dresden.<sup>3</sup> Thus the architect Raymond Le Plat, for example, was responsible for the acquisition of bronzes, tapestries and Asian porcelains for Augustus II from Paris in 1699 and again in 1715 and may have been responsible for bringing the unique *Federzimmer* to Dresden as well.<sup>4</sup>

French and Huguenot silver forms and ornament are evident in the early repertoire of models produced in porcelain at the manufactory founded in Meissen in 1710 which, as a royal enterprise, reflected the tastes and preferences of the court it supplied. Until the hiring of the sculptors Gottlieb Kirchner (born 1706) in 1727 and Johann Joachim Kändler (1706–75) in 1730 to oversee the modelling studio, all artistic direction came to Meissen from Dresden, via models supplied by court artists or borrowed from the royal collections.<sup>5</sup> By the 1740s the work reports kept by the factory's modellers are sprinkled with references to designs 'after the French model', though the actual medium is rarely given. Prints and drawings were supplied by the King's advisers in Dresden or, in some cases, were sent from Paris by the *marchands-merciers*. The historical print collection belonging to the manufactory still possesses hundreds of French prints, most acquired in the 1740s and later, principally for the training of the painters and sculptors but useful as well as models in the workrooms and painting studios. So little silver survives from the court of Augustus the Strong and his son that its influence is rarely considered except, perhaps, in relation to the Meissen table service made circa 1735–37 for the King's minister, Alexander Joseph, Count von Sulkowski (1695–1762). However silver was as important as Asian ceramics to the porcelain repertoire. The King's

1 See Virginie Spénlé, 'Les Acquisitions de Raymond LePlat à Paris', *Splendeurs de la Cour de Saxe. Dresde à Versailles*, exhib Musée national des châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, 2006, publ. Réunion des Musées Nationaux, Paris, 2006), pp70–79; Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, '“Quelque chose de beau et de bon goût”: A silver-gilt toilet service for the Dresden Doppelhochzeit of 1747', in Ellenor Alcorn et al, *Rococo silver in England and its colonies: Papers from a Symposium at Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond*, in 2004, pp46–57 and 106–115, *Silver Studies*, no20 2006 (hereafter MCG 2006); and by the same author, 'Meissen et la France avant et après la Guerre de Sept ans: Artistes, Espionnage et Commerce', *Rencontres de l'École du Louvre: actes du colloque Art français et art allemand au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle, regards croisés* (ed. École du Louvre; Paris: La Documentation française, 2007 [forthcoming]).

2 The influence of the neighbouring courts of Vienna and Berlin should not be overlooked, however.

3 Karl Heinrich, Count von Hoym, was posted to Paris from 1720 to 1729, followed by a Samuel de Brais, and then in 1741 by Johann Adolph, count von Loss. For some discussion of the

various functions of diplomats posted abroad, see Maureen Cassidy-Geiger (ed), *Fragile Diplomacy: Meissen Porcelain for European Courts*, exhib cat 2007, Bard Graduate Center, New York 2007 [forthcoming, hereafter MCG 2007]. Von Hoym sponsored the merchant Rudolphe LeMaire, who briefly held the monopoly for the sale of Meissen porcelain in France. For some background, see Geneviève Le Duc, 'Rudolphe Lemaire et la manufacture de porcelaine de Meissen. Style extrême-oriental ou goût français?', *Revue de l'Art*, 116, 1997, pp54–60.

4 See Spénlé (as note 1); also Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, 'The Federzimmer from the Japanisches Palais in Dresden', *Furniture History*, vol XXXV, 1999, pp87–111.

5 Kändler's work reports note some three-dimensional models in the workrooms and Meissen artists also travelled to Dresden to study and sketch objects in the royal collections, bringing them into contact with a range of models as well as other artists and their workshops. For Kändler's work reports, see Ulrich Pietsch (ed), *Die Arbeitsberichte des Meissener Porzellanmodellers Johann Joachim Kaendler, 1706–1775*, Edition Leipzig, 2002.





1 Jean-Joseph Balechou after Louis de Silvestre, Henry, Comte de Brühl. Engraving, 1750. (Kupferstich-Kabinett, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden)



2 Vincent La Chapelle, *Le Cuisinier moderne*, published in English 1733 and in French 1735. (Photo: courtesy Ivan Day)

Augsburg silver tureen was brought to the Meissen manufactory for copying in porcelain for Sulkowski's table service, thereby preserving in fragile porcelain what has been lost in silver plate.<sup>6</sup>

It is nearly impossible to look at the famous Meissen table services made for the Saxon Prime Minister, Heinrich, Count von Brühl (1700–63) [fig 1] that is, the confection known as the Swan service [fig 3] and the slightly later *Brühl'sche Allerlei* service [figs 4 & 5],<sup>7</sup> and not think of French silver by Juste-Aurèle Meissonier or Thomas Germain – though most would argue this connection on the basis of prints. Prints after Germain survive in the Meissen archives and one presumes Meissonier prints were on hand in the eighteenth century as well, given the evidence of the Swan service candlesticks which copy a familiar Meissonier engraving.<sup>8</sup> The links between the Bielinski family and the kings of Poland presented an opportunity for the early and probably quite immediate awareness of Meissonier's designs in Warsaw and, by extension, Dresden. François, Count Bielinski (1684–1766), a leading Polish court official, commissioned Meissonier in 1734 to design and decorate a small room for his Warsaw residence. The Count's sister, Maria Magdalena, Countess von Dönhoff (died 1730), was a mistress of Augustus the Strong and Bielinski's brother married the daughter of the King's famous Turkish mistress, Fatima.<sup>9</sup> The latest French and English silver designs were also transmitted by cookery books and dessert manuals published abroad. Vincent La Chapelle's influential book, *Le Cuisinier moderne*, first published in English in 1733 and in French in 1735, includes engravings of silver vessels in the style of Thomas Germain and Charles Kandler.[figs 2 & 10] Count von Brühl owned a copy of the 1742 edition of La Chapelle's work<sup>10</sup> and employed a chef d'office also named La Chapelle, who was probably related to Vincent.<sup>11</sup> The silversmith Charles Kandler is now widely acknowledged to have been the brother of the chief Meissen modeller, Johann Joachim Kändler. He visited the manufactory in September 1735 after leaving London, underscoring his likely direct influence on the production of the Sulkowski service.<sup>12</sup>

Ministers are often the trendsetters at court: men of power, position and taste who are free to challenge and update tradition when the monarch is not. The first and most elaborate porcelain table services were therefore not produced for the king, whose prerogative was to dine from gold and silver, but for his ministers, who

6 For more see Maureen Cassidy-Geiger,

'Innovations and the Ceremonial Table in Saxony 1719–1747', *Zeichen und Raum. Ausstattung und höfisches Zeremoniell in den deutschen Schlössern der Frühen Neuzeit*, 2006, pp135–56 (p140, fig9). And by the same author, 'Sugar and Silver into Porcelain: The Conditorei and Court Dining in Dresden under August III', *Keramos*, 198, October 2007.

7 For the history of these two services and numerous illustrations, see Ulrich Pietsch (ed), *Schwannenservice. Meissener Porzellan für Heinrich Graf von Brühl*, exhib cat,

*Porzellansammlung, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden*, Berlin 2000.

8 For one of the Germain sheets, see MCG 2006 (as note 1); for the engravings of the Meissonier candlestick and the copies in porcelain and silver, see Peter Fuhling, *Juste-Aurèle Meissonier. Un génie du rococo 1695–1750*, 2 vols, Turin and London 1999, pp318–21, nos14–16.

9 For background on the family and their interaction with Meissonier, see Fuhling (as note 8); for biographies of the Countess von Dönhoff and Fatima's daughter, Catharina, Countess Rutowska, see Rainer

Rückert, *Biographische Daten der Meissener Manufakturisten des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Munich 1990, p275.

10 Part of Brühl's library was left to the state and this volume, the cover stamped with Brühl's coat of arms, is found today in the Sächsische Landesbibliothek, Dresden: Vincent La Chapelle, *Le cuisinier moderne*, La Haye, 1742, (call no Technol.B.206).

11 For more on the chef d'office, see MCG 'Innovations...' (as note 6).

12 MCG 2006 (as note 1), p48, note 7, and MCG 'Sugar ....' (as note 6).





3 Dish, from the Swan service, modelled by Johann Johann Friedrich Eberlein, hard paste porcelain, Meissen circa 1737–40. Diameter: 37.8cm (14 7/8in) (Gift of Mr and Mrs James S. Whitcomb; photo: © 2007 The Detroit Institute of Arts, 57.29)



Tureens from the 'Brühl'sche Allerlei' service, probably modelled by Johann Friedrich Eberlein, 1744–45, Meissen porcelain. This service was made for Count von Brühl after his purchase of Germain's silver service, which may have influenced the design of the porcelain.

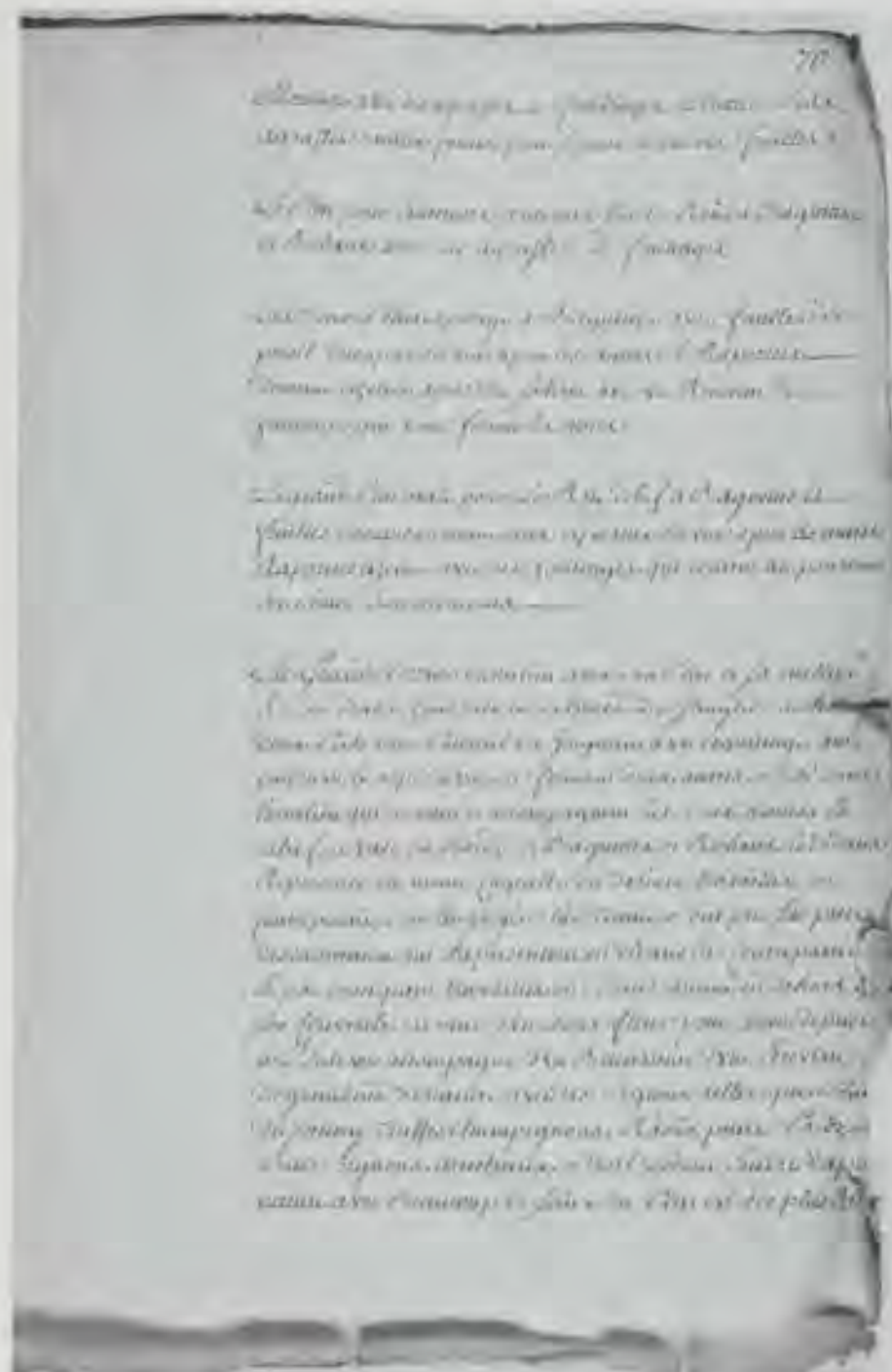
4 above: (The Arnhold Collection 2004.524; photo: Maggie Nimkin)

5 below: (Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, inv. 2000.22)



6 (left) Tureen from the Sulkowski service. Commissioned 1735–36. Augustus III's silver tureen was delivered to Meissen on 20 September 1735 to act as model for this design in porcelain. (Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Stiftung Ernst Schneider)





7 Correspondence of Count Brühl, August 1740  
(transcribed on p138).

(Sächsische Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, Loc.453/3,  
Correspondenz des Pr. Min. Grafen von Brühl, nach  
dem Alphabet geordnet, vol III Aus dem Buchstaben  
B.1736-1740, f70)

could only be seen to dine on the level of the king when using 'white gold'. Certainly by the late seventeenth century, porcelain dishes and platters, probably Asian porcelain, perhaps faience as well (which was often termed 'porcelain' in the inventories), were used for the dessert at state dinners across Europe, but only on the tables of the lesser ranking members of the court and never on the king's table. Rare exceptions to the rule have been noted at the court of Hanover, for instance, whereas in Dresden there is no reference to the king dining from porcelain except for the wedding of Count von Sulkowski's sister-in-law to Count Lubomirski in February 1737, when the King was served on Sulkowski's still incomplete Meissen service.<sup>13</sup> The ceramic table services owned by the kings of Poland, of faience and Asian porcelain as well as Meissen, were mostly assembled for display purposes in the Japanese Palace in Dresden and were off-limits for use on the table, except in extreme instances when a large court occasion required extra Imari wares for the out-lying dessert tables, or when a diplomatic gift of Meissen porcelain was hastily needed.<sup>14</sup> It was not until 1744 that the first Meissen porcelain figures entered the *Hof-Conditorei* (royal court pantry), a clear indication that the ministers were the first to replace sugar table decorations with manifestations in porcelain.<sup>15</sup> With the marriage by proxy of the Saxon Princess Marie-Josophe to the Dauphin in January 1747, a porcelain centrepiece was produced for the royal table, the first documented example of the use of porcelain on the king's table in Dresden, though whether the royal family actually ate from porcelain on this occasion is unclear.<sup>16</sup>

Count von Brühl, whose position allowed him to order porcelain without cost from the royal manufactory, was in the years following the conclusion of the Japanese Palace project perhaps its biggest client; at his death in 1763, he owned seven large porcelain table services and thousands of porcelain figures for the dessert.<sup>17</sup> As Prime Minister, he was in routine contact with the King's representatives abroad via regular dispatches sent by courier. The dispatches were numbered and kept together with copies of his replies, bound more-or-less chronologically into volumes that have in large part survived. Though principally concerned with matters of state, many dispatches contain postscripts with inquiries or reports about some specific need, delivery or requirement of the king.<sup>18</sup> In this way, an S.O.S. was sent to the representatives in London and Paris in 1747 seeking a silver toilet service for the *Doppelhochzeit* (double-wedding), for one of the royal brides.<sup>19</sup> The Saxon envoys therefore served as the King's eyes and ears abroad in the broadest sense, as attentive to news and gossip as to fashion and the arts. They lived their lives in public, rubbing elbows and dining regularly with a cast of characters that rarely changed, mostly as a guest, sometimes the host, always a witness. Appearances mattered and so the envoys resided in the right neighborhood, in rented quarters furnished appropriately, with secretaries and staff. In attendance at court dinners, audiences and entertainments, they dressed the part and lived the life, often adopting the tastes and fashions of the resident court. Their expenses and obligations on behalf of the King often exceeded their salaries or cash on-hand. For this reason, most were supplied with a silver table service which, besides serving a representational purpose when they entertained 'at home', could also be pawned or used as security when cash was needed quickly. Evidence of this function is given in the dispatches between Brühl



and the Saxon representative in Venice, Mr Minelli, who was required to pay for the food, lodging and salary of the men responsible for delivering a gift of porcelain to Rome in 1743 and used his silver service as collateral until reimbursement arrived from Dresden.<sup>20</sup> This could be the reason Brühl's offer of a Meissen porcelain table service was rebuffed by his brother, the Saxon representative in Cologne, who responded:<sup>21</sup>

I am most obliged to you, my very dear brother, for having given instructions that I should be provided with a porcelain service, but as such a thing is not sufficiently grand here, where the taste is to have more silver on the table than in one's pocket, I find myself compelled to repeat what I have emphasised regarding the use of a silver service.

Brühl also communicated his own needs to the king's agents abroad, sometimes in private correspondence, sometimes via the official dispatches. On 3 September 1740 he contacted the Saxon secretary in Paris, Samuel de Brais, who responded in his dispatch of 16 September:<sup>22</sup>

I received the letter of 3rd of this month with which your Excellency honoured me, together with the list, and I give him humble thanks. I am awaiting the Abbot who sent your Excellency the details of a silver table service. He has promised to come and see me today and I will not fail to give your Excellency a full account of what he wants to show me and then to wait for your Excellency's orders so that I can follow them with as much exactitude as possible.

Another reference to a silver table service appears in Brühl's dispatch to de Brais dated 6 January 1741:<sup>23</sup>

Regarding the beautiful service which you described to me in your letter of 3 October, as this is none of my business, nor the business of anyone here, you may drop the matter entirely, thanking Monsieur Abbé Treste for his troubles.

These two references in the diplomatic correspondence reflect an ongoing exchange of private communications between Brühl, de Brais and the named Abbé le Treste (also 'Letreste'), dating from the summer and fall of 1740.[Appendix 1] Unfortunately copies of Brühl's responses have not survived and perhaps were not maintained for the private correspondence. Nevertheless the letters from Paris are enough to explain that Brühl had apparently met 'Letreste' in Dresden and expressed his desire to commission a silver table service from one of the leading silversmiths of Paris. Upon his return to Paris, therefore, 'Letreste' wrote to Brühl on 15 August 1740 recommending the acquisition of a service currently on the market:<sup>24</sup>

*'Je vous suis très redevable, Mon très cher Frère, des ordres que vous avez donné, de me pourvoir d'un Service de Porcelaine, mais comme cela ne Suffit pas ici, où l'on est dans le goût de tenir plus d'argent sur la table que dans la poche, je me vois contraint de vous répéter mes instances par rapport à l'usage d'une vaisselle d'argent.'*

*J'ay reçu la Lettre dont Votre Excellence m'a honoré du 3. du ce mois, avec le feuillet ordinaire, je Lui en rends très humbles graces. J'attends l'Abbé qui a envoyé à Votre Excellence le mémoire sur une Vaiselle d'argent. Il m'a promis de me venir voir aujourd'hui, je ne manquerai pas assurément de rendre un bon compte à Votre Excellence de ce qu'il me fera voir, et d'attendre en suite les ordres de Votre Excellence pour m'y conformer avec toute l'Exactitude possible.*

*Pour ce qui est de la belle vaisselle, dont vous me faites le détail par votre lettre du 3. Oct., comme ce n'est pas mon affaire, ni celle de personne icy, vous pourrez entièrement laisser tomber cela, en remerciant Mr. l'Abbé Treste de ses peines à cet égard.*

13 See Marcus Köhler, 'Porcelain and Diplomacy at the Courts of Hanover and Cologne', in MCG 2007 (as note 3); MCG 'Innovations ...'; and MCG 'Sugar ...' (both as note 6).

14 See MCG 'Innovations ...' (as note 6).

15 The first Meissen figures were produced in the mid-1730s.

16 The 'green Watteau' service introduced in the mid-1740s was reserved for the use of the royal family and like the 'red dragon' and 'yellow lion' services, which remained in produc-

tion for several generations; these useful Meissen tablewares, as opposed to the showpieces in the Japanese Palace, were variously assigned to the *Hof-Conditorei*, *Hof-Küche* and *Hof-Silberkammer*; even so, the use of these porcelain services on the King's table has never been documented. Worth noting is the acquisition by the King of a large silver French-rococo-style epergne in 1747 (Freiherr O'Byrn, *Die Hof-Silberkammer und die Hof-Kellerei zu Dresden* (Dresden, 1880), pp146-47) which was partially modelled at the

Meissen manufactory by the modellers Johann Gottlieb Ehder and Johann Friedrich Eberlein between November 1745 and August 1746 (unpublished work reports, Meissen manufactory archives, IAb24, fol. 447 and 472 and IAb26, fol. 13, 104, 130, 234).

17 See Pietsch (as note 7).

18 They often concerned diplomatic or personal gifts for foreign courts, including Meissen porcelain, hunting dogs, horses and Tokay wine.

19 MCG 2006 (as note 1).

20 The Saxon agent in Venice routinely pawned his silver to support couriers in quarantine; see Cassidy-Geiger, 'Princes and Porcelain on the Grand Tour of Italy', in MCG 2007 (as note 3).

21 Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden (hereafter HstA), Geh. Kab., Loc. 2987, Der ... Geheimen-Raths ... Grafens von Brühl Abschiedung an den Chur Cöln und Chur-Pfälzischen Hof ... Ao: 1740-1741 (in dispatch No. 4 dated 9 April 1741).

22 HstA (as note 21), Loc.

2736, vol IX, Sachen mit Frankreich. Die von dem Legations-Secretario de Brais ... Relationes. Ao: 1740, fol. 232r-232v.

23 HstA (as note 21), Loc. 2736, Sachen mit Frankreich. Die von dem Legations-Secretario de Brais ... Relationes. Ao: 1741, fol. 2r-2v.

24 HstA (as note 21) Loc. 453/3, Correspondenz des Pr. Min. Grafen von Brühl, nach dem Alphabet geordnet, vol III. Aus dem Buchstaben B. 1736-1740, fol. 62-63; complete transcription in Appendix I-1.





Monseigneur,

J'ay eü l'honneur d'entendre dire à Votre Excellence, lorsque j'étois à Dresden, qu'elle avoit dessein de faire faire à Paris un service en argent, le hazard vient de m'en faire rencontre vu, dont Votre Excellence jugera par le memoire Cy joint. L'art l'emporte sur le prix de la matière, Le Goût des meilleurs Connoisseurs n'a rien à desirer; Il y'a des pieces dignes d'un Roy. Le tout est neuf, sans Eusson, Le prix est de Cinq mil Ducats, Si Votre Excellence veut bien me faire L'honneur de me marquer ses Intentions, j'ose la supplier, que ce soit par la voie de Monsr. L'Envoyé de votre Cour. J'ose me flatter que le seigneur ne dedira rien de le que j'ay avancé, quand je le luy auray communiqué apropos. ...

Sir. When I was in Dresden I had the honour of hearing it being said to Your Excellency that He was [for 'you were'] intending to have a silver service made in Paris. By chance I have just seen one, upon which Your Excellency will be able to make a judgement by means of the memorandum attached. The artistry is more precious than the material is costly, the connoisseurs with the best possible taste could desire nothing finer, it contains pieces worthy of a King. It is all new, without armorial bearings, the price is five thousand ducats. If Your Excellency wishes to do me the honour of informing me of His desires, may I ask that He does so by way of the envoy of His court. I am so bold as to trust that Your Excellency will not have any objections to anything that I have communicated or will communicate on this subject.

