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# Ars Ceramica

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President's Letter	4
The Power of Porcelain: The Gardner Order Services for the Empress of Russia by Scott Ruby	6
Missing the Mark? Bacchus and the Panther, and the Wedgwood Connection by Jeffrey Tulman	15
The Buten Wedgwood Collection: From Long Island to Birmingham, Alabama by Anne Forschler-Tarrasch	22
Harry Buten: Wedgwood Collector by Kenyon Holder	30
Staffordshire Figures and Aspects of the English Landscape Part 5: Movement in the Landscape: Traveling Shows and Menageries by Robert Harrison	40
Elijah Mayer's Caneware Masterwork by David M. Pendergast	71

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**On the cover: a Wedgwood & Bentley portrait medallion of the Empress Catherine II of Russia.** White on blue jasperware, c. 1775, impressed Wedgwood & Bentley mark, 4 7/8" x 3 1/2" (12.4 x 8.9 cm). Brooklyn Museum, Gift of Emily Winthrop Miles, 59.202.6. Catherine the Great (1729-1796), although "German by birth and French by education,"<sup>1</sup> became one of the most successful rulers of Russia. She aimed at opening up Russia to influences from the west, and in an age of enlightenment, she was influenced by the French philosophers, especially Voltaire. Her personal life may have left much to be desired, but even the Victorian Eliza Meteyard had grudgingly to note that "[t]he Semiramis of the North – coarse, licentious and brutal as she was – had yet enough of the woman in her to be at times influenced by the arts of civilisation."<sup>2</sup> Catherine was a great patron of the arts, her interest in ceramics being shown by ordering two services of Wedgwood's cream-colored earthenware. One of these was the hand-painted "Frog" service, most of which is still in the Hermitage in St. Petersburg. She also encouraged the manufacture of porcelain in Russia, where the Gardner Porcelain Manufactory had been founded near Moscow in 1766. Commencing in 1777, Catherine commissioned this factory to produce several services bearing the insignia of the major military and state orders awarded by imperial Russia. These Gardner Order Services, illustrated by examples from the Hillwood Estate, are the subject of Scott Ruby's article commencing on page 6.

<sup>1</sup> H.A.L. Fisher, *A History of Europe* (London, 1936), p. 724.

<sup>2</sup> Eliza Meteyard, *The Life of Josiah Wedgwood* (London, 1865-66), vol. II, p. 273.

# The Power of Porcelain: The Gardner Order Services for the Empress of Russia

by Scott Ruby

In the history of Russian porcelain the story of the Gardner order services stands out in high relief. Porcelain from the beginning of its development in Europe was used as a tool of diplomacy and statecraft, but it developed an even more pointed political message in eighteenth-century Russia, where it was used to display the various insignia of the most prestigious military and state orders awarded by imperial Russia. The purpose of these porcelain services was to embellish the banquet tables of the knights of the orders who gathered each year festively to commemorate the saint to whom their order was dedicated. The Hillwood Museum in Washington, D.C. contains a fine array of these porcelains, from the collection of Marjorie Merriweather Post. The order services were first created during the reign of Catherine II (the Great) for the Orders of St. George the Victorious, St. Andrew the First-Called, St. Alexander Nevskii, and St. Vladimir.

A wide variety of political, economic, and cultural developments brought sweeping changes to Russian life in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. One innovation was the introduction of the order, a new type of award in Russia. This honor

became ensconced in the repertoire of official accolades.<sup>1</sup> The orders, based on Western European models, bestowed an elite status on the recipient. Their physical symbols included a sash, a star-like badge, a cross, and sometimes a collar, which were immediately recognizable status symbols in Russia, indicating the tsar's favor and the wearer's associations with the highest echelons of society.

Each year in the Winter Palace, there were festive receptions to honor the cavaliers of the four highest orders of Russia. The celebrations began with a liturgy to honor the particular order's titular saint, which was followed by processions and a banquet. Catherine II (*figure 1*) played host at these dinners.<sup>2</sup> Dressed in military uniform, she personally ladled the soup into the bowls of the knights and filled their glasses with wine.<sup>3</sup> The military officers and nobles who swept Catherine into power in 1762 made the empress forever loyal to them, and their induction into the various orders was a way of assuring them of her favor and good will.<sup>4</sup>

One of the major problems with the order services is who first came up with the idea of having special porcelain services decorated with the emblems of various Russian orders.<sup>5</sup> Perhaps it was the empress's own idea to enhance the festivity of the meals with a special set of porcelain.<sup>6</sup> Unfortunately, not enough information exists to answer this question decisively. Whoever originated the idea, these porcelains represent the first time such insignia were used in the story of European porcelain.<sup>7</sup>

## The Gardner Porcelain Manufactory

The commission for the order services was given to the Gardner Porcelain Manufactory, which was one of the first Russian private porcelain factories. It was founded in 1766 by the intrepid British merchant Francis Gardner in the village of Verbilki, in the Dmitrov District near Moscow. Gardner emigrated to Russia in 1746, although little documentation exists to elucidate his activities prior to the commission of the order services by the empress. We do know that he founded a porcelain manufactory in 1765.<sup>8</sup> Production was established with the aid of a talented Russian





**Figure 1:** Portrait of Catherine II, c. 1788. Attributed to Dimitri Grigor'evich Levitskii (1735-1822). Oil on canvas, 106" (269.2 cm) h., 73" (185.5 cm) w. Hillwood Estate, Museum & Gardens. Bequest of Marjorie Merriweather Post, 1973 (51.56). Photograph by E. Owen.





**Figure 2:** Leaf-shaped dish from the order of St. George Service, Gardner Factory, Verbilki, 1777-1799, 9 11/16" (26.0 cm) dia. Mark: G in underglaze blue. Hillwood Estate, Museum & Gardens. Bequest of Marjorie Merriweather Post, 1973 (25.6.10). Photograph by E. Owen.

ceramist, A. Grebebenschikov and a chemist Franz Hattenberger. The production manager was J. Meisner, from Saxony, and the painter was J. Kästner, while design was under the control of Gavril Kozlov. Employing seventy people in 1771, ten years later the number of employees had grown to 150. Early products were marked on the base with a faint impressed circle, which was sometimes accompanied by the letter G in underglaze blue.<sup>9</sup>

The order services were inspired by the Berlin Service presented to Catherine II by Frederick the Great of Prussia in

1772. This is especially apparent in the rounded or oval bowls made to resemble leaves (*figure 2*); although this was a stylistic device common in Western European rococo design, the form was new to Russia.<sup>10</sup>

The designs for the order services were created by the painter and designer Gavril Koslov.<sup>11</sup> The designs have been characterized as laconic but possessing great decorative power—they incorporated all the insignia of the orders, their colored ribbons, their crosses, their chains, their stars, etc. Koslov was a self-taught artist who

came from the family of Prince Tiuaafkin, and who at the age of fifteen joined a group of Moscow artists who were later invited to St. Petersburg to work on the construction of the imperial palace.<sup>12</sup>

Kozlov worked on projects at the Winter and Summer Palaces in St. Petersburg and at Peterhof in Oranienbaum. In 1761, at the age of twenty-three, he was invited to teach at the St. Petersburg Academy of Arts, and later became an adjunct professor there. Kozlov worked in a neoclassical style and as his career progressed he became more and more interested in the decorative arts. It was Kozlov who in the 1760s had created the designs for the Orlov Service. In 1772 he was involved in a competition to create medals of Peter I and Catherine II. A notation about the order services received on May 22, 1778 notes that the Order of St. George service came from "Professor Kozlov, who created the drawings for the porcelain dessert service created by the Gardner factory."<sup>13</sup>

