

Sugar Sculpture, Porcelain and Table Layout 1530-1830

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The art of dining through the ages is a relatively neglected aspect of the social and artistic life of the very rich and powerful, which affords much interest to those with interests in different artistic disciplines. Probably best-known to students and collectors of silver and ceramics, dining was in fact an all-encompassing social ritual where the lord [for it was nearly always a lord or king at its highest level] went to extreme lengths in many fields to demonstrate his taste, wealth and social standing. As part of the lavish display, table decorations in the form of sculptures of food or other edibles [or nearly edibles] formed a part. They seem to have reached a peak of skill and elaboration in the seventeenth century before gradually giving ground to the medium of porcelain in the eighteenth century. However, even in the late nineteenth century the skills and traditions survived amongst a few cooks and confectioners, and continue to this day in the form of the modern wedding cake. Though few would rate these latter decorations very highly in terms of the art of the time, the history of table decoration and sugar sculpture deserves to be considered amongst that of the finest decorative arts of the time, in turn a reflection of the most advanced issues in paintings and sculpture.

Table decorations could and would involve court artists and designers of the highest calibre. At the wedding feast of Maria de' Medici to Henri IV in Florence in 1600, the groom was absent, but his image appeared on the table in the form of an impressive equestrian statue, modelled in sugar by Pietro Tacca, pupil of Giovanni Bologna.¹ In February 1815, a feast was given in the Great Hall of the Louvre by the Royal Guard to celebrate the final defeat of Napoleon and the return of the French monarchy. Huge *pièces montées*, in the form of gilded sugar military trophies, crafted by the patissier Carême, were displayed between the tables. At this level, table decorations were an aspect of political and social prestige, and required the skills of the finest artists and craftsmen of the time.

Table decoration generally forms part of the fashions for formal dining of the time. From medieval times onwards meals have been divided into separate courses of food, but laid out at once, in the style of a modern buffet. The lord sat on one side of a High Table by himself or with selected guests, with a display of plate on a sideboard at the side, and certain ceremonial items of plate, such as the salt, directly in front of him. Such a dinner is shown in *Les Très Riches Heures du Duc de Berry* of about 1410² and the *Grimani Breviary* of about 1500.³ The tendency for the courses to

move through meats to end in sweets appears to be a development of the fifteenth century.⁴ The arrangement of the meal was supervised by various officers of the household, such as the carver (for cutting the meat in the days before knives and forks), the sewer (server) and cupbearer, who held the cup up to the lord. The diners ate off simple plates or slabs of bread, and shared a central dish of food for four or 'mess', two for more elevated people and of course one for the lord himself. The dining wares themselves were relatively simple, apart from the salt, as the main feature on display was the lord himself, dressed in his finest clothes.

At grand feasts, such as coronation celebrations, the emphasis was not so much on taste and appetite, as on ingenuity and display, as the meal was not intended to feed so much as delight the senses and impress the guest with the host's wealth and status.⁵ It was customary to provide table decoration in the form of small-scale sculpture made out of marzipan or wax or [later] sugar paste, linking the art of the sculptor to the art of the cook. In the late medieval period they were called 'entremets' and (in England) 'sotelties', as the courses at medieval French and Burgundian feasts were known as *mets*. Sometimes at important state occasions, set piece entertainments took place between each *met*. In their simplest form these so-called *entremets* ['between courses], involved the prominent display of a piece of sculpture with a particular significance for the occasion. This was usually of a religious, allegorical or political nature. More rarely, much more complex pageants, known as *entremets mouvants*, took place between each course. These sometimes involved costumed performers (or even automatons) and a host of carpenters, painters and sculptors were employed to stage them. Jaques Daret, (a follower of Robert Campin) and Hugo van der Goes were among the many artists who designed and produced spectacles of this kind at the wedding feast of Charles the Bold and Margaret of York at Bruges in 1468.⁶ During one of the many spectacular *entremets mouvants* at the feast, a dwarf riding on a lion presented Margaret with a flower (a marguerite in honour of her name) and sang to her an allegorical song composed by Antoine Busnois. As sister of Edward IV, Margaret would have been familiar enough with the protocol of *entremets*, though at the English court they were known as 'sotelties' or 'warners'.

English court sotelties were based on the French model and, like them, usually consisted of a piece of allegorical sculpture accompanied by a related text or poem. Reserved for occasions such as coronations and wedding feasts, they (like all medieval art) were intensely religious in nature. At an English bridal feast, more or less contemporary with that of Margaret's extravaganza in Bruges, the first course was accompanied by

a sculpture of a lamb with the text, 'I meekly unto you, sovrayne, am sente, to dwell with you, and ever be present'. That of the second course was 'an antelope sayng on a sele that saith with scriptour, beith all glad & mery that sitteth at this messe and pray for the king and all his'. An angel with the verse 'thanke all, god, of this feste' featured in the third course. The soteltie of the fourth and final course was appropriately 'a wif lying in childebed, with a scriptour'.

Very rarely the subject matter contained references to themes from classical antiquity. The first course soteltie at the wedding feast (after 1414) of Hugh Courtenay, Duke of Devonshire (1389-1422) was a sculpture of Ceres, one of the earliest recorded uses of a pagan deity in English art.⁷ Brightly painted and gilded, these creations probably resembled the polychrome wooden and alabaster sculpture of the period. Though marzipan (and more rarely sugar) were used in their construction, it is likely that wax was the most frequently employed material.

Unfortunately, no contemporary illustrations of these events have survived in English records. However, a German illustration of a table with sugar figures, for the marriage of Johann Wilhelm, Duke of Jülich and Jacoba of Baden in Düsseldorf in 1585, gives us a rare insight into how extraordinary these displays of artistry must have looked in the sixteenth century.⁸

During the medieval period, most of the sugar that came into Europe passed through the hands of Venetian merchants, as did many Levantine botanical materials such as tragacanth. This was a kind of gum harvested from various species of Goat's Thorn or Tragacanth shrub (*Astragalus* spp.) as a binding material for making pills and other medicines from powdered drugs. Raw tragacanth is a ribbon-like exudate that forms on bark wounds on this thorny bush, which grows on arid mountain slopes all over the Eastern Mediterranean. When steeped in water, gum tragacanth or gum dragon, (as it was once known in England), forms a sticky mucilage which allows any powdered material to be converted into a pliable, plasticine-like paste. When dry, it is a beautiful white material with tremendous ornamental possibilities. It can be rolled out wafer-thin and fashioned into delicate petals for artificial flowers, or pressed into carved wooden moulds to create impressive animals or moulded features for sugar buildings. The paste can be coloured readily with dyes and pigments and, when dry, lends itself to painting or gilding.

