



Fig. 45 Esaias Obicker, circa 1780-1785, bonbonnière, Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe (Inv. No. 1926/3b), © Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe

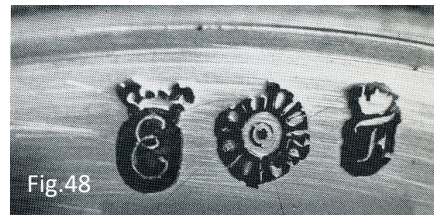
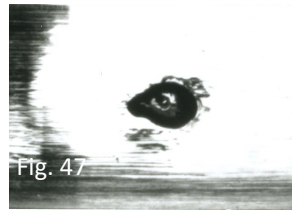
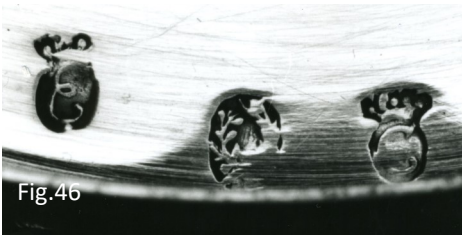


Fig. 46/47 Esaias Fernau (?), snuff box, marks, Regensburg, Fürstliche Schatzkammer Thurn und Taxis (Seelig 1987, No.38), © Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Karl-Michael Vettors

Fig. 48 Esaias Fernau (?), gold box, marks, Paris, Musée du Louvre (Grandjean 1981, No. 546), © Grandjean 1981

brothers but worked independently as of 1762. His boxes also closely follow the typical Hanau style. A bonbonnière located in the Grüne Gewölbe, Dresden, (Fig. 45) also features *camaïeu*-marine paintings,<sup>53</sup> typical for Hanau, doubtless the work of previously mentioned Ignatius Peter Krafft.

#### Hanau gold boxes with the marks in the form of the letters E, EC, F and FJ

Presumably another uniform group of gold boxes dating to the last quarter of the eighteenth century originated in Hanau.<sup>54</sup> One of the principal works of this group is a gold box of outstanding quality in the Wallace Collection,<sup>55</sup> which bears a crowned E mark in addition to a mark in the form of two crossed sprigs of laurel, no doubt an imitation of the Parisian charge mark of 1762-68. The third mark is the letter C beneath a crown. (Fig.46/47) The mark also exists with the letter F instead of C and with a rosette instead of the two laurel branches as seen on a box in the Louvre. (Fig.48) The box also bears the bird's head standard mark, again struck on the bezel; this indicates that the box was made in Hanau. The *camaïeu*-marine landscapes are signed with "Krafft", identified as the often previously mentioned enamel painter Ignatius Peter Krafft of Strasbourg, who became a fellow of the Hanau Drawing Academy in 1782. The *en plein*-enamel landscape painting of the cover features a somewhat unusual insertion of an oval medallion showing an antique head in profile. This could be a reference to Krafft's call to the Hanau Drawing Academy in 1782 which aimed for an education in the neo-classical style.



Fig. 49

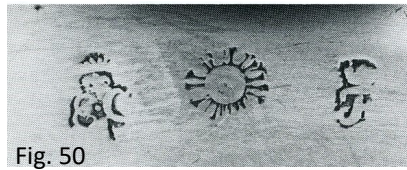


Fig. 50

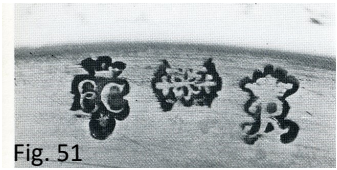


Fig. 51

Fig. 49 Esaias Fernau (?), early 1780s, snuff box, Regensburg, Fürstliche Schatzkammer Thurn und Taxis (Seelig 1987, no. 38), © Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Walter Haberland

Fig. 50 Esaias Fernau (?), gold box, marks, Paris, Musée du Louvre (Grandjean 1981, no. 551), © Grandjean 1981

Fig. 51 Esaias Fernau (?), gold box, marks, Paris, Musée du Louvre (Grandjean 1981, no. 549), © Grandjean 1981



Fig. 52

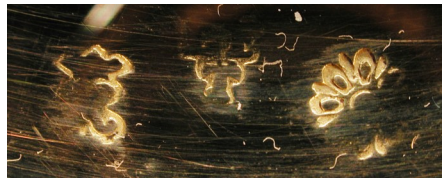


Fig. 53



Fig. 54

Fig. 52/53/54 Les Frères Toussaint and Esaias Fernau (?), 1780s, snuff box and its marks, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Inv.No.02.22, © New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art