### The Order of St. George Service

One example of how Catherine used the orders to assure the loyalty and devotion of her subjects and to reward outstanding service to the crown was the founding of the Order of St. George in 1769. This was a very timely event as it recognized the generals and officers for their conspicuous bravery and devotion to Russia during the Empire's struggles with Ottoman Turkey. The Order of St. George remained for many years the highest military distinction; it was such a high honor that throughout the years of its existence, from 1769 until the Revolution in 1917, only twenty-five members were ever inducted into the highest rank of the order. The order had four



classes—the highest reserved only for those who had passed through its three lower ranks. The members of the highest class included illustrious military figures, such as Alexander Suvorov, Mikhail Kutuzov, Prince Grigory Potemkin and Pyotr Rumyantsev-Zadunaysky.<sup>14</sup>

Catherine the Great ordered the first porcelain service incorporating the insignia of the Order of St. George in 1777 (figure 3). Gardner may have interested the empress in commissioning work from him by presenting her with a gift of porcelains. Ross postulates that a group of porcelains in the State Historical Museum, Moscow, which bear the cipher of Catherine, may be the very items used for this gift.<sup>15</sup> Eighty place settings for the Order of St. George service were completed in 1778 at a cost of six thousand roubles. One of the motifs employed in this service was a gold four-sided star-badge which featured the letters СГ (SG—St. George) in a roundel at its center. These letters are surrounded by an annulet bearing the motto: ЗА СЛУЖБУ И ХРАБРОСТЬ (For Service and Bravery). The service is decorated with the alternating orange and black striped sash of the order, which is intertwined with slender green foliate sprays. The cross of the order is white bordered in gold, with an image of St. George slaying the dragon at its center. In addition, there were special gilded forks and knives made for this service with porcelain handles also decorated with the order's orange and black ribbon.<sup>16</sup> One of the recurring motifs used as a finial for various forms, such as ice cup lids, is a small squirrel nibbling on a nut (figure 4).

The squirrel image, which was drawn from a book of symbols popular in the eighteenth century entitled *Symbola et Emblemata*,<sup>17</sup>



**Figure 3:** Dessert plate from the Order of St. George Service, Gardner Factory, Verbilki, 1777-1799, 9 5/6" (23.5 cm) dia. Mark: G 37 in underglaze blue. Hillwood Estate, Museum & Gardens. Bequest of Marjorie Merriweather Post, 1973 (25.1.32). Photograph by E. Owen.

includes the phrase —“Without labor it cannot be gained.” Thus the tiny squirrel cracking a nut was meant to symbolize the great efforts needed to gain admission to the order.<sup>18</sup>

Regarding the delivery of the service, Gardner announced that the service would be carefully packed and sealed in special crates for delivery. Gardner received an advance of five thousand roubles in a letter dated 12 July 1778. Chests filled with the order service were shipped to St. Petersburg between 31 July and 25 October 1778.<sup>19</sup>

The shipment was accompanied by an inventory which enumerated the contents of the cases that were shipped to St.

Petersburg. For example there were 156 deep dishes, 148 flat dishes, thirteen baskets with elongated handles, ten regular size dishes, twelve large bowls, sixteen standard size bowls, and a small sized one as well. There were also nine leaf dishes with elongated handles, twelve medium sized reticulated bowls, and eleven bowls of the same type but slightly smaller. In addition there were thirteen ice cups with handles, twelve smaller cups, twelve shell-shaped dishes, 174 drinking cups of various sorts, and covered cups. Of the above mentioned drinking cups ninety-eight were painted with the order decorations, and seventy-six left without them. Finally, there were 163 knives and





**Figure 4:** Ice cup from the Order of St. George Service, Gardner Factory, Verbilki, 1777-1799, 4¾" (12.0 cm) h. Marks: G in underglaze blue, and impressed O 42. Hillwood Estate, Museum & Gardens. Bequest of Marjorie Merriweather Post, 1973 (25.4.7-8). Photograph by E. Owen.

one hundred forks with porcelain handles.<sup>20</sup>

The porcelain service was first used on St George's Day 1778 for a festive banquet celebrating the ninth anniversary of the founding

of the order. Thereafter, it was used for all subsequent celebrations of the feast of St. George until the revolution.