The memorandum, which falls several pages away from the letter it accompanied in one of the hundreds of bound volumes of Brühl's private correspondence, detailed a silver service comprised of a large tureen with its liner, stand and serving spoon, two medium-size tureens with liners, stands and serving spoons, eight *caisses*, four of these with stands, 12 serving dishes, two platters (one for stewed meats, one for *entremets*), two soup stands, one large dish for the centre of the table and eight oval platters for roasted meats, altogether weighing a total of 348 *marcs*. [fig 7] [Appendix 1.4] According to its detailed description, the large tureen must be one of the so-called Penthièvre-Orléans tureens by Thomas Germain, namely the one sold by Sotheby's on 13 November 1996, with a fully-modelled snipe or woodcock and crayfish on the cover, together with vegetables, mushrooms and a cauliflower handle:<sup>25</sup> [fig 8]

The large centre tureen with its stand, serving spoon and liner, decorated with boar's heads each one with two feet and their breasts joining to the shellwork [*coquillage*] that runs around the body of the vessel [*vase*], and forming two other feet in the middle which serve to carry and accompany the two protruding handles. This vessel is bordered with baguettes and ribbons with the same shell represented on the inside as on the outside, as it was worked from within. On the breast of the said tureen, fluted ornamentation is worked directly on the piece from its interior side and this decoration is thus fashioned equally on both the interior as well as the exterior. The cover is decorated with a cauliflower to serve as a handle, accompanied by a woodcock, a life-size crayfish, with vegetables such as celery, truffles, mushrooms, radishes, peas, little

La Grande Terrine du milieu avec son Plat et sa cuiller Et son double fond décorée de hures de Sanglier a chacun deux Pieds leur Poitrail se joignant avec coquillage qui embrasse le corps du vase, et formant deux autres Pieds dans le milieu qui portent et accompagnent les deux ances En relief, ce vase est Bordé de Baguettes et Rubans le dedans Represente la meme Coquille du dehors travailler en contrepartie sur la gorge de la d. terrine sont pris sur piece des canneaux qui Representent en dedans la Contrepartie Et par consequent travailler en dedans comme en dehors son couvercle est orné d'un choux fleur pour servir de prise a l'enlever accompagné d'un Beccasseau d'une Ecrevisse de grandeur de nature avec des Legumes telles que sont du scellery, Truffes, champignons, Radix, petits Poids, Petits oignons, artichaux, Persil. Le tout Etudié d'après nature avec Beaucoup de soin son Plat est des plus Riches d'un Contour Recherché a plusieurs Reprises Bordé d'une Baguette et au lieu de Rubans sont des feuilles de Persil découpées et Raportées au Pourtour Les unes après les autres ciselées on place ouvrage très Long sont jointe encore des agrasses et des cartouches on ont été fait des Portions de Blason en relief prit sur piece qui ont été faits et mis En place Les ornemens qui s'y trouvent presentement avec des Enroulements sur les Bouts comme sur les flancs.





onions, artichokes, parsley, all done from nature with great care. Its stand is extremely richly done, of an exquisite shape with multiple repeats, edged with a baguette several times and in the place of ribbons are parsley leaves cut out and attached to the perimeter one after the other chased on the spot, very time-consuming work. In addition, there are scrolls and cartouches where the heraldic devices were made, worked in relief directly on the piece, all executed and put into place. The ornaments which are found there presented [are] with scrolls on the ends as well as on the sides.

Stamped with the maker's mark for Thomas Germain, Paris 1733/34, the early history and provenance of this tureen and its mate in the Detroit Institute of Arts [fig 9] have never been firmly established, though ownership has long been given to the somewhat mysterious Englishman Henry Janssen (died 1766), 'ancien Capitaine aux Gardes Angloises', a naturalised French citizen of significant means whose family arms are said to incorporate the swan and reed motifs chased into the cartouches on the stand.<sup>26</sup>



11 Drawing of a tureen by an unknown artist, pencil, ink and wash on paper. (Staatliche Porzellan-Manufaktur Meissen, Archives, VA 2534)

9 Tureen, cover, liner and stand, from the 'Penthièvre-Orléans' service, Thomas Germain, Paris 1733/34. (Founders Society Purchase, Elizabeth Parke Firestone Collection of Early French Silver Fund, photo: © 2007 The Detroit Institute of Arts) Colour illustration p18



10 Vincent La Chapelle, *Le Cuisinier moderne*, published in English 1733 and in French 1735. (Photo: courtesy Ivan Day)

#### Summary of probable ownership of the early silver, including the Germain tureens, in the Penthièvre-Orléans service

- 1732 Commissioned by François Joly de Fleury.
- 1740 Acquired second-hand by Count von Brühl. (Chased swan and bulrushes added to the stand.)
- 1763 Death of Brühl.
- 1767 Following probate, the service inherited by his son, Carl Adolph von Brühl, and probably sold in France, through Carl's brother, Hans Moritz, Count von Brühl. Acquired by Comte d'Eu.
- Hitherto, the owner of the service was suggested as being Henry Janssen, and that it was acquired by Comte d'Eu from him, possibly in return for a pension.
- 1775 Death of Comte d'Eu, his fortune inherited by his cousin, the duc de Penthièvre.
- 1793 Death of de Penthièvre; the service confiscated but later reclaimed by his daughter, wife of Philippe, duc d'Orléans.
- 1930s Sold by descendant of the duc d'Orléans to Jacques Helft.

25 Appendix 1-4.  
26 Sotheby's New York, *Royal French Silver. The*

Property of George Ortiz, 13 September 1996.



... Aujourd'hui j'irai voir avec l'Abbé le Treste la Vaisselle d'argent sur laquelle Il a écrit à Votre Excellence. Je n'y ai pas été plutôt, parce que le propriétaire étoit à la Campagne. Il n'y a point d'Assiettes à cette Vaisselle et par l'ordinaire prochain je ne manquerai pas de rendre compte bien exactement à Votre Excellence de ce que j'aurai vu.

Ces jours passés ayant traité avec M.r Baur d'une petite Affaire d'intérêt qui me regarde, Il me dit, que M.r Bâlin ne travailloit point à la Vaisselle de Votre Excellence avec la diligence qu'il desiroit, et que je ferois bien de l'exorter à n'y point perdre de tems.

J'y ai été, Monseigneur, dans cette intention là, et Je Luy ai demandé un memoire de ce qu'il y avoit de prêt à être envoyé. Il m'a donné le Memoire cy joint et m'a fait voir les principales pieces qui y sont mentionnées. Ce que j'ai vu est d'une grande beauté, pour le goût, les Sageſſe, et la Noblesse du dessin. D'ailleurs il ne se peut rien de mieux fini et de plus proprement terminé. Votre Excellence pourra Se Souvenir que c'est le meme Bâlin qui a fait pour le Roy une petite Vaisselle de Voyage pendant le Séjour de Sa Majesté à Paris, mais quand Votre Excellence verra la Sienne. Elle trouvera sans doute que M.r Bâlin ne s'est pas rouillé, et que le goût des belles choses, en ce genre là, ne s'est pas appauvri dans ce païs cy.

Another letter to Brühl, this one by de Brais and dated 26 September 1740, indicates that he (de Brais) would finally be viewing the silver service in the company of the Abbé le Treste, having been delayed by the owner's absence, commenting that the service was obviously incomplete as it had no plates:<sup>27</sup>

Today I shall go with l'Abbé le Treste to inspect the silver service about which he wrote to Your Excellency. I was not able to do so earlier because the owner was in the country. This service has no accompanying plates and I will not fail to send you an exact account by the next regular post to Your Excellency on what I shall have seen.

These past days, regarding a small matter concerning my interests, I was in negotiations with Monsieur Baur, who told me that Monsieur Bâlin [*sic* for Ballin] was not applying himself to the matter of Your Excellency's service as diligently as he desired, and that I would do well to urge him [Ballin] not to waste a moment's time.

With this in mind, I went to see him [Ballin], Sir, and requested of him a memorandum of what he had that was ready to be sent. He gave me the memorandum attached, and showed me the principal pieces mentioned therein. All that I have seen is of great beauty, with respect to taste, wisdom, and nobility of design. In addition, nothing can be better or more finely finished. Your Excellency will remember that this is the same Bâlin who made a small travelling service for the King during His Majesty's stay in Paris, but when Your Excellency sees His own service, He will without doubt consider that far from having lost his touch Monsieur Bâlin [*sic*] has suffered no impoverishment at all in his taste for beautiful things of this kind.

The content of this letter also makes clear that Brühl had already commissioned for himself, not for the King, a silver service from the famous Claude Ballin, who was neglecting the order: this news passed along to de Brais by a man named Baur, probably one of the partners in Tourton & Baur, the Paris bankers used for the acquisition of pictures for Augustus III.<sup>28</sup> In an effort to push things along, de Brais not only visited the silversmith personally to review things but also asked for a memoire detailing what was finished, a document which he sent to Brühl but is unfortunately lost. De Brais could not have been more complimentary about Ballin's artistry, now and in 1715, when he produced for then crown prince Friedrich Augustus II (later King Augustus III) a silver travelling service.<sup>29</sup>

One final letter from de Brais to Brühl, dated 3 October, returns to the subject of the silver service offered by the Abbé le Treste, which is here acknowledged to be from the workshop of Thomas Germain and property of the estate of the late Fermier Général of France, 'Joly', probably François Joly de Fleury, a man of immense wealth but unfortunate appearance who ordered the service in his capacity as General Treasurer of the Clergy but died before its completion, which would explain the lack of plates.<sup>30</sup> His nephew, Mr Bertéaud, inherited the service but felt it was too grand for him to keep and use, so was looking for a buyer rather than suffer the inevitable loss that would result from returning it to the silversmith (the asking price of 55,000 *Livres* reflected 18,621 *Livres* for the silver, 953 *Livres* for the 'controls', and 35,425 *Livres* for labour.<sup>31</sup> [Appendix 1.3]

Following this paper trail to Brühl's final dispatch of 6 January 1741

Regarding the beautiful service which you described to me in your letter of 3 October, as this is none of my business, nor the business of anyone here, you may drop the matter entirely, thanking Monsieur Treste for his troubles.

Pour ce qui est de la belle vaiselle, dont vous me faites le detail par votre letter du 3. Oct., comme ce n'est pas mon affaire, ni celle de personne icy, vous pourés entierement laisser tomber cela, en remercient Mr. l'Abbé Treste de ses peines à cet egard.



it would seem that the prime minister dismissed any notion of acquiring the 'Joly' silver service. Further, a German visitor to Paris in 1741, Friedrich Karls von Hardenberg (1696–1763), director of the royal buildings and gardens in Hanover, made a note in his diary concerning the commission by the Saxon envoy Johann Adolph, Count von Loss, of a silver table service by Ballin costing 60,000 *Livres*:<sup>32</sup>

The service that Mr Loss has had made by Ballin amounts to 60,000 livres. One surtout of 6,000 livres everything contoured and irregular. There is duty of 52 livres per marc of silver.

Probably Hardenberg was referring to the Ballin service originally commissioned by Brühl, who succeeded Sulkowski as senior minister in 1738 and doubtless needed a new high-style service to suit his elevated position at court and to complement the Swan service, then in production at Meissen. De Brais must have been the intermediary between Brühl and Ballin and when he died in 1741, von Loss was sent to replace him, arriving in Paris in September, around the same time as Hardenberg. Nothing is otherwise known of a Ballin service in the possession of von Loss. Since Germain was at the same time supplying a silver service to King Christian VI of Denmark, it seems unlikely he was providing services to persons of lesser rank.<sup>33</sup>

This story might well end here except that Brühl's will prepared on 9 August 1762, a year before his death on 28 October 1763, lists a French silver service for 30 persons among his most valuable possessions:<sup>34</sup>

... my silver service made in France, a complete service for 30 persons, as detailed in the accompanying description, shall be taken and evermore belong by right of primogeniture; the composition of this entailed inheritance is fixed, because of changes in fashion the style according to taste may be changed, however, this entailed service must always weigh at least one thousand and eight hundred marks and at this weight transferred from one owner to the next. Concerning this, the inheritor shall choose half of the existing buffet in my house such that a decent sideboard can be laid out, and because for now neither description nor weight can be written up, then directly after my death there must be a formal handing over with description to include supplied weights accurately established, which is to stay for ever with the silver service and the inheritor.

The inventories and valuations made after his death are voluminous. In the afterdeath inventory, the chapter titled *An Silberwercke* runs to 88 pages (44 sheets, front and back), with more than 340 entries valued at a total of 62,007 Thalers, 1 Groschen, 11½d. [Appendix 2] The total estate, excluding his properties in

*La Vaisselle que Mr. de Looss a fait faire chez Ballin revient à 60/m #, un surtout 6/m alles contouriert und de travers. On puie le controle 52 livres le marc d'argent.*

*meinem in Frankreich verfertigten Silber-Service, ein vollständiges Service auf 30. Personen, wie es in der hier beygefügten Specification sub ? bezeichnet stehet, genommen und zu ewigen Zeiten zum Majorate gehören soll; dergestalt, daß zwar dem Majorate-Herrn wegen Veränderung der Moden nachgelassen bleibet, die Façon nach Gefallen ändern zu lassen, doch muß dieß Majorats-Service allemal wenigstens Ein Tausend Achtthundert Mark wiegen, und nach diesem Gewicht von einem Besitzer auf den andern transferiret werden. Hierüber soll der Majorats-herr von dem in meinem Hause vorhandenen Bouffet die Hälfte, doch so, daß ein ordentlicher Schenktisch damit ausgeputzet werden kann, sich selbst aussuchen, und weil darüber vor itzo weder Specification noch Gewichte gefertiget worden mag, so muß alsbald nach meinem Tode durch eine Consignation und Beschreibung, nebst Beyfügung des Gewichts solches suppliret und in Richtigkeit gesetzt, auch ewig bey dem Majorate, wie das Silber-Service bleiben.*

27 Appendix 1-2.

28 Virginie Spenlé, 'Les achat de peintures d'Auguste III sur le marché de l'art parisien', *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire de l'Art Français*, 2002, pp93–134.

29 This service is wholly unknown in Dresden, according to Dirk Syndram. The Ballin specialist Yves Carlier kindly communicated that he has no information on such a service for

the Saxon prince, though one such service was provided to Max Emmanuel in 1713, according to the inventory made in 1754 after Ballin's death.

30 This member of the large and influential Joly de Fleury family was suggested by Michèle Bimbenet-Privat, who referred me to Mouffle d'Angerville, *Vie privée de Louis XV; ou principaux événements, particularités et anecdotes de son regne*,

J.P. Lyton, London 1781, vol 1, p302: 'XLVIII. Joly, est originaire de Paris, & fils du Sieur Joly, Intendant de feue Madame la Princesse de Conti, fille naturelle du Roi Louis XIV. Il fut nommé Fermier-général en 1726. Il avoit déjà 70,000 livres de rentes de patrimoine, quand il fut nommé à cette place. Il étoit fort laid de corps, mais il avoit l'ame belle, étoit fort généreux & magnifique en tout.'

31 Joly was possibly a clergyman, since his estate went to a nephew.

32 Hardenbergsches Familienarchiv Lietzen, Nr. 1486, Reisetagebuch Friedrich Karls von Hardenberg (1696-1763) nach Frankreich, 1741/42; kindly supplied by Marcus Köhler.

33 Ole Villumsen Krög, 'French Goldsmith's Work and the Danish Royal House', in *A King's Feast*.

*The Goldsmith's Art and Royal Banqueting in the 18th century*, exhib cat, Kensington Palace, 1991, p94. I am grateful to Ellenor Alcorn for this reference and to Mogens Bencard for further enlightening remarks on the Danish service.

34 Dr Christian Ernst Weiße, *Musäum für die Sächsische Geschichte Litteratur und Staatskunde*, Leipzig 1795, p69.



Zwey runde schuppichte Terrinen, auf einer eine Artischocke, auf der andern Carviol, mit Einsetz Schalen (nr. 106).

Poland, was valued at 2,830,644 Thalers, 4 Groschen, 1 Pfennig.<sup>35</sup> The silver included 'Ein completes silbernes Tafel Service' requiring 74 entries (nos28–101), comprised of a large *plat de ménage* with two sugar boxes and six glass cruets, two smaller *plats de ménage*, 14 tureens of various sizes with liners, stands and spoons, 70 serving dishes of various sizes, 30 of these with domed covers (*Glocken*), and 119 plates, as well as candlesticks and candelabrum, salt cellars and pepper cellars, cutlery and serving utensils. Two so-described 'silberne Französische Rechauds mit Auszügen' (no62) imply a French origin for the entire service. The afterdeath inventory also lists another silver service that was old-fashioned by comparison (*Ein altes Silbernes Service*; nos102–05) and, in a separate entry, two more tureens with liners are noted:

Two round scale-like soup tureens with liners. On one an artichoke, on the other a cauliflower.

The Count's formal silver buffet ('*Ein großes Silbernes und vergoldetes Büffet*') required 50 entries (nos112–61) and the rest of the treasury items and cabinet pieces were grouped together under the heading '*An gemeinschaftl. Buffet Stücken von Silber und vergoldet*' (nos162–237). Travelling and toilet services, an altar garniture, various tea services and spirit flasks, and three armorial coach seals complete the inventory of the silver.

It took several years to settle Brühl's estate, due to its size and importance. A commission was formed to evaluate the estate and officially determine its disposition, resulting in a vast array of documentation. According to the reports, in 1767 it was decided that the medal collection, the treasury artworks and galantries, and a specified group of silver would go to his heirs, who would also receive a cash settlement.<sup>36</sup> The great library went to the state in 1768 and a year later the picture collection was sold to Catherine the Great. The large silver 'Majorats Service', described as 'Ein completes silbernes Tafel Service' in the afterdeath inventory (nos28–101), went accordingly to the eldest son, Gen Lieut Carl Adolph Graf von Brühl; in the commission reports and inventories, it was called 'the new French silver service' ('*neues silbern Französisches Tafel Service*'), confirming a French origin for the entire service.<sup>37</sup> Given the documentary evidence, one would have to assume this was not the 'Joly' service. The main element was a *plat de ménage* comparable to the circa 1724 Ballin centrepiece sent to Empress Anna of Russia in around 1732,<sup>38</sup> which could imply the service by this maker that was commissioned by Brühl was eventually completed and delivered.

Among the silver inherited by Carl Adolph von Brühl were the two silver tureens with a cauliflower on one lid and an artichoke on the other (no106); according to the commission reports they were of French silver:

2. new tureens of French workmanship, each with a liner, on the cover there is a cauliflower weighing together 23.9.1.

On the other tureen there is an artichoke on the cover and the weight is 25.12.2.

It is tantalising to consider whether these could be the two boar's head tureens from the Penthievre-Orléans service, and whether Brühl ultimately decided to buy some or all of the 'Joly' service to extend or enhance his new French service 'for thirty persons'. Compelling evidence is provided by the swan-and-bulrushes motif chased onto the stands to the Penthievre-Orléans tureens, inside the cartouches that were blank when the 'Joly' service was offered to Brühl.[figs 12 & 13]

#### Conversion of tureen weights (gram to troy ounce)

5,513.9g	=	177oz 6dwt
6,029.14g	=	193oz 17dwt
13,327g	=	428oz 10dwt
14,431g	=	464oz
13,000g	=	418oz
18,900g	=	607oz 14dwt
9,450g	=	303oz 16dwt

2. neue Terrinen Französische Arbeit, jede mit einem Einsatz, auf den einen Deckel befindet sich ein Carviol-Busch wiegen zusammen, 23 9. 1.

Auf der andern Terrine befindet sich auf den Deckel eine Artischocke und wieget 25. 12. 2.



This is the *leitmotif* of the Swan service, a rococo aesthetic well-suited to execution in porcelain as well as a thinly veiled reference to the word 'Brühl', meaning a swampy meadow or marshy ground.[figs 3 & 14] The Count's second great Meissen service,



12 & 13 (left) Details of the stand in fig 9 showing the chasing added to the cartouches. 14 (above) Detail of fig 3, from the Swan service.

called *Brühl'sche Allerlei* meaning 'a little bit of everything', was begun in 1742 and its vessels so closely resemble silver models by Germain and Ballin, it is easy to conclude these models were at hand in Dresden. The tureens and domed covers (*Wärmeglocken*) in particular, modelled in around 1743–46, feature three-dimensional vegetables, crayfish, mushrooms, nuts and other edibles on their covers, to complement the paintings of vegetables, flowers and fruits on the flat surfaces of the pieces.<sup>39</sup>[figs 4–5]

Unfortunately, given the almost total lack of descriptive remarks in the Dresden listings, it is nearly impossible to identify anything belonging to the 'Joly' service described in the memoir sent to Dresden. It is therefore meaningful that the artichoke and cauliflower handles are cited on the covers of the two French tureens. Thomas Germain's tureens with boar's head handles are known with variant lids or without lids.<sup>40</sup>[fig 9] A model that was popularised by La Chapelle and immortalised in oil by Alexandre-François Desportes, drawings of these pieces are also known, including one in the Meissen archives, of uncertain date and origin.<sup>41</sup>[fig 11] The most dominant feature crowning the lid of the largest of the three 'Joly' tureens is a naturalistically rendered handle in the form of a stalk of cauliflower. The two medium-size tureens are described as having 'just as much decoration as the centre tureen', including the 'artistically' positioned fishes and game on their covers and highly detailed vegetable handles. Whereas the main tureen had boar's head handles and feet, the medium-size versions were described as having '*pieds de faunes*' metamorphosing into foliage. The weight of the French tureens, covers and liners owned by Brühl is 5,513.9g and 6,029.14g respectively; it seems they were separated from their stands and serving spoons and these cannot be identified in the inventories. The total weight of the two Penthièvre-Orléans tureens, covers, liners and stand is 13,327g and 14,431g.<sup>42</sup> The weight of the largest of the 'Joly' tureens translates to around 13,000g, which includes the weight of the cover, liner, stand and serving spoon. The two smaller tureens, likewise with their covers, liners, stands and serving spoons, weighed a total of approximately 18,900g, indicating an average weight of 9,450g. Assuming the large 'Joly' tureen was acquired by Brühl, perhaps a second of the same size, with a variant lid and artichoke handle, was bought

35 U. Neidhard, *Der Nachlaß des kursächsischen Premier-Ministers Reichsgrafen Heinrich von Brühl*, *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte und Topographie Dresdens und seiner Umgebung* 8, 1888, pp1–26 (p15).

36 HstA (as note 21), Amt Dresden Nr. 3571 (betr. Nachlaß Brühl; früher: AG Nr. 4787), n.p. document signed by Johann Gustav Baron von Sacken, 13 Oct 1767 and f11, 12, and 35. Besides the library, the state acquired Brühl's print collection, "Naturalienkabinett", antiquities, a set of twelve "new" tapestries, a French "porte-chaise" and "Einen ebenfalls in Paris gefertigten sehr wohl gearbeiteten silbernen Surtout [A very finely worked surtout likewise made in Paris]." Ibid, Loc. 895/13, Acta der Erkaufung ... aus dem Gräfllich-Brühlschen Nachlaß betr. Anno 1764, 1781, fol. 26–29 and 160–162.

37 HstA (as note 21), Amt Dresden Nr. 3383 (betr. Nachlaß Brühl), f24r–40v: 'Inventarium über sämtliches Silberwerck'. The service was so valuable, that during the Seven Years War it was pawned in Hamburg; see Otto Eduard Schmidt (ed),

*Minister Graf Brühl und Karl Heinrich von Heintzen. Briefe und Akten, Charakteristiken und Darstellungen zur sächsischen Geschichte (1733–1763)*, Leipzig-Berlin 1921, pp133–34 and 199.

38 *Versailles et les Tables Royales en Europe XVIIIème – XIXème siècles*, exhib cat, Musée National des Châteaux de Versailles et de Trianon, 1993–94, Paris 1993, cat 201 and pp188–89 and 313–14.

39 A tureen from the *Brühl'sche Allerlei* service, on four scroll feet and an artichoke handle on the cover was sold at Sotheby's New York, 11 April 1980 lot 160. Another with a cauliflower handle was sold at Christie's London, 30 November 1981 lot 162.

40 It is presumed that every tureen was created with a lid.

41 Design drawings were sometimes sent with the diplomatic correspondence; see the presentation drawing by Ballin in MCG 2006 (as note 1). Plain tureens with boar's head handles were introduced in Meissen porcelain in the mid-1740s; see Köhler (as note 13).

42 According to Sotheby's (as note 26), pp58 and 61.



from the Germain workshop to make a pair. The weight of the stands (and missing spoons) could be a deciding factor in this argument.

The fate of the silver inherited by Carl Adolph von Brühl is essentially unknown. It seems remarkable that a silver service of such renown would be quietly melted down or sold especially when Brühl's will specified the silver, even if refashioned, was to stay in the family. It has been suggested that the service was 'repatriated' to France, which would explain the re-surfacing of the 'Penthièvre-Orléans' tureens in Paris before the death of

the Comte d'Eu in 1775. Carl Adolph's brother, Hans Moritz, Count von Brühl, was in the French military and married in France before returning to Saxony in 1772. His presence there could have facilitated the sale of the service abroad. It is hoped that publication of this new-found documentation on the early history of the Penthièvre-Orléans service and on the silver owned by Count Brühl, will stimulate dialogue and research into the history and influence of French silver at the court of Saxony.