A richly engine-turned, enameled snuff box with diamonds in the Princely Treasury Thurn und Taxis<sup>56</sup> (Fig. 49) bears identical marks as the example in the Wallace Collection. The central medallion features an enamel painting depicting “Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, receiving a rich Campanian matron”. This might be the gold box having been sold by Mainz dealer Borgnis in 1783 to the Regensburg Court for the enormous price of 1600 guilders, which is described thus: “snuff box en or garnie en brilliants fond jaune”. Therefore the both boxes in London and Regensburg would have been made at the same time.

Snuff boxes bearing instead of the letter E a crowned EC mark with a lily – similar to the scheme of the Parisian master marks – are found more frequently. The EC mark appears with various other marks that mostly imitate the Parisian year letters of F and R. (Fig. 50/51) Proof that this group of snuff boxes was also made in Hanau is found in two gold boxes bearing the EC mark in addition to a typical Hanau set of marks: a snuff box in the Metropolitan Museum of Art with the LFT mark<sup>57</sup> (Fig. 52/53/54) as well as a gold box in the Musée Cognacq-Jay,<sup>58</sup> which features the FS mark in its previously mentioned first version.

To whom can these gold boxes of superior quality be attributed? Except for the five previously discussed *bijoutiers* only Esaias Fernau qualifies. A Hanau native, he received the privilege of freedom in the years of 1761-1764. Fernau was not a signer of the contract with Flamant. But according to the aforementioned court case Fernau did supply Flamant with boxes by separate agreement. As also previously discussed, Fernau had a *compagnie* with Marchand from

1762-1780. In 1780 he formed a new *compagnie* with the enamel painter and *bijoutier* Friedrich Wagenführer (1743-1818), and later also with his brother (Johann) Friedrich Fernau (worked 1773-1789). The firm was called “E. Fernau et Comp.” or also “Gebrüder Fernau et Comp.” (Brothers Fernau and Comp.) or only “Gebrüder Fernau”.

Esaias Fernau was one of Hanau’s leading *bijoutiers* with a large staff. It would be curious if none of the gold boxes made in his studio would be extant. Therefore the question must be asked if any of the previously discussed marks can be linked to Fernau; E could stand for Esaias and EC possibly for “Esaias et Compagnie”. The letter F could point to Fernau, and E and F – as seen on a gold box in the Musée du Louvre<sup>59</sup> (Fig. 48)) could stand for Esaias Fernau. Also to be considered here is that in Hanau it was up to each *bijoutier* to choose his marks and its variations.

Stylistically the gold boxes bearing the marks E and EC can be linked with previously discussed Hanau gold boxes. This applies especially to a group of boxes having borders of opalized enamel pearls. The previously discussed box in the Louvre bearing the E mark features tightly set enameled pearls, similar to arrangements found on Parisian snuff boxes.<sup>60</sup> This contributes to its elegantly understated style. Significant are also the fields with *camaïeu* paintings as well as its borders and pilasters that can be attributed to Ignatius Peter Krafft. Special characteristics of the gold boxes bearing the marks E and EC are their opaque blue-greyish enameled border lines.<sup>61</sup>

Fairly presumptuous is another gold box with the EC mark in the Louvre.<sup>62</sup> It is also set with tightly arranged enamel pearls and decorated with pilasters with *camaïeu* paintings of heads in profile. A striking characteristic is the stripes reminiscent of textiles alternating blue-enameled *osier* wickerwork engine-turned fields with those of floral forms on a white-enameled ground. This gold box was presented in 1784 to Wilhelm von Alhausen, auxiliary bishop of Münster and Osnabrück, on the occasion of the election of Archduke Maximilian Franz (1756-1801) as Prince Bishop of Münster. Here we have a definite terminus ante quem for a snuff box bearing the EC mark.

Other examples with partly matching marks can be linked to the E and EC gold boxes, because all of them are stamped with the Hanau bird’s head mark. An oval snuff box in the Louvre<sup>63</sup> bears the same crowned F mark as one of the discussed gold boxes.<sup>64</sup> (Fig. 55). The snuff box’s second stamp shows a deviant form of the letter F similar to Parisian master marks. This Hanau factory mark in F form could be proof for the assignment of the E and EC gold boxes to Esaias Fernau.