By the middle of 1778 Gardner reported to the Empress on the

progress of the St. George Service. He described the outstanding quality of the service as well as the fact that it was now in the final stages of production. He also wrote about the St. Andrew Service (see below), and indicated that it was much more difficult to create because of the more complicated design demands of the composition (especially rendering the ornate collar of the order). However, since Gardner considered the commission to be of major importance, the factory was experimenting with different clays for the body. Clearly this was an attempt to improve the quality of the porcelain. The factory's products often included quite a few flaws; however such imperfections could not be tolerated in a service destined for the empress.

Consequently many pieces had to be abandoned and made again.<sup>21</sup> The constitution of the porcelain of the order services of St. George and St. Andrew the First-Called is of a thick, heavy consistency, off-white in color, with a considerable number of pittings and surface blemishes under the glaze. The larger more noticeable defects were concealed by the painted decorations and gilding. White engobe was also used to disguise any additional surface problems.<sup>22</sup>

### **The Order of St. Andrew the First-Called Service**

The empress's satisfaction with the St. George Service undoubtedly explains why Gardner was given commissions for two additional services. In 1777 the empress ordered a service for the Order of St. Andrew the First-Called, which had been founded in 1698 by Peter I (*figure 5*).

As Valentina Nikitina relates, Tsar Peter created this order and first presented it in Moscow on



March 10, 1699 to Admiral-General and Field Marshall Fedor Golovin. The choice of St. Andrew as the order's patron was not a random selection. In the draft of the statute for the order, which was composed with the tsar's participation, the selection of St. Andrew was accounted for by the desire "to hand down to posterity the glorious memory of our first teacher in Christianity and the apostle of the Russian land."<sup>23</sup>

Nikitina goes on to explain that the head of the Order of St. Andrew was the tsar himself, although he awarded it to his closest associates before receiving it himself. The tsar was awarded the order in 1703, after a naval battle with the Swedes, and thereby became the sixth person to receive the order. This most exalted

of Russian orders was given to members of the royal family, heads of foreign states, diplomats, high-ranking officials, and generals. The most celebrated Russian military commanders of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were among its recipients. Two of its noted recipients were the great military heroes, Alexander Suvorov and Mikhail Kutuzov. The latter was particularly famous for his role in the defeat of Napoleon in 1812. Many orders had several classes; however the Order of St. Andrew was different in that it had only one class. Its insignia consisted of four elements: a gold cross, a blue ribbon, an eight-pointed star and a gold collar (figure 6), an example of which is also in the collections of Hillwood.<sup>24</sup>



**Figure 5:** Leaf-shaped dish from the Order of St. Andrew the First Called Service, Gardner Factory, Verbilki, eighteenth century, 12¼" (31.1 cm) dia. Mark: G in underglaze blue. Hillwood Estate, Museum & Gardens. Bequest of Marjorie Merriweather Post, 1973 (25.12.3). Photograph by E. Owen.



**Figure 6:** Collar of the Order of St. Andrew the First Called, gold and enamel, second half of the nineteenth century, 40" (101.6 cm) l. Manufactured by Keibel, St. Petersburg, workmaster Alexander Kordes. Marks: crossed anchors and scepter for St. Petersburg, 56, Keibel in script, double headed eagle for imperial warrant on all links except those with cross; these are marked with AK for Aleksandr Kordes and warrant, chain link attached to crown of badge also has AK. IK on badge on back of cross for logan Wilhelm Keibel (1809-1841); Za veru i vernost (For Faith and Loyalty); Keibel; Moscow; two P's for Peter; S.A.P.R. (Sanctus Andreas Patronus Russiae). Hillwood Estate, Museum & Gardens. Bequest of Marjorie Merriweather Post, 1973 (18.1). Photograph by E. Owen.

In 1777 Catherine commissioned the St. Andrew Service, the smallest of all the order services, for only thirty place settings. The number of knights currently belonging to this order never exceeded thirty. Around the edge of the plates was the colorful chain of the Order of St. Andrew, while other objects, such as cream cups, were decorated with the order's pale blue ribbon and cross. Although the smallest service, it was the most costly as the decoration of the collar of the order was so intricate and elaborate. The collar consisted of various enameled medallions depicting the double-headed eagle, trophies



formed of the Imperial crown and flags, and medallions incorporating the cross of St. Andrew. As with the St. George Service, the St. Andrew Service features the order's star badge as a decoration—at the center of which is a round medallion with St. Andrew's saltire cross which is surmounted by the imperial crown borne by two flying angels. These symbols are bordered by the motto: 'ЗА ВЕРУ И ВЕРНОСТЬ' (For Faith and Fidelity), and are accompanied by a blue ribbon of the order and a figure of St. Andrew the First-Called on the cross.<sup>25</sup> The service was finally completed in 1780 and delivered to St. Petersburg.

The Order of St. Andrew held its great festivities on November 30, the day of its patron saint. For the house of Romanov, the decorations of the order had a special significance, as each son of the tsar was automatically enrolled in the order.

### The Order of St. Alexander Nevskii Service

In 1777, the empress requested yet another service from Gardner for the Order of St. Alexander Nevskii, with sixty place settings. On August 30, 1724 the holy relics of St. Alexander Nevskii had been brought to St. Petersburg from the city of Vladimir. The saint, who was considered an early protector of Russia, was especially noted for his defeat of Swedish and German forces in 1240, at the confluence of the Izhora and Neva rivers, from whence he derived the title of 'Nevskii' (of the Neva). The Order of St. Alexander Nevskii had been planned by Tsar Peter I from the early 1720s. By 1725, Peter's second wife Catherine I organized the first meeting of the order, which was fixed on November 8 each year. During Catherine the Great's reign

the empress and courtiers made their way in an entourage of twenty-five golden coaches to the Divine Liturgy on the feast day of St. Alexander Nevskii, and afterwards there was a formal procession of the members of the order, followed by a lavish dinner at the palace, with fireworks and illuminations later in the evening.

The major decorative scheme for the Nevskii service was the eight-pointed star badge of the order (*figure 7*), which bears the motto: 'ЗА ТРУДЪ И ОТЕЧЕСТВО' (For Labors and the Fatherland). At the centre of the badge are the letters C.A. (S. A. = St. Alexander) beneath the imperial crown. The rich crimson ribbon of the order encircles the plates and is

fastened at the bottom with the red Greek cross of the order, which is embellished with four gold double-headed eagles between the four arms of the cross. At the center of the cross is an image of St. Alexander Nevskii on horseback. The service included silver gilt forks and knives, also decorated with the red ribbon of the order.<sup>26</sup> As with the two previous services, the porcelain body of the St. Alexander Nevskii Service is of a thick, heavy consistency, off-white in color, and with a fairly large amount of pittings and surface flaws under the glaze. Replacement pieces for the service were manufactured, especially during the nineteenth century.

This service became a prototype for Soviet porcelain



**Figure 7:** Plate from the Order of St. Alexander Nevskii Service, Gardner Factory, Verbilki, eighteenth century, 9¼" (23.5 cm) dia. Mark; G in underglaze blue. Hillwood Estate, Museum & Gardens. Bequest of Marjorie Merriweather Post, 1973 (25.14.1). Photograph by E. Owen.



services, especially the Red Ribbon Service, made in 1919 and designed by S V. Chekov, which featured the hammer, sickle and sheaf of wheat.<sup>27</sup>

### The Order of St. Vladimir Service

In 1783 Catherine the Great commanded Secretary of State Khrapovitsky to commission designs for a porcelain service for the Order of St. Vladimir (*figure 8*). The empress had founded this order in the previous year to mark her 20th anniversary as empress. The order had four classes and was awarded as both a civilian and military honor.