### Acknowledgements

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Vötsch, E.L. Richter, Charles Truman, Bernard Dragesco and Brian Gallagher, Paul Micio, John Nicholson, Peter Sargent, Alan Darr and Sylvia Inwood; and Vanessa Brett for her encouragement and her patience.

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## APPENDIX 1

### Correspondence of Count von Brühl

Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, Loc. 453/3, nach dem Alphabet geordnet. Vol. III. Aus dem Buchstaben B. 1736-1740.

Appendix 1.1. [fol. 62]

Monseigneur,

J'ay eü l'honneur d'entendre dire à Votre Excellence, lorsque j'étois à Dresden, qu'elle avoit dessein de faire faire à Paris un service en argent, le hazard vient de m'en faire rencontre un, dont Votre Excellence jugera par le memoire Cy joint. L'art l'emporte sur le prix de la matiere, Le Goût des meilleurs Connoisseurs [*sic*] n'a rien à desirer; Il y'a des pieces dignes d'un Roy. Le tout est neuf, sans Ecusson, Le prix est de Cinq mil Ducats. Si Votre Excellence veut bien me faire L'honneur de [fol. 62v] me marquer ses Intentions, j'ose la supplier, que ce soit par la voie de Mons<sup>r</sup>. L'Envoyé de votre Cour. J'ose me flatter que le seigneur ne dedira rien de ce que j'ay avancé, quand je le luy auray communiqué apropos.

Je seray bien charmé, Monseigneur, d'avoir eü L'honneur, par cette occasion, de vous faire ma Cour. Ce n'est point icy une negociation de commissionaire, dont la coûtume est de ne pas négliger ses interêts.

[fol. 63] Ceux de Votre Excellence demandent que cette affaire se passé entre Votre Excellence, M. L'Envoyé, M. Le Propriétaire et moy.

J'ay L'honneur d'être avec les plus respectieuse sentimens.

De Votre Excellence

Le Tres humble et tres

Obeisant Serviteur.

Letreste

Monseigneur, À Paris le 15.<sup>e</sup> aout 1740. [fin]

Appendix 1.1. [fol. 62]

Sir,

When I was in Dresden I had the honour of hearing it being said to Your Excellency that He was [for 'you were'] intending to have a silver service made in Paris. By chance I have just seen one, upon which Your Excellency will be able to make a judgement by means of the memorandum attached. The artistry is more precious than the material is costly, the connoisseurs with the best possible taste could desire nothing finer, it contains pieces worthy of a King. It is all new, without armorial bearings, the price is five thousand ducats. If Your Excellency wishes do me the honour of [fol. 62v] informing me of His desires, may I ask that He does so by way of the envoy of His court. I am so bold as to trust that Your Excellency will not have any objections to anything that I have communicated or will communicate on this subject.

I will be delighted, My Lord, to have had the honour of presenting you with my propositions in this matter. In this case, it is not at all a question of a transaction with commission, which is customary.

[fol. 63] Your Excellency's interests demand that nobody else should be involved in this matter than Your Excellency Himself, the Ambassador, the owner, and myself.

I have the honour of being, most respectfully,

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient servant.

Letreste,

Sir, Paris, August 15, 1740



Appendix 1.2. [fol. 64]

A Paris le 26. septembre 1740

Monseigneur

J'ay reçu les Lettres dont Vôte Excellence m'a honoré des 3. et 10. Septembre, Je Luÿ en rends tres humbles graces.

Aujourd'huÿ j'iray voir avec l'Abbé le Treste la Vaisselle d'argent sur laquelle Il a écrit à Vôte Excellence. Je n'y ay pas été plutôt, parce que le propriétaire étoit à la Campagne. Il n'y a point d'Assiettes à cette Vaisselle et par l'ordinaire prochain je ne manquerai pas de render compte bien exactement

À S.E. Mgr. le Comte de Brühl.

[fol. 64v] à Vôte Excellence de ce que J'aurai vû.

Ces Jours passes ayant traité avec M.<sup>r</sup> Baur d'une petite Affaire d'intérêt qui me regarde, Il me dit, que M.<sup>r</sup> Bâlin [*sic*] ne travailloit point à la Vaisselle de Vôte Excellence avec la diligence qu'il desiroit, et que je ferois bien de l'exorter à n'y point perdre de tems.

J'y ai été, Monseigneur, dans cette intention là, et Je Luÿ ai demandé un memoire de ce qu'il y avoit de prêt à être envoyé. Il m'a donné le Memoire cÿ joint et m'a fait voir les principales pieces qui y sont mentionnées. Ce que j'ay vû est d'une grande beauté, pour le gout, les Sagesse, et la Noblesse du dessein. D'ailleurs il ne se peut rien de mieux fini et de plus proprement terminé. Votre Excellence pourra Se Souvenir que c'est [fol. 65] le meme Bâlin [*sic*] qui a fait pour le Roÿ une petite Vaisselle de Voÿage pendant le Séjour de Sa Majesté à Paris, mais quand Vôte Excellence verra la Sienne, Elle trouvera sans doute que M.<sup>r</sup> Bâlin [*sic*] ne s'est pas rouillé, et que le gout des belles choses, en ce genre là, ne s'est pas appauvri dans ce païs cÿ.

J'ay l'honneur d'être avec un très profond respect.

Monseigneur

De Vôte Excellence Le très humble et très Obeisant Serviteur

De Brais. [fin]

Appendix 1.3. [fol. 66]

A Paris le 3. octobre 1740.

Monseigneur.

Je fus voir Lundÿ dernier la Vaisselle dont Vôte Excellence a vû le memoire envoyé par l'Abbé Treste. Elle a été faite par le S.<sup>r</sup> Germain, un des orfèvres du Roÿ de France, pour un Fermier Général, nommé Jolÿ, qui avant sa mort, arrive il y a environ huit ans, comptoit sur la place de Tresorier Général du Clergé. Cet home étoit puissamment riche, et comme la charge à laquelle Il s'attendoit, ne pouvoit pas manquer de remplir ses coffres, Il Se croïoit en état de satisfaire le desir qu'il avoit de briller extraordinairement. Sur tout dans les repas d'Aparat que les Tresoriers Generaux donnent

À S.E. Mgr. le Comte De Brühl

[fol. 66v] quelques fois au Clergé de France. Pour cet effet Il ordonna au S.<sup>r</sup> Germain, certainement un des plus habiles Artistes qu'Il y ait en Europe, une Vaisselle, à laquelle Il ne vouloit rien epargner pour la rendre unique en Son espèce, et Supérieure à tout ce qu'on avoit vû d'extraordinaire jusque là, Mais Il mourut avant qu'elle fût achevée, et il n'y a eu de fait que ce que Vôte Excellence a vû dans le dit memoire.

M.<sup>r</sup> Berteaud Son Parent, a herité de cette Vaisselle. C'est un fort galant homme qui a environ 60. mille Livres de rente, cependant Il ne Seroit pas fâché de vendre une Vaisselle, qu'il dit être trop Superbe pour Luÿ, mais je ne vois pas qu'Il ait aucun desir de rien perdre sur les façons. Selon Son Calcul La Vaisselle pèse trois cent cinquante huit marcs, Sept gros, ce qui fait La Somme de 18621.<sup>#</sup>13. à laquelle il faut ajouter 953.<sup>#</sup> pour le controle, à raison de 3.<sup>#</sup> 10. le marc, ce qui fait un total, pour matiere et controle, de 19574.<sup>#</sup> 13. moyennant [fol. 67] quoi, Si Vôte Excellence payoit pour ce commencement de Vaisselle cinq mille Ducats, qui reviennent à 55000.<sup>#</sup> de francs, à raison de 10.<sup>#</sup>10. par Ducat, ce qui est à peu près Sa valeur intrinseque [intrinsic?], la facon coûterait à Vôte Excellence 35425.<sup>#</sup>7. Si je ne me trompe dans mon calcul.

Ce prix pourra paroître exorbitant à Vôte Excellence, aussi a t'il

Appendix 1.2. [fol. 64]

Paris, 26 September 1740

Sir

I offer my most humble thanks for the letters of 3 and 10 September that I had the honour of receiving from Your Excellency.

Today I shall go with l'Abbé le Treste to inspect the silver service about which he wrote to Your Excellency. I was not able to do so earlier because the owner was in the country. This service has no accompanying plates and I will not fail to send you an exact account by the next regular post

To His Excellency My Lord Brühl.

[fol. 64v] to Your Excellency on what I shall have seen.

These past days, regarding a small matter concerning my interests, I was in negotiations with Monsieur Baur, who told me that Monsieur Bâlin [*sic*] was not applying himself to the matter of Your Excellency's service as diligently as he desired, and that I would do well to urge him not to waste moment's time.

With this in mind, I went to see him, Sir, and requested of him a memorandum of what he had that was ready to be sent. He gave me the memorandum attached, and showed me the principal pieces mentioned therein. All that I have seen is of great beauty, with respect to taste, wisdom, and nobility of design. In addition, nothing can be better or more finely finished. Your Excellency will remember that this is [fol. 65] the same Bâlin who made a small travelling service for the King during His Majesty's stay in Paris, but when Your Excellency sees His own service, He will without doubt consider that far from having lost his touch Monsieur Bâlin [*sic*] has suffered no impoverishment at all in his taste for beautiful things of this kind.

I have the honour of being, most respectfully,

Sir

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient servant

De Brais.

Appendix 1.3. [fol. 66]

Paris, 3 October 1740.

Sir.

Last Monday I went to see the service concerning which Your Excellency has seen the memorandum sent by Abbé Treste. It was made by lord Germain, one of the King of France's silversmiths, for a Controller of Taxes [*fermier général*] by the name of Jolÿ who, before his death about eight years ago, had been counting on the post of Treasurer General of the Clergy. This man was powerfully rich, and anticipating that the post to which he was aspiring would not fail to fill his coffers still further, he believed himself to be in a position to satisfy his desire to cut a brilliant figure, especially at the formal dinners given by the Treasurers General

To His Excellency My Lord Count Brühl

[fol. 66v] on occasion to the clergy of France. To this end, he ordered a service from S.<sup>r</sup> Germain, who is certainly one of the most skilful artists in Europe. He was prepared to spare no expense in ensuring that this service would be unique of its kind, and superior to all those seen before. But he died before it was finished, and all that was completed of it was that which Your Excellency read of in the said memorandum.

His relative Monsieur Berteaud has inherited this service. He is a most gallant man with an income of around 60,000 thousand *livres* per year. However, he would not be averse to selling a service that by his own account is too splendid for him, but I do not see that he has any desire to take a loss on the cost of the labour involved. According to his calculation, the service weighs three hundred and fifty-eight *marcs*, seven *gros*, making a sum of 18621.1 [*livres*]13. [*sols*], to which one must add 953.1 [*livres*] for the hall-marking ['le controle'] at a rate of 3.1 [*livres*] 10 [*sols*] per *marc*, making a sum total for material and hall-marking of 19574. 1 [*livres*] 13 [*sols*], by means [fol. 67] of which, if Your Excellency were to pay five thousand ducats for the initial work done upon the service, amounting to 55000. 1 [*livres*], at a rate of 10.1 [*livres*] 10 [*sols*] per ducat, which



paru tel à M.<sup>r</sup> Berteaud, qui à la mort de Son oncle, vouloit laisser cette vaisselle à l'Orfèvre Germain, mais celui cy ne croyant pas qu'il fut facile de s'en de faire, Sans une perte considerable, l'a obligé de la prendre telle quelle étoit, en Se faisant payer de Ses façons.

Il est vray qu'on ne peut rien voir de plus recherché et de plus parfaitement executé. Sans entrer dans un grand detail, qui n'aura sans doute pas été oublié dans le memoire que V<sup>otre</sup> Excellence a reçu, Je dirai Seulement, que les contours sont de toute beauté, et que les ornements sont executés avec [fol. 67v] tant d'Art et de perfection, que je n'ay pas vû un seul morceau, qui ne puisse décorer le Cabinet d'un Curieux. Les princepeaux ornements sont des Animaux, en tout ou en partie, des fruits, des Legumes, &c. Comme hures de Sangliers, becasses, Ecrevisses, champignons, Artichaux, petits pois dans leurs écorces, feuilles de persil, cocos, fruits et feuilles, et autres pareilles choses, executés d'après nature, avec tant de fidélité, de soin, et de detail, qu'on ne sçait ce qu'il y a de plus étonnant ou de l'Habileté ou de la patience de l'artiste.

Une chose qui rendroit la possession de ces Bijoux moins agreeable, c'est qu'une Vaisselle dans ce gout là demanderoit quelques officiers, qui fussent orfèvres, pour l'entretenir dans sa beauté, suppose qu'on voulut quelques fois en faire usage si Votre Excellence desiroit quelques autres éclaircissements sur cette matiere, Je La Suplie très humblement de m'honorer de Ses orders, que j'exécuterai toujours [fol. 68] avec le plus grand plaisir du monde, et avec toute l'attention dont je suis capable.

J'ay l'honneur d'être avec un très profond respect.

Monseigneur de V<sup>otre</sup> Excellence le très humble et très obeissant Serviteur De Brais. [fin]

is roughly its intrinsic value, then the cost of the transaction to Your Excellency would come to 35425.1 [livres] 7 [sols], if I am not mistaken in my calculations.

It is possible that this price will seem exorbitant to Your Excellency, as indeed it seemed to Monseieur Berteaud, who on his uncle's death at first wished to leave the service to the silversmith Germain. However, Germain, who did not believe that it would be easy to market without considerable loss, obliged Monsieur Berteaud to take it as is and to settle the expense of his labour.

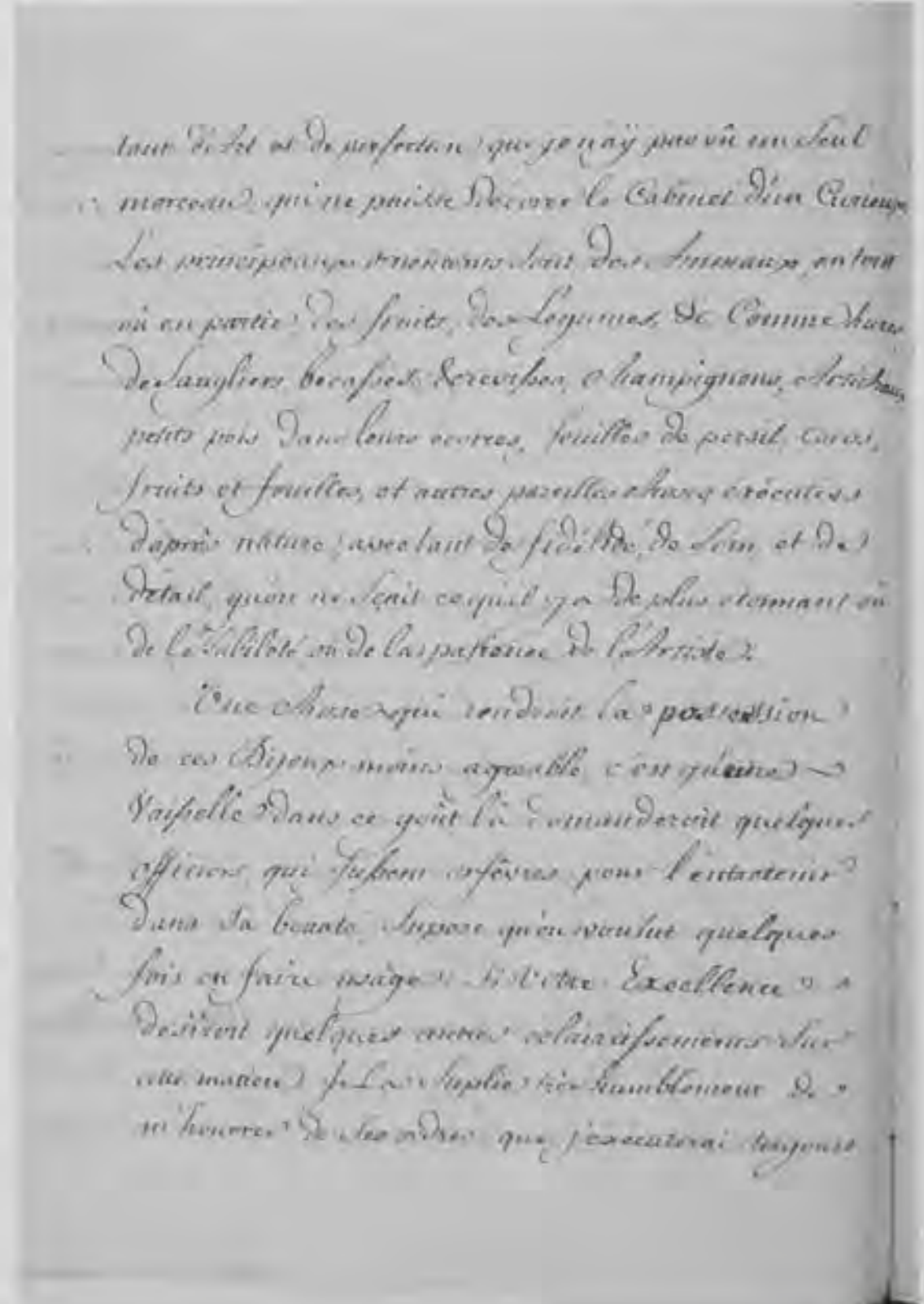
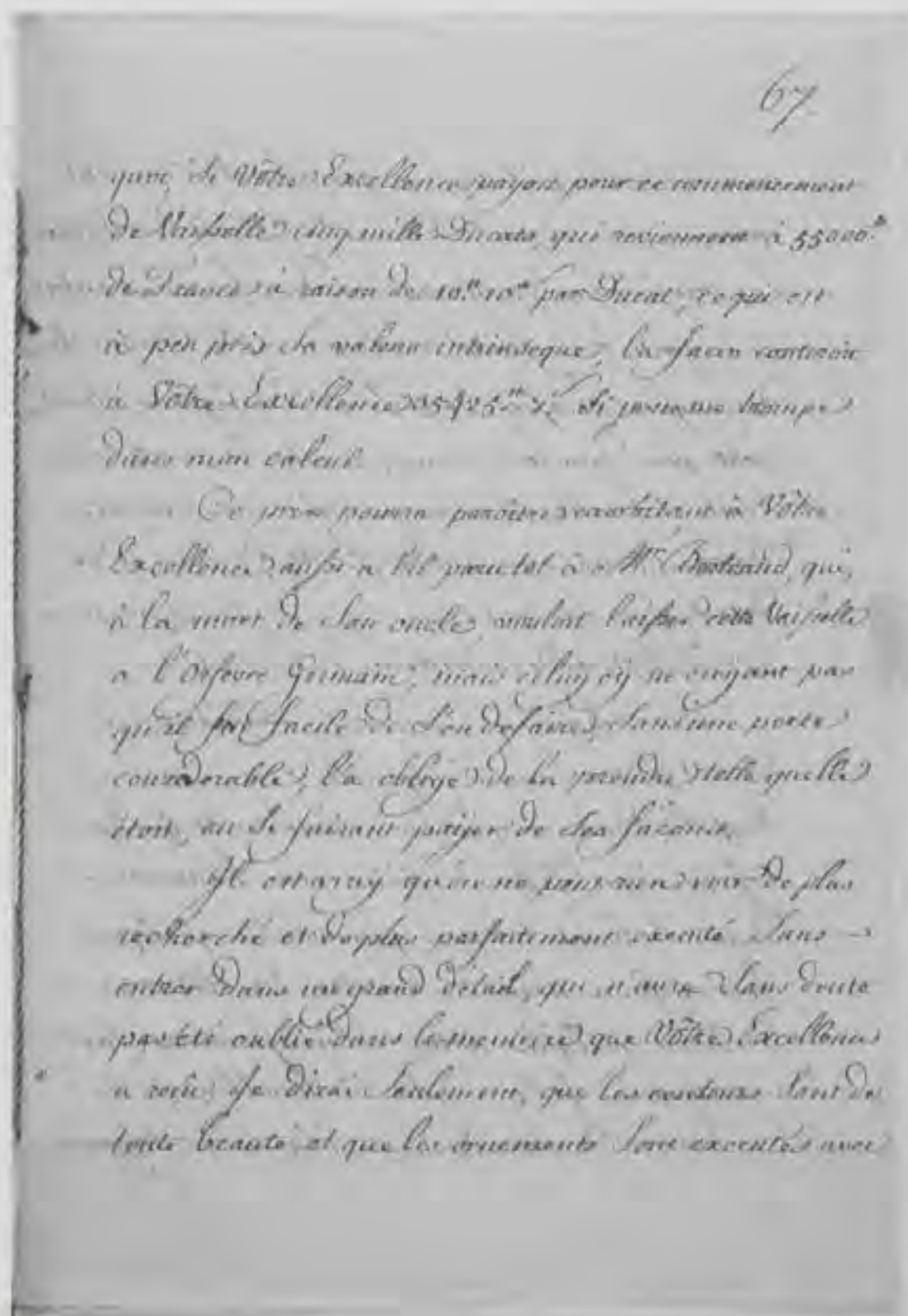
It is certainly quite true that there has never been anything more exquisite or more perfectly executed. I will not go into the details, which in any case will not have been forgotten in the memorandum that Your Excellency has received, but will simply say that the shapes are of great beauty and the ornaments are executed with such artistry and perfection [fol. 67v] that I have not seen a single piece that would not be a worthy addition to a fine curiosity cabinet. The principal ornaments are animals, done full or in part, fruits, and vegetables, and in addition other such things as boar's heads, woodcock, crayfish, mushrooms, artichokes, peas in their pods, parsley leaves, coconuts, fruits and leaves and other similar things, done so faithfully from nature with such care and attention to detail that I do not know of any other work that is such an astounding testimony to the artist's skill and patience.

One matter that would lessen the joy of becoming the possessor of these jewels is that if it were intended that it should on occasion be used, a service in this taste would necessarily demand the assistance of a number of silversmiths to ensure that it retain its present beauty. If Your Excellency desires further clarification of this matter, I ask Him most humbly to do me the honour of entrusting me with his instructions, which I will always carry out [fol. 68] with the greatest pleasure in the world, and with all the attention of which I am capable.

I have the honour of being, most respectfully, Sir

Your Excellency's most humble and obedient servant

De Brais.





	marcs.	onces.	gros.
Quatre Caisses, quatre doubles caisses Et quatre Plats pour lesdites [sic] Caisses pesant ensemble	50	6	4
Four boxes [caisses], four double boxes, and four stands [Plats] for the said cases, weighing altogether			
huit plats d'Entrées, quatre plats pour Entremets pesant ensemble	60	5	2
eight first course platters for the entrée, four platters for entremets, weighing altogether			
un Plat pour Le Bouilly, Et un plat demi-creux pour Entremets pesant ensemble	18	2	2
one platter for stewed meat, and a platter for the entremets			
deux Plats pour le potage pesant ensemble	25	"	2
two soup stands, weighing together			
un grand Plat ovale pour le milieu	16	4	3
one large oval platter for the middle of the table			
Une grande terrine avec son double fond, le Plat et la Cuillier pesant Ensemble	53	6	2
one large tureen with its liner, stand and serving spoon, weighing altogether			
Huit Plats ovales pour le Rol [= Ros]	38	4	7
eight oval platters for the roast			
Deux moyennes Terrines avec les doubles fonds, les deux Plats et les deux cuilliers pesant ensemble	177	1	4
two medium-size tureens with liners, two stands and two serving spoons, weighing altogether	340	7	2
[fol. 69v]			
De L'autre Part cy [carried over]	340	7	2
Deux cuilliers a Potage et quatre a Ragouts pesant Ensemble	7	1	5
Two soup ladles and four ragout spoons, weighing altogether			
Total des Matières [Total material]	348	"	7

right:

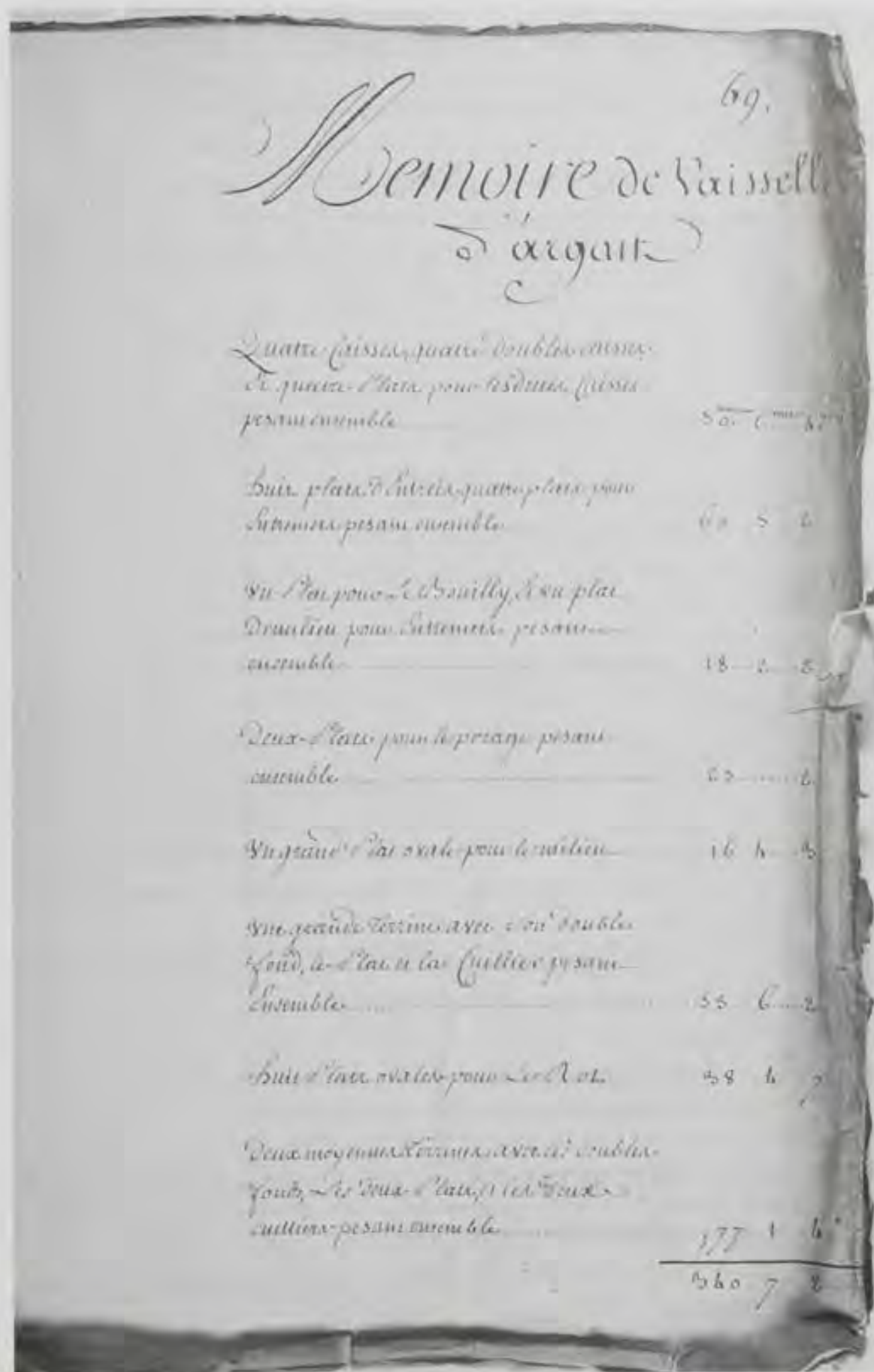
Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, Loc. 453/3,  
Correspondenz des Pr. Min. Grafen von Brühl, nach  
dem Alphabet geordnet. Vol. III. Aus dem  
Buchstaben B. 1736-1740, fol. 69 (Memoire).

opposite page left:

Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, Loc. 453/3,  
Correspondenz des Pr. Min. Grafen von Brühl, nach  
dem Alphabet geordnet. Vol. III. Aus dem  
Buchstaben B. 1736-1740, fol. 67r.

opposite page right:

Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, Loc. 453/3,  
Correspondenz des Pr. Min. Grafen von Brühl, nach  
dem Alphabet geordnet. Vol. III. Aus dem  
Buchstaben B. 1736-1740, fol. 67v.





Les quatre Caisses et les quatre doubles Caisses avec des anses cir-  
cles et des Panneaux pris sur la Piece ouvrages tres Longs Et d'une  
grande difficulté, Tous [?] les Panneaux pris a L'Echoppe Et au  
Burin finit et Polit comme Ils Pourroient estre En or

Les quatres Plats pour les Caisses a Baguettes et Rubans avec des  
agraffes cizelées dans les Contours

Les huit Plats d'Entrées avec des Baguettes et Rubans Et des  
agraffes cizelées dans les Contours

Les quatre Plats d'Entremets avec des Baguettes Et Rubans Et des  
agraffes cizelées dans les Contours

Les quatre grands plats ovales pour le Ros dans le meme gout que  
ceux cy dessus

Les quatre Plats ovales pour le Ros plus petits travailler comme  
ceux cy devant

Le Plat pour le Bouilly contourné sur le Rond a Baguettes et feuilles  
de Persil decoupées et raportées autour de La [fol. 70] Moulure  
avec des agraffes a feuillages et Entre Les agraffes d'autres petites  
pour separer le tout des feuilles

Le Plat pour Entremets contourné sur le Rond a Baguettes et  
Rubans avec des agraffes Et feuillages

Les deux Plats a potage a Baguettes avec feuilles de persil  
decoupées les unes après les autres Et Raportées de meme cizelées  
après estre fondées avec un Rinceau de feuillages qui vient former  
les ances [sic].

Le grand Plat ovale pour le Ros de bif a Baguettes et feuilles  
decoupées comme ceux cy dessus les unes après les autres  
Raportées cizelés avec des feuillages qui courent au pourtout avec  
leurs Enroulements.

La Grande Terrine du milieu avec son Plat et sa cuillier Et son dou-  
ble fond decorée de hures de Sanglier a chacun deux Pieds leur  
Poitrail se joignant avec coquillage qui embrasse le corps du vase,  
et formant deux autres Pieds dans le milieu qui portent et accom-  
pagnent les deux ances En relief, ce vase est Bordé de Baguettes et  
Rubans le dedans Represente la meme Coquille du dehors travail-  
lér en contrepartie sur la gorge de la d. [dite] terrine sont pris sur  
piece des canneaux qui Representent en dedans la Contrepartie Et  
par consequent travailler en dedans comme en dehors son couver-  
cle est orné d'un choux fleur pour servir de prise a l'enlever accom-  
pagné d'un Beccasseau d'une Ecrevisse de grandeur de nature avec  
des Legumes telles que sont du scellery, Truffes, champignons,  
Radix, petits Poids, Petits oignons, artichaux, Persil, Le tout Etudié  
d'après nature avec Beaucoup de soin son Plat est des plus Riches  
[fol. 70v] d'un Contour Recherché a plusieurs Reprises Bordé d'une  
Baguette et au lieu de Rubans sont des feuilles de Persil decoupées  
et Raportées au Pourtour Les unes après les autres cizelées en place  
ouvrage très Long sont Jointe encore des agraffes et des cartouches  
ou ont été fait des Portions de Blason en relief pris sur piece qui ont  
été faits et mis En place Les ornemens qui s'y trouvent presente-  
ment avec des Enroulements sur les Bouts comme sur les flancs.

Les deux moyennes Terrines avec leurs doubles fons sont d'un  
aussy grand detail que la grande Terrine par les Panneaux chan-  
levés [champlevés] sur la Piece et finis comme sils[s'ils] Etoient En  
or decorés de Pieds de faunes qui se metamorphosent En feuillages  
et agraffes avec leurs Enroulements et sur leurs couvercles sont  
posés artistement des Rougets, Lottes et Ecrevisses avec des huitres  
leurs feuilles de mer des moules cornichons ortolans Poissons et  
plusieurs Legumes d'une grande difficulté pour leur execution  
leurs Plats sont autans decorer que celui de la terrine du milieu a  
proportion de leur Grandeur et Leurs Cuilliers.

Les deux Cuilliers a Potage, Le Culleron formant une Coquille avec  
le manche en faisceau

Les quatre Cuilliers a Ragout a limitation de celles a Potage.[fin]

The four boxes and the four double-boxes with handles, bands and  
the panels worked directly upon the piece, very elaborate and dif-  
ficult work, all the panels being engraved chased, finished and pol-  
ished as would be gold work.

The four stands for the boxes with baguette and ribbon ornamen-  
tation, with scrolls chased upon the sides.

The eight entrée platters with baguettes ribbons, and scrolls chased  
upon the sides.

The four entremets platters with baguettes, ribbons and scrolls,  
chased upon the sides.

The four large oval platters for the roast, in the same taste as the  
above

The four smaller oval plates for the roast, worked like those above

The dish for stewed meat, ornamented all around with baguettes  
and parsley leaves cut and attached around the [fol. 70] moulding  
with scrolls done in foliage, and between the mounts, other small-  
er ones to separate the whole thing from the leaves.

The platter for the entremets, ornamented all around with  
baguettes and ribbons, with scrolls and foliage.

Two soup stands ornamented with baguettes and parsley leaves  
cut one after the other and attached in the same way, chased after  
having been fused with a foliated scroll which forms the handles.

The large oval platter for the roast beef with baguettes and leaves  
cut as above, chased one after the other, with scrolled leafwork run-  
ning around the surround.

The large centre tureen with its stand, serving spoon and liner, dec-  
orated with boar's heads each one with two feet and their breasts  
joining to the shellwork [coquillage] that runs around the body of  
the vessel [vase], and forming two other feet in the middle which  
serve to carry and accompany the two protruding handles. This  
vessel is bordered with baguettes and ribbons with the same shell  
represented on the inside as on the outside, as it was worked from  
within. On the breast of the said tureen, fluted ornamentation is  
worked directly on the piece from its interior side and this decora-  
tion is thus fashioned equally on both the interior as well as the  
exterior. The cover is decorated with a cauliflower to serve as a  
handle, accompanied by a woodcock, a life-size crayfish, with veg-  
etables such as celery, truffles, mushrooms, radishes, peas, little  
onions, artichokes, parsley, all done from nature with great care. Its  
stand is extremely richly done [fol. 70v], of an exquisite shape with  
multiple repeats, edged with a baguette several times and in the  
place of ribbons are parsley leaves cut out and attached to the  
perimeter one after the other chased on the spot, very time-con-  
suming work. In addition, there are scrolls and cartouches where  
the heraldic devices were made, worked in relief directly on the  
piece, all executed and put into place. the ornaments which are  
found there presented [are] with scrolls on the ends as well as on  
the sides.

The two medium-size tureens with their liners have just as much  
detail as the large tureen, by virtue of their panels, done in relief,  
worked directly on the piece and finished as if they were in gold,  
decorated with the feet of fauns metamorphosing into foliage and  
scrolls with their curls. On their covers' lids are placed artistically  
red mullet, monkfish, and crayfish with oysters, seaweed, mussels,  
gherkins, ortolans, fish and several highly intricate vegetables.  
Their stands have just as much decoration as the centre-tureen, in  
proportion to their size and the size of their serving spoons.

The two soup ladles, with bowls in the shape of a shell with the  
handle of sticks imitating fascies.

The four ragout spoons done in the same way as the soup spoons.



## APPENDIX 2

### Afterdeath Inventory of Count von Brühl

Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden Loc. 30488, Brühlsches Nachlaßverzeichnis

Transcription prepared by Jochen Voetsch, translation by Peter Sargent

In the following transcription the valuation for each entry is given on the left. The standard against which currencies of the German states were valued within the Holy Roman Empire was the Thaler; variants of the Thaler were used in individual states. The currency used in this document, the Reichstaler, is abbreviated both as Thlr and, in the central column describing the objects, as 'm'. The Reichstaler contained one ninth of a Cologne mark of silver.

The columns showing value therefore show Reichstaler (thlr) Groschen (g) and pfennig (d).

1 Thlr = 24g; 1g = 10d.

The most commonly used system of weight was the Cologne mark. The units of the mark used in the inventory are the lot or loth and gran.

1m = 16 lot; 1 lot = 18 gran.

The calculations required to convert to present-day weights are:

1 troy oz = 31.103 grams

1 mark = 233.856 grams = 7.51 troy oz

The references within the entries and the numbers in the right-hand margin of the inventory refer to the voluminous commission reports [Kommissionsakten] concerning the dis-

position and valuation of the Brühl estate. These numbers are important in determining which pieces were sold, which went to the heirs, and which went into the royal collections. The commission first inventoried the individual rooms of the Brühl palace and this was the basis for the inventory of his estate.

The value of his possessions was determined in consultation with experts (artists, silversmiths, and so forth). It seems the silver was assessed purely according to weight, yet those compiling the inventory appear to have used different values per mark. Presumably this relates to the quality of the silver, but they may also have taken into account the artistry of a piece and somehow factored this into their computation, although there seems to be no way of knowing whether or not this was the case. For example, item no1 is valued at 10 thalers per mark, item no 2 at 8 thalers per mark, and item no3 at 9 thalers per mark.

For further information see:

1. Fabian Stein, 'Weights on Continental silver', *The Silver Society Journal*, no9, 1997.
2. *La machine d'argent*, Sotheby's New York, 20 May 2004.
3. The tables below, giving various methods of calculation.

English troy weights			German weights		
1 pound (lb)	= 12 ounces	= 373.2 grams	<i>Most of the German lands used the Cologne mark. The Cologne mark converts to:</i>		
1 ounce (oz)	= 20 dwts	= 31.103 grams	1 Pfund (lb)	= 2 Marks	= 467.71 grams
1 pennyweight (dwt)	= 24 grains	= 1.555 grams	1 Mark	= 8 Unzen	= 233.856 grams
French weights			1 Unze	= 2 Lot	= 29.232 grams
<i>Livre: Unit of mass in the late eighteenth-century France</i>			1 Lot	= 4 Quentchen	= 14.616 grams
1 livre (Paris pound)	= 16 onces; 1 once (Paris ounce) = 8 gros		1 Quentchen	= 4 Pfennig	= 3.654 grams
1 gros	= 72 grains		1 Pfennig	= 1/16 Lot	= 0.9135 grams
<i>In modern units, the livre is equivalent to 489 grams</i>			1 Gran	= 1/18 Lot	= 0.812 grams
1 livre	= 2 marcs	= 489.506 grams	<i>The Cologne standard was not used everywhere. There are many exceptions, to mention a few:</i>		
1 marc	= 8 onces	= 244.753 grams	Augsburg	1 mark	= 236 grams
1 once	= 8 gros	= 30.594 grams	Nuremberg	1 mark	= 239 grams
1 gros	= 3 deniers	= 3.824 grams	Prague and Bohemia	1 mark	= 239.1 grams
1 denier	= 24 grains	= 1.275 grams	Vienna/Bozen and Tyrolia	1 Viennese mark	= 16 lot= 280.644 grams
1 grain		= 0.053 grams			



Vol. I. fol. 206r:	Cap: XI. An Silberwercke. [ <i>Silverware</i> ]	No:
1.) 742. 12.	- Zwölff silberne Assiettes, wiegen 74. Mrck. 4. Loth á 10. m. Vol. VII. Fol. 1. <i>Twelve silver plates, weighing</i>	7646.
2.) 253. 15.	- Acht kleine ovale Schüssel wiegen 31. Mrk. 11. L. 1. gr. á 8. m. ibid. <i>Eight small oval dishes</i>	7647.
3.) 170. 17.	3. Vier Sauciers wiegen 18. Mrk. 13. L. 2. gr. á 9. m. - ibid <i>Four sauce boats</i>	7648.
Latus 1166. Thlir: 20. g 3. d. fol. 206v:		
4.) 1303. 3.	- Vier Tutzend Teller, wiegen 130. Mrk. 5. Loth á 10. m. Vol. VII. Fol. 1. <i>Four dozen plates</i>	7649.
5.) 395. 10.	6. Zwey grose ovale Terrinen, wiegen 43. Mk. 13. Loth á 9. m. - ibid. <i>Two large oval tureens</i>	7650.
6.) 220. 22.	6. Vier kleine detto ohne Füßgen, wiegen 22. Mrk. 1. Loth 2 gr. á 10. m. ibidem. <i>Four small ditto without feet</i>	7651.
7.) 136. 16.	6. Zwey kleine detto, ohne Füße, w. 15. Mrk. 3. L. á 9. m. ibidem. <i>Two small ditto, without feet</i>	7652.
8.) 522. 8.	3. Acht Assiettes Glocken, w. 52. Mrk. 3. L. 3. gr. á 10 m. ibidem <i>Eight plate covers</i>	7653.
Latus 2578. Thlir: 12. g. 9. d. fol. 207r:		
9.) 109. 9.	- Zwey kleine ovale Glocken w. 10. Mrk. 15. L. á 10. m. Vol. VII. Fol. 1. <i>Two small oval covers</i>	7654.
10.) 106. 21.	- Zwey Credentz Teller, w. 10. Mrk. 11. Loth á 10. m. - ibidem <i>Two sideboard plates</i>	7655.
11.) 366. 1.	1. Acht Küchen Teller Glocken, w. 40. Mrk. 10. L. 3. gr. á 9. m. ibid. <i>Eight cake plate covers</i>	7656.
12.) 56. 6.	- Sechs Pfeffer Väßer, w. 5. Mrk. 10. Loth á 10. m. ibidem <i>Six pepper vessels</i>	7657.
13.) 60. -	- Acht Saltz Mästen wiegen 6. Mrk. á 10. m. ibidem <i>Eight salt cellars</i>	7658.
14.) 54. 18.	- Vier vergoldete Suppen Löffel wiegen 6. Mrk. 13. Loth 2. gr. á 8. m. Vol. VII. Fol. 1. <i>Four gilded soup spoons</i>	7659.
Latus 753. Thlir: 7. g. 1. d. fol. 207v:		
15.) 96. 6.	- Zwölff Ragout Löffel w. 9. Mrk. 10. L. á 10. m. ibidem <i>Twelve ragout spoons</i>	7660.
16.) 81. -	- Drey Dutzend Meßer w. 9. Mrk. á 9. m. ibidem <i>Three dozen knives</i>	7661.
17.) 121. 12.	- Drey Tutzend Gabeln w. 13 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> . mrk. á 9. m. ibidem <i>Three dozen forks</i>	7662.
18.) 126. -	- Drey Tutzend Löffel, w. 14. Mrk. - á 9. m. ibidem <i>Three dozen spoons</i>	7663.
19.) 386. 21.	- Vier grose ovale Schüsseln w. 38. Mrk. 11. L. á 10. m. ibidem <i>Four large oval dishes</i>	7664.

Latus 811. Thlir: 15. g. - d. fol. 208r:		
20.) 66. 6.	- Eine silberne Coffeé Kanne, w. 6. Mrk. 10. Loth á 10. m. - ibidem <i>A silver coffee pot</i>	7665.
21.) 180. -	- Vierzehn Stück glatte silberne Leuchter, w. 20. Mrk. - á 9. m. - ibidem <i>Fourteen plain silver candlesticks</i>	7666.
22.) 178. 7.	- Vierzehn Stück niedrige faconirte Leuchter, mit Tyllen, woran zwey Tyllen fehlen, wiegen 19. Mrk. 13. L. á 9. m. - ibidem <i>Fourteen short decorated candlesticks, with drip-pans, of which two are missing</i>	7667.
23.) 12. 22.	- Einer dergl. etwas höher ohne Tylle w. 1. Mrk. 7. Loth á 9. m. ibidem <i>A similar, somewhat taller, without drip-pans</i>	7668.
24.) 144. -	- Ein Silbervergoldeter Latus 581. Thlir: 12. g. - d. fol. 208v:	
	Schwenck=Keßel mit 4. Füßen woran 2. Handgriffe fehlen, w. 16. Mrk. á 9. m. - ibidem <i>A gilded silver wine cooler with 4 feet, on which 2 handles are missing</i>	7669.
25.) 600. -	- Funffzehn Stück silberne Kuchen Teller, wiegen 60. Mrk. á 9. m. ibidem <i>Fifteen silver cake plates</i>	7670.
26.) 400. -	- Vier und zwanzig Stück runde Silberne Speise Teller, wiegen 50. Mrk. á 8. m. - ibidem <i>Twenty-four round silver food plates</i>	7671.
27.) 60. 18.	- Ein silbernes Rechaud, wiegt 6. Mrk. 12. Loth á 9. m. - ibidem <i>A silver Rechaud</i>	7672.
Latus 1060. Thlir: 18. g. - d. fol. 209r:		
	Ein completes silbernes Tafel Service, bestehend aus folgenden Stücken, als: <i>A complete silver table service, consisting of the following items:</i>	
28.) 2764. 2. 3.	Einer großen Plât de Menage, worauf 2. Silberne Zucker-Büchßen und 8. gläserne Flaschen, mit silbernen Stöpseln w. 151. Mrk. 4. L. 2. gr. die Mrk. á 11. m. ibid. <i>A large Plat de Menage with 2 silver sugar boxes and 8 glass bottles with silver stoppers</i>	4057.a
29.) 1265. -	- Einer kleinen Plat de Menage nebst 6. Tann-Zäpfgen Latus 4029. Thlir: 2. g. 3. d. fol. 209v:	
	und 6. Tyllen, wiegt 115. Mrk. á 11. m. - ibidem <i>A small Plat de menage with cone-shaped candle sockets with 6 drip-pans</i>	4057.b
30.) 1386. 20. 6.	Zwey grose halbe ovale silberne Terrinen, nebst Untersetz= und Einsetz=Schaalen, wiegen 126. Mrk. 1. Loth 1. gr. á 11. m. ibidem <i>Two large half oval silver tureens including stands and liner dishes</i>	4057.d
31.) 65. 7. 6.	Zwey darzu gehörige Kellen wiegen 5. Mrk. 15. L. á 11. m. - ibid. <i>Two associated ladles</i>	4057.e
32.) 2961. 5. 6.	Vier egale ovale grose Terrinen, nebst Untersetz= und Einsetz=Schaalen auch Vier Löffeln, wiegen zusammen 269. Mrk. 3. L. 1 gr. á 11. m. - ibid.	4057.f



*Four, the same, large oval tureens, including stands and liner dishes with four spoons, weighing together*

Latus 4413. Thllr: 9. g. 6. d.  
fol. 210r:

33.) 1774. 10. 6. Vier kleine ovale Terrinen nebst Untersetz und Einsetz Schaalen auch Löffeln, wiegen 101. Mrk. 5. L. - á 11. m. ibidem 4057.g  
*Four small oval tureens including stands and liner dishes and spoons*

34.) 1226. 20. - Zwey runde Terrinen, nebst Untersetz und Einsetz=Schaalen, auch darzu gehörigen Kellen, wiegen zusammen 111. Mrk. 8. L. 2. gr. á 11. m. - ibidem 4057.h  
*Two round tureens including stands and liner dishes with associated ladles, weighing together*

35.) 2199. 15. 9. Zwölff grose runde Schüßeln, nebst 4. Glocken darzu, wiegen zusammen

Latus 5200. Thllr: 22. g. 3. d.  
fol. 210v: 199. Mrk. 13. L. 2. gr. á 11. m. - ibid. 4057.i  
*Twelve large round dishes, including 4 dish covers, weighing together*

36.) 1546. 21. - Sechzehen etwas kleine Schüßeln, wiegen 140. Mrk. 10. Loth á 11. m. ibidem 4057.j  
*Sixteen somewhat smaller dishes*

37.) 854. 13. 6. Acht darzu gehörige Glocken, wiegen 77. Mrk. 11. Loth á 11. m. - ibid. 4057.k  
*Eight associated dish covers*

38.) 3078. 15. - Acht und zwanzig kleinere runde Schüßeln, nebst 16. darzu gehörigen Glocken, wiegen zusammen 279. Mrk. 14. Loth á 11. m. - ibidem 4057.l  
*Twenty-eight smaller round dishes including 16 associated dish covers, weighing together*

39.) 2170. 18. 9. Vierzehen Stck. grose

Latus 7650. Thllr: 20. g. 3. d.  
fol. 211r: ovale Schüßeln und 6. Stck. Glocken darzu, wiegen zusammen 197. Mrk. 5<sup>1</sup> 2. L. á 11. m. ibidem 4057.m  
*Fourteen large oval dishes and 6 associated dish covers, weighing together*