A further gold box in the Musée du Louvre can be linked to this group, stamped with a mark which could be read as either CT, CF or possibly EF, in addition to a crown and blossom.<sup>65</sup> (Fig. 56) Stylistically there is a strong relationship of this box with another one in the Louvre<sup>66</sup>, especially in the use of the palmetto-batons filling the cut corners.

Fig. 55

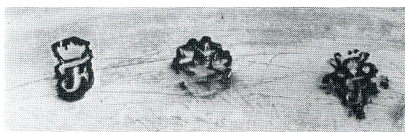


Fig. 55 Esaias Fernau (?), gold box, marks, Paris, Musée du Louvre (Grandjean 1981, no. 553),

© Grandjean 1981



Fig. 56

Fig. 56 Esaias Fernau (?), gold box, marks, Paris, Musée du Louvre (Grandjean 1981, no. 556),

© Grandjean 1981



Fig.57



Fig.58

Fig. 57/58 Esaias Fernau (?), circa 1780, snuff box and its marks, Regensburg, Fürstliche Schatzkammer Thurn und Taxis (Seelig 1987, no. 44), © Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Walter Haberland (Fig.57) and Karl-Michael Veters (Fig. 58)

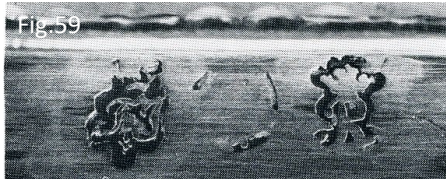


Fig.59

Fig. 59 Unknown Hanau bijoutier, gold box, marks, Paris, Musée du Louvre, (Grandjean 1981, No. 554), © Grandjean 1981

Proof of this existing link is a further oval example in the Thurn and Taxis Museum, Regensburg, which bears partly identical marks<sup>67</sup> and is stylistically related to the aforementioned gold box in the Louvre.<sup>68</sup> (Fig. 57/58) The Thurn und Taxis snuff box displays blue-greyish opaque enameled lines – as frequently seen on Hanau gold boxes.

A unique example is yet another snuff box in the Louvre<sup>69</sup>, which is stamped with the aforementioned crowned letter R.<sup>70</sup> (Fig. 59) Next to other stamps it also bears a factory mark in the form of FJ below a crown. These initials cannot to date be matched with any known Hanau *bijoutier*.<sup>71</sup>

The large group of snuff boxes with either the E and EC marks or related marks show a wide range regarding production date and style. Yet it can be assumed that all these boxes originated from the same studio – probably the firm of Esaias Fernau and his *compagnie*.<sup>72</sup>

### Enamel painting

The similarities of the enamel medallions applied to the lids of gold boxes from Hanau is remarkable; many can be attributed to the same hand, even if the boxes were made in different workshops. (See Fig. 13/17/49) The subjects depicted on the medallions, many of them drawn from classical mythology and history, are dictated by the early neo-classical style as taught at the Hanau Drawing Academy as previously mentioned. Their compositions lack tension and tend to be dominated by elongated figures clad in brightly coloured red, blue, yellow and orange robes. The name of the painter is not known.<sup>73</sup>

It is known, however, that the enamel painters Johann Daniel (?) Berneaud (1773-1861) and Antoine Carteret, both of whom trained in Geneva and worked in Hanau, were considered “skilled artists” in the early nineteenth century.<sup>74</sup> The important Hanau *bijoutier* Johannes Böhm (c. 1770-1811) had “his splendid paintings done in Switzerland.” In 1804,

Böhm's *Handels- und Fabrikhaus* had the enameling of a medal-set center piece commissioned by Elector William I of Hesse (1743-1821) executed in Geneva, after several unsuccessful attempts to have the work done in Hanau. The craftsmen of Geneva were extremely important to the *bijoutiers* of Hanau, especially in the field of enameling.

### **The importance of Hanau 18<sup>th</sup>-century and early 19<sup>th</sup>-century gold box production**

In the last forty years, standard publications on gold boxes have made no mention of the town of Hanau in the context of eighteenth-century gold box production. Yet many of the gold boxes, published in these volumes and in countless auction catalogues as Genevan boxes with prestige marks, sometimes also attributed to the nineteenth-century, can now be re-attributed. Thanks to documentary evidence, and the subsequent identification of maker's marks, they can be linked to gold box makers in eighteenth century Hanau.