The porcelain service commissioned for the Order of St. Vladimir Service was the largest of the order services and was completed in 1785 at a cost of

fifteen thousand roubles.<sup>28</sup> This service again used the device of the badge, sash and cross of the order for its principal decoration; the color of the sash was red, bordered with black stripes.

Festivities and events associated with the Order of St. Vladimir were similar to those of the other orders, including a celebration of the Divine Liturgy in the church of the Winter Palace, a banquet with many toasts, and gun salutes fired from the ramparts of the Peter and Paul Fortress.<sup>29</sup>

Originally the service consisted of 140 place settings. The insignia of the order includes a four-pointed silver badge, superimposed on a similar gold badge. At the centre of the badge is a gold cross surrounded by the letters "CPKB" (Holy Equal to the Apostles, Vladimir). The motto of the order was: 'ПОЛБА

ЧЕСТЬ И СЛАВА' (Benefit, Honor, and Glory).

The porcelain body of the St. Vladimir service, made about five years later than the first three order services, possesses far fewer flaws and has a much whiter consistency. Clearly the factory was gaining mastery over the quality of their porcelain production.<sup>30</sup>

A study of the origin and production of the order services reveals how successful and important they were. With the first commission of the St. George service in 1777, the concept spread to include the creation of porcelains depicting all the highest orders of the Russian state. These were used at the celebratory banquets associated with the various orders. Their significance and political value never waned and these porcelains were used until the time



**Figure 8:** Selection of porcelain items from the Order of St. Vladimir Service, Gardner Factory, Verbilki, eighteenth century. Leaf-shaped dish 9 7/8" (25.1 cm) dia.; nut dish 5" (12.7 cm) dia.; ice cup 3 1/4" (8.3 cm) h. Hillwood Estate, Museum & Gardens. Bequest of Marjorie Merriweather Post, 1973 (25.24.1; 25.27.2; 25.26.21). Photograph by E. Owen.



of the Russian revolution. Another important factor that emerges from this study is the meteoric rise of the British potter, Francis Gardner. The award of these imperial commissions firmly established the fame of the Gardner factory and made its porcelains extremely desirable in the highest circles of Russian society.

## Notes

1. Valentina M. Nikitina, "The Tsar's Highest Favor: Russian Orders and Medals," in *Moscow Treasures and Traditions*, ed. Mikhail Allenov (Washington D.C. and Seattle, 1990), p. 134.
2. The types of foods enjoyed at such important state banquets included extremely refined French foods. These were given preference at important dinners and banquets, although for daily meals Catherine the Great dined simply on beef and salt pickles. At this period exquisite pâtés were served as well as fine cuts of meat, all sorts of sauces, cream dishes and aspics. It was the particular goal of the chef to create foods with an unusual taste or appearance. At Potemkin's dinners, for example, sometimes all the dishes were made from various types of fish—however these dishes would taste and appear like mutton or pork. The following recipe illustrates some of the strange approaches to dining favored at the time. "Take the best plump olives and remove the pit and replace it with a little piece of anchovy. Then take a lark and fill it with these olives. Then do the same to a quail—stuff the quail into the partridge and stuff a pheasant with the partridge, a capon with the pheasant and stuff a piglet with all the above—the piglet is cooked on a spit until it is crispy and gives off a wonderful aroma because of all its contents. The greatest delicacies, however, are the olives, which will have taken on the most wonderful flavor." Count Stroganoff was famous for his luxurious meals which featured things like oysters in honey, cuckoos stuffed with figs, bear paws and roasted lynx. (Tatiana Mozhykhina, "Vlast i slava proslavlenie rossiiskoi imperii v farfore," in *Fragile*

*tsarskie stoly i farfor revoliutsionerov*, ed. Klaus Kemp (Regensburg, 2008), pp. 70, 75.)