40.) 3730. 17. 3. Neun Tutzend und Eilff Stück silberne Teller, wiegen zusammen 339. Mrk. 2. Loth 2. gr. á 11. m. - ibid. 4057.n  
*Nine dozen and eleven silver plates, weighing together*

41.) 349. 6. - Acht Stck. länglichte Schüßeln wiegen 31. Mrk. 12. L. á 11. m. ibidem 4057.o  
*Eight elliptical dishes*

42.) 232. - 9. Vier Stück silberne Credentz Teller wiegen 21. Mrk. 1. L. 2. gr. á 11. m. ibid. 4057.q  
*Four silver sideboard plates*

Latus 4312. Thllr: - g. - d.  
fol. 211v:

43.) 111. 9. - Zwey Stück dergl. Saucieren wiegen 10. Mrk. 2. L. á 11. m. ibidem 4057.r  
*Two similar sauceboats*

44.) 99. 16. 6. Zwey grose doppelte Saltz Mästen, wiegen 9. Mrk. 1. L. - á 11. m. ibidem 4057.s  
*Two large double salt cellars*

45.) 16. 12. - Eine dergl. etwas kleiner wiegt 1. Mrk. 18. L. á 11. m. - ibidem 4057.t  
*A similar, somewhat smaller*

46.) 79. 1. 6. Ein Untersetz Kasten oder Schaaale, worin man Oel und Eßig Flaschen setzt,

nebst 2. Flaschen mit silbernen Deckeln, w. 7. Mrk. 3. L. á 11. m. - 4057.u

*A bordered stand or dish for oil and vinegar bottles, including 2 bottles with silver lids*

Latus 306. Thllr: 15. g. - d.  
fol. 212r:

47.) 117. 21. 9. Ein Untersetz Kasten nebst darzu gehörigen Senff Büchße, Zucker Büchße und Löffeln, wiegen zusammen 10. Mrk. 11. L. 2. gr. á 11. m. - ibidem 4057.v  
*A bordered stand including the associated mustard container, sugar container and spoon, weighing together*

48.) 24. 13. 10. Zwey kleine Senff Büchßen nebst Löffelgen, en forme eines Tönngen, wiegen 2. Mrk. 3. L. 3. gr. á 11. m. - ibid. 4057.w  
*Two small mustard containers including small tongue-shaped spoons*

49.) 1818. 2. 3. Zwölff grose Leuchter von egaler Gröse, mit

Latus 1960. Thllr: 13. g. 10. d.  
fol. 212v: vier tyllichten Girandols, wiegen zusammen 165. Mrk. 4. Loth 2. gr. á 11. m. - ibidem 4057.x  
*Twelve large like sized candlesticks with 4 branch arms with drip-pans, weighing together*

50.) 2165. 6. 9. Sechs und dreyßig Stück ordinaire Tafel-Leuchter, nebst 12. Stk. Armen darzu, wiegen zusammen 196. Mk. 13. L. 2. gr. á 11. m. - ibidem 4057.y  
*Thirty-six plain table candlesticks including 12 arms, weighing together*

51.) 112. 1. 6. Acht Saltz Väßgen, u. vier Pfeffer Väßgen, mit Deckeln, wiegen zusammen 10. Mrk. 3. L. á 11. m. ibid. 4057.z  
*Eight salt vases and four pepper vases with lids, weighing together*

Latus 2277. Thllr: 8. g. 3. d.  
fol. 213r:

52.) 94. 21. - Sechs grose Ragout=Löffel, wiegen 8. Mk. 10. Loth á 11. m. ibid. 4057aa.  
*Six large ragout spoons*

53.) 49. 12. - Zwey paar grose Trenchis Meßer, wobey die Gabeln von puren Silber mit 4. Zacken, wiegen zusammen 4. Mrk. 8. Loth á 11. m. - ibid. 4057bb.  
*Two pair of large carving knife sets, the forks of pure silver with 4 prongs, weighing together*

54.) 36. 22. 10. Zwey durchbrochene silberne Kellen, wiegen 3. Mrk. 5. L. 3. gr. á 11. m. - ibidem 4057cc.  
*Two pierced silver ladles*

55.) 20. 23. 3. Vier runde durchbrochene Zucker Löffel wiegen 1. Mrk. 14. Loth 2 gr. á 11. m. - ibid. 4057dd.  
*Four round pierced sugar spoons*

56.) 14. 18. 9. Zwey durchbrochene Oliven Löffel, wiegen 1. Mrk. 5. Loth 2. gr. á 11. m. - ibidem 4057ee.  
*Two pierced olive spoons*

57.) 11. 6. - Zwey Fisch kellen, wovon eine durchbrochen, wiegt 1. Mrk. 4. L. á 9. m. ibidem 4057ff.  
*Two fish ladles, one of which is pierced*

58.) 5. 15. - Eine Spargel Zange, wieget 10. Loth á 9. m. - ibidem 4057gg.  
*Asparagus tongs*



- 59.) 62. 5. 3. Sieben Stück Ragout Löffel, w. 5. Mrk. 10. L. 2. gr. á 11. m. ibid. 4057ii.  
*Seven ragout spoons*
- Latus 93. Thlr: 21. g. - d.  
fol. 214r:
- 60.) 10. 18. - Zwölff Stück lange silberne Vogel Spießgen, wiegen zusammen 1. Mrk. 3. L. 2. gr. á 8. m. - ibidem 4057kk.  
*Twelve long silver bird skewers*
- 61.) 94. 4. 6. Eine grose silberne Coffee Kanne, wiegt 8. Mrk. 9. Loth á 11. m. ibidem 4057ll.  
*A large silver coffee pot*
- 62.) 93. 12. - Zwey silberne Französische Rechauds mit Auszügen, w. 8. Mrk. 8. Loth. á 11. m. - ibidem 4057nn.  
*Two silver french Rechaud with removable liners*
- Latus 198. Thlr: 10. g. 6. d.  
fol. 214v:
- 63.) 52. 6. - Ein Tutzend 7. Stck. Meßer woran die Griffe von Silber, wiegen 4. Mrk. 12. Loth á 10. m. ibidem 4057pp.  
*Nineteen knives with silver handles*
- 64.) 85. - - Ein Tutzend 7. Stck. vierzackigte(?) Gabeln, wiegen 8. Mrk. 8. Loth á 10. m. - ibid. 4057qq.  
*Nineteen four-pronged forks*
- 65.) 46. 13. 6. Ein Tutzend Eßlöffel, w. 4. Mrk. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$  L. á 10. m. - ibidem 4057rr.  
*One dozen tablespoons*
- 66.) 5. 8. 3. Eilff Stck. kleine Saltz Löffelgen, wiegen 9 $\frac{1}{2}$  L. Loth. á Mk. 9. m. ibidem 4057uu.  
*Eleven small salt spoons*
- Latus 189. Thlr: 3. g. 6. d.  
fol. 215r:
- 67.) 621. - - Neun Tutzend Confect Messer und Neun Tutzend Gabeln, woran die Klingen von Silber und vergoldet, die Heffte von Porcellain, wiegen an Silber zusammen excl. des Porcellains 54. Mrk. á 11. m. 12. g. - ibidem 4057vv.  
*Nine dozen dessert knives and nine dozen forks, the blades of silver and gilded, the handles of porcelain, weight of the silver together, excluding the porcelain*
- 68.) 396. - 9. Acht Tutzend und 10. Stück silberne und vergoldete Löffel, w. zusammen 34. Mrk. 7. Loth á 11. m. 12. g. - ibidem 4057ww.  
*Eight dozen and ten gilded silver spoons, weighing together*
- Latus 1017. Thlr: - g. - 9. d.  
fol. 215v:
- 69.) 1650. - - Eine Silberne Plat de Menage w. 150. Mrk. á 11. m. Vol. VIII. Fol. 44. gehörig ad 4057.b  
*A silver Plat de menage ... belonging with*
- 70.) 602. - - Zwey silberne Terrines wiegen 54. Mrk. 12. L. ibidem, gehörig ad 4057.h  
*Two silver tureens ... belonging with*
- 71.) 485. 9. - Zwey darzu gehörige Untersetz Schalen wiegen 44. Mrk. 2. Loth ibidem, gehörig ad 4057.h  
*Two associated stand dishes ... belonging with*
- 72.) 208. 15. 9. Zwey grose ovale Schüsseln wiegen 18. Mk. 15. L. 2. gr. *Two large oval dishes ... belonging with*
- Latus 2946. Thlr: - g. 9. d.  
fol. 216r: ibidem Vol. VIII. Fol. 44., gehörig ad 4057.m
- 73.) 215. 21. - Zwey grose ovale Glocken, wiegen 19. Mrk. 10. Loth. ibidem ad No: 4057.m gehörig
- 74.) 562. 9. - *Two large oval dish covers*  
Acht Glocken, wiegen 51. Mrk. 2. Loth - ibidem  
*Eight dish covers*
- 75.) 533. 12. - Acht Assiettes, wiegen 48. Mrk. 8. Loth - ibid. *Eight plates*
- 76.) 703. 19.10 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Sechzehn Kuchen Teller w. 63. Mrk. 15. L. 3. gr. ibidem, gehörig ad 4057.p  
*Sixteen cake plates ... belonging with*
- 77.) 385. -4 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Acht kleine ovale Schüsseln w. 32. Mk. 8. L. 3. gr. ibid. geh. ad 4057.o  
*Eight small oval dishes ... belonging with*
- Latus 2400. Thlr: 14. g. 3. d.  
fol. 216v:
- 78.) 148. 12. - Vier Wurst Kästgen wiegen 13. Mrk. 8. Loth Vol. VIII. Fol. 44. *Four sausage boxes*
- 79.) 100. 9. - Zwey Saucieres wiegen 9. Mrk. 2. Loth ibidem gehörig ad No: 4057.r  
*Two sauceboats ... belonging to No:*
- 80.) 2153. 6. - Sechs Tutzend Teller, wiegen 195. Mrk. 12. Loth, ibidem, gehörig ad 4057.n  
*Six dozen plates ... belonging with*
- 81.) 486. 18. - Zwölff grose Tafel Leuchter, wiegen 44. Mrk. 4. L. ibidem ad No: 4057.y gehörig. *Twelve large table candlesticks*
- 82.) 352. - - Vier desgl. mit Armen jeden zu 2. Lichtern, w. 32. Mrk. - ibidem, gehörig ad 4057.y  
*Four similar each branch with two tapers ... belonging with*
- Latus 3240. Thlr: 21. g. - d.  
fol. 217r:
- 83.) 64. 15. - Acht Saltz Fäßgen wiegen 5. Mrk. 14. Loth Vol. VIII. Fol. 44. gehörig ad No: 4057.z  
*Eight salt cellars ... belonging with No:*
- 84.) 78. 9. - Acht Pfeffer Väßgen, wiegen 7. Mrk. 2. L. Fol. 44b. gehörig ad 4057.z  
*Eight pepper vessels ... belonging with*
- 85.) 74. 6. - Ein Rechaud, wiegt 6. Mrk. 12. Loth ibid. ad No: 4057oo.  
*A Rechaud weighing*
- 86.) 64. 15. - Zwey Suppen Löffel, wiegen 5. Mrk. 14. Loth. ibidem *Two soup spoons*
- 87.) 82. 12. - Zehen Ragout-Löffel wiegen 7. Mrk. 8. Loth ibidem, gehörig ad 4057.u  
*Ten ragout spoons ... belonging with*
- Latus 364. Thlr: 9. g. - d.  
fol. 217v:
- 88.) 121. - - Vier und zwanzig Meßer wiegen 11. Mrk. - Vol. VIII. Fol. 44b. *Twenty-four knives*
- 89.) 117. 13. 6. Vier und zwanzig Gabeln, wiegen 10. Mrk. 11. Loth ibidem *Twenty-four forks*
- 90.) 127. 21. - Vier und zwanzig Löffel, wiegen 11. Mrk. 10. Loth ibidem *Twenty-four spoons*
- 91.) 104. 12. - Eine Machine zu Senff und Zucker, wiegt 9. Mrk. 8. Loth ibidem gehörig ad 4057.v  
*A container for mustard and sugar ... belonging with*
- 92.) 74. 6. - Eine Machine zu Eßig und Oehl w. 6. Mrk. 12. L. ibidem gehörig ad 4057.u  
*A container for vinegar and oil ... belonging with*
- Latus 545. Thlr: 4. g. 6. d.  
fol. 218r:



- 93.) 303. 4. 6. Achtzehn Spiel Leuchter, wiegen 27. Mrk. 9. Loth Vol. VIII. Fol. 44b. *Eighteen gaming candlesticks*
- 94.) 77. - - Eine Coffee Kanne, w. 7. Mrk. - ibidem gehörig ad 4057.u  
*A coffee pot ... belonging with*
- 95.) 60. 12. - Eine dergl. kleinere wiegt 5. Mrk. 8. L. ibidem, gehörig ad 4057mm.  
*A similar smaller ... belonging with*
- 96.) 354. 18. - Sechs kleine ovale Glocken, wiegen 32. Mrk. 4. L. - ibidem  
*Six small oval dish covers*
- 97.) 459. 6. - Acht Kuchen Teller Glocken wiegen 41. Mrk. 12. Loth ibidem Fol. 44.b. gehörig ad 4057.p  
*Eight cake plate dish covers ... belonging with*
- Latus 1254. Thllr: 16. g. 6. d.  
fol. 218v:
- 98.) 10. 7. 6. Sechzehn Saltz und Pfeffer Schaufelgen wiegen 13. Loth Vol. VIII. Fol. 44b. *Sixteen small salt and pepper shovels*
- 99.) 13. 13.10<sup>1/2</sup>. Vierzehn Vogel Spißgen, wiegen 1. Mrk. 3. Loth 3. gr. ibidem gehörig ad 4057kk.  
*Fourteen small bird-skewers ... belonging with*
- 100.) 110. - - Zwey Credentz Teller, wiegen 10. Mrk. - ibidem gehörig ad 4057.q  
*Two sideboard plates ... belonging with*
- 101.) 30. 6. - Vier und zwanzig silberne Marckszieher wiegen 2. Mrk. 12. L. ibidem  
*Twenty-four silver marrow scoops*
- Latus 164. Thllr: 3. g. 4<sup>1/2</sup>. d.  
fol. 219r:
- Ein altes Silbernes Service *An old silver service*
- 102.) 345. 9. - Fünff kleine Terrinen mit Füßen, wiegen 38. Mrk. 6. Loth á Mrk. 9. m. Vol. VII. Fol. 6. 4058c.  
*Five small tureens with feet*
- 103.) 38. 6. - Zwey große vergoldete Suppen Kellen, wiegen 4. Mrk. 12. Loth á 8. m. ibidem 4058e.  
*Two large gilded soup ladles*
- 104.) 19. 16. 6. Eine dergleichen Kelle durchbrochen, wiegt 2. Mrk. 3. Loth á 9. m. ibidem 4058f.  
*A similar pierced ladle*
- 105.) 37. 3. - Ein silbernes Rechaud mit einem höltzernen Griffen, w. 4. Mrk. 2. L. á 9. m. - ibidem 4058g.  
*A silver Rechaud with a wooden handle*
- Latus 440. Thllr: 10. g. 6. d.  
fol. 219v:
- 106.) 532. 3. - Zwey runde schuppichte Terrinen, auf einer eine Artischocke, auf der andern Carviol, mit Einsetz Schaalen, wiegen zusammen 48. Mrk. 6. Loth á 11. m. Vol. VII. Fol. 6. 4059a.  
*Two round scale-like tureens with liners. On one an artichoke, on the other a cauliflower. Weighing together*
- 107.) 87. 12. - Zwey faconirte Leuchter mit Licht Tyllen, wiegen zusammen 8. Mrk. 12. Loth á 10. m. ibidem 4059b.  
*Two fashioned candlesticks with drip-pans, weighing together*
- 108.) 49. - - Zwey grose silberne Tafel Leuchter, wiegen 6. Mrk. 2. L. á 8. m. ibidem 4060a.  
*Two large silver table candlesticks*
- Latus 668. Thllr: 15. g. - d.
- fol. 220r:
- 109.) 142. - - Eilff Stück Faconirte Spiel Leuchter nebst 8. Tyllen, wiegen 17. Mrk. 12. Loth á 8. m. ibidem 4060b.  
*Eleven fashioned gaming candlesticks including 8 drip-pans*
- 110.) 179. 10. 6. Vierzehn Stück glatte Spiel=Leuchter, wiegen 19. Mrk. 15. L. á 9. m. ibid 4061a.  
*Fourteen plain gaming candlesticks*
- 111.) 237. 22. 6. Zwanzig dergl. Faconirte Spiel Leuchter, wiegen 26. Mk. 7. Loth á 9. m. ibid. 4061b.  
*Twenty similar fashioned gaming candlesticks*
- Ein großes Silbernes und vergoldetes Büffet, bestehend aus:  
*A large silver and gilded buffet service comprising:*
- Latus 559. Thllr: 9. g. - d.  
fol. 220v:
- 112.) 154. 9. - Ein groser Silberner und vergoldeter Schwenck-Keßel ohne Henkel, wiegt 16. Mrk. 4. Loth, á 9. m. Vol. VII. Fol. 6. Sequ. 4063a.  
*A large gilded silver wine cooler, without handle*
- 113.) 1406. 21. - Zwey grose Vasen, nebst Deckel, wiegen 140. Mrk. 11. L. á 10. m. - ibidem 4063b.  
*Two large vases, including lids*
- 114.) 104. 1. 6. Ein groser Bocal, mit erhabener Arbeit, nebst Deckel, wiegt 11. Mrk. 10. Loth á 9. m. ibidem 4063c.  
*A large cup with raised work including lid*
- 115.) 128. 3. - Zwey Bocale, nebst Deckel von egaler Gröse, wiegen 12. Mrk. 13. Loth á 10. m. - ibidem 4063d.  
*Two cups of equal size, including lids*
- Latus 1793. Thllr: 10. g. 6. d.  
fol. 221r:
- 116.) 100. 12. - Eine Statüe zu Pferde, w. 12. Mrk. 8. Loth á 9. m. ibidem 4063e.  
*A model of a horse*
- 117.) 12. 19. 1. Ein Elephante, wiegt 1. Mrk. 6. Loth 3. gr. á 9. m. ibidem 4063f.  
*An elephant, weighing*
- 118.) 56. 6. - Ein Satyr, nebst Baccho, wiegt 6. Mrk. 4. L. á 9. m. ibidem 4063g.  
*Model of a satyr including Bacchus*
- 119.) 14. 1. 6. Ein Schiff, wiegt 1. Mrk. 9. Loth á 9. m. - ibidem 4063h.  
*A ship, weighing*
- 120.) 41. 21. - Ein Krug, nebst Deckel wiegt 4. Mrk. 3. Loth á 10. m. ibidem Fol. 6b. 4063i.  
*A mug including lid, weighing*
- Latus 225. Thllr: 11. g. 7. d.  
fol. 221v:
- 121.) 29. 16. 6. Ein Jäger, wiegt 2. Mrk. 13. Loth 2. gr. á 10. m. Vol. VII. Fol. 6b. 4063k.  
*A hunter weighing*
- 122.) 62. 12. - Ein Bocal mit weisen Köpfen, nebst einem Deckel, wiegt 6. Mrk. 4. Loth á 10. m. ibidem 4063l.  
*A cup decorated with wise heads, including a lid, weighing*
- 123.) 2. 2. 7. Ein Wintzer mit einer silbernen Bütte, wiegt 11. L. 3. gr. á 9. m. ibidem 4063m.  
*A winegrower with a silver tub*
- 124.) 16. - - Ein Wein Faß von Perlmutter, mit Silber so vergoldet ibid. 4063n.  
*A wine barrel from mother of pearl, gilded silver*
- Latus 110. Thllr: 7. g. 1. d.  
fol. 222r:



125.)	15.	-	-	Ein Bocal nebst Deckel von Rubin Fluß Vol. VII. Fol. 6b.	4063o.
				<i>A lidded cup from ruby coloured glass</i>	
126.)	16.	-	-	Ein Bocal von Agat, mit Silber eingefaßt, ibidem	4063p.
				<i>An agate cup mounted with silver</i>	
127.)	32.	-	-	Einer dergl. uneingefaßt, ibidem	4063q.
				<i>Another of the same, without mounts</i>	
128.)	30.	-	-	Ein Bocal, von einer See Muschel, nebst Silber vergoldeten Deckel ibid.	4063r.
				<i>A sea shell cup including a gilded silver lid</i>	
129.)	12.	-	-	Ein Bocal von braunen Agat, ibidem	4063s.
				<i>A brown agate cup</i>	
130.)	6.	-	-	Einer dergl. mit einem emailirten Rand ib.	4063t.
				<i>A similar with an enamelled edge</i>	
Latus 111. Thllr: - g. - d. fol. 222v:					
131.)	60.	-	-	Zwey Krüge auswendig mit erhabenen Figuren von Elfenbein, Vol. VII. Fol. 7.	4063u.
				<i>Two ivory mugs with carved figures</i>	
132.)	18.	-	-	Ein dergl. kleines Krügelgen, ibidem	4063v.
				<i>A similar smaller mug</i>	
133.)	13.	-	-	Ein dergl. Bocal ohne Deckel ibidem	4063w.
				<i>A similar cup without a lid</i>	
134.)	48.	-	-	Ein Bocal von einer See Muschel, en forme eines Schwanes / :schadhafft: / ibid.	4063x.
				<i>A sea shell cup in the form of a swan: damaged</i>	
135.)	30.	-	-	Zwey Flaschen von Rubin Fluß mit Silber beschlagen u. mit silbernen Ketten ib.	4063y.
				<i>Two bottles of ruby glass, with silver fittings and with silver chains</i>	
Latus 171. Thllr: - g. - d. fol. 223r:					
136.)	12.	-	-	Ein Bocal von einem Strauß Ey, oben mit Mahlerey und Dopassen eingefaßt, Vol. VII. Fol. 7.	4063z.
				<i>An ostrich egg cup, above with painted decoration, and matching mounts</i>	
137.)	60.	-	-	Ein Bocal von einer See Muschel ibidem	4063aa.
				<i>A sea shell cup</i>	
138.)	48.	-	-	Einer dergl. kleiner, ibidem	4063bb.
				<i>A similar smaller</i>	
139.)	30.	-	-	Einer dergl. noch etwas kleiner, ibidem	4063cc.
				<i>A similar, even smaller</i>	
140.)	16.	-	-	Ein Bocal von Ametist	
Latus 166. Thllr: - g. - d. fol. 223v:					
				mit Steinen besetzt und aimallirt, Vol. VII. Fol. 7.	4063dd.
				<i>A cup from amethyst set with stones and enamelled</i>	
141.)	12.	-	-	Ein Krügelgen von Crystall mit Silber beschlagen, ibid.	4063ee.
				<i>A small mug from crystal with silver fittings</i>	
142.)	6.	-	-	Ein Becher von Rubin Fluß nebst Deckel und mit 3. Füßen ibidem	4063ff.
				<i>A beaker from ruby glass, including lid and with 3 feet</i>	
143.)	3.	-	-	Zwey Flaschen mit Schrauben achteckigt ibidem	4063gg.
				<i>Two octagonal flasks with screw lids</i>	
144.)	30.	-	-	Ein Krug mit allerley Steinen besetzt, ibidem	4063hh.
				<i>A mug set with various stones</i>	

Latus 51. Thllr: - g. - d. fol. 224r:					
145.)	6.	-	-	Ein Bocal von braunen Marmor Vol. VII. Fol. 7.	4063ii.
				<i>A brown marble cup</i>	
146.)	3.	-	-	Sechs Stuck kupfferne Becher von Eisen und vergoldet ibid. Fol. 7b.	4063kk.
				<i>Six gilded coppered iron beakers</i>	
147.)	6.	-	-	Zwey Muscheln von Crystall mit Steinen besetzt, ibidem	4063ll.
				<i>Two shells from crystal set with stones</i>	
148.)	3.	-	-	Eine ditto etwas kleiner, ibidem	4063mm.
				<i>One ditto, somewhat smaller</i>	
149.)	3.	-	-	Eine ditto aimallirt, ib.	4063nn.
				<i>One ditto enamelled</i>	
150.)	16.	-	-	Zwey Crystallne Muscheln oder Schiffgen, ibid.	4063oo.
				<i>Two small crystal shells or ships</i>	
Latus 37. Thllr: - g. - d. fol. 224v:					
151.)	8.	-	-	Eine crystallne Muschel mit einem Vogel, Vol. VII. Fol. 7b.	4063pp.
				<i>A crystal shell with a bird</i>	
152.)	6.	-	-	Eine ditto von Crystall mit einem Eichhorn ibidem	4063qq.
				<i>One ditto from crystal with a squirrel</i>	
153.)	1.	-	-	Eine dergl. Muschel ibidem	4063rr.
				<i>A similar sea shell</i>	
154.)	2.	-	-	Zwey Bocale von Venetianischen Glase ibidem	4063ss.
				<i>Two cups from venetian glass</i>	
155.)	1.	-	-	Ein dergl. etwas niedriger, ibidem	4063tt.
				<i>One similar, somewhat shorter</i>	
156.)	1.	-	-	Ein dergl. Gieß Kanne ibidem	4063uu.
				<i>A similar pitcher</i>	
157.)	1.	-	-	Eine dergl. etwas niedriger, ibid.	4063vv.
				<i>One similar, somewhat shorter</i>	
Latus 20. Thllr: - g. - d. fol. 225r:					
158.)	-	-	-	Zwey Terrinen von Venetianischen Glase beyde zerbrochen, Vol. VII. Fol. 7b	4063ww.
				<i>Two tureens from venetian glass, both broken</i>	
159.)	4.	-	-	Elff Stück Tassen von Venetianischen, Glase, worunter einige schadhafft, ibidem	4063xx.
				<i>Eleven cups from venetian glass, some are damaged</i>	
160.)	1.	-	-	Ein Krug grün= und weissen venetianischen Glase, ibidem	4063yy.
				<i>A mug of green and white venetian glass</i>	
161.)	12.	-	-	Zwey grose Venetianische Flaschen, ibid.	4063zz.
				<i>Two large venetian flasks</i>	
An gemeinschaftl. Buffet Stücken so von Silber und vergolset. <i>The common buffet pieces of silver and gilded</i>					
Latus 17. Thllr: - g. - d. fol. 225v:					
162.)	247.	12.	-	Ein groser Bocal, die Welt Kugel vorstellend, wieget 27. Mrk. 8. Loth á 9. m. Vol. VII. Fol. 7b.	4064a.
				<i>A large cup, in the globe form of the world</i>	
163.)	53.	16.	6.	Ein groser Bocal mit einem Hirsch Fuße, nebst Deckel, wieget 6. Mrk. 3. Loth á 9. m. - ibidem	4064b.