These crucial marks are not hallmarks required by town guilds, as the production of gold boxes in Hanau evolved independently of guild restrictions, in turn leading to greater output and more lucrative manufacturing methods. Just like in Geneva there was a high degree of division of labor among specialized craftsmen such as engine-turners, engravers and chasers, enamel painters and gold and enamel polishers. Hanau's *bijoutiers* also handled their own sales, selling most of their output at the trade fairs held twice a year in nearby Frankfurt, as well as in Leipzig. The exclusive spa of Wilhelmsbad just outside Hanau<sup>75</sup> provided another important outlet where, from 1780 onwards, people of distinction from all over the world flocked to take the waters, invited by Prince William of Hesse-Cassel, the later Landgrave William IX (as elector William I).

The first sparks of inspiration for Hanau's gold boxes came from Berlin. Of particular importance to Hanau, however, was its regular exchange of craftsmen with Geneva. As a result of this exchange, the two cities' luxury goods industry developed almost in parallel. At the time, their crucial link was the Genevan *guillocheur* Etienne Flamant, whose influence on the style of Hanau gold boxes was decisive. Nevertheless, Parisian models were the point of reference, both stylistically and technically. There is a noticeable formal homogeneity in Hanau gold boxes in the neo-classical style.

All in all, the production of gold boxes in Hanau demonstrates a remarkable continuity. Writing in around 1809, Philipp Andreas Nemnich spoke of more than 400 people working in the *bijouterie* business, while in 1814-1815 Goethe was full of praise for the items produced in Hanau, "which could be made neither in Paris nor in London, indeed, which not even those of industrious Geneva can surpass."

The most persuasive testimony, however, is provided by the pattern books of a Hanau gold box manufactory in the Hanau Drawing Academy. These nine books dating from the years 1805, 1808-1817, 1819 and 1821-1822 contain pulls of the boxes on heavy paper, with reliefs later blackened to highlight the design, divided into engraved boxes and those that were to be enamelled later on. The enamellers are named in many cases and the subjects to be used for the paintings are often specified, as in the case of the "Dresdner Madonna after Raphael." Some 200 different models are listed for each year, many of them surprisingly similar to boxes produced in Geneva, or which Geneva has claimed as its own.

These Hanau pattern books span a period from 1805 to 1822, and confirm that the large-scale production of gold boxes in Hanau did not begin with the firms Carl Martin Weishaupt & Söhne and Charles Colins Söhne in the second quarter of the nineteenth century,<sup>76</sup> but rather that Hanau had flourished without interruption as a European center of box making from the 1760s.

### **The Huguenots' role in the production of fancy goods**

The reevaluation of Hanau as one of the leading centers changes the European map of fancy goods manufacturing locations in favour of German places of production.<sup>77</sup> Therefore the long-held assumed dominating role of Geneva



manufacturers is revealed as pure myth – Geneva was leading in the area of watches and automatons, but not for gold boxes. Furthermore the importance of a religiously determined network was underestimated. Huguenots, having escaped from France, took only temporary residence in Switzerland. Just as many Calvinists of the city republic of Geneva they moved in large numbers to the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. They did not choose the predominantly Lutheran cities of Southern Germany, which had a long tradition in producing decorative arts supervised by the local guilds, but usually preferred the cities of territorial states lesser known for artistic-technical achievements. Their mercantilist rulers<sup>78</sup> promoted the local economy by luring foreign Protestant artisans and manufacturers with promises of advantageous privileges, often to the disadvantage of native producers. Within the Holy Roman Empire patterns of migration occurred. Many artisans left Berlin, the main Huguenot domicile since the late seventeenth century, to move to Hanau as can be seen by the example of the Toussaints. About the middle of the eighteenth century, not least due to Frederick the Great's patronage, Berlin saw the development of those production methods – division of labor, large volumes and probably also imitation of Parisian marks – which came later under Hanau's more advantageous conditions to full flourishing. The migration from Geneva to Hanau was – comparing the numbers – of lesser importance. Yet specialist artisans most important for the production of qualitatively demanding gold boxes did come from Geneva to Hanau, as for instance the famous enamel painters and the engravers as well as engine-turners, one example being the previously discussed Etienne Flamant. Later on in the eighteenth century several Hanau artisans, as for instance Jean-George Rémond, went to Geneva – they moved where better work and sales conditions existed, or alternately had a presence by establishing subsidiaries and corporations in both places.<sup>79</sup> Therefore fancy goods in the Parisian style often do not allow for an exact determination of a production place.