3. Mozhykhina, "Vlast i slava proslavlenie rossiiskoi imperii v farfore," p. 94.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., pp. 78-79. One cannot emphasize enough the importance that table decorations played during this period. At special festive meals great emphasis was placed on the table decorations that called for the talents of court architects and designers, who created magnificent displays. The court pastry chef would be involved in creating fantastic displays of gardens—with trees, castles or grottos with mythological figures which would be entirely fabricated out of colored sugar. In the eighteenth century this tradition was further developed by placing constructions of branches, flowers, precious stones, sculptures etc. as part of the decorations. In the eighteenth century it also became more and more common to use porcelain figures to decorate the table—this might include individual figures or sculptural groups sometimes placed on silver platters—or such objects might be used alongside other materials such as minerals and gold. A description of the table prepared for a visit of Empress Catherine to Count Sheremetev's estate at Kuskovo was cause for the French diplomat, Count De Segure to gush about the table decoration. He wrote: 'I have never seen so much gold, silver, porphyry, marble, porcelain, and precious stones.'
6. Ibid., p.78. By the end of the eighteenth century, new table etiquette was introduced whereby previous courses were taken away when new courses were brought out. This new manner of serving was known as service *à la russe* and spread in the early nineteenth century to Paris via Prince Alexander Kurakin, who was ambassador to France at this time; thus it became the fashion there.
7. Ibid., p. 95.
8. Bernard Hughes, "An English Potter's Triumph in Imperial Russia," *Country Life* CXXXIII (1963): 409.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid., p. 410. The leaf-shaped dishes were used in "the ceremony of dessert, when fruits were supplemented by rich custards, syllabubs (a dessert made from cream and sweetened with sugar

and lightly curdled with wine or cider), jellies, and dry sweetmeats."

11. Gavril Ignateevich Koslov (1738 - 3 June 1791) was a painter known for his work in allegorical themes and portraits. The Empress Catherine II commissioned him to paint several allegorical scenes for Pavlovsk.
12. A.N. Polivanova, "Dostizhenie postavlennoi tseli," in *Verbilki: istoriia farforovogo zavoda F.I.A. Gardnera*, ed. E.N. Machulskii, A.A. Zilov, I.U.N. Kravtsova (Moscow, 2005), p. 118.
13. Ibid., quoting РГИА РФ, ф.468, оп. 1 ч. 2 1778, е х 3893, л.100 об «профессоры Козлову за рисунки фарфоровых десертных сервизов делающихся на Гарднеровской фабрике—сто рыблев.»
14. Mozhykhina, "Vlast i slava proslavlenie rossiiskoi imperii v farfore," p. 94.
15. Marvin Ross, *Russian Porcelains* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1968), p. 38.
16. Mikhail Piotrovsky, *Heraldry on Russian Porcelain* (St. Petersburg, 2008), pp. 210-211.
17. Daniel de la Feuille (after), *Symbola et Emblemata* (Amsterdam, 1705), fig. 207, p. 71.
18. Piotrovsky, *Heraldry on Russian Porcelain*, p. 211.
19. Polivanova, "Dostizhenie postavlennoi tseli," p. 119.
20. Ibid., p. 120.
21. Ibid., p. 119.
22. Hughes, "An English Potter's Triumph in Imperial Russia," p. 410.
23. Nikitina, "The Tsar's Highest Favor: Russian Orders and Medals," p. 134.
24. Ibid., p. 135.
25. Piotrovsky, *Heraldry on Russian Porcelain*, p. 216.
26. Ibid., p. 220.
27. Ibid.
28. Hughes, "An English Potter's Triumph in Imperial Russia," p. 409.
29. Piotrovsky, *Heraldry on Russian Porcelain*, p. 227.
30. Hughes, "An English Potter's Triumph in Imperial Russia," p. 410.

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