164.) 240.	-	-	<i>A large cup with a deer's foot, including lid</i> Ein groser Bocal mit 4 Hirsch Füßen, und Deckel, wiegt ohngefehr 30. Mrk. á 8. m. ibidem 4064c.
165.) 117.	-	-	<i>A large cup with 4 deer's feet and lid, weighing approximately</i> Eine Statue zu Pferde, wiegt 13. Mrk. á 9. m. ibidem 4064d. <i>A model of a horse, weighing</i>
Latus 660. Thlir: 4. g. 6. d. fol. 226r:			
166.) 235.	-	-	Zwey Eiß Keßel von Silber, nebst Henckeln wiegen 29. Mrk. 6. L. á 8. m. Vol. VII. ibidem 4064e. <i>Two silver ice pails with handles</i>
167.) 28.	-	-	Ein Bocal von einem Strauß Ey, wiegt 3. Mrk. 8. Loth á 8. m. 4064f. <i>An ostrich egg cup, weighing</i>
168.) 35.	-	-	Ein Bocal von einer See-Muschel, oben mit einer Figur von Corallen ibid. 4064g. <i>A sea shell cup mounted with a figure of coral</i>
169.) 12.	-	-	Ein Krug mit erhabenen Figuren, von Helffenbein nebst Deckel, ibid. Fol. 8. 4064h. <i>An ivory cup with carved figures, including lid</i>
170.) 29. 2. 3.			Ein Credentz Teller von Silber und vergoldet, wiegt 9. Mrk. 1. Loth á 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> . m. ibidem 4064i. <i>A silver-gilt sideboard plate</i>
171.) 76.	-	-	Eine Aquavit Menage, Latus 415. Thlir: 2. g. 3. d. fol. 226v: mit 2. Flaschen, und 8. Gläsern, w. 8. Mrk. - á 9 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> . m. Vol. VII. Fol. 8. 4064k. <i>A spirit set with 2 flasks and 8 glasses</i>
172.) 25.	-	-	Ein Bocal von einer See-Muschel, unten ein Hund mit einer Kette, ibidem 4064l. <i>A sea shell cup mounted on a chained dog</i>
173.) 12.	-	-	Ein Bocal von See-Muschel mit 3. Füßen von Birnstein, ibidem 4064m. <i>A sea shell cup with 3 feet of amber</i>
174.) 20.	-	-	Ein Bocal von einer See-Muschel, mit einer Syrene, zum Postamente ibidem 4064n. <i>A sea shell cup with a pedestal in the form of a Siren</i>
175.) 24.	-	-	Ein Bocal von einer See-Muschel, mit einem Frauenzimmer zum Postamente, ibidem 4064o. <i>A sea shell cup with a pedestal in the form of a woman</i>
Latus 81. Thlir: - g. - d. fol. 227r			
176.) 12.	-	-	Ein Bocal von einer See Muschel, oben mit einem Ehren=Tempel, Vol. VII. Fol. 8. 4064p. <i>A sea shell cup mounted with a temple of honour</i>
177.) 6.	-	-	Ein Bocal, nebst Deckel von einer Cocus-Nuß, ibidem 4064q. <i>A lidded cup made from a coconut</i>
178.) 28.	-	-	Ein Bocal, nebst Deckel von Perlmutter, mit Sterngen, ibid. 4064r. <i>A lidded cup made from mother of pearl with little stars</i>
179.) 4.	-	-	Eine schadhafte Muschel, mit 3. Füßen, ibid. 4064s. <i>A damaged sea shell with 3 feet</i>
180.) 6.	-	-	Ein Bocal mit Mahlerey, und einem Fuße von Birnstein ibidem 4064t. <i>A cup with painting and an amber foot</i>
181.) 18.	-	-	Ein Krug von Elffenbein, mit erhabenen Figuren, nebst Latus 74. Thlir: - g. - d. fol. 227v: einem Deckel mit Silber beschlagen, Vol. VII. Fol. 8. 4064u. <i>An ivory mug with carved figures and a lid with silver fittings</i>
182.) 3.	-	-	Ein Bocal von Glas, mit kleinen Mu- scheln, nebst einem Deckel, ibidem 4064v. <i>A mug of Böttger porcelain mounted in silver and gilt</i>
183.) 10.	-	-	Ein Krug von Böttgerischen Porcellain, mit Silber beschlagen, und vergoldet, ibid. 4064w. <i>A Saxony porcelain mug with gilded silver fittings</i>
184.) 5.	-	-	Ein dergl. etwas kleiner, ibidem Fol. 8b. 4064x. <i>A similar, somewhat smaller</i>
185.) 12.	-	-	Ein Krug von weissen Marmor, mit Silber beschlagen und vergol- det, ibidem 4064y. <i>A mug of white marble with gilded silver fittings</i>
Latus 30. Thlir: - g. - d. fol. 228r:			
186.) 15.	-	-	Ein Krug von Silber Bruch Vol. VII. Fol. 8b. 4064z. <i>A mug from silver stone</i>
187.) 6.	-	-	Eine höltzerne Kanne mit Silber beschlagen, worauf ein verzogener Nahme, ibidem 4064aa. <i>A wooden pot with silver fittings and an illegible name</i>
188.) 3.	-	-	Ein Krug von Faconirter Erde, mit Silber beschlagen, ibid. 4064bb. <i>A mug from fashioned clay with silver fittings</i>
189.) 2.	-	-	Ein Bocal von einer etwas schadhafften Muschel, ibidem 4064cc. <i>A cup from a damaged sea shell</i>
190.) 6.	-	-	Ein Krug von Faconirter Erde mit Silber beschlagen, ibidem 4064dd. <i>A mug from fashioned clay with silver fittings</i>
Latus 32. Thlir: - g. - d. fol. 228v:			
191.) 3.	-	-	Ein Bocal von Rubin-Fluß nebst Deckel und drey Füßen, Vol. VII. Fol. 8b. 4064ee. <i>A ruby coloured glass cup, with lid and three feet</i>
192.) 4.	-	-	Einer dergl. ohne Füße ibidem 4064ff. <i>One similar without feet</i>
193.) 1.	-	-	Ein Becher von Rubin- Fluß mit Silber beschlagen, und vergoldet, ibidem 4064gg. <i>A ruby glass beaker with gilded silver fittings</i>
194.) -	-	-	Zwey dergl. unbeschlagene, schadhafft ibidem 4064hh. <i>Two similar without fittings, and damaged</i>
195.) 5.	-	-	Ein Spül Napff von Rubin-Fluß, mit 3. Füßen, ibidem 4064ii. <i>A washing bowl in ruby glass with 3 feet</i>



Latus 13. Thlr: - g. - d. fol. 229r:			
196.)	- 8.	- Ein Becher von blauen Glase, Vol. VII. Fol. 8b.	4064kk.
		<i>A blue glass beaker</i>	
197.)	- 8.	- Ein Krug von dergl. Glas, nebst Deckel, ibidem Fol. 9b.	4064ll.
		<i>A lidded mug from the same glass</i>	
198.)	2.	- Ein Bocal von einer braunen Marmornen Muschel, mit erhabener Arbeit, von Emaile, ibid.	4064mm.
		<i>A cup made from a brown marbled sea shell with raised enamel work</i>	
199.)	5.	- Ein Bocal von einer Muschel mit dergl. Arbeit, ibidem	4064nn.
		<i>A cup made from a sea shell with the same work</i>	
200.)	3.	- Ein Bocal von Crystall und Emaile ibid.	4064oo.
		<i>A cup of crystal and enamel</i>	
Latus 10. Thlr: 16. g. - d. fol. 229v:			
201.)	6.	- Ein Bocal von einer Crystallnen Muschel mit einem Manne auf der Leiter, Vol. VII. Fol. 9b.	4064pp.
		<i>A cup from a crystalline sea shell with a man on a ladder</i>	
202.)	5.	- Ein Bocal von einer verdeckten Muschel, mit Steinen besetzt ibidem	4064qq.
		<i>A cup from a covered sea shell, set with stones</i>	
203.)	20.	- Ein Bocal von Glas mit erhabenen Figuren, ibidem	4064rr.
		<i>A glass cup with raised figures</i>	
204.)	6.	- Eine breite Muschel von Crystall, ibid.	4064ss.
		<i>A broad sea shell of crystal</i>	
205.)	12.	- Eine zerbrochene Muschel von Crystall, unten mit Silber eingefaßt,	
Latus 49. Thlr: - g. - d. fol. 230r:			
		und vergoldet, Vol. VII. Fol. 9b.	4064tt.
		<i>A broken sea shell in crystal set in silver and gilded</i>	
206.)	2.	- Eine dergl. mit Email und silbernen Rande ibidem	4064uu.
		<i>A similar with enamel and a silver border</i>	
207.)	6.	- Zwey Muscheln von Crystall, unten mit erhabener Email, ibidem	4064vv.
		<i>Two sea shells from crystal, with raised enamel underneath</i>	
208.)	1. 8.	- Ein kleines Bass-Gläsgen von Crystall mit Silber eingefaßt, ibidem	4064ww.
		<i>A small glass of crystal mounted in silver</i>	
209.)	3.	- Eine Muschel von Crystall, am Fuße mit Email, ibidem	4064yy.
		<i>A sea shell of crystal, and an enamelled foot</i>	
Latus 12. Thlr: 8. g. - d. fol. 230v:			
210.)	- 16.	- Eine Muschel von Crystall oben mit einer Figur von Elffenbein Vol. VII. Fol. 9	4064zz.
		<i>A sea shell from crystal mounted with a figure in ivory</i>	
211.)	2.	- Ein Bocal von Agat, mit einer Japani- schen Pagotte Fol. 9b.	4064A.
		<i>An agate cup with a japanese pagoda</i>	

212.)	3.	- - Einer dergl. mit einem Römischen Kopffe, statt des Postaments, ibidem	4064B.
		<i>A similar with a roman head, for the base</i>	
213.)	4.	- - Eine Muschel von Agat, mit einem sibernen Fuß, und Henckeln, ibidem	4064C.
		<i>A sea shell from agate, with a silver foot, and handle</i>	
214.)	3.	- - Eine dergl. von Marmor, ibidem	4064D.
		<i>A similar from marble</i>	
Latus 12. Thlr: 16. g. - d. fol. 231r:			
215.)	1.	- - Ein kleiner Bocal von Agat, mit einem Steingen, Vol. VII. Fol. 9b.	4064E.
		<i>A small agate cup, with a small stone</i>	
216.)	- 8.	- Ein Becher von Helffenbein, ibidem	4064F.
		<i>An ivory beaker</i>	
217.)	2.	- Ein Bocal von einem braunen Steine, mit erhabener Frucht, ibidem	4064G.
		<i>A brown stone cup, with carved fruit</i>	
218.)	6.	- Eine Muschel von Lapide Lazuli, ibidem	4064H.
		<i>A sea shell from lapis-lazuli</i>	
219.)	- 4.	- Ein Stutzbecher von Glas, ibidem	4064J.
		<i>A squat beaker in glass</i>	
220.)	- 16.	- Zwey Muscheln von Glas, divers, ibid.	4064K.
		<i>Two sea shells from glass, not alike</i>	
Latus 10. Thlr: 4. g. - d. fol. 231v:			
221.)	1.	- - Eine Muschel mit Silber vergoldeten Rande, Vol. VII. Fol. 9b.	4064L.
		<i>A sea shell with a gilded silver rim</i>	
222.)	- 8.	- Ein Becher von Glas mit rothen Streifen, ibidem	4064M.
		<i>A glass beaker with red stripes</i>	
223.)	- 8.	- Zwey Stutzbecher von Glas, übersilbert und innewendig vergoldet, ibid.	4064N.
		<i>Two squat beakers in glass, silver over and gilded inside</i>	
224.)	3.	- Eine Muschel von Crystall, faconiret, mit einem goldenen Ringe am Fuße ibidem	4064O.
		<i>A fashioned crystal sea shell, with a golden ring at the foot</i>	
225.)	4.	- Eine Muschel von Crystall, emaillirt am Fuße ib.	4064P.
		<i>A sea shell in crystal, enamelled on the foot</i>	
Latus 8. Thlr: 16. g. - d. fol. 232r:			
226.)	1.	- - Eine Caravine von Faconirten Glase, mit Silber beschlagen, so vergoldet, Vol. VII. Fol. 9b.	4064Q.
		<i>A carafe in fashioned glass with gilded silver fittings</i>	
227.)	- 8.	- Ein Glas mit vergoldeten Figuren, unten roth, ibid.	4064R.
		<i>A glass with gilded figures, and a red base</i>	
228.)	42.	- Ein Postament von Helffenbeinernen Figuren, mit verschiedenen Steinen besetzt, ibidem	4064S.
		<i>An ivory pedestal with carved figures and set with various stones</i>	
229.)	2.	- Ein Sechs eckigtes Glas, mit einem Fuß von Silber, so vergoldet, ibidem	4064T.
		<i>A hexagonal glass with a gilded silver foot</i>	



Latus 45. Thlr: 8. g. - d. fol. 232v:			Two silver saucepans, with lids		
230.)	10.	-	Ein Bocal von Glaß, mit email, und Golde am Rande, ibid.	4064U.	
			<i>An enamelled glass cup with a golden rim</i>		
231.)	- 16.	-	Ein klein Gläßgen, mit Silber und vergoldeten Figuren, ibidem	4064V.	
			<i>A small glass with silver and gilded figures</i>		
232.)	3.	-	Eine Gieß=Kanne von steinernen Glaße, nebst Fuß, welcher jedoch loos gegangen, ibidem	4064W.	
			<i>A clouded glass pitcher, with a loose foot</i>		
233.)	- 4.	-	Ein Stutz Glaß mit vergoldeten Rande, und Paschwürfeln darinne, ibidem	4064X.	
			<i>A squat glass, a dice set within, and a golden rim</i>		
Latus 13. Thlr: 20. g. - d. fol. 233r:			Latus 265. Thlr: 10. g. 1. d. fol. 234v:		
234.)	1.	-	Eine Muschel von Glase, mit Silber eingefaßt, so vergoldet, Vol. VII. Fol. 9b. 2064Y.		
			<i>A glass sea shell, set in silver and gilded (error, should be 4064Y.)</i>		
235.)	4.	-	Ein Schwan mit Steinen besetzt, ibid. Fol. 10.	2064Z.	
			<i>A swan set with stones (error, should be 4064Z.)</i>		
236.)	3.	-	Ein dergl. kleinerer, mit Flügeln von Agat, ibidem	2064AA.	
			<i>A similar, smaller with agate wings (error, should be 4064AA.)</i>		
237.)	1. 12.	-	Eine Figur von Helffenbein, unten mit Silber beschlagen, ibidem	2064BB.	
			<i>An ivory figure, with a silver base (error, should be 4064BB.)</i>		
238.)	22. 22. 10.		Ein silbernes und vergoldetes Reise Besteck, so aus: <i>A silver and gilded travelling canteen, comprising:</i>		
Latus 32. Thlr: 10. g. 10. d. fol. 233v:			Latus 48. Thlr: 20. g. 6. d. fol. 235r:		
			1. Meßer 1. knife		
			2. Gabeln 2. forks		
			1. Löffel 1. spoon		
			1. Marckszieher 1. marrow scoop		
			1. Saltz Mäste 1. salt cellar		
			1. Eyer Schälgen, u. 1. egg cup, and		
			1. Becher bestehet, wiegt 1. beaker, weighing		
			2. Mrk. 13. Loth - á 9. m.		
			Vol. VII. Fol. 10b.	4066.	
239.)	89. 20.	-	Ein paar türckische Steig Biegel, von Silber und vergoldet, w. 8. Mrk. 6. Loth		
			3. gr. das Loth á 16. g. ibidem fol. 27.	4149.	
			<i>A pair of turkish stirrups in gilded silver</i>		
Latus 89. Thlr: 20. g. - d. fol. 234r:			Latus 131. Thlr: 18. g. - d. fol. 235v:		
240.)	37. 3.	-	Eine Partie Kinder-Spiel Sachen, oder Kinder Toilette, w. 4. Mrk. 2. Loth, á 9. m. - Vol. VII. Fol. 48.	4353.	
			<i>A group of child's toys, or child's toilet</i>		
241.)	121. 11. 7.		Eine silberne Thee-Machine, wiegt 12. Mrk. 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Loth - á 9. m. 12. g. ibid.	4355.	
			<i>A silver tea machine, weighing</i>		
242.)	95.	-	Zwey silberne Tiegel, nebst Deckel, w. 10. Mrk. á 9. m. 12. g. ibidem	4356.	
243.)	11. 19. 6.		Eine silberne Büchße w. 1. Mrk. 5. Loth á 9. m. ibid.	4359.	
			<i>A silver cannister</i>		
Latus 265. Thlr: 10. g. 1. d. fol. 234v:			Latus 244.) 6. 18. - Zwey silberne Schachteln, eine rund und die andere oval, wiegen 12. Loth á Mk. 9. m. Vol. VII. Fol. 48.		
			<i>Two silver boxes, one round, the other oval, weighing</i>	4360.	
245.)	6. 16.	-	Eine silberne Lampe, w. 10. Loth á 10. m. - ibidem	4361.	
			<i>A silver lamp</i>		
246.)	1. 12.	-	Ein Spiegel mit einem silbernen Rahmen ibidem	4362.	
			<i>A silver-framed mirror</i>		
247.)	18.	-	Ein silbernes Lavoir, wiegt 2. Mrk. - á 9. m. ibidem	4363.	
			<i>A silver wash bowl</i>		
248.)	15. 22. 6.		Eine silberne Zucker-Büchße, nebst 3. Löffeln, w. 1. M. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ . L. á 10. m.	4364.	
			<i>A silver sugar cannister with 3 spoons</i>		
Latus 48. Thlr: 20. g. 6. d. fol. 235r:			Latus 249.) 23. 18. - Zwey paar silberne Reise Leuchter, nebst Lichtputze, wiegen 3. Mrk. 12. Loth á 9. m. Vol. VII. Fol. 48.		
			<i>Two pair of silver travelling candlesticks, including snuffers</i>	4365.	
250.)	76. 12.	-	Sechs silberne Leuchter, wiegen 8. Mrk. 8. Loth á 9. m. ibid.	4366.	
			<i>Six silver candlesticks</i>		
251.)	6. 18.	-	Eine silberne Untersetz Schaale, nebst Lichtputze, w. 12. Loth, á Mk. 9. m. - ibid.	4367.	
			<i>A silver snuffers tray with snuffers</i>		
252.)	24. 18.	-	Eine silberne Untersetz Schaale, worinnen, Eine Thee Machine Ein Eyer Schälgen.		
			<i>A silver tray with a tea machine and an egg cup</i>		
Latus 131. Thlr: 18. g. - d. fol. 235v:			Latus 253.) 25. - - Ein silbernes Pot de Chambre, wiegt 3. Mk. 2. Loth á 8. m. ibidem Fol. 48b.		
			Ein klein rund Büchßen, und Ein Untertheil von einem Leuchter, wiegen 2. Mrk. 12. L. á 9. m. Vol. VII. Fol. 48.	4368.	
			<i>A small round cannister, and a candlestick base</i>		
254.)	15. 3.	-	Eine silberne Bouillon-Schaale, wiegt 1. Mk. 12. Loth, á 8. m. 12. g. ibidem	4370.	
			<i>A silver broth bowl</i>		
255.)	14. 15.	-	Ein silbernes Reise Besteck, w. 1. Mrk. 10. Loth á 9. m. - ibidem	4371.	
			<i>Silver travelling cutlery</i>		
Latus 54. Thlr: 18. g. - d. fol. 236r:			Latus 256.) 5. 8. 3. Ein silbern= und vergoldetes Reise Besteck, w. 9. Loth, á Mrk. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ . m. Vol. VII. Fol. 48b.		
			<i>A gilded silver travelling cutlery set</i>	4372.	
257.)	986.	-	Ein kleines Büffet bestehend aus 43. Stücken von Glaß, von Silber eingefaßt,		



			mit unterschiedenen gantz silbernen Stücken. NB. Verschiedene Stücken mit Juwelen u. Golde besezt, ibid. 4373. <i>A small buffet set comprised of 43 glass items fitted with silver, with various full silver items. NB. Some items set with jewels and gold</i>		271.) 10. 3. - Eine silberne Schaaale nebst silbernen Klingel w. 1. Mk. 2. L. á 9. g. Fol. 107. 2230. <i>A silver dish with a silver bell</i>
258.) 28. 3. -			Ein silberner und vergoldeter Kelch, in einem Futterale ibid. w. 2. Mk. 13. L. á 10. m. 4375. <i>A gilded silver chalice, in fitted case</i>		Latus 43. Thlir: 10. g. - d. fol. 238r:
Latus 1019. Thlir: 11. g. 3. d. fol. 236v:					272.) 2. 12. - Ein silbernes Fläschgen zum Weyh Waßer, wiegt 5. Loth - á 12. g. Vol. VI. Fol. 107. 2231. <i>A silver bottle for holy water</i>
259.) 50. - -			Eine Wiege, mit Silber beschlagen und vergoldet. Nota. Das Silber daran ist sehr dünne, und das meiste übrige von Meßing, Vol. VII. Fol. 48b. 4377a. <i>A cradle with gilded silver fittings. Note; the silver is very thin and the cradle is mostly brass</i>		273.) 6. 12. - Eine silberne Saltz-Mäste, wiegt 13. Loth á 12. g. ibidem 2232. <i>A silver salt bowl</i>
260.) 6. 6. -			Ein silberner Ragout Löffel, w. 12 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> . Loth á Mk. 8. m. ibidem Fol. 103. Vol. VI. 2195. <i>A silver ragout spoon</i>		274.) 10. 3. - Ein paar silberne Meßer, nebst Gabel und Eß Löffel, vier kleinen Thee Löffeln und einer silbernen Zahn-Bürste wiegt 1. Mrk. 2. Loth á 9. m. ibid. 2233. <i>A pair of silver knives, with fork and spoon, four small tea spoons and a silver tooth brush weighing</i>
261.) 59. 15. -			Ein silbernes Wasch-Becken nebst Gieß- Kanne, und silbernen Hand=Leuchter, wiegt 6. Mrk. 10. Loth á 9. m. Vol. VI. Fol. 106. 2212. <i>A silver wash basin, with pitcher and silver hand candlestick</i>		275.) 18. - - Ein silberner viereckigter Credentz Teller w. 2. Mrk. á 9. m. ibid. 2234. <i>A square silver sideboard plate</i>
Latus 115. Thlir: 21. g. - d. fol. 237r:					Latus 37. Thlir: 3. g. - d. fol. 238v:
262.) 44. - -			Sechs paar silberne Meßer Sechs paar silberne Gabeln, u. Sechs paar silberne Löffel, wiegen 5 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> . Mrk. á 8. m. Vol. VI. Fol. 106b. 2218. <i>Six pairs of silver knives Six pairs of silver forks, and Six pairs of silver spoons</i>		Eine silberne vergoldete Toilette, von <i>A gilded silver toilet set comprising:</i>
263.) 20. 4. -			Ein silbernes Pot de Chambre, w. 2. Mrk. 4. Loth á 9. m. - Vol. VI. Fol. 106b. 2219. <i>A silver chamber pot</i>		276.) 65. - - Einem silber vergoldeten Wasch Becken nebst Gieß Kanne, wiegt 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> . Mrk. á 10. m. Fol. 107. 2235. <i>A gilded silver wash basin with pitcher</i>
264.) 52. - -			Ein silberner Thee-Kessel nebst der- gleichen Rechaur(?) w. 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> . Mrk. á 8. m. Fol. eod. 2221. <i>A silver tea kettle with heater</i>		277.) 22. 12. - Einem dergl. Credentz Teller, wiegt 2. Mrk. 4. Loth á 10. m. ibidem 2236. <i>A matching sideboard plate</i>
265.) 13. 12. -			Ein silbernes Thee-Känngen, w. 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> . Mrk. á 9. m. ibid. 2222. <i>A small silver tea pot</i>		278.) 2. - - Einem dergl. Nadel-Küßen, ibidem 2237. <i>A matching pin cushion</i>
Latus 129. Thlir: 16. g. - d. fol. 237v:					279.) 23. 4. - Einem dergl. Becher, nebst 2. darzu gehörigen Tellern, w. 2. Mrk. 6. L. á 10. m. ibid. 2238. <i>A matching beaker with 2 associated plates</i>
266.) 5. 15. -			Ein silberner Becher, wiegt 10. Loth á 13. g. 6. d. Vol. VI. Fol. 106b. 2223. <i>A silver beaker</i>		Latus 112. Thlir: 16. g. - d. fol. 239r:
267.) 8. 16. -			Eine silberne Zucker-Schachtel, wiegt 13 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> . L. á 13. g. 6. d. ibidem 2224. <i>A silver sugar box</i>		280.) 23. 4. - Ein paar dergl. Leuchtern, w. 2. Mrk. 6. L. á 10. m. - ibidem 2239. <i>A pair of matching candlesticks</i>
268.) 8. - -			Ein silbernes Milch Kännigen, wiegt 1. Mrk. á 8. m. ibidem 2226. <i>A small silver milk jug</i>		281.) 36. 6. - Eine grose dergl. Schachtel, wiegt 3. Mrk. 10. Loth, á 10. m. ibid. 2240. <i>A large matching box</i>
269.) 5. - -			Eine silberne Nacht Lampe, ibidem wiegt 12 L. á 12 g. 2227. <i>A silver nightlight</i>		282.) 35. - - Einer dergl., wiegt 3. Mrk. 8. Loth á 10. m. ibidem 2241. <i>Another the same, weighing</i>
270.) 6. - -			Ein paar silberne Becher, wiegen 12. Loth á 12 g. ibidem 2228. <i>A pair of silver beakers</i>		283.) 14. 9. - Einer detto etwas kleinern, wiegt 1. Mrk. 7. Loth á ibidem 2242. <i>Another, ditto, somewhat smaller</i>
					284.) 14. 9. - Einer detto dergl. wiegt 1. Mrk. 7. Loth á ibidem 2243. Fol. 107. <i>Another, ditto, the same</i>
					Latus 123. Thlir: 4. g. - d. fol. 239v:
					285.) 10. 7. 6. Einer detto noch etwas kleinern, wiegt 1. Mrk. 1 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> . Loth Vol. VI. Fol. 107b 2244. <i>Another, ditto, even smaller</i>
					286.) 11. 6. - Einer detto dergl. wiegt 1. Mrk. 2. Loth



			ibidem	2245.			6.) A matching salt cellar			
			Another, ditto, the same				Eine silberne Toilette, an:			
287.)	6.	6.	- Einer noch etwas kleinern Schachtel, w.				A silver toilet set, comprising:			
			10. Loth á ibid.	2246.	301.)	24.	- - Einem grossen Spiegel, mit silbernen			
			An even smaller box				Rahmen, /: zerbr. :/ Fol. 108b.	2261.		
288.)	6.	6.	- Einer dergl. wiegt 10. Loth ibidem	2247.			A large mirror with a silver frame,			
			Another, the same, weighing				broken			
289.)	-	16.	- Ein Flagon von Glaß, mit Silber				Latus 37. Thlir: 3. g. - d.			
			vergoldeten Schraube Vol. VI.				fol. 241v:			
			A glass flagon with a gilded silver screw		302.)	37.	3.	- Einem silbernen Wasch-Becken, nebst		
			Fol.	2248.				Gieß-Kanne, w. 4. Mrk. 2. Loth		
			(illegible word)					á 9. m. - Vol. VI. Fol. 108b.	2262.	
290.)	-	16.	- Einem dergl. ibid.	2249.			A silver wash basin, with pitcher			
			Another, the same		303.)	7.	7.	6.	- Einem dergl. Seiffen Kugel-	
			Latus 35. Thlir: 9. g. 6. d.					Büchßgen, w. 13. Loth ibidem	2263.	
			fol. 240r:					A matching soap ball box		
291.)	2.	12.	- Einer Kleider Bürste nebst silbernen		304.)	5.	1.	6.	- Einem detto etwas kleiner, wiegt	
			Griffe, Vol. VI. Fol. 107b.	2250.				9. Loth ibidem	2264.	
			A clothes brush with a silver handle					Another, ditto, somewhat smaller		
292.)	-	12.	- Zwey kleine silberne Schlüsselgen, zu		305.)	7.	7.	6.	- Einem silbernen Becher nebst Deckel,	
			denen 2. großen Schachteln, ibidem	2251.				w. 13. L. ibidem	2265.	
			Two small silver keys for the 2 large					A silver beaker with lid		
			boxes		306.)	3.	9.	-	- Einem silbernen Thee-Pötgen wiegt	
293.)	33.	18.	- Einer silbernen Suppen Schaale nebst					6. Loth ibidem	2266.	
			Untersetz Schaale, und Deckel, wiegt					A small silver teapot		
			3. Mrk. 6. Loth ibidem	2252.	307.)	2.	19.	6.	- Einem dergleichen, w. - 5. Loth -	
			A silver soup dish with stand and					ibidem	2267.	
			cover					Another, similar		
294.)	2.	12.	- Einer Kamm Bürste, mit Silber					Latus 63. Thlir: - g. - d.		
			vergoldeten Griffe, ibidem	2253.				fol. 242r:		
			A comb brush with gilded		308.)	-	12.	-	- Einem Waßer Fläschgen nebst	
			silver handle					silbernen Schraube, ibidem Fol. 108b.	2268.	
295.)	3.	18.	- Einer Mund Bommaden Büchße					A water flask with silver screw		
			nebst Deckel w. 6. Loth á ibid.	2254.	309.)	3.	15.	9.	- Einem silbernen Bomaden	
			A mouth pommade canister with lid					Büchßgen, w. 6 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub> . Loth ibidem	2269.	
			Latus 43. Thlir: - g. - d.					A silver pommade box		
			fol. 240v:		310.)	3.	21.	6.	- Einem dergleichen, wiegt 7. Loth -	
296.)	7.	12.	- Ein silbervergoldetes Besteck Meßer,					ibidem	2270.	
			Gabel und Löffel, wiegt 12. Loth, ibidem	2255.				Another similar		
			A gilded silver knife, fork and spoon		311.)	4.	12.	-	- Einer silbernen Klingel, wiegt 8. L. -	
297.)	8.	3.	- Einer stählernen Lichtputze, mit					ibidem	2271.	
			silbernen Griffe, nebst silbernen					A silver bell		
			Lichtputzen Kästgen, wiegen 13. Loth		312.)	1.	12.	-	- Einer Bürste mit silbernen Heffte, ibid.	2272.
			ibidem	2256.				A brush with silver handle		
			A steel snuffer with silver handles,		313.)	15.	18.	-	- Einer silbernen Zucker Schachtel,	
			and a silver snuffers box					wiegt 1. Mrk. 12, Loth - ibidem	2273.	
298.)	5.	15.	- Einer silbernen Klingel, wiegt 9. Loth					A silver sugar box		
			ibidem Fol. 107b.	2257.	314.)	14.	15.	-	- Einer dergleichen, wiegt	
			A silver bell, weighing					1. Mrk. 10. Loth - ibid.	2274.	
299.)	28.	-	- Einem großen Spiegel, ibidem	2258.				Another, similar, weighing		
			A large mirror					Latus 44. Thlir: 10. g. 3. d.		
			Latus 46. Thlir: 6. g. - d.					fol. 242v:		
			fol. 241r:		315.)	7.	2.	-	- Einer noch etwas kleinern silbernen	
300.)	13.	3.	- Ein Futteral von schwarzen Leder,					Schachtel, ibidem. w. 14. L.	2275.	
			worinnen:					Another, somewhat smaller silver box		
			A fitted case in black leather containing:		316.)	8.	10.	-	- Einer dergleichen, ibidem w. 15. L.	2276.
			1.) Ein silbervergoldetes Meßer,					Another, the same		
			1.) A gilded silver knife		317.)	4.	-	-	- Einer dergl. Kleider-Bürste nebst	
			2.) Eine dergl. vierzackigte Gabel,					silbernen Deckel, Fol. 109.	2277.	
			2.) A matching four-pronged fork					A matching clothes brush with		
			3.) Ein dergl. Eß=Löffel					silver cover		
			3.) A matching spoon		318.)	2.	-	-	- Ein Nadel Küßen mit silbernen Reiffe	
			4.) Eine silberne vergoldete Trenchis-Gabel					ibidem	2278.	
			4.) A gilded silver carving fork					A pin cushion with silver bands		
			5.) Ein dergl. Marcks-Löffel		319.)	10.	3.	-	- Einer silbernen Zucker Schachtel,	
			5.) A matching marrow spoon					nebst drey silbernen Löffeln und		
			6.) Ein dergl. Saltz Mästgen, w. 1. Mrk.					1. Zange, w. 1. Mrk. 2. Loth ibid.	2279.	
			5. Loth Vol. VI. Fol. 108.	2259.				A silver sugar box, including		
								three silver spoons and 1 pair of tongs		



320.) 15. 4. -	Einem ovalen Credentz Teller w. 1. M. 11. L. ibid.	2280.	<i>An oval sideboard plate</i>
Latus 47. Thlr: 15. g. - d. fol. 243r:			
321.) 15. 4. 6.	Einer silbernen Coffee Kanne, wiegt 1. Mk. 11. Loth Vol. VI. Fol. 109.	2281.	<i>A silver coffeepot</i>
322.) 11. 6. -	Ein paar silbernen Leuchtern, w. 1. Mrk. 4. Loth, ibidem	2282.	<i>A pair of silver candlesticks</i>
323.) 40. - -	Ein silberner Bett-Wärmer, w. 5. Mrk. á 8. m., ibidem	2285.	<i>A silver bed warmer</i>
324.) 40. - -	Ein silbervergoldetes Chocoladen Service, ibidem Fol. 25b.	468.	<i>A gilded silver chocolate service</i>
325.) 50. - -	Eine Kanne von Helffenbein, mit Silber vergoldeten Deckel, und erhabener Arbeit, ibidem	469.	<i>A carved ivory pot with a gilded silver lid</i>
326.) 60. - -	Eine dergl. wie die vorige ibidem	470.	<i>Another, similar to the previous item</i>
Latus 216. Thlr: 10. g. 6. d. fol. 243v:			
327.) 108. - -	Eine silberne Plat de Menage mit zwey gläsernen Flaschen, in der Mitte mit einer silbernen Senff Büchße, w. 9. Mrk. - Vol. VI. Fol. 31b.	548.	<i>A silver cruet stand with two glass bottles, and a silver mustard cannister in the middle</i>
328.) 19. - -	Drey silberne Läufer Schilder, mit dem Gräfl. Brühl. und Collowratischen Wappen, w. 2. M. 6. L. ibidem	549.	<i>Three silver coach shields, with the Count Brühl and Kollowrat arms</i>
329.) 40. - -	Ein Crucifix auf einem hölzernen Postamente, en forme eines Felsen, NB. das Corpus Christi Salvatoris, ist von Silber ibidem Fol. 41b.	759.	<i>A crucifix on a wooden base in the form of cliffs, N.B. The body of Christ the Saviour is in silver</i>
Latus 167. Thlr: - g. - d. fol. 244r:			
330.) 300. - -	Ein Theé Service, von Silber und vergoldet, mit emallirten Figuren, in einem roth sammeten Futterale, mit goldenen Tressen besetzt, bestehend aus: <i>A gilded silver tea service, with enamelled figures; in a fitted red velvet case with gold braid comprising of:</i> Vier Unter u. Ober Tassen <i>Four cups and saucers</i> Einer Zucker Schachtel <i>A sugar box</i> Einer Theé Kanne, <i>A tea pot</i> Einer Theé Büchße, u. Vier Löffel, Vol. VI. Fol. 89.	2097.	<i>A tea cannister and four spoons</i>
331.) 60. - -	Ein Theé u. Coffee Service zur Reise, in einem rothledernen Futterale, mit gol- denen Zierathen und gelben Beschläge, bestehend aus: <i>A tea and coffee travelling service, in a red leather fitted case, with golden ornament and yellow fittings, comprising:</i> Einer Coffee Kanne nebst Milch Kännigen		
Latus 360. Thlr: - g. - d. fol. 244v:			
<i>A coffee pot with milk jug</i> Einer silbernen Theé Kanne <i>A silver tea pot</i> Einer dergl. Zucker Schachtel <i>A matching sugar box</i> Einer silbernen Theé Büchße <i>A silver tea cannister</i> Einen silbernen Rechaud <i>A silver Rechaud</i> Einer silbernen Zucker Zange <i>A pair of silver sugar tongs</i> Zwey dergl. Theé Löffel <i>Two matching tea spoons</i> Einem Spiritus-Fläschgen, mit silbernen Schraube <i>A small spirit flask with silver screw</i> Zwey paar ordinären Meißnischen Theé Tassen Vol. VI. Fol. 89b. 2098.			
Latus - Thlr: g. - d. fol. 245r:			
332.) 140. - -	Ein Theé Service zum Dejeunes, in einem Kastgen von Zucker Tannen Holtz, bestehend aus: <i>A breakfast tea service in a small box made from sweet pinewood, comprising:</i> Einer Theé Kanne, mit Silber vergoldeten Beschläge <i>A tea pot with gilded silver fittings</i> Einer dergl. Zucker Büchße <i>A matching sugar container</i> Zwey paar Theé-Tassen <i>Two pair of tea cups</i> Einem Riech Fläschgen <i>A scent bottle</i> und unten ein Schubladen Einem viereckigten laquirten Teller, ibidem 2100. <i>And in a drawer below, a square lacquered plate</i>		
Latus 140. Thlr: - g. - d. fol. 245v:			
333.) 60. - -	Ein Theé Service, in einem schwarzen Futterale, mit Messingenen Beschläge, bestehend aus: <i>A tea service in a black fitted case with brass fittings comprising:</i> Einer silbernen Coffee Kanne, nebst dergleichen Milch Kängen <i>A silver coffee pot with a matching milk jug</i> Einer silbernen Theé Kanne <i>A silver tea pot</i> Einer silbernen Theé-Büchße <i>A silver tea cannister</i> Einer Zucker Schachtel <i>A sugar box</i> Einem dergl. Rechaud <i>A matching Rechaud</i> Zwey silbernen Löffel <i>Two silver spoons</i> Zwey paar Meißn. porcellainen Theé-Tassen, weis mit Gold <i>Two pair of Meissen porcelain tea cups in white with gold</i>		
Latus 60. Thlr: - g. - d. fol. 246r:			
334.) 736. 6. -	Ein Spiritus Fläschgen mit silbernen Schraube Vol. VI. Fol. 90. 2106. <i>A spirit flask with silver screw</i> Eine silberne Toilette, w. 37. Mrk. 10. Loth bestehend aus folgenden Stücken, als: <i>A silver toilet comprising the following items</i> Einer silbernen Theé-Machinen <i>A silver tea machine</i> Einer dergl. Rechaud <i>A matching Rechaud</i> Einem dergl. Siebgen <i>A matching sieve</i> Einem dergl. Spiel Napff <i>A matching small bowl</i> Einer dergl. Seiffen Büchße <i>A matching soap box</i> Zwey dergl. Credentz Tellern <i>Two matching sideboard plates</i>		



- Einer silbernen Caffee Kanne *A silver coffee pot*  
 Ein paar silbernen Leuchtern  
*A pair of silver candlesticks*  
 Zwey silbernen Bechern *Two silver beakers*  
 Zwey Thee Kännchen *Two small tea pots*
- Latus 73. Thlr: 6. g. - d.  
 fol. 246v: Einem gläsernen Eau de Lavante Fläschgen,  
 mit einer silbernen Schraube  
*A small glass lavender water flask with a silver screw*  
 Einer silbernen Gies-Kanne  
*A silver pitcher*  
 Zwey silbernen Wasch-Becken  
*Two silver wash basins*  
 Zwey grossen viereckigten Schachteln  
*Two large square boxes*  
 Einer silbernen Zucker Schaale  
*A silver sugar dish*  
 Zwey etwas kleinern silbernen Schachteln  
*Two somewhat smaller silver boxes*  
 Zwey noch etwas kleinern *Two even smaller*  
 Zwey Besteck silberne Meßer Gabel u. Löffel  
*Two silver cutlery sets, knife, fork and spoon*
- Latus - Thlr: - g. - d.  
 fol. 247r: Zwey großen Fläschgen mit silbernen  
 Schrauben *Two large flasks with silver screws*  
 Einem Spiegel, mit einem silbernen Rahmen  
*A mirror with a silver frame*  
 Vier silbernen Spiel Tellern  
*Four silver gaming plates*  
 Einer silbernen Thee Büchse Vol. VI.  
 Fol. 175b. 3681.  
*A silver tea canister*
- 335.) 64. - - Zwey silberne Wald-Hörner, wiegen  
 8. Mrk. à 8. m. ibidem No: 3682. et 3683.  
*Two silver French horns*
- 336.) 35. - - Eine silberne Trompete,  
 w. 4. Mrk. 6. L. à 8. m. ibid 3684.  
*A silver trumpet*
- 337.) 8. - - Ein hörnener Willkommen mit  
 Silber beschlagen, ib 3685.  
*A drinking horn with silver fittings*
- Latus 107. Thlr: - g. - d.  
 fol. 247v: 338.) 8. - - Einer dergl. mit Silber beschlagen,  
 Vol. VI. Fol. 175b. 3686.  
*A similar with silver fittings*
- Hierüber annoch  
 339.) 2132. 12. - Eine silberne Toilette, bestehend aus:  
*A silver toilet comprising:*  
 Zwey Thee Bretern(?) *Two tea trays (?)*  
 Einem grossen und Einem etwas klei-  
 nern Thee-Keßel  
*A large and a somewhat smaller tea kettle*  
 Einer Coffee Kanne *A coffee pot*  
 Einer dergl. kleinern *another, smaller*  
 Zwey Milch-Kannen *Two milk pots*  
 Einer Thee Kanne *A tea pot*  
 Zwey egale Thee Bretgen zum ziehen  
*Two identical tea trays for carrying*
- Latus 2140. Thlr: 12. g. - d.  
 fol. 248r: Einer Thee-Büchse mit doppelten Deckel  
*A double-lidded tea canister*  
 Ein Tutzend Thee Löffel *A dozen tea spoons*  
 Zwey Thee-Siebgen *Two tea sieves*  
 Zwey Schwenck Keßel *Two coolers*  
 Einem Chocoladen Teller nebst Deckel  
 zu einem Glase
- A chocolate plate with a lid for a glass*  
 Zwey Credentz Teller *Two sideboard plates*  
 Ein großes Lavoir nebst Gieß Kanne  
*A large wash basin with a pitcher*  
 Ein detto kleineres ohne Gieß Kanne  
*Another similar, without a pitcher*  
 Zwey großen egalen Schachteln mit Schlößern  
*Two large identical boxes with locks*
- Latus - Thlr: - g. - d.  
 fol. 248v: Zwey detto mittlerer Gröse  
*Two, ditto, of middle size*  
 Zwey detto kleinern *Two, ditto, of smaller size*  
 Zwey detto noch kleinern  
*Two of the small still smaller*  
 Einer Schachtel mit einem grün sammetnen  
 Nadel Küssen  
*A box with a green velvet pin cushion*  
 Eine Schachtel mit einem Druck Schloße  
*A box with a push lock*  
 Einer Schwamm Büchse so durchbrochen  
*A pierced sponge box*  
 Einer Seiffen Kugel Büchse  
*A soap ball box*  
 Einem Waßer Becher nebst Deckel  
*A water beaker with lid*  
 Einer Suppen Schaale mit Deckel  
*A soup dish with cover*
- Latus - Thlr: - g. - d.  
 fol. 249r: Einer kleinen Schaale zu Eyern  
*A small dish for eggs*  
 Einem doppelten Saltz-Väßgen  
*A double salt cellar*  
 Zwey Besteck Meßer, Löffel und Gabel  
*Two cutlery sets, knife, spoon and fork*  
 Einem Saltz Löffel mit einem Marckszieher  
*A salt spoon with a marrow scoop*  
 Einem Marckszieher  
*A marrow scoop*  
 Sechs Tellern  
*Six plates*  
 Drey und zwanzig ovalen Spiel Tellern / wor-  
 unter jedoch 4. Stück Messingene und ver-  
 silbert  
*Twenty-three oval gaming plates, 4 of which are silvered brass*  
 Einem Schreibezeug, nebst Dintenfaße,  
 Streusand Büchse und Klingel  
*An inkstand, with inkwell, sandbox and bell*
- Latus - Thlr: - g. - d.  
 fol. 249v: Einem grossen Leuchter, worinnen eine Drath  
 Feder das Licht in die Höhe zu schieben, nebst  
 Lichtschirme  
*A large candlestick with a shade and an internal wire spring to raise the candle*  
 Zwey ordinären Leuchtern  
*Two plain candlesticks*  
 Einem Hand Leuchter *A hand candlestick*  
 Einem Lichtputzen Teller, nebst zwey Licht-  
 Putzen von Stahl mit silbernen Griffen  
*A snuffers tray with two snuffers of steel with silver handles*  
 Einer Kleider Bürste *A clothes brush*  
 Einem grossen Rechaud *A large Rechaud*  
 Einem detto kleinern *Another, ditto, smaller*  
 Zwey langen Bürsten *Two large brushes*  
 Nota. der hierzu gehörige Spiegel ist bereits  
 oben mit taxiret worden.  
*N.B. The associated mirror has already been registered above*



Latus - Thllr: - g. - d.  
 fol. 250r: wiegt 213. Mk. 4. Loth, als:  
 die vergoldete Arbeit 40. Mrk. *the gilded work*  
 die weisse Arbeit 173. Mrk. 4. L. uts. die  
 Mrk. 10. m. - 13. löthige *the white silver work*  
 Probe. *Test piece*  
 Endlich *Finally*  
 340.) - - - Eine Capelle, bestehend aus:  
*A chapel (altar garniture), comprising:*  
 Vier silbernen Leuchtern *Four silver candlesticks*  
 Einem Crucifix *A crucifix*  
 Zwey Bildern *Two pictures*  
 Einer Lampen *A lamp*  
 Einer dergl. Untersetz Schaale, worauf zwey  
 Lampen und eine Klingel  
*A matching stand on which two lamps and a  
 bell rest*  
 Einem Kästgen zum Weyh waßer

*A small box for holy water*  
 Latus - Thllr: - g. - d.  
 fol. 250v: Eine Lampe *A lamp*  
 Nebst darzu gehörigen 4. Küßen und Meß  
 Gewandte von reichen Zeuge, Vol. VII. Fol.  
 33b.  
*Belonging with the above are 4 cushions and a  
 Mass vestment made from rich cloth*  
 Nota. Vorstehende Capelle ist weil sie ad  
 Cultum divinum gehöret, nicht gewürdert  
 worden. No: 4239 et 4241a.  
*N.B. Because the chapel items are for divine  
 worship they have not been assessed*  
 Summa  
 62007. Thllr: 1. g. 11<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub>. d. an Silberwerck

## Sugar and silver into porcelain: The *conditorei* and court dining in Dresden under Augustus III

MAUREEN CASSIDY-GEIGER

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When we look at the oeuvre of Johann Joachim Kändler, we are looking at the work of a classically trained sculptor working in an industry that was entirely new. The porcelain medium was new to the artist and the porcelain medium was a novelty at the court of Saxony. Kändler mastered this new medium quickly and effectively, with unparalleled artistic results, and the appetite for porcelain at the court of Saxony was voracious, inspiring him to ever greater heights. We know intuitively that silver table services influenced the production of table services in porcelain, and that porcelain figures were inspired by table decorations cast in sugar; but how did this come about? What was the method of communication between the manufactory in Meissen and its clients in Dresden?

The monthly work reports of the Meissen manufactory tell us that the first porcelain table decorations made specifically for the king, for the *Hof-Conditorei* (royal court pantry) were executed in 1744. This was nearly ten years after the first small Meissen figures for the dessert were produced, so the first figures did not go into the *Hof-Conditorei* and must have been made for the chief ministers, Count von Sulkowski and his successor, Count von Brühl.

The *Hof-Conditorei* inventories corroborate this. The next delivery in December 1746 was decorations for the January 1747 wedding of Marie-Joséphé to the Dauphin. This wedding was the first documented use of porcelain on the king's table during a public event, and the porcelain centrepiece was updated for the double-wedding that summer between the royal families of Saxony and Bavaria.

Study of the *Hof-Conditorei* inventories reveals that this highly specialised and essential department, responsible for the elaborate thematic desserts mounted for court events, was a rather small department with extremely limited resources until the Saxon elector Friedrich August I became King of Poland in 1697. The 1719 wedding of the Crown Prince to Maria Josepha of Austria was the most important event of Augustus the Strong's reign and became the model for the weddings of the children of Augustus III. The King's table was set with the so-called 'gold table service' made in Augsburg that was specially acquired for the wedding. The expense of the 1719 wedding was enormous and everything acquired or built for it was meant to last and to be reused at future court events. We can assume that hundreds of moulds in wood, plaster, copper and other



metals were purchased or fabricated for the court pantry, for the production of the sugar sculptures, biscuits, sweets and ice creams needed for the dessert. The wedding established Augustus the Strong's identity within Europe and the public table, with its golden table service, demonstrated his rank. The centrepieces were constructed of cast sugar elements arranged on glass or mirrored plateaux in sometimes complex, puzzle-like, patterns set with garden landscapes and architectural features, many raised on glass columns.

The equipment purchased to make these centrepieces was the property of the *Hof-Conditorei* and was meant to be the foundation of a royal department that would serve the needs of a dynasty. But Augustus the Strong was an elected king, not a hereditary king. Born a Protestant, he converted to Catholicism in order to win the Polish crown and, by marrying his son to the eldest daughter of the Habsburg Emperor, his clear ambition was to put his son in line for the imperial throne or, at the very least, to make the Polish crown the hereditary right of the Saxon electors. His son likewise had to win election and as King, Augustus III pursued the dynastic ambitions of his father, marrying his children into the leading Catholic courts of Europe. As elected kings, therefore, Augustus the Strong and Augustus III employed the representational attributes of their rank, and they did so as strictly as possible, to emphasise their eligibility. As elected kings, there was no incentive to employ porcelain for public dining when their rank dictated silver and gold. Under Augustus the Strong, and particularly with the 1719 wedding, a ceremonial tradition was consciously established that followed the model of the great European courts and was an expression of princely majesty. By following the protocols established for the 1719 wedding, the later weddings of 1738 and 1747 were firmly linked to this defining event. Silver and sugar were therefore used on the King's table for public dining until January 1747 when the dessert was set for the first time with porcelain.

Sugar moulds, like porcelain moulds, allowed the production of multiple figures and elements, as many as were needed. The huge stock of moulds in the *Hof-Conditorei* allowed for great flexibility in size and design. The choice of subject was closely entwined with court festivities. The introduction of porcelain for the dessert on the King's table in 1747 was a novelty, but many new wooden moulds for sugar sculpture were entered into the *Hof-Conditorei* inventories in the same year, in conjunction with the same weddings, indicating that porcelain could not (yet) substitute fully for sugar table decorations. Sugar was simply more versatile than porcelain and there was also a well-established repertoire in sugar that could never be completely replicated in porcelain. In 1752 the *Hof-Conditorei* had in stock 684 wooden moulds for sugar sculpture and between 1753 and 1756 155 more were delivered, for architectural elements, reli-

gious figures and flower baskets, demonstrating that the need for sugar decorations never ceased.

As an artistic medium, sugar had been in use since the Renaissance. This was not a new medium or tradition, and pastry chefs still practise the art of sugar sculpture in the production of wedding cakes, so the tradition itself is still alive. Unlike wedding cakes, however, the sugar sculpture produced for court festivities was not meant to be eaten; it was painted or gilded or sealed and thereby made inedible. When properly stored, it could survive for a few months but eventually it would begin to discolour or disintegrate and so none of it survives. In order to picture these lost sugar table decorations, we turn to contemporary reports, or to the few drawings or prints that were executed to record or publicise these events. However porcelain is the most compelling evocation of the lost works in sugar. Johann Joachim Kändler's 1753 porcelain reduction of the ambitious equestrian monument to Augustus III could easily be a table decoration. The assembly of the model, with many individual elements fitted together to form the base, represents the way sugar centrepieces were assembled like the pieces of a puzzle.

The little-known register of visitors to the Meissen manufactory, and the work reports for the modellers Kändler, Eberlein, Reinicke and Ehder, tell us that a steady stream of visitors and models entered the Meissen manufactory in the 1730s and 1740s, during the period of the production of the first Meissen tablewares and table decorations. Among the visitors were several pastry chefs (*Chefs d'Office*) from Dresden, some of them from the *Hof-Conditorei* and some of them from the Sulkowski and Brühl households. These men were masters of the art of sugar sculpture and in charge of the production of all elements of the dessert. Clearly they went regularly to Meissen in order to instruct and guide the modellers in the production of porcelain figures for the dessert and in the production of the porcelain table wares required for setting the table and serving the sweets. Normally we assign these men an auxiliary role, as though they were bystanders and advisors. But the *Chefs-d'Office* were artists; they were sculptors working in the medium of sugar paste, which feels and looks much like porcelain paste before it dries. Artistry in sugar and porcelain were absolutely comparable, and so it must be that the artists in sugar guided the artists in porcelain, by providing samples of sugar sculpture or models or delivering moulds. Among the sculptors visiting Meissen were Benjamin Thomae and Lorenzo Mattielli, who also supplied models to the manufactory.

Other staff associated with court dining made their way to Meissen, including the men in charge of the wine cellars and the silver vaults. Surely their input was necessary in the production of such esoteric vessels as the wine-holders belonging to the Swan service and the 'burgundy wine holders' to the *Brühl'sche Allerlei* service.



The French porcelain merchants Huet and Bazin visited Meissen regularly, and throughout the work reports there are references to 'French' models or models with 'French' ornaments, a clear indication that drawings or engravings from France were the basis for certain Meissen models. Besides prints and drawings, the modellers sometimes worked from three-dimensional models in clay or wood or plaster, but there are enough mentions of models 'after silver' or 'in the style of silver' to indicate that royal silver plate, or the ministers' silver plate, was sent to Meissen for copying in porcelain. Certainly some silver models might derive from engravings purchased for the manufactory in Augsburg or Paris, but the influence of actual silver models at Meissen is a theme that has not been fully explored until now.

The first great Meissen table service was made for Count Sulkowski, the Polish equerry who accompanied Augustus III on the Grand Tour and was named minister of state in 1733, the same year he was elevated to the rank of count. The service was commissioned in 1735, and in 1736 Sulkowski and his wife went from Dresden to Meissen to check on the progress of the service, as did his cook, a man named Wolff. (Coincidentally, Count Brühl also made the first of several visits to Meissen in 1736.) The tureen for Sulkowski's service is remarkable for a number of reasons, not least for its correspondence to the Augsburg tureen acquired for the 1719 wedding. The King's silver tureen was actually delivered to Meissen on 20 September 1735, apparently to serve as a model. This was shortly after Johann Joachim Kändler's brother, the English silversmith Charles Kandler, visited the factory on 3 September 1735. One of the leading silversmiths of his day, Charles Kandler mysteriously disappears from London in 1735, leaving his business in the hands of a relation named Frederick Kandler. Evidently he was destined for Meissen, and his silver style is so evident in the products of the factory's repertoire from September 1735 onwards, there can be no doubt he provided advice and design expertise to his brother in the production of the Sulkowski service.

The still incomplete Sulkowski service was put into use for the wedding of the Count's sister-in-law to Count Lubomirski in February 1737. The wedding was originally scheduled to take place at Moritzburg but the location was changed to Dresden, and the dinner was held in the Flemming Palace, Count Sulkowski's residence, with the King and Queen in attendance. On the seating plans for the formal dinner, neither Sulkowski nor his wife are indicated. This is because the King and Queen sat in the seats of the Count and his wife, who stood behind them to serve them. The court calendar reports that the Meissen porcelain table service pro-

duced for Sulkowski was used on the table for the entire meal and so the King and Queen, in the seats of their hosts, were served on Meissen porcelain. This would seem to be the first documented use of Meissen porcelain for the savoury courses, and the first time the King and Queen were served on porcelain. This was only acceptable because this was not a royal residence and because the royal couple occupied the seats of their hosts so were not themselves hosts of the event. It is entirely possible the Sulkowski service was commissioned with this particular event in mind, since the models for so many of the tablewares were based on the King's silver plate, allowing the Count, who may not have owned an important enough silver service, to serve the King on 'white gold'.

As Sulkowski's star waned, his rival, Count von Brühl, gained power and position. Following Sulkowski's lead, Brühl commissioned the famous Swan Service. The register of manufactory visitors indicates that Brühl's pastry chef, a man named La Chapelle, came to the Meissen manufactory no less than 50 times between 1737 and 1740, which works out to twice a month, indicating that this largely unknown artist, working in sugar, was integral to the design and the 'look' of the service. In other words, we should give as much credit to La Chapelle as we do to Johann Joachim Kändler and his associates. Brühl's decision to acquire a new high-style French silver service came about at the moment the Swan service was nearing completion at Meissen, which suggests that Brühl wanted a silver table service to complement his new French-style porcelain dessert service. As Prime Minister, Brühl needed such a service to entertain foreign diplomats and important visitors to the court.

Given the evidence at hand, it seems time to reconsider Johann Joachim Kändler's artistic genius in a broader context. Normally we attribute to the artist and his associates a level of sophistication and awareness that does not take into account the local resources and outside talents that must have influenced them quite directly on a regular basis. The manufactory work reports and the register of visitors indicate this was a very stimulating environment; instead of being off-limits, the factory was actually a regular sight-seeing stop, just as it is today, for royalty, members of the court, craftsmen and artists, merchants, and for rather more regular visitors like students from the university in Leipzig. Clearly Johann Joachim Kändler was an accomplished sculptor working in collaboration with other artists in other media, and we must be more open to looking at the influence of artists and objects in Dresden, even if the artists are sugar sculptors and the influence is not the King's silver but Brühl's.



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tion of Sir Ernest Cassel (See *Silver  
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## Cover illustration

'The Bärenfels beaker', silver-gilt and enamel, Johann Rudolf I Faesch, Basel, dated 1541.  
(The Schroder Collection; photo: Ken Adlard)

The beaker was no43 in an exhibition of pieces from the Schroder  
collection, held at the Wallace Collection, London, July–October 2007. The  
catalogue is listed on p155 of this journal.

Although this is the only piece known bearing the mark of Johann  
Rudolf I Faesch (1510–64), his name is well known through the group por-  
trait of his son's family, painted in 1559 (now in the Kunstmuseum, Basel)  
which has been illustrated in numerous publications and is fig13 in the  
exhibition catalogue.





# Sales by auction

October 2006 – August 2007

November 2006. £1 = \$1.95; €1.48; SFr 2.35

June 2007. £1 = \$1.96; €1.47; SFr 2.42

Woolley & Wallis, Salisbury, 18 October 2006. Lot 655, tobacco box and cover, Thomas Ash, London 1795/96, found in the River Thames near Queenhithe Dock, £3,000.[fig 1]



1

Sotheby's New York, 23 October 2006. Lot 207, tureen, cover and stand, Thomas Pitts, London 1770/71, \$114,000 (£60,420); a collection of tea caddies; lot 230, pair of covered bowls, Whipham & Wright, London 1767/68, arms of the Goldsmiths' Company, \$24,000 (£12,720).

Christie's New York, 26 October 2006. Lot 45, tureen and cover, Edme-Pierre Balzac, Paris, 1763, \$553,600 (£293,408); and a large group of silver by Georg Jensen.

Sotheby's London, 29 November 2006. Lot 98, cake basket, Thomas Farren, London 1737/38 with engraving attributed to Joseph Sympson, arms of John Shales Barrington, £43,000 (\$84,240).

Christie's London, 24 & 25 January 2007. Collection of King George I of the Hellenes.

Sotheby's Paris, 28 March 2007 (two catalogues). 1: Collection of buckles (Jourdan-Barry), and a group of designs by Jean Puiforcat. 2: Lot 327, ewer, probably Quimper, circa 1580, €312,000 (£212,160).

Sotheby's New York, 4 & 5 April 2007, included a collection of Irish silver, the property of Thomas Shannon.

Christie's Amsterdam, 4 April 2007. Schliemann collection.

Christie's New York, 23 May 2007. Lot 26, dinner service, Jean Puiforcat, Paris 1924-47, \$96,000 (£48,000).

Sotheby's London, 7 June 2007. Collection of silver by George Jensen; and four lots of gold (1960s and 1970s).

Christie's London, 12 June 2007. Lot 1, candelabrum centrepiece, Stuart Devlin, London 1976, £45,600 (\$89,376); [fig 2] lot 64, pair of sauceboats, John Carter, London 1773/74 after a design by Robert Adam for Sir Watkin Williams-Wynn, £66,000 (\$129,360).



2

Bonhams London, 4 July 2007. Lot 3, double-lidded snuff box, gold, unmarked circa 1730, £36,000 (\$70,560); [fig 3] lot 36, varvel engraved 'Lord Rich', unmarked circa 1550, £3,240 (\$6,350).[fig 4]



3



4







5

Christie's London, 30 November 2006. Lot 751, the Cunha Braga cup, an enamelled, gold-mounted rock-crystal and glass cup, circa 1600-10, possibly Augsburg, £1,968,000 (\$3,798,240). [fig 5]

Named after its recent owner, the Cunha Braga cup was most probably made in the same workshop as a very similar cup now in the Schatzkammer, the Residenz Museum, Munich. The cups both have a running band of enamelled hunting scenes in the manner of prints by Virgil Solis and Daniel Mignot and each has a handle in the form of a crouching dragon. On the function of the piece, the catalogue suggests 'While many *kunstkammer* objects appear to have been made purely to

demonstrate the maker's artistic virtuosity, it is also quite likely ... that these cups may represent a very early and regal form of stirrup or hunting cup'.

Philippa Glanville has suggested that the cups were for a marriage toast before the couple disappeared into the bridal chamber. The likely content was fruit brandy, so the dragon was in effect breathing his fiery breath into the little cup (and breathing courage into the young couple). The hunting scene can also be interpreted as a metaphor for the process of courtship.

Length: 14cm (5½in), height 7.3cm (2⅞in), width 7cm (2¾in).

Woolley & Wallis, Salisbury, 31 January 2007. Lot 948, £6,200. Suede leather baldric with silver mounts, maker's mark NP for Nicholas Peake, London 1682/83. [fig 6]

Nicholas Peake worked for Henry Panton, a silver-hilt maker and sword cutler of Holborn, who was active circa 1660-1703. Panton's work was found to be below standard on more than one occasion in the 1680s.

Henry Panton Sword Cutler declared one Nicholas Peake, dwelling in Dean Street neare ffetter lane, the workman that made the Belt Buckles brought in by Mr Badcock...



Quoted by Leslie Southwick, *London Silver-hilted Swords*, Leeds 2001, p192.



# Index

Illustrations are not separately identified except under certain headings (eg invoices and marks), nor are footnotes separately identified. Usually only the first entry in an article is indexed; the reader is advised to check the whole article.

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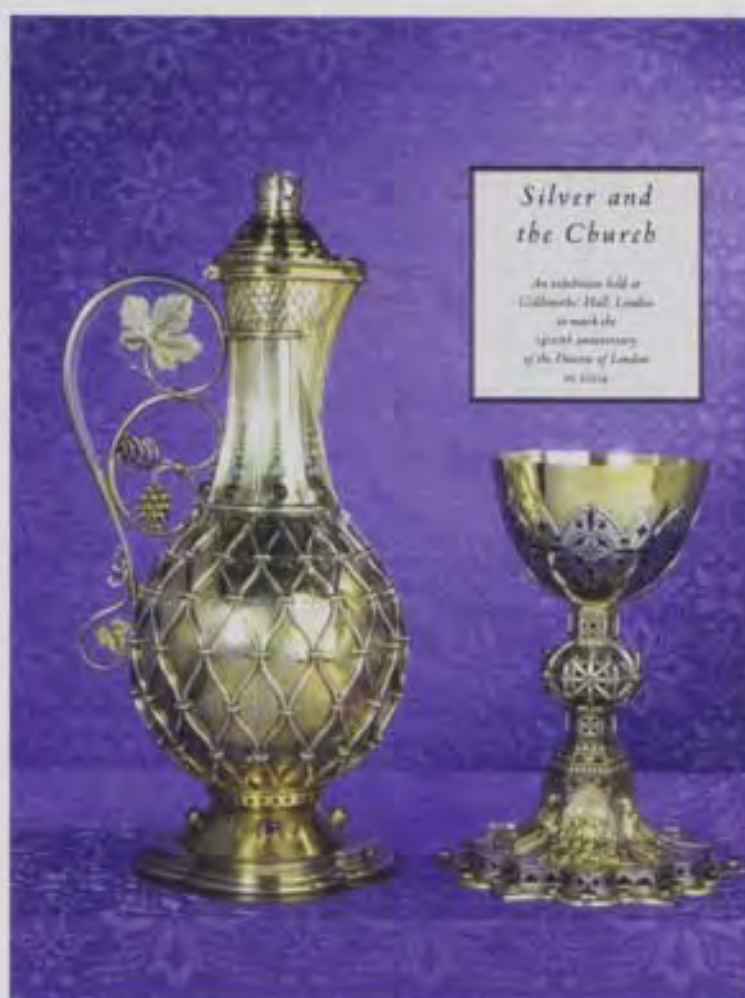
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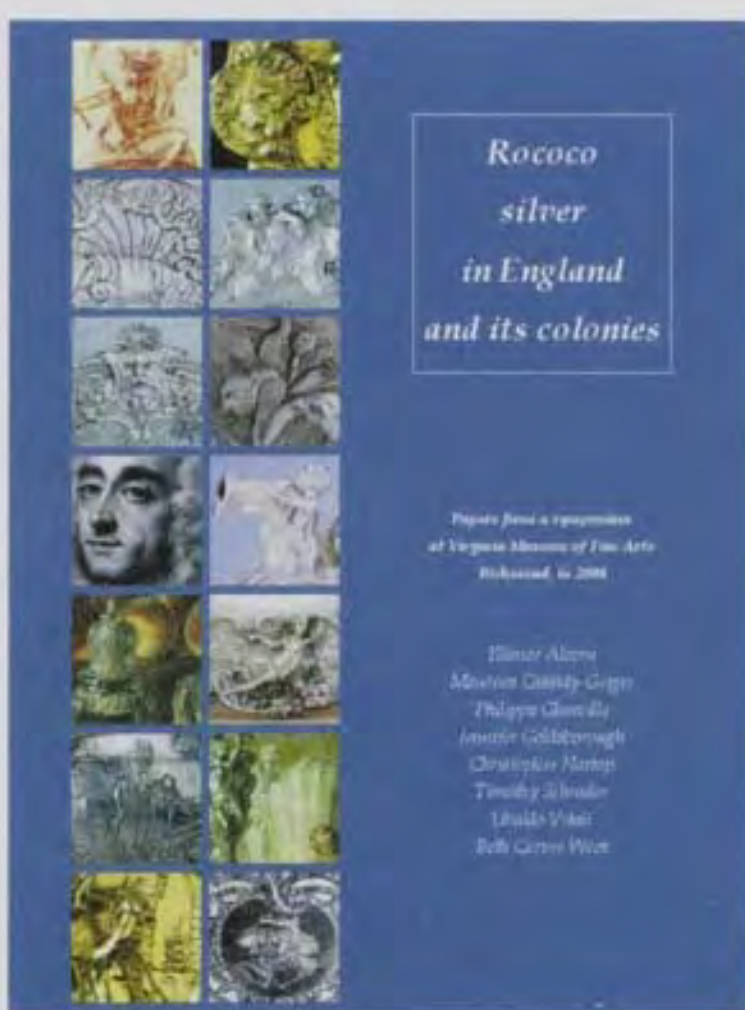
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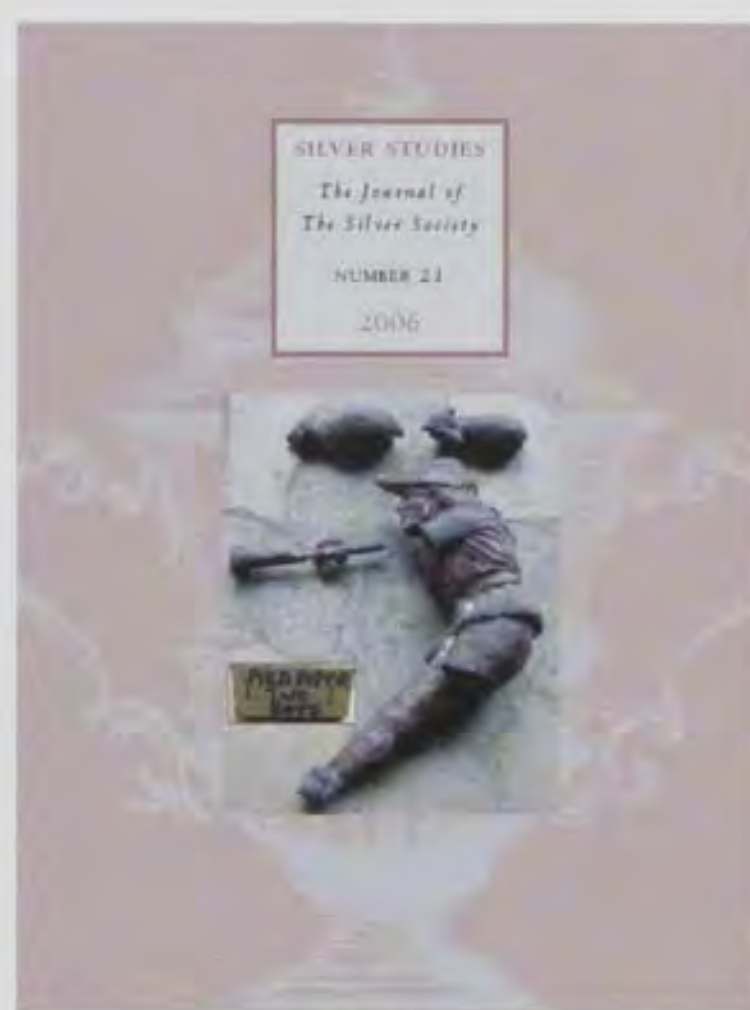
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