The network of Protestant artisans was even larger, given the fact that qualified artisans had also taken up residence in the smaller territorial states of the Rhein-Main region, in Offenbach, Bürgel (today part of Offenbach), Büdingen and Homburg vor der Höhe,<sup>80</sup> all in the vicinity of Hanau. Even though these places had also easy access to the Frankfurt Fair, their production level never reached Hanau's output. More successful were the mostly French and Swiss managed *bijouterie* manufactories of Pforzheim<sup>81</sup> and Ludwigsburg<sup>82</sup> with a large Huguenot population that stood under the patronage of Baden and Württemberg rulers. Even Adrian Morin, the above mentioned luxury goods dealer in Regensburg, is known to have made purchases there. In the last quarter of the eighteenth century, beyond the border of the Holy Roman Empire, St. Petersburg gained more importance when Catherine the Great patronized the immigration of various Western European artisans and especially *bijoutiers* – most of them of Huguenot lineage.<sup>83</sup> As an example only one significant representative should be mentioned: François-Claude Thérémin (working 1779-1801). Born into a Brandenburg Huguenot family, he went from Hanau and London to Berlin. According to a suggestion by Julia Clarke and Winfried Baer, he can be named as the producer of Berlin gold boxes which are stylistically identical with Hanau production and marked with J and T.<sup>84</sup> About 1793 Thérémin moved from Berlin to St. Petersburg where he made a fortune working as court jeweler to the Empress.

St. Petersburg is also an example of the rapid technology transfer from middle and western European centers, given that technical equipment like the lathe became more and more important. In 1773 Hanau engine-turner Etienne Flamant regretted that he had trained a worker named Wandel in the art of engine-turning. Wandel subsequently took the Hanau engine-turning machines to St. Petersburg, where he “sold his machines to his great advantage, thus damaging local [Hanau] *bijoutiers*.”<sup>85</sup> Geneva and Hanau technology was thus transferred to St. Petersburg, which makes the definition of a local style nearly impossible.

The discussed *bijoutiers* working in German production centers were francophone Calvinists, mostly – but not exclusively – Huguenots. The territories where they settled were often ruled by reformist princes. These – even ones of Lu-



theran faith – took a tolerant view towards the newcomers motivated by economic consideration. This is not the place for a detailed discussion of Max Weber’s (1864-1920) controversially discussed theory introduced in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, stating that the Protestant faith and here especially Calvinism was the creed that promoted striving for profit and productivity by adhering to high moral working standards and consequent economical thinking.<sup>86</sup> Independent of such stereotypes of religious culture or polemic<sup>87</sup> it is noticeable that in the last decades of the Holy Roman Empire Protestant cities and regions held a definite dominance in the production of fancy goods in the French style. This can also be seen from the catalogues of manufacturers participating in the Frankfurt Fair. But there were other perhaps more deciding factors. Being a minority the reformist artisans tried by achieving commercial success to secure a position in a majority society. Confessional and family kinships facilitated credit and trade relations. The diaspora situation – and the “combination of religion and being a minority” – explains the Huguenots’ economic dynamic.<sup>88</sup> Instead of wasting their profits for luxuries, these were reinvested in their businesses since Protestants adhered for religious-ethical reasons to a modest lifestyle.

The French language was also an essential element, which both distinguished and bonded them. In Neu-Hanau French was not only the official language in the Walloon Church – counting nearly all *bijoutiers* as members – until the late eighteenth century it was also Hanau’s second business language occasionally used in trade correspondence. The close cultural and linguistic connections promoted personal, artistic and technological exchanges with Geneva. Close connections were also kept with Paris; Reformist Parisian artists and artisans settled in Hanau; even the director of the Hanau Drawing Academy Jean-Louis Gallien (1730-1809) was originally from Paris. This close relationship to Parisian informants proved to be indispensable for the production of luxury goods in catering to the constantly changing tastes of the “Big World”.

In the late eighteenth century the importance of Hanau as a production center was well known, but in recent years this role had been largely ignored. Jean-Pierre Erman (1734-1814) and Pierre-Frédéric-Chrétien Reclam (1741-1789), both apologists for the Huguenot-fugitives’ economic and social success in German lands but especially in Brandenburg-Prussia,<sup>89</sup> wrote about Hanau in 1786: „... cette ville est devenue fameuse en Allemagne & dans tout le Nord par ses beaux ouvrages d’orfèvrerie [sic] & de bijouterie qui ont le plus grand débit & et ne le cèdent point à ceux qui fournit la France”<sup>90</sup> – „this city is famous throughout German lands and in the north due to the beautiful goldsmiths’ and *bijouterie* works which are much in demand and just as good as French goods.”

Endnotes:

1. This article is based on various studies on the Hanau 18th century gold box production published by the author in 2013 and 2014, with new additions, please see endnotes for the appropriate titles. Translation from German to English by Dorothea Burstyn and Brownwen Saunders. (See also endnote 13.)
2. Re 18th century production of gold boxes, see: Charles Truman, *The Wallace Collection. Catalogue of Gold Boxes*, London 2013; *Going for Gold. Craftsmanship and Collecting of Gold Boxes*, edited by Tessa Murdoch and Heike Zech, Brighton, Chicago and Toronto 2014.
3. Re the use of snuff boxes, see: Hans Ottomeyer, “Snuff Boxes and the Taking of Snuff: On the Purpose of Luxury”, in: *Meissen Snuff Boxes of the Eighteenth Century*, Munich 2013, pp. 14-27; Tessa Murdoch, “Snuff-taking. Fashion and Accessories”, in: *Going for Gold 2014*, pp. 1-16.
4. Lorenz Seelig, “Precious Snuff Boxes in Princely Collections of the Eighteenth Century”, in: *Meissen Snuff Boxes of the Eighteenth Century*, Munich 2013, pp. 28-48.
5. Charles Truman, “From the Boîte à Portrait to the Tabatière. The Production of Gold Boxes in Paris”, in: *Going for Gold 2014*, pp. 17-28.



6. More details for the following, see: Lorenz Seelig, "À la recherche des boîtes en or du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle: les fabricants parisiens et les imitations suisses et allemandes", in: *Connoisseurship. L'œil, la raison et l'instrument* (Rencontres de l'École du Louvre), Paris 2014, pp. 239-251, see pp. 239-241.
7. Abraham Kenneth Snowman, *Eighteenth Century Gold Boxes of Europe*, London 1966, pp. 90-91, figg. 731-732, A,B; 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Woodbridge, Suffolk, 1990, pp. 242, 253, 417, figg. 898-899.
8. Serge Grandjean, *Catalogue des tabatières, boîtes et étuis des XVIII<sup>e</sup> et XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles du musée du Louvre*, Paris 1981, pp. 345-346.
9. Julia Clarke, "Swiss Gold Boxes: Myth or Reality?," in: *Going for Gold* 2014, pp. 61-73.
10. Carolyn Sargentson, *Merchants and Luxury Markets. The Marchands Merciers of Eighteenth-Century Paris*, London 1996; see now a summary in Frédéric Dassas, "L'esprit du décor", in: Jannic Durand, Michèle Bimbenet-Privat and Frédéric Dassas, *Décors, mobilier et objets d'art du musée du Louvre de Louis XIV à Marie-Antoinette*, Paris 2014, pp. 30-109, see pp. 66-68.
11. Re Rémond see Truman 2013, pp. 34, 44, 255; Clarke 2014, pp. 64-66.
12. Julia Clarke, "Swiss Snuff Boxes 1785-1835", in: *Enamels of the World 1700-2000. The Khalili Collections*, edited by Haydn Williams, London 2009, pp. 292-317, see pp. 298, 308, no. 208.
13. Re Hanau and its production of gold boxes in more detail, citing literature and sources, see: Lorenz Seelig, "Gold Box Production in Hanau: The Extended Workbench of Frankfurt and Its Trade Fair," in: *Going for Gold*, 2014, pp. 74-91. The text of this essay, translated by Bronwen Saunders, was included in this article. I would like to thank Dr. Tessa Murdoch and Dr. Herike Zech, editors of this volume, both Victoria&Albert Museum, for giving me permission to do so.
14. Richard Schaffer-Hartmann, „Hanau in der Zeit des Friedrich Bury“, in: exhibition catalogue *Der Maler Friedrich Bury (1763-1823), Goethes „zweiter Fritz“* (Hanau, Museen der Stadt Hanau and Weimar, Klassik Stiftung Weimar), Berlin and Munich 2013, pp. 33-43, see p. 38.
15. Lorenz Seelig, *Golddosen des 18. Jahrhunderts aus dem Besitz der Fürsten von Thurn und Taxis. