

# ROYAL PRESENTS – PORCELAIN GIFTS EXCHANGED BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND THE SAXON-POLISH COURT IN THE MID-18TH CENTURY

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## Acknowledgement

The interest in the use of porcelains as diplomatic gifts during the eighteenth century has been increasing for the last few years, and culminated in the exhibition “Fragile diplomacy: Meissen Porcelain for European Courts” that Maureen Cassidy-Geiger curated last winter at The Bard Graduate Center for Studies in the Decorative Arts, Design, and Culture, New York. This article is a revised version of a paper given last year at *The International Ceramics Fair & Seminar* that considers new evidence published by Selma Schwartz and Jeffrey Munger in their recent contribution to the catalogue of the Bard exhibition.<sup>1</sup>

In the mid-1740s August III, elector of Saxony and king of Poland, succeeded in establishing close political bonds to the French court. His diplomatic endeavours were crowned by the wedding of his third daughter Maria Josepha, better known as Marie-Josèphe of Saxony, with the only son of Louis XV in January 1747. Less than one year before, the two kings had signed an agreement that granted subsidies to the Saxon court. This advantageous alliance was renewed in the year of the wedding and remained in effect till 1750. In this period of close political and familial relations, numerous diplomatic gifts were exchanged between the two courts. Of these presents, August III was the first to give porcelain - exclusively to the most distinguished French courtiers, to Louis XV and the newly married couple. These gifts occurred in a time when Meissen porcelains were highly sought-after and still unrivalled luxury wares. Yet businessmen in France, supported by Louis XV, had been trying eagerly to establish a competitive French porcelain manu-

factory at Vincennes near Paris for a few years. I argue that these prestigious gifts of August III motivated return presents from Versailles and that the resulting unprecedented exchange of porcelain gifts was not only an indicator of the political and familial relations between the two courts, but also part of a non-verbal competition between the two porcelain manufacturers, with each supported by its king.

Following the early death of the first dauphine Marie-Thérèse of Spain in July 1746, several persons worked successfully on behalf of August III to establish Marie-Josèphe as the new dauphine at the French court. An important French intercessor, as documented in contemporary letters, was the powerful financier Jean Pâris de Monmartel. In October 1746 the French general Maurice de Saxe wrote to his half-brother August III: “We have triumphed; the master and his mistress [*Madame de Pompadour*] took our side.”<sup>2</sup> And in another letter he noted: “[...] our friends have served us well. We must count among them *Madame de Pompadour* and the *Pârises*, with whom I am intimately associated, and who are powerful personages here.”<sup>3</sup> These quotations suggest, that Monmartel’s argument in favour of the Saxon-French wedding might have been the cause for a royal present, of which Loss reported three years later: “Yesterday I saw Mr. de Monmartel, who showed me the beautiful Porcelain gift which the King recently sent to him and which honors us greatly since it is of perfect beauty.”<sup>4</sup> Three inventories of the eighteenth century list the pieces then still in possession of the Monmartel:<sup>5</sup> All dishes of this Meissen table service were decorated with the so-called Gotzkowsky-pattern: flowered branches in relief, painted flower bouquets and insects as well as the arms of Pâris de Monmartel-Béthune.<sup>6</sup> Moreover, the table service comprised three sets of vases and one table fountain, all mounted in gilt bronze.<sup>7</sup> One of these garnitures was a set of five vases representing the sea-



Figure 1, Summer and Autumn from the Seasons vases, Meissen, model c.1745, moulding and painting c.1750-75, München, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Stiftung Ernst Schneider in Schloss Lustheim, ES 633, ES 634 (Photo: Walter Haberland)

sons from which several slightly varying examples are known today (Figure 1).<sup>8</sup> Branches in relief of flowers and fruits typical of the respective seasons encircled the bodies. Allegorical putti and birds sat on the branches or the domed covers. The central vase bore an applied gilded sun and branches of laurel as well as the figure of Apollo on the cover.

A second Meissen service was offered to the duc de Richelieu, who was appointed extraordinary envoy at Dresden at the time of the proxy marriage on January 10, 1747. As was usual with such highly ceremonial events, many presents were given on the occasion. Besides the bride and

groom themselves, everyone who was involved in the festivities was rewarded according to his status and function. So was Richelieu, who reported in a letter to the French foreign minister: “After the execution of the contract, the king offered me a sword garnished with diamonds, and sent a service of porcelain to my lodging.”<sup>9</sup> Documents at Dresden record, that Richelieu received a large porcelain service as well as porcelain figures and vases.<sup>10</sup> Just prior to this, Loss had informed Brühl that Richelieu wished more for a porcelain service than for anything else.<sup>11</sup> So far, the only evidence that indicates what Richelieu’s service might have looked like, is the inventory drawn up at the time of his death in 1788 and a more detailed sales catalogue. Schwartz concludes that three of the listed Meissen services are to be considered: one was decorated with the Ozier-pattern, a border relief imitating basketwork, and painted European flowers, the



Figure 2, Covered tureen and stand with “Gotzkowsky” pattern and painted flowers, c.1745-47 (Photo: © E&H Manners, London)

second with “osiers, chimeres & oiseaux”, “chimeres” meaning probably the Meissen pattern with the dragon-like “Ch’i-lin”, and the third was described as imitating the old Japanese manner. Schwartz argues that the last, most complete one, kept separately in Richelieu’s Paris residence, was most likely the one offered by August III who might have considered Richelieu’s taste for Asian porcelains.<sup>12</sup>

A third Meissen table service was sent to the French foreign minister, the marquis d’Argenson, shortly after the proxy marriage.<sup>13</sup> D’Argenson, like Monmartel, had played a decisive role in the back door diplomacy preceding this wedding and the present was a recompense by August III for his support. However, the idea for such a gift to d’Argenson had already arisen just prior. Brühl had searched for a return present for a Gobelins’ tapestry that d’Argenson had sent to him.<sup>14</sup> For this, he had asked Loss to

determine whether a Meissen table service would please d’Argenson.<sup>15</sup> In a letter dated November 3, that is to say shortly after the announcement of the Saxon-French wedding, Loss finally answered: “I have observed, that our porcelain appeals very much to Mr. the marquis d’Argenson and I believe, that a beautiful service of the said porcelain, given to him by the king [!], would please him very much. I leave it to His Excellency to decide on how to use this insinuation [...]” Loss continued saying that in addition to this gift it would be necessary to give several small gratifications to less important people to whom he had promised a recompense for their successful support of the princely wedding.<sup>16</sup> On November 26, Brühl replied that he was relieved to know that d’Argenson wished for Saxon porcelain, as he had intended to send him a Meissen service in his name. “Today, he can [?] receive a more magnificent one from the king, to which I will add some other matching pieces. Before commissioning it, I only wait to know from His Excellency, whether Mr. the marquis d’Argenson wants to have his coat of arms on it or not.”<sup>17</sup> The



Figure 3, Set of three vases with painted birds, Meissen, c.1745, München, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Stiftung Ernst Schneider in Schloss Lustheim, ES 1970, ES 1969, ES 1968 (Photo: Walter Haberland)

occasion of the wedding, and d’Argenson’s role in the affair, apparently influenced the quality of the present as well as the issue in whose name it was to be sent.<sup>18</sup>

So far, the d’Argenson service has not yet been identified and it seems impossible to do so with certainty as d’Argenson turned down the proposition to have his coat of arms painted on it.<sup>19</sup> All we know about it is gathered from two original listings, one in German<sup>20</sup> and the final shipping list in French.<sup>21</sup> The German one is more detailed and describes the general pattern of the service as follows: “A table service with flowers in relief, with natural flowers [i.e. European flowers] painted in the cartouches and with a golden rim.” The description is reminiscent of the porcelains sent to Monmartel, as is the composition of the service comprising eight dozen plates, six dozen platters, 14 tureens,

one dozen salad bowls and salt cellars and six sauce boats plus a complete service for the dessert including a tea or coffee service, pierced plates, *compotiers*, flowerpots, 126 figures to decorate the table as well as four sets of vases. The d’Argenson service was of a similar size to the Monmartel one with the exception that apparently, the latter comprised no figures.<sup>22</sup>

In his memoirs, d’Argenson recorded proudly that the service had been commissioned expressly for him “in order to be more distinguished and the pieces more perfect.”<sup>23</sup> He probably derived this idea from the fact that he had been asked whether he wanted to have his arms on it or not. However, the comparison of his table service to the one of Monmartel suggests that the presents rather followed a standard Meissen model that had been recently established with a table service offered to the Russian tsarina Elizabeth in June 1745 – the so called St. Andrew service.<sup>24</sup> The St. Andrew service was also decorated with the “Gotzkowsky” pattern and European style flowers. Further comparison of



Figure 4, *Bouquet de la Dauphine*, Vincennes, soft-paste porcelain with gilt-bronze mounts, 1748, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Porzellansammlung, P. E. 707 (Photo: Jürgen Karpinski)

the royal gifts reveals a few more similarities: The “four oval tureens with partridge on the lid” as well as the “four small tureens with a fruit on the lid and citrons as handles” sent to d’Argenson, for example, correspond with pieces in the Russian service (Figure 2).<sup>25</sup> So do two of the garnitures composed of vases with bodies in relief respectively in open work, decorated with applied flowers, that follow standard Meissen decoration schemes. And both d’Argenson and Monmartel were offered a set of the “Seasons” vases (Figure 1) that repeated earlier models and might have been on hand.<sup>26</sup> The only garniture without a verifiable analogy among the other services in question was a set of five pieces painted with birds, a short-lived decoration on vases in the mid-1740s, that is rarely to be found today (Figure 3).

Whereas the sets of vases were the most sumptuous pieces offered by August III to his closest allies, the more

sensational novelty must have been the many figures included in the table services for the tsarina, for d’Argenson and for Richelieu. Among them were mythological figures like ancient gods and goddesses, allegorical figures like the muses or the seasons, figures from the Italian *commedia dell’arte* and figures, that represented different nations and professions like Turks or peasants. D’Argenson also received gallant groups inspired from the French rococo, surely chosen to suit his taste. The compositions marked a representative sample of the Meissen repertoire and must have been chosen from a stock of examples. The royal collections in the Japanese Palace in Dresden served repeatedly as a supply of examples on hand to compose diplomatic gifts. According to the recollections of a contemporary visitor in 1744, for example, the various small figures which stood on a long table in a separate room were types of wares that were not sold by the manufactory, but belonged to the king and were exclusively used as prestigious gifts to foreign courts.<sup>27</sup>

An important innovation of the Meissen manufactory was the creation of porcelain figures to replace sugar sculptures as decoration for the dessert course. This new type of table adornment was for the first time laid out on the king’s table in Dresden, on the occasion of the Saxon-French wedding, under the eyes of the distinguished guests.<sup>28</sup> Even before, the use of porcelains instead of sugar sculptures had come into fashion in Paris as well, but the scale introduced by the d’Argenson service was surely yet unknown in France.<sup>29</sup> It is therefore no surprise that these components of the Meissen table services in particular attracted the interest of Louis XV. The French king had taken notice of the sumptuous present given to his foreign minister, known because of the complications caused by d’Argenson’s sudden dismissal on the eve of the proxy marriage. D’Argenson noted in his memoirs that he had begged the king to accept the present in his stead and to place it in one of his pleasure palaces, as it was offered to him at a time when he was still in office.<sup>30</sup> In the end, however, d’Argenson was allowed to receive the service himself as the king did not want to aggravate his affliction.<sup>31</sup> By the end of June, only two months after the porcelains for d’Argenson had finally arrived in Paris, the French king ordered a Meissen dessert service for his château in Choisy from the Parisian porcelain

Figure 5, *Astrology*, Vincennes, c.1747-48, London, British Museum, P&E 1938.0217.1 (Photo: © Trustees of the British Museum)