The earliest printed recipe for gum-paste appeared in a book of secrets compiled by Girolamo Ruscelli, first published in Venice in 1552. Within

a few years, Ruscelli's work had been translated into German, French and English, though the technique he describes seems to have been known to European court confectioners well before this time. An alternative way of making figures and ornamental sugar objects was to pour concentrated sugar syrup into wooden, ceramic or plaster moulds, and allow it to solidify into a candy. Sugar syrup cast in moulds also seems to have been a popular method for creating table ornaments in England and probably pre-dates the use of gum-paste. Even religious votive objects were made using the method.

Sugar-paste is an extremely fine material which can be modelled in the way of clay and, when dry, produce an effect close to that of terracotta, albeit whiter. It can last many years, though as it not fired like a ceramic it will ultimately crumble to pieces on exposure to the atmosphere. Large pieces can be made with the assistance of a framework underneath. The great Renaissance sculptor Jacopo Sansovino designed sugar sculptures for Henry III of France when the king passed through Venice in 1574 on the way to his coronation. A simpler technique, without continual recourse to a professional sculptor or modeller, was through the use of 'card moulds'. The 'card' consisted of a wooden block carved on both sides with a number of components. These could be separately pressed out of gum-paste and then assembled to create a small three-dimensional sugar object. Little animals, birds and figures made up from separate parts needed particular attention when assembling. Fine wires were used to support limbs and other vulnerable details, a process described by Jarrin in the nineteenth century. At this point it is clear that the pieces were no longer edible in the everyday sense.

Sugar sculpture could either be left plain white, or painted with colours made by grinding pigments with gum arabic and a little sugar to make the colour shine. Red was made from cochineal or carmine, green from spinach, beet or buckthorn, yellow from saffron or gum gambodge, blue from Prussian blue and black from burnt ivory. When sugar sculpture was intended to be eaten the colours used were of plant or animal origin.

However, there are very few early images of the entremets and sotelties of the courtly table, so we cannot be entirely sure of the true appearance of these medieval and renaissance sugar fantasies. We have to depend for our knowledge of these on written descriptions. It is not until the seventeenth century that detailed illustrations of sugar sculpture start to appear in printed accounts of princely festivals. Many 'festival books' of this kind were printed in the great European centres of aristocratic culture, the most lavish and well known, emanating from the court of

Louis XIV, such as André Félibien's *Relation de la feste de Versailles* printed in Paris in 1676 and illustrated with etchings by Jean Le Pautre (1618-1682). Another account with excellent plates of aristocratic table settings is David Klöcker Ehrenstrahl's *Das grosse Carroset* published in Stockholm in 1685. This was a lavish production illustrated by Georg Christoph Eimmart (1638-1705), with etchings showing a royal feast celebrating the coming of age of King Charles XI of Sweden.

By far the most important documentation of baroque sugar sculpture is to be found in some albums of sketches by Pierre Paul Sévin, a French artist who lived in Rome between 1666 and 1688. Sévin's drawings are chiefly of papal meals with sugar-paste decorations of an intensely religious character. A feast for Maundy Thursday given by Clement IX in the Vatican in 1667 shows a table decorated with angels carrying the instruments of Christ's Passion, all executed in a lively baroque style. Exactly two years later, Clement celebrated the same feast day at a table dominated by a sugar model of Bramante's Tempietto, a centrally planned church in the classical style, surrounded by *trionfi* of the cardinal virtues.

During this period, an important reception in Rome for a foreign monarch or ambassador nearly always featured a table or side-board crowded with these *trionfi da tavola*, usually with an allegorical or political programme, tailor-made for the event. Perhaps the most remarkable of these was a feast given in 1686 by Roger Palmer, the Earl of Castlemaine, who had been sent by James II of England on an embassy to Pope Innocent XI. For over a year, Palmer rented the huge Palazzo Pamphili in the Piazza Navona (now the Brazilian Embassy). The chief purpose of the embassy was to endorse James II's desire to restore Catholicism to England and to get support from the Pope for a war against the Protestant Dutch. The crowning event of the visit was a reception for 86 cardinals, who came to dine in the huge salon on the *piano nobile* (first floor), decorated with frescos by Pietro Cortona. Palmer's steward, the Catholic portrait painter John Michael Wright, organised the occasion. Afterwards he wrote an illustrated work in the European festival book tradition, describing the theatrical display and pomp of the event. This was published in Italian in Rome in 1687, followed by an English version in London in 1688.⁹ The illustrations (engraved by Arnolfo van Westerhout after drawings by Giovanni Battista Lenardi) are the most detailed records we have of Roman baroque sugar sculpture. Wright had trained as an artist in Rome and belonged to the city's Guild of St Luke (the painters' guild). He probably had many contacts among the artistic community in the city and may have chosen the painters, sculptors and artisans who produced the

equipage for the great feast from his own personal friends. We know that Cirro Ferri designed some magnificent coaches for Castlemaine, but it is not clear who produced the remarkable sugar sculpture for the table.

Formality at public occasions reached an apogee at the court of Louis XIV of France. For grand public occasions he still retained the medieval style of dining, in which the separate status of the Lord was emphasized by seating him on one side of a high table (the 'grand couvert' at Versailles).¹⁰ Such a meal required the maximum use of expensive items of plate if it were to have its desired impact. The buffet or sideboard was decorated, as in medieval times, with great quantities of silver and gold laid out solely for display. This was complemented by dining utensils of the greatest refinement and elaboration, many with a specialized function, and often made to match each other, which is essentially the origin of the modern dinner service. This was followed by what in England was called a 'banquet', a separate meal of sweet wine and preserved fruits, which could be taken outside, and required a separate service or set of utensils.

However, in contrast to this Medieval grandeur, a more informal style of dining arose, that rapidly became known throughout Europe as *service à la française*, to emphasize its French origin. As before, the meal was divided into two (or more) courses followed by a dessert consisting of fruit and jams. The essential point was all the separate dishes in each course were laid out around the table symmetrically in groups of four at the same time, and kept warm by means of covers or underdishes of hot water. In the centre was a metal and glass container for condiments or spices called *surtout de table* which became a decorative feature in its own right. These first two courses would have been served on gold or silver, as befitting the grandest ceremony of day.

Dinner was always followed by a separate meal of fruit called *le fruit* or later *dessert* (from *desservir*, to clear the table).¹¹ This was an entirely separate meal of fruits, jams and ice-cream, with a light-hearted character, and was often accompanied by music, dancing or other entertainment. For this lighter course the lighter material of porcelain, imported from the East, was considered especially appropriate, contrasting as it did with the heaviness and formality of the gold and silver used for the first two courses before. The moulded shapes of Japanese porcelain were especially favoured. Dessert was usually associated with the garden and the outside world and was often laid out in pyramids of fruit to give the idea of a garden, something with accompanying figures.¹²

The early eighteenth century saw the sugar sculpture of the dessert having a profound influence on other decorative art forms. These changes seem to have initially taken place at the court of Augustus the Strong in Saxony. This was the first place in Europe to make true hard-paste porcelain like the Chinese and Japanese, at the castle at Meissen from 1708 onwards. Rare oriental porcelain had been the material of choice for serving the foods of the dessert since the early seventeenth century, called the *konfekt* ('confection') on account of the numerous sweet and sugary pastries that were supplied by *konditorei* (confectionery), the equivalent of the French *office* (confectionery/pantry), the department of the kitchen responsible for preparing cold foods. According to surviving inventories of the *hof-konditorei* (royal confectionery), the Dresden court started to use porcelain figures as substitutes for sugar ornaments soon after the foundation of the first European porcelain manufactory at Meissen in 1710.

Porcelain figures were made early on at Meissen, most notably the figures of chinamen by Georg Fritzsche (c.1725); but it was not until the 1730s that it became a staple product, under the skills of the modeller Johann Joachim Kaendler, who developed the genre into the vast array of animated figures that we are familiar with today. It was he who created the vast array of shepherds, shepherdesses, commedia dell'arte figures who peopled the dessert as a substitute for the real characters that had appeared after dinner in the centuries before. The earliest date from about 1735 and the precise date of the modelling of many of them is known from the *Taxa*, the record of work that Kaendler kept for the years 1740-45.¹³ Kaendler's intention in his treatment of them is avowedly satirical, and the figures misbehave with a licence and frivolity that could only have been countenanced at the light-hearted dessert court.¹⁴

However, sugar sculpture was not abandoned, and the Saxon *Hof-Conditorei* continued to list wooden moulds for producing ornaments to be used alongside figures in the new fashionable medium.¹⁵ By the second half of the century, when porcelain factories spread across the whole of Europe, most factories were producing ceramic dessert ornaments, sometimes as complete sets made for important aristocratic patrons. The most famous and artistically fine are perhaps the commedia dell'arte figures produced at Nymphenburg by Franz Anton Bustelli (1723-63), who worked at the factory from 1754. His origins are uncertain; his name suggests an Italian or even Swiss origin, possibly from the Ticino region, but he cannot be certainly connected with anyone listed in local records. The sequence of his works can be reconstructed by a factory lists

from 1755 onwards and the price-list of 1767. All these figures are modelled with a maximum of panache and expression, which hovers on the borders of baroque satire and rococo exuberance. His greatest work was the series of *commedia dell'arte* figures of about 1760 which rank amongst the major achievements of 18th porcelain modelling.¹⁶ However, Bustelli seems to have got little credit for the exuberance of his figures, and died neglected in 1763.

As the century progressed, desserts came to be artistically and intellectually ambitious, and copied the formal gardens of the period. Figures became increasingly sculptural in style and began to consciously copy garden sculpture rather than the gaudy coloured work of the confectioner. Kaendler is recorded as modelling a series of figures of Apollo and the Graces for Frederick the Great of Prussia in 1743-4. In 1745 Kaendler, assisted by the modeller Eberlein, copied in porcelain a fountain with statues which had been erected in Brühl's garden by the architect Zacharias Longuelune and the sculptor Lorenzo Mattielli.¹⁷ A version of the ensemble survives in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and reproduces the Dresden fountain with considerable fidelity in white undecorated porcelain.¹⁸ It is not always clear how such elaborate confections could be brought into the dining-room, but smaller decorations would have been brought in on mirrored trays.¹⁹ This arrangement would appear to be confirmed by one of the few surviving depictions which show an eighteenth century table layout with figures, the feast at the wedding of Joseph II and Isabella of Parma at Vienna in 1760.²⁰

In the 1750s more allegorical subjects became popular, such as groups of Gods and Goddesses, the Four Seasons, and Five Senses. Such figures became standard items of tableware throughout Europe. The Englishman Horace Walpole, in *The World* for February 8th, 1753, wrote on the changes that had taken place in garden design, which were reflected in the dessert course:

Jellies, biscuits, sugar plumbs and creams have long since given way to harlequins, gondoliers, Turks, Chinese and shepherdesses of Saxon china. But these, unconnected, and only seeming to wander among groves of curled paper and silk flowers, were soon discovered to be too insipid and unmeaning. By degrees whole meadows of cattle, of the same brittle materials, spread themselves over the whole table; cottages rose in sugar, and temples in barley-sugar; pigmy Neptunes in cars of cockle-shells triumphed over oceans of looking glass or seas of silver tissue, and at length the whole system of Ovid's metamorphosis succeeded to all the transformations which Chloe and other great professors had introduced into the science of hieroglyphic eating. Confectioners found their trade

moulder away, while toy men and china-shops were the only fashionable purveyors of the last stage of polite entertainments. Women of the first quality came home from Chenevix's (a fashionable china-dealers) laden with dolls and babies, not for their children, but for their housekeeper. At last even these puerile puppet shows are sinking into disuse, and more manly ways of concluding our repasts are established. Gigantic figures succeed to pigmies, and of the present taste, Rysbrack, and other neglected statuataries, who might have adorned Grecian salons, though not Grecian desserts, may come into vogue.²¹

By the middle of the eighteenth century developments in porcelain moved from Germany to France, as a royal porcelain factory was set up at Vincennes and (later) Sèvres. This made not hard-paste but artificial or 'soft-paste' porcelain, which had a thick glaze which tended to obscure details of the modelling. Sèvres turn this to their advantage by producing a range of unglazed 'biscuit' figures which were specifically intended for table decoration. They were first made in 1751.²² The first models were done after drawings by the court artist Francois Boucher (1703-70), who provided thirteen drawings of children, only one of which, 'Le Petit Jardinier', survives in the factory's archives today. The designs were translated into three-dimensions by the sculptural team at the factory in 1753-55, Pierre Blondeau, Louis Félix De La Rue, Jean Baptiste de Fernex and Claude-Louis Suzanne. Some were even modelled by the great sculptor Etienne-Maurice Falconet (1716-91), who was head of the factory's sculpture workshop from 1757 to 1766. They well captured the erotic nature of Boucher's designs, as well as advertising the sculptural possibilities of biscuit porcelain.²³ Their fragility was judged such that prints after some were engraved and advertised in L'Avant-Coureur in 1761 and 1763, in order to record their appearance.²⁴ The number of models after Boucher rose eventually to over seventy; a number were bought by L'Office du Roi, the King's pantry or confectionery, in December, 1767, and again in December, 1769, presumably for use as decoration for the dessert table.²⁵ As late as 1792, the Prince of Wales (later George IV) in London had four Sèvres dessert services and about forty biscuit figures in the 'Confectionary' at his London palace at Carlton House.²⁶

By this period, a horticultural theme had become the favoured motif for a grand dessert. Well-appointed tables were laid in imitation of formal gardens or parks, complete with flower-beds of coloured sugar, gravel walks made from *dragées* (sugared aniseeds), trees of candy and sugar paste figures. The *surtout de table*, originally used for holding

condiments and dragées, evolved into a full-length plateau of looking glass, on which these decorations were arranged. Between 1740 and 1789 an international craze for this kind of setting, popularised by the Bourbon court, swept through the great cities of Europe. Whether entertaining in Venice or Mayfair, it became fashionable for wealthy hosts to have their desserts laid out in the garden manner. In candlelit palazzi on the Grand Canal, tables sparkled with mirrors covered in swirling parterres, triumphal arches and fountains of brightly coloured Murano glass. In 1765 the Duke of Gordon purchased a complete garden dessert from the Berkeley Square confectioner Domenico Negri. For £25-7s-9d, he was able to entertain his friends at a table decorated with a brass-framed plateau adorned with Bow figures, china swans, glass fountains, parterres, a china umbrella and a kaleidoscopic display of sugar plums and bonbons. A surviving trade card advertising Negri's shop is illustrated with fantasy temples, pagodas and fountains.²⁷

Professional French confectioners had started to publish illustrations and do-it-yourself directions to lay out table garden-centrepieces. The first to do so was Menon, whose *La Science du Maître d'Hôtel Confiseur*, published in Paris in 1749, contains detailed etchings of plateau desserts with sugar buildings, balustrades and classical sculpture. The most important of these shows a dessert honouring the sorceress Circe, who through her magical powers turned Ulysses' men into swine. The irony of an allegory of greed would not have been lost on the diners, who had already consumed two or three courses of savoury foods and entremets. Publication of designs of this sort tended to codify these table layouts and spread a taste for them far beyond the royal courts.

Menon's contemporary Joseph Gilliers also published some celebrated plates showing how to lay out a dessert in the most fashionable manner, including one, which illustrates a setting where even the table is in the form of a garden parterre. Gilliers' fantasy table gardens combine standard rococo decorative motifs with chinoiserie elements, which make them more light-hearted than Menon's more formally articulated baroque designs. This was in keeping with prevailing tastes at the court of Louis XV, where a sentimental hedonism prevailed in the matter of laying out a dessert. Ornamental statuary still dominated the tabletop plateau, but at court, it was more likely to be made from porcelain than sugar paste.

Despite the competition of the porcelain factories, confectioners continued to make table ornaments from sugar paste. Gilliers illustrates designs for some very ambitious rococo centrepieces in the form of fountains and candle holders adorned with Chinese peasants and putti.

These would have been a challenge to the most skilled confectioner, as sugar paste is a difficult medium. It dries out quickly on the surface, but remains soft within, which encourages surface cracking if the work is moved. Its extreme elasticity also encourages slumping in large freestanding structures, which as a result require the support of wires or armatures. Despite these limitations, it was used to create the most extraordinary ornamental features.

The middle of the eighteenth century saw a huge sea change in European taste, as the upper classes moved from rococo frivolity to neo-classical seriousness. The greatest prophet of neo-classicism in Germany was of course the writer Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-68), who in his *History of Greek Art* singled out porcelain for criticism, describing it as a 'beautiful material' (*schöne materie*), but claiming that it had never produced a real work of art, and that most porcelain was 'in childish taste' and was used mostly to make 'idiotic puppets', the charming little figures made for the dessert table that are so esteemed today.²⁸ This resulted in table decoration of high-minded seriousness. A *Frauenzimmer-Lexicon* (housewife's manual) of 1773 gives precise instructions for the decorations of dessert, insisting that the housewife has a good knowledge of history and classical mythology:

At the great ceremonial dinners the dessert is often used to display allegorical and figural representations, in the proper arrangement of which considerable knowledge of History, Poetry and Mythology, likewise of Architecture and Perspective is called for. The easiest representations at great desserts are pleasure-gardens, with promenades, buildings, fountains, parterres, vases and statues, of which last the porcelain factories at Meissen, Berlin, Vienna etc, make the prettiest and most decorative pieces and ensembles imaginable, thus saving the confectioner much work.²⁹

These displays seem to have been quite literally talking points: the Confectionery of the Freiherr of Dalbert borrowed cork models of antique buildings for the dessert, so that guests were 'vouchsafed more knowledge and encouraged to use this in the discussion of the most ancient monuments and other works of art'.³⁰ The dessert had been a time for frivolous discussion and flirting, but a new seriousness and heaviness crept in, that spread to the whole dinner service, which now surrounded a magnificent sculptural porcelain centrepiece.

The greatest example of neo-classicism in dinner services was the 'Cameo' service ordered by Catherine the Great of Russia from Sèvres in 1776. Her agent, Prince Grigori Potemkin, wrote that the service should be 'in the best

and newest style, with Her Majesty's monogram on every piece' and 'without any deviation from antique models, with reproductions of cameos'.³¹ It was intended for sixty people, with a centrepiece of ninety-one biscuit figures centred on a bust of Minerva (representing the Empress) surrounded by the muses sculpted by the sculptor Boizot, who had already worked for Catherine in 1769.

Other factories began to make unglazed biscuit porcelain in the manner of Sèvres, thus resembling classical marble figures. Meissen made a wide variety of these figures, usually of classical Gods and heroes, some modelled by Christian Gottfried Jüchtzer (1752-1812), who was appointed chief modeller in 1794, and made much use of the collection of casts from the Mengs collection. The factory at Ludwigsburg is thought to have been the first to make figures in the neo-classical taste, when in 1762 it recruited the modeller Wilhelm Beyer, whom the king had sent to study in Rome to introduce modern ideas to the factory. After his death, the tradition was continued by the modeller J.J. Louis who was brought in from Tournai as *oberbossierer* (chief modeller) in 1762-72. The fashion for French modellers and craftsmen extended to the other factories. The factory at Fürstenburg obtained the services of the French sculptor, Desoches, to act as modeller as early as 1769. He made a range of figures in biscuit, the most notable being busts of Greek philosophers mounted on pedestals, as well as medallions of the royal family.

The porcelain factory that followed the classical style most consistently was that of Naples, close to the ruins of Pompeii and Herculaneum.³² King Ferdinand founded a new factory in the grounds of the royal palace at Portici, to the east of Naples, in 1771. In 1779 he appointed as director Domenico Venuti (1745-1817), a man of great learning and ability, the son of Marcello Venuti, one of the first excavators at Herculaneum. He was himself involved in the restoration and publication of the Greek temples at Paestum, and, not surprisingly under his directorship a number of neo-classical services were made. These include the 'Herculaneum' service of 1781, made as a present for the Spanish court, and the 'Etruscan' service of 1785 presented to George III of Great Britain. They were full of neo-classical imagery, the useful vessels being copied directly from Greek vases.³³ The modeller Filippo Tagliolini (1745-1809) joined the factory from the Vienna factory in 1780, and modelled a wide variety of figures in the classical style, or copied from antique originals; his most ambitious work is a large biscuit centrepiece of many figures in contorted poses of 'The Fall of the Giants' of 1787-92/99.³⁴

However, in the Italian Peninsula emblematic displays of sugar-paste *trionfi* lasted well into the eighteenth century. A confectionery textbook, *Il credenziere de buon gusto*, written by Vincenzo Corrado and published in Naples in 1778, illustrates a dessert table for the month of May with sugar allegorical figures of Primavera, Fame and Partenope, the patron goddess of Naples. Corrado also suggests detailed iconographic schemes for the other eleven months of the year.³⁵

During this period, sugar sculptures continued to be made and the artistic skills of the eighteenth century French confectioner were legendary. However, since their clientele was exclusively aristocratic, the French Revolution of 1789-93 caused many to leave France and seek employment elsewhere. A few came to London, others went further afield, some crossing the Atlantic and taking with them the art of sugar sculpture to the New World. One exiled Parisian sugar ornament maker, Stanislas Lannuier, sold his wares from a confectionery shop in Broadway, New York. In 1805, he advertised 'for sale, independent of his sugar-work, a beautiful assortment of ornaments, including the Equestrian Statue of Great King Frederick'.³⁶

At this time, rapidly altering political and social trends were also bringing about stylistic changes in sugar art. The Napoleonic Wars created a militaristic culture, which found its chief gastronomic expression in victory banquets. Confectioners were in great demand, not to create the hedonistic trifles of the pre-revolutionary aristocracy, but to ornament the tables of conquering heroes with magnificent trophies of war. An austere neo-classicism became the visual language of the genre. In 1820, the confectioner Jarrin recollected a piece he had created for a victory reception for Napoleon,

At a dinner given by the city of Paris to Napoleon, then Emperor of the French, on his triumphant return from Germany, the Author constructed a group, two feet in height; the Emperor, whose figure bore a striking resemblance, was represented standing, and putting up his sword into the sheath, led by Victory, attended by several allegorical figures, which were intended to express the various high qualities so liberally attributed to Napoleon by the French, as long as success attended him. It was made for the centre of a table; and the Emperor, who rarely noticed anything which ornamented the table, observed his portrait, and, with his characteristic attention to works of ingenuity, was pleased to encourage the artist by his approbation.³⁷

In another passage, Jarrin outlined the the skills required by the ornament maker,

The making of articles in gum-paste is one of the most interesting branches of the confectioner's art. This mode of decoration and embellishment was once in great vogue, and the most magnificent and costly ornaments have been made of gum paste; but it has fallen comparatively into disuse: and, what is worse for the confectioner, the fragments of the art have been transferred to pastry-cooks, and cooks, who have at once disfigured, if not destroyed, the most beautiful flower in the banquet of the confectioner. To make gum-paste properly, great care and dexterity, much patience, some knowledge of mythology, of history, and of the arts of modelling and design, are requisite-qualifications seldom possessed by the mere pastry-cook.³⁸

Jarrin obviously recognised that his art was in decline. The aristocratic patronage enjoyed before the Revolution had vanished and, as a result, the French *officier* (confectioner) was beginning to lose his high social status. His role was being combined with that of the *patissier*, whose position in the kitchen hierarchy had formerly been much lower, closer to that of a mere baker.

One of the pastry cooks that Jarrin almost certainly had in mind in his jealous attack was the celebrated Parisian patissier Marie-Antoine Carême (1724-1835). This moody and highly creative individual was certainly the most influential culinary professional of the nineteenth century, and his profusely illustrated books codified high-class cookery for the best part of a century. His designs for *pièces montées* and ornamental pastry in the form of classical ruins, Swiss chalets and obelisks, were slavishly copied by his disciples and were still being executed by catering students and competition chefs well into the second half of the twentieth century.

We have some firm, tangible evidence for this period in the form of a collection at the Bowes Museum acquired with the help of the Art Fund and the Heritage Lottery Fund in 2002. This remarkable assemblage of equipment is probably unique. It consists of forty-seven hardwood boards, many of them carved on both sides on blocks of boxwood, with a total of 730 individual intaglio impressions. Stylistically, most of the moulds appear to date from between 1825 and 1830 and would have been used to create sugar table ornaments of a Percier and Fontaine (Empire) style. A few are certainly earlier, with motifs associated with the period just before the French Revolution of 1789.

Four of the moulds are signed with the name Duteille, with an address in the Rue de la Consonnerie, Paris, while six others bear the name of Prati. This name also appears on a metal stamp, which has been used to brand the owner's name on the moulds. There is also a boxwood form for constructing baskets, which is stamped with Prati's name. Some of the moulds are partially carved. One has some designs drawn on its blank side, but the carving has not been started. At this period, confectioners frequently carved their own moulds, so it is possible that Prati created some of these moulds for his own use. Complementing this are twenty-seven sheets of pencil drawings and watercolour designs of ornaments. They were used as the basis of a reconstruction of a complete table centrepiece with accompanying decoration in an exhibition in 2002.³⁹

Sugar sculpture continued to be made in the late nineteenth century, but increasingly it was out of step with developments in art and fashions in dining. By the 1850s most households had adopted the new fashion of *service à la russe*, imported from Russia, whereby each dish was carved or jointed at the sideboard and served individually in succession,⁴⁰ although it required more servants and cutlery.⁴¹ Table decorations began to take the form of flower decoration and comports of fruit that we know today. There was now little demand for the fanciful porcelain figures of the eighteenth century for dessert decoration, and by 1835 the German writer Eichendorff records a last sight of them on display during the preparations for a country birthday party, in a garden room: 'a long table was already decorated for the celebration, colourful confectionery shimmered between the artfully folded napkins, in the middle was a magnificent, old fashioned centrepiece with wax orange trees and porcelain figures of gods, which were reflected in the mirrored plateau below as if in a lake'.⁴²

Sugar sculpture was now reserved for the ultimate 'luxury' of kings and princes, whose wealth supported taste that tended to the elaborate. Throughout the nineteenth and into the early years of the twentieth century, most court confectioners and chefs were inspired by Carême's elaborate approach to presentation. Many of the great chefs had been his students, including Eustace Ude, Charles Elme Francatelli and Jules Gouffe, who all had a profound admiration for their master. In the entire history of gastronomy, food preparation had never been so complex and mould dependant. As well as sugar-paste, every kind of comestible was skilfully transformed into works of art - ice creams in the form of courting doves, jellies that sliced into royal coats of arms and intricate socles moulded from lard. These excesses reached their apogee during the Second Empire of Napoleon III (1852-1871). The most influential

chef/confectioner during this period was Urbain Dubois, who together with his colleague Emile Bernard, became *chef de cuisine* to Wilhelm I of Prussia. At Wilhelm's court, the two French masters designed and created intricate foods and sugar sculpture that reflected the Kaiser's two favourite pastimes, hunting and warfare. In their co-authored book, *La Cuisine Classique*, published in Paris in 1864, they illustrated some of their remarkable sugar-work and food sculpture. They created gum-paste gothic spires for the emperor nearly two metres high and extraordinary entrees mounted on socles, moulded from a fine white suet rendered down from the fat around calves kidneys. These extraordinary structures were constructed on armatures made from pasteboard. The fat was probably pushed into the same kind of wooden moulds that were used for pressing sugar paste ornaments.

The First World War put paid to this manner of dining, as it did to so many social fashions that had lasted centuries. A vivid account can be read in the autobiography of the royal cook, Gabriel Tschumi, who started at Buckingham Palace in the reign of Queen Victoria, continued with Edwardian excesses into the twentieth century, and then lost his job during the downsizing during the Depression of the 1930s. When he started work in 1898, Buckingham Palace employed over 300 people; this went down to 200 on the accession of Edward VII in 1901, and with the Depression went down to 180. However, the Edwardian period can hardly be described as a period of retrenchment, and he remembers the extravagance of the Edwardian period, when even dishes of salmon, foie gras or pheasant were thrown away if they were not absolutely perfect. He is explicit on the skills of the confectioners before the First World War, when they might spend three days to make a sugar basket of sugar paste, measuring 6 by 4 inches, and concludes 'I have never seen such skills and craftsmanship as that of the Palace confectioners during King Edward's reign'. The real shock came with the First World War, when breakfast for the royal family was reduced from eight courses to two.⁴³

Sugar sculpture seems to have ceased gracing the tables of the rich after the First World War. However, many married couples will remember their most vivid and encounter with sugar sculpture in the form of a three tier wedding cake, celebrating their personal happiness rather than their political stance, a descendant of a tradition that began several hundred years ago.

¹ Michelangelo Buonorroti il Giovane, *Descrizione della felicissime nozze della Christianissima Maesta Maria Regia Regina di Francia e di Navarre*, Florence 1600, p. 16.

² Mark Girouard, *Life in the English Country House*, London, 1978, plate 1, p.41.

³ S.Bursche, *Tafelzier des Barock*, Munich, 1974, fig.2.

⁴ A dinner given by Gaston de Foix in 1458 comprised seven courses, the fifth of which was given to custards and tarts, and the last to sweet things and confections. W.E.Head, *The English Medieval Feast*, London, 1931, p.160.

⁵ Giovanni Pontano, *I trattati delle virtu sociali*, Naples, 1498, discusses dining as one of five social virtues, including conviviality, splendour and magnificence. See Richard A. Goldthwaite, *Wealth and the Demand for Art in Italy 1300-1600*, Baltimore, 1993, p.245

⁶ Léon de Labordé, *Les Ducs de Bourgogne*, Paris, 1851, Vol. 2 p., 338.

⁷ Ivan Day, *The Honours of the Table*. In Brown, Peter, *British Cutlery*. Philip Wilson. London 2001.

⁸ Theodor Graminaeus, *Beschreibung*, Cologne, 1587.

⁹ John Michael Wright, *Ragvaglio della solenne comparsa*, Rome, 1687. An English version (not an exact translation) was published a year later in London - Wright, John Michael. *An Account of his Excellence Roger, Earl of Castlemaine's Embassy*. London 1688.

¹⁰ Our best contemporary witness is the English writer Giles Rose, who in 1681 published a translation of a French textbook on etiquette which accurately reflects contemporary usage in France: he specifies various household officers in attendance, amongst whom we can recognize the descendants of the medieval butler, carver and sewer: the Master of the Household, the Master Carver, the Master Butler (who deals with the plate, including the Bason and Ewer, the Essay Cup and Cadnet [a personal cutlery and napkin tray for the Lord], Flagons, Salts, Plates, Spoons, Forkes, Knives, Riders for Places [underdishes?], Table-cloths, Napkins), the Master Cook, the Master Confectioner and the Master Pastryman. These latter two were responsible for the cold confection at the end of the meal that is based on the sixteenth century *banquet* and was soon to be called the *dessert*. Rose goes on to describe the preparations for a grand dinner in some detail, giving precise instructions as to the behaviour of the servants: 'The hour of Meals being come, and all things are now in a readiness, le Maistre Hostel takes a clean Napkin, folded at length, but narrow, and throws it over his Shoulder...and being come into the Hall, where the Company are to eat, he pulls off his Hat, but immediately puts it on again upon his Head, and so proceeds to the covering of the Table with Dishes and Plates, beginning at the upper end and continuing till he comes at the lower end...he should begin...at the upper end of the Table, but set on the first Dish at the right side of the Cadnet or Cover (which is always set if any great person is to be treated) and the next on the left side of the Cover, with a Plate upon a Rider between the two

Dishes against the Salt-seller [sic], doing this all a long till he come to the lower end with the last dish'. He then goes on to explain that all the guests wipe their hands on a towel, and that the second course is followed by a banquet. Giles Rose *A School of Instructions* (1681)(a translation of the French *Escole Parfaite des Officiers de Bouche*), p.4

¹¹ Bésongne, in the *Etat de la France pour 1694* gives two descriptions of a dessert, according to whether it is for the *Grand Couvert*, the dinner that the King took in public, or for the *Petit Couvert*, when he dined in private: for the *Grand Couvert* 'the fruit is composed of two large basins containing raw fruit, in porcelain, and two other plates with all sorts of dry jams made in cups, also in porcelain...at the petit Couvert, two small plates of raw fruit, and four compotes or liquid jams in porcelain 'Fruit est composé de 2 grand bassins de fruits crud dans de porcelaines, et 2 autres plats de toutes sortes de confitures sèches faites au goblet, aussi en porcelaine...Au petit couvert, 2 petits plats de fruit crud, de confitures sèches dressés dans des porcelaines, et de 4 compotes ou confitures liquides en porcelaine', E.Auscher, op.cit,p.23

¹² An illustration of such a device being brought into a dance at the Court of Louis XIV can be seen in Thornton, op.cit, fig.74. They were somewhat precarious; Madame de Sevigné refers to a disaster when the pyramid of fruit was much too high and with twenty porcelains, was completely overturned at the door, the noise of which silenced the violins, oboes, and trumpets, Wheaton, op. cit, p.188

¹³ E.Pauls-Eisenbeiss, *German Porcelain of the 18th century: the Pauls-Eisenbeiss Collection*, London, 1972, p.24

¹⁴ As it is difficult tracing specific instances of humour at the Court of Augustus the Strong, an example from the Court of Russia must suffice. In 1740 the Empress Anne forced the weak-willed Prince Galitzin, still only a court page although in his forties, to marry the hideous Avdotaya Ivanovna (nicknamed Bujenina or pork stew) in a special ceremony in the winter of 1739-40. The wedding procession consisted of members of the 'Barbarous' races of Lapps, Kirghiz, Tunguses, Tartars and Finns, seated in sleighs drawn by goats, pigs, cows, camel, dogs and reindeer. After a wedding feast consisting of crude national dishes - where the unfortunate pair were read an ode 'Greetings to the Bridal Pair of Fools' - the happy couple were led to a palace constructed completely of ice, where they consummated their marriage on a bed of ice. L.Kelly, *St.Petersburg: a traveller's companion*, London, 1981

¹⁵ Maureen Cassidy Geiger, *Hof Conditerei and Court Celebrations in 18th century Dresden The International Ceramics Fair & Seminar* [handbook], 2002, pp.20-35; *Von Zucker und Silber zum Porzellan; die Konditerei und die öffentliche Tafel in Dresden under Augustus III 'Keramos'* vol. 198, 2007, pp.31-48

¹⁶ R.Rückert, *The Nymphenburg Commedia dell'Arte* by Franz Anton Bustelli, *Christies Review of the Season 1977*, pp.370-373; Michael Newman, *The Comedians of Franz Antony Bustelly* [sic], Swanage, 1998.

¹⁷ We are fortunate in having an eye-witness account of its use at dessert from the British ambassador to Poland, who saw it in 1748, 'I was once at a Dinner where we sat down at one table two hundred and six People (twas Count Bruhl's). When the Dessert was set

on, I thought it was the most wonderful thing I ever beheld. In the middle of the Table was the Fountain of the Piazza Navona at Rome [Hanbury-Williams is here confusing the two fountains], at least eight foot high, which ran all the while with Rose-water, and 'tis said that Piece alone cost six thousand Dollars', R.J.Charleston, *The James A.De Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor: Meissen and Oriental Porcelain*, Fribourg, 1971, p.17.

¹⁸ Reinheckel, 1989, op.cit. p.47.

¹⁹ The sale catalogue of the Frenchman Roussel of 1769 lists '*Vingt & un Plateaux de cuivre argenté, garnis de glaces, a l'usage des Desserts, avec plusieurs petites figures de porcelaine, & autres ornemens assortissans*'.R.Savill, *The Wallace Collection: Catalogue of Sèvres Porcelain*, London, 1988, p.820.

²⁰ R.Schimdt, *Porcelain as an Art and a Mirror of Fashion*, London, 1932, p.299.

²¹ quoted in T.Friedman. T.Clifford et al, *The Man at Hyde Park Corner: Sculpture by John Cheere 1709-1787*, Leeds, 1974.

²² The factory's sales records shows that between two and twenty-one children after Boucher were delivered with prestigious services ranging from the Empress's Maria Theresa in 1758; through to the Duke of Bedford's in 1763, Madame du Barry's in 1769 and the Prince de Rohan in 1771. In 1767 and again in 1769 such sculptures were bought from the factory *Pour L'Office du Roi*, the official body concerned with preparing the dessert, C.C.Dauterman, 'Sèvres Figure Painting in the Anna Thompson Dodge Collection', *The Burlington Magazine*, 118, 1976, p.754. As late as 1792, the Prince of Wales (later George IV) had four Sèvres dessert services and about forty biscuit figures in the 'Confectionary' at his London palace at Carlton House (G.de Bellaigue, *Sèvres: Porcelain from the Royal Collection*, London, 1979, p.7

²³ C.C.Dauterman, 'Sèvres Figure Painting in the Anna Thompson Dodge Collection', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXVIII, November, 1976, p.754

²⁴ '*Les morceaux exécutés à la manufacture royale de porcelaine de Sèvres sont la plupart dignes de subsister plus longtemps que ne le permet la fragilité de cette matière. On vient donc d'en former une suite de plances qui feront survivre ces pièces a elles-mêmes; elles sont toutes la composition de M. Boucher*', R. Savill, 'Francois Boucher and the Porcelains of Vincennes and Sèvres', *Apollo*, 115, 1982, pp.162-170.

²⁵ C.C.Dauterman, 'Sèvres Figure Painting in the Anna Thompson Dodge Collection', *The Burlington Magazine*, CXVIII, November, 1976, p.754.

²⁶ G.de Bellaigue, *Sèvres: Porcelain from the Royal Collection*, London, 1979, p.7.

²⁷ Heal, Ambrose, *London Tradesmen's Cards of the XVIII Century*, Batsford Ltd., London, 1925.

²⁸ '*von kindischem Geschmack*' and '*lächerliche Puppen*'; J.J.Winkelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums, 1763-68*, Donaueschingen, 1825, p.119.

²⁹ R.J.Charleston, *The James A.De Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor: Mounted and other European Porcelain*, Fribourg, 1971, p.17.

³⁰ *'Gästen notorisch mehr Kenntnisse zu gewähren und diese zu Unterhaltungen über die ältesten Denkmale und andere Gegenstände der Kunst zu ermuntern'*, quoted in U.Erichsen-Firle, *Kunstgewerbemuseum der Stadt Köln: Figürliches Porzellan*, Cologne, 1975, p.20

³¹ R.Savill, 'Cameo Fever': Six Pieces from the Sèvres Porcelain Dinner Service made for Catherine II of Russia', *Apollo*, 116, 1982, pp.304, *'sans aucun chantournement sur des modèles antiques avec des reproductions de camées'*. A document was prepared to explain how the commission was to be tackled, which explicitly rejected the style of Meissonier and La Joue: *'Ce service ne pouvait être exécuté sur les formes actuellement usitées à la manufacture de Sèvres, quelque agréables qu'elles paraissent à des yeux accoutumés au prestige des contours que Meissonier et La Joue introduisirent, il y a environ quarante ans, dans les ornemens de notre architecture et qui successivement passèrent dans notre ameublement et notre vaisselle. Le gout sévère des anciens artistes de la Grèce et de Rome bannit bientôt ces formes irrégulières et baroque de notre architecture; mais l'orphèvrerie y est restée assujétie pour le service de nos tables'*. With this in mind the designers did careful research: *'On a rassemblé parmi les originaux de l'antiquité qui ont échappé au temps ce que les artistes de la Grèce et de Rome ont produisait d'élégant dans les formes de dans les dessins; c'est dans ces recueils qu'on a fit un choix pour composer les pièces de ce service'*.

³² His general work on antiquities in Naples led to him being entitled 'General Superintendent of the antiquities of the Kingdom, of the excavations, both public and private, and president of the council for the royal museums'. A.Gonzalez-Palacios in 'The Golden Age of Naples: Art and Civilization Under the Bourbons 1734-1805', *Detroit and Chicago*, 1981, p.337

³³ The 'Herculaneum' service included centrepieces comprising busts of Scipio, Seneca, Pallas, Jupiter Ammon and others, and a biscuit group of 'Charles II exhorting his son Ferdinand to pursue the excavations'. An explanatory book of engravings was published by Venuti to accompany the service. The 'Etruscan Service' of 282 pieces was sent to George III of England in 1787. Like the Herculaneum Service, it was described by Venuti in a separate publication. The soup-dishes, tureens, compotiers and so on are adapted from ancient Greek vases in the red-figure or black-figure styles, and the plates painted on a tin-glazed ground with depictions of actual vases found at Nola and elsewhere in the Kingdom of Naples. The aim of the gift of the service was to obtain English naval know-how to rebuild the Neapolitan fleet; most of the service survives today at Windsor Castle, but not the centrepiece of Tarchon, King of the Etruscans, presiding over Gladiatorial contests. For lesser markets the factory also made a large variety of tablewares painted with scenes from Antiquity, and of local customs and dress. Straight copies of antique statues were also made by the

engraver Giovanni Volpato at his factory in the via Pudenziana, Rome (founded 1785). In a letter written in 1786 he stated that, 'its main object is to reproduce in biscuit the most beautiful antiquities - statues, low reliefs and ornaments - that are found in such great numbers in this realm, to replace the ridiculous dolls which are used on dining- and side-tables'. A price-list of his work in the Victoria and Albert Museum includes copies after the Apollo Belvedere and the Sleeping Faun. H. Honour, 'Statuettes after the Antique: Volpato's Roman Porcelain Factory', *Apollo*, May, 1967, LXXXV, pp.371-4.

³⁴ A. Gonzalez-Palacios, 'Lo scultore Filippo Tagliolini e la porcellane di Napoli', *Archivi d'Arte Antica* c.1988.

³⁵ Corrado, Vincenzo *Il credenziere di buon gusto*. Naples 1778, pp. 55-62.

³⁶ Kenny, Peter M., *Honoré Lannuier: Cabinet Maker from Paris*. New York 1998

³⁷ Jarrin, p. 198.

³⁸ Jarrin pp.197-8.

³⁹ Ivan Day, *Royal Sugar sculpture: 600 years of splendour*, The Bowes Museum, Barnard Castle, 2002.

⁴⁰ However, the writer Thomas Walker observed in the 1850s that 'The present system I consider thoroughly tainted with barbarism and vulgarity and far removed from real and refined enjoyment. As tables are now arranged, one is never at peace from an arm continually taking off and setting on a side dish, or reaching over to a wine-cooler in the centre. Then comes the more laborious changing of courses with leanings right and left, to admit a host of dishes, that are set on, only to be taken off again, after being declined in succession by each of the guests, to whom they are handed around', T.Walker, *The Original*, quoted in Philippa Pullar, *Consuming Passions*, London, 1970, p.196.

⁴¹ Mrs. Beeton commented on its greater convenience, but observed that 'Dinners à la Russe are scarcely suitable for small establishments; a large number of servants being required to carve, and to help the guests; besides there being a necessity for more plates, dishes, knives, forks, and spoons, than are usually to be found in any other than a very large establishment. Where, however, a service à la Russe is practicable, there is, perhaps, no mode of serving a dinner as enjoyable as this'. I.Beeton, *The Book of Household Management*, London, 1861, pp.954-5.

⁴² Eichendorff, *Dichter und ihre Gesellen*, vol.1, chapter 12, quoted in U.Erichsen-Firle, *Kunstgewerbemuseum der Stadt Köln: Figürliches Porzellan*, Cologne, 1975, p.20, 'war eine lange Tafel schon festlich gedeckt, buntes Naschwerk schimmerte zwischen den künstlich gefalteten Servietten, in der Mitte ein prächtiger, altmodischer Aufsatz mit Pomeranzenbäumchen von Wachs und porzellanenen Götterfiguren, die sich in dem Spiegelboden, wie in einem Weiher verdoppten'.

⁴³ Gabriel Tschumi *Royal Chef: Recollections of life in royal households from Queen Victoria to Queen Mary* London, 1954, pp.31, 49-50, 100, 137.