Figure 6. *Urania*, Meissen, model from Johann Joachim Kaendler, c.1744-45, location unknown (Repro: sale Emma Budge, Graupe, Berlin, September 27-29, 1937, lot 826, plate 130)

dealer Gille Bazin. In a letter to Brühl, Loss reported that the dealer had promised the king the most recent and beautiful Saxon porcelains. He added a list of the desired pieces as well as a drawing with a decoration scheme for the dishes, though the latter is lost today.<sup>32</sup> Loss advised **him(?)** to order the service and to send it to Louis XV as a present. The detailed list strongly suggests that the d'Argenson service served as a model. Like the d'Argenson service, all dishes were supposed to be decorated with painted flower bouquets, a golden rim and a border pattern, probably in relief. Some one hundred figures of different sizes were intended to adorn the table during dessert: allegorical figures and courting couples under trees, hunters and hunting dogs, sheep in a stable and a deer would lay out a rural scenery on the table and vividly show the king and his guests the

pleasures they pursued in Choisy.

With his diplomatic gift, August III succeeded in setting a trend at the French royal table that would serve as a model for all the courtiers. Indeed, by 1749 or 1750, the duc de Luynes sent wax models of farmhouses, shepherds and sheep to the Meissen manufactory to have them moulded in porcelain.<sup>33</sup> Indirectly, the gifts of August III also affected the production at the young French manufactory at Vincennes. Not only were Meissen figures copied there (see below), but a few years later, when the invention of the biscuit figures allowed more extensive production, the Saxon table fashion was also adopted. The apparent influence of August III's diplomatic gifts on the Vincennes manufactory is reinforced by the fact, that during the month of the Saxon-French wedding, Louis XV increased his financial support for the young enterprise significantly.<sup>34</sup> One year later, when necessary technical developments had been realised, he renewed an earlier royal privilege for Vincennes to produce porcelain "in the Saxon manner". The adjusted specification of the "Saxon manner" suggests that the Meissen services presented by August III had set a new benchmark in France: From now on, only Vincennes was authorised to mould porcelain figures and flowers and to decorate their vessels with them.<sup>35</sup>

By the end of 1747, the dauphin and the dauphine also received prestigious porcelains at the dauphine's request.<sup>36</sup> The pieces testified to the capacities of the Meissen manufactory, as Loss reported on November 30: "The porcelains are considered as masterpieces of our manufactory and decorate the mantelpieces in the superb cabinets of Monseigneur the Dauphin and Madame the Dauphine. [...]" By chance, the porcelains seem to have been made expressly for the aforementioned cabinets whose panelling is of a green *vernis* similar to the colour of the scenes painted on the vases and the clock case.<sup>37</sup> Paintings in *camera vert* were then a recent invention of the Meissen manufactory. Porcelains of this type were highly regarded by August III who reserved them for the royal court and family members.<sup>38</sup>

The famous so-called *Bouquet of the Dauphine* (Figure 4), that Marie-Josèphe sent to her father in spring 1749, might have been her response to these prestigious gifts. The bunch of porcelain flowers fitted into a vase and mounted on a terrace-like ormolu base together with the female allegories of the music and the poetry was one of the first representative porcelain objects created at the manufactory in

Vincennes.<sup>39</sup> Its speciality in the early years were naturalistically moulded and painted porcelain flowers and the French were convinced that in this element, their manufactory surpassed Meissen.<sup>40</sup> Just like the present to d'Argenson, this gift of the impressive bouquet could not have been made without the knowledge of Louis XV. Indeed, by the end of April the French ambassador at Dresden reported officially that it had been well-received.<sup>41</sup> Marie-Josèphe's present to her father was not a purely personal gesture between daughter and father, but it was also an official statement of the French court, supposed to demonstrate the competitiveness of the new French manufactory. It is questionable whether the Vincennes porcelains made much of an impression in Dresden due to their closeness to Meissen models. The vase with its applied flowered branches is reminiscent of those offered to Monmartel and d'Argenson (Figure 1) and the resemblance of the Music and Poetry with Meissen muses could not have remained unnoticed in Dresden: the Poetry is a transformation of the Vincennes Astrology (Figure 5), which again is quite an accurate copy of the Meissen Urania from the series of muses that had been designed for the Prussian king four years prior (Figure 6). The resemblance is so striking, that an original Meissen moulding must have been at the disposal of the Vincennes modeller. However, the combination of several small porcelain pieces with freestanding porcelain flowers and especially with the excellent ormolu mounts, created an innovative decorative ensemble that conveyed the specific French taste and made of the Vincennes porcelains a present that was worthy of the French court.

August III considered the French present not only to be admirable, but also as a challenge, as he responded with a present of Meissen porcelain as soon as an opportunity arose (Figure 7).<sup>42</sup> Even though the work on the huge mirror frame, the corresponding console table, and the two flanking gueridons that he sent had already been begun by the year of the wedding,<sup>43</sup> its delivery at Versailles on September 10, 1750, two weeks after the birth of Marie-Josèphe's first child, suggests that this event offered a convenient occasion for a paternal gift, as such gifts were customary within courtly ceremonial. It is revealing that the Saxon court decided against offering the more usual gift of clothes for mother and child, as the first dauphine and Marie-Josèphe's sister Maria Amalia had received,<sup>44</sup> but sent the biggest porcelain present ever made. It is therefore worth considering whether the finishing decorations - the bouquet in



Figure 7. Reproduction of the Meissen mirror and console table, c.1900, remoulding of a model from c.1747-50 (Photo: © Staatliche Porzellan-Manufaktur Meissen GmbH)

front of the mirror face and the figures of Apollo and the nine muses that sit on the volutes of the frame – had been designed only after the arrival of the *Bouquet of the Dauphine* in Dresden, as they seem to reply directly to its bunch of flowers as well as to its allegories of the music and the poetry.

The mirror frame, measuring more than ten feet, did not fit into the new apartment of the dauphine, so it was exhibited in the *Salon de la Guerre* at Versailles, where all the courtiers could admire it in the presence of Louis XV. According to the duc de Luynes, the Meissen *tour de force* did not meet unanimous approval: the execution of the details, especially of Apollo and the muses, was admired, but the proportions of the frame and table and the lacking functionality of the candlesticks were criticised and the white

porcelain was compared to whitened wood ready for gilding.<sup>45</sup> It appears that August III thought his use of hard paste porcelain, a luxurious all-around material that could replace gold, silver, glass, or wood, was unique, and much surpassed the French soft paste porcelain; however, there is no evidence that the French courtiers either acknowledged the remarkable engineering achievement of the huge triad or the material quality of its shining white porcelain. Apparently, August III's extraordinary present did not succeed in proving the superiority of his Meissen manufactory. That the discussed exchange of royal porcelain presents between the Saxon-Polish and the French court served not only as a reinforcement of the new political and familial alliance but also dealt with the rivalry between the two porcelain manufactories, both patronised by the respective kings, is proven by the mention of a last gift in the memoirs of d'Argenson who noted in January 1754: "One sees there [in the royal porcelain store] a beautiful service that His Majesty sends to the king August of Saxony as to defy him and to insult him by saying that we have even surpassed his factory."<sup>46</sup>

#### Notes

- 1 Selma Schwartz, Jeffrey Munger, "Gifts of Meissen Porcelain to the French Court, 1728-1750", *Fragile diplomacy* (New Haven/London 2007), pp. 141-173.
- 2 Schwartz, Munger (note 1), p. 147, letter dated October 27, 1746.
- 3 Ibid., letter undated.
- 4 Ibid., p. 149, letter dated June 14, 1749.
- 5 See *ibid.*, pp. 148-150.
- 6 Jean Pâris de Monmartel married Marie Armande de Béthune on February 16, 1746 and a family tradition says that the Meissen service was presented by the Polish king on this occasion (see *ibid.*, p. 147). It is therefore also conceivable, that it was offered to Monmartel even before the death of the first dauphine and that the royal present was not linked to the back door diplomacy preceding the Saxon-French wedding.
- 7 Ibid., pp. 148-150. Schwartz argues that the vases were mounted in Paris, possibly by Monmartel himself or by Loss.
- 8 For more details see *ibid.* It is impossible to designate with certainty the actual pieces sent to Montmartel. The illustrated examples of "Summer" and "Autumn" from the Ernst Schneider collection in Schloss Lustheim date later, but they meet the description in the Monmartel inventory as published by Schwartz (*ibid.*, note 76) and may serve as an illustration.
- 9 "Après la signature du contract, le Roy me donna une épée garnie de diamans, et envoya chez moy un service de porcelaines." Archives des Affaires étrangères, Paris (AAE), Correspondance politique (CP), Saxe électorale et royale 37, fol. 102.
- 10 Schwartz, Munger (note 1), note 87.
- 11 Ibid., p. 152, a letter from December, 1746.

- 12 Ibid. Richelieu, who visited the Meissen manufactory as well as the "Porcelain-Magazin" in Dresden before the wedding, could have expressed his desires on these occasions. See Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, "The Bouquet de la dauphine", *The French Porcelain Society Journal*, Vol. III (2007), note 12.
- 13 Brühl wrote to Loss on January 17, 1747: „Je me donne l'honneur de vous envoyer ci-joint, Monsieur, la spécification de la porcelaine, que le Roy a destinée en présent à S. E. Mr le Marquis d'Argenson. Les 7. Caisses, dans lesquelles cette porcelaine est empaquetée, sont adressées à V.E., et partiront par la première occasion de quelques voituriers, qui iront à Francfort ou à Strasbourg. Après leur arrivée à Paris, V.E. n'aura qu'à les présenter à Mr le Marquis d'Argenson, en les accompagnant d'un compliment convenable de la part du Roy. Sur la reconnaissance, que Sa Majté luy conserve, et sur le fond qu'Elle fait de son amitié et attachement. Faites luy aussi, s'il vous plait, Monsr, agréer à cette occasion les assurances de mes respects.“ *Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden (HStA)*, Loc. 789/1, fol. 277-279.
- 14 Schwartz, Munger (note 1), pp. 153-154.
- 15 Ibid., note 98, letter dated October 29, 1746.
- 16 "A cette occasion je ne saurois m'empêcher d'avoir l'honneur de dire à Vre Exc., que j'ai remarqué, que Mr. Le marquis d'Argenson a beaucoup de gout pour nôtre Porcelaine, et que je crois, qu'un beau service de la dite Porcelaine, qui lui viendrait de la part du Roi Lui feroit un tres grand plaisir. Je laisse à Vre Excell. de faire de cette insinuation l'usage qu'Elle jugera à propos, mais si Sa Majté prenoit la resolution de lui faire cette galanterie, je supplie Vre Excell: de me charger de lui en donner la première Nouvelle, pour qu'en aye le merite. Outre cela je ne saurois cacher à Vre Exc., qu'il est question de faire plusieurs petites gratifications à des gens d'un moindre calibre de l'un et de l'autre Coté, dont il ne m'est pas permis de specifier les noms, et auxquels j'ai fait esperer une recompense, ayant eu des influences efficaces pour faire reussir nôtre mariage, soit par des insinuations, qu'ils ont faites, soit en m'apprenant ce qui passoit pour ma direction." *HStA*, Loc. 789/1, fol. 123.
- 17 "En accusant la bonne réception des lettres de vôtre Excellence des 3. 6. et 11. a. c., je commence par La rémercier des soins, que Elle a pris à l'égard des tapisseries des Gobelins, dont le Roy T. C. m'a fait present. [...] J'ai été d'autant plus aise d'apprendre le gout, que V. E. a remarqué à Monsr le Marquis d'Argenson pour nôtre porcelaine, puisque, comme V. E. aura déjà vû par une de mes précédentes, j'avois destiné à ce Ministre un service en mon nom. Il peut [?] aujourd'hui en recevoir un plus magnifique de la part du Roy, à quoy j'ajouterai quelques autres pièces de la même expece. J'attens seulement, pour commencer à y faire travailler, que V. E. m'ait averti, si Mr. Le Marquis d'Argenson aimera d'y avoir ses armes ou non." *Ibid.*, fol. 126.
- 18 Loss' observation in a letter dated December 9 that d'Argenson would not accept diamond-encrusted portraits or other valuable presents of this kind, probably answers to an inquiry from Brühl how else he could thank d'Argenson for the tapestries. Schwartz, Munger (note 1), pp. 153-154.
- 19 Ibid., p. 154.
- 20 Published in: Maureen Cassidy-Geiger, "Hof-Conditorei and court celebrations in 18th century Dresden", *Handbook of the International Ceramics Fair and Seminar* (London 2002), pp. 31-32.

- 21 Published in: Julia Weber, "Kunst als Instrument der Diplomatie", *Keramos* 193 (July 2006), p. 41.
- 22 They might have been lost or separated when in 1766, the service was inventoried for the first time.
- 23 "[...] on l'avoit commandé exprès, pour qu'il fût plus distingué et les pièces plus parfaites." René-Louis de Voyer, marquis d'Argenson, *Journal et mémoires du marquis d'Argenson*, Vol. III (Paris 1857), pp. 149-150.
- 24 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* (München/Berlin 2006), pp. 141-142 and *idem*, "Porcelain and prestige", *Fragile diplomacy* (New Haven/London 2007), p. 16. For more on the „St. Andrew“ service see Tobias Burg, Lydia Liackhova, Ulrich Pietsch: „Das Andreas-Service“, *Meissen für die Zaren* (München 2004), pp. 66-69 and Lydia Liackhova: „In a Porcelain Mirror: Reflections of Russia from Peter I to Empress Elizabeth“, *Fragile diplomacy* (New Haven/London 2007), pp. 75-79.
- 25 The illustrated tureen might resemble to the ones sent to d'Argenson, even though the handles look more like quinces than citrons. Stylistically, it is very close to the tureen of the same model in the "St. Andrew" service and surely dates from about the same period. I thank E&H Manners for providing me with the photograph.
- 26 A listing of Frederick II of Prussia's loots from Meissen dated December 23, 1745, itemizes "5. Camin-Aufsätzen glatt und bel: die 4. Jahreszeiten mit Apollo 3erl: Größe, weiß". Karl Berling, *Das Meissner Porzellan und seine Geschichte* (Leipzig 1900), p. 64.
- 27 "Noch in einem langen Zimmer war ein langer Tisch, worauf zwei Reihen Puppenwerke aus Porzellan standen, anderthalb oder zwei Quartier höchstens hoch; darunter bemerkte ich Frauenzimmer in langen Kleidern oder großen Reifröcken und junge Herren, ebenfalls in Modekleidern, in allerlei angenehmen, lebhaften Stellungen; besonders war eine auf dem Rasen sitzende Schäferin, bei welcher der Schäfer mit der verliebtesten Miene stand, sehenswert. Man sagte, dergleichen Stücke würden gar nicht aus der Fabrik verhandelt, sie gehörten für den König und würden zu Geschenken an andere Höfe verwendet." Samuel Wittwer, *Die Galerie der Meißener Tiere* (München 2004), p. 269.
- 28 See Cassidy-Geiger (note 20), pp. 20-22.
- 29 See Tamara Préaud, "Les révolutions de la mode: Madame de Pompadour et la sculpture en céramique", *Madame de Pompadour et les arts* (Paris 2002), p. 481.
- 30 D'Argenson (note 23), p. 150.
- 31 Cassidy-Geiger (note 20), note 17, letters sent by Loss to Brühl, dated March 19 and April 6, 1747.
- 32 Published in: *ibid.*, pp. 23-24.
- 33 The wax models were described as follows: "1. ein klein mit Stroh gedecktes Bauernhaus, 2. ein anderes Bauernhaus, 3. eine Windmühle, 4. einen flachen Grund, 5 Zoll lang, 7 Zoll breit, worauf ein Schäfer sich stehend an den Stamm eines Baumes anlehnt. Er hat seinen Hund bei sich, der nicht liegen muss. Ein wenig zur linken des Schäfers sind sechs Schafe, zwei liegend, zwei grasend und die zwei anderen sehen sich um und fressen nicht. Der Fond des Plateau muss eine Wiese vorstellen." Berling (note 26), p. 72.
- 34 See Tamara Préaud, Antoine d'Albis, *La porcelaine de Vincennes* (Paris 1991), pp. 26 and 29.

- 35 A privilege dated August 6, 1748, dictated a competing entrepreneur that his "ouvrages en porcelaine [...] ne [pourraient] être ornées de fleurs & sculpture, ni peintes autrement qu'en façon de japon, sans [...] y mêler des paysages, figures ou dorures [...] ainsi que toutes sortes & espèces d'ouvrages de porcelaine en fleurs ou sculpture." *AAE*, France 1609, Ile-de-France 186, 1746-1748, fol. 205.
- 36 On March 22, 1747, Loss ordered from Brühl "quelques grandes pieces de Porcellaine que cette Princesse veut avoir pour Mr. Le Dauphin." Cassidy-Geiger (note 20), p. 23.
- 37 "Les porcelaines sont regardées comme un chef-d'œuvre de notre manufacture et servent à décorer les cheminées dans les superbes cabinets de Monseigneur le Dauphin et de Madame la Dauphine. [...] Par un effet du hasard il semble que ces porcelaines aient été faites exprès pour les susdits cabinets dont la boiserie est d'un vernis vert semblable à la couleur des tableaux qu'on a peints sur les vases et étuis de pendules." Casimir Stryiński, *La mère des trois derniers Bourbons Marie-Josèphe de Saxe et la cour de Louis XV* (Paris 1902), p. 88.
- 38 See Weber (note 21), p. 34.
- 39 The manufactory had offered similar bouquets to Madame de Pompadour, the queen Marie Leczinska, Louis XV and finally the Dauphine who sent hers to August III to Dresden.
- 40 The duc de Luynes, chronicler of the French court in the time of Louis XV, noted in his memoirs: "Cette manufacture surpasse actuellement celle de Saxe pour les fleurs." Charles Philippe d'Albert, duc de Luynes, *Mémoires du duc de Luynes sur la cour de Louis XV*, Vol. 9 (Paris 1862), p. 9.
- 41 "Sa Majesté Polonoise a eu la bonté de me mener seul avec elle dans son cabinet pour me montrer le pot de fleurs de porcelaine de Vincennes, que Madame la dauphine luy a envoyé, qui est admirable, et qui est trouvé tel icy." *AAE*, CP, Saxe électorale et royale 39, fol. 345, letter dated April 27, 1749.
- 42 The mirror is lost today as is the remoulding that was done from the original moulds for the world exhibition at Paris in 1900. Only a photograph of the latter has survived.
- 43 "Il n'est pas encore décidé où le trumeau et ses accompagnements seront placés; il est trop haut pour l'appartement de Mme la Dauphine [...]. On avoit pris les mesures sur le grand salon de l'appartement que Mme la Dauphine a occupé dans le commencement de son mariage, et ce salon est beaucoup plus haut que l'appartement où loge actuellement Mme la Dauphine." Luynes (note 40), Vol. 10 (Paris 1862), p. 332.
- 44 See Stryiński (note 37), pp. 113-114 and Friedrich Carl von Moser, *Kleine Schriften: Zur Erläuterung des Staats- und Völker-Rechts, wie auch des Hof- und Cantzley-Ceremoniels*, Vol. I (Frankfurt a.M. 1751), p. 40.
- 45 Duc de Luynes (note 43), pp. 331-332, entry dated September 11, 1750.
- 46 "La marquise de Pompadour ne fait autre chose que prêcher le grand avantage qu'il y a pour l'État à être enfin parvenu à faire de belle porcelaine façon de Saxe, et même à l'avoir surpassée. L'on établit rue de la Monnaie un magasin royal pour cette porcelaine. On y voit un beau service que Sa Majesté envoie au roi Auguste de Saxe, comme pour le braver et l'insulter, lui disant qu'on a surpassé même sa fabrique." D'Argenson (note 23), Vol. 10 (reprint Clermont-Ferrand 2006), p. 15, entry dated January 25, 1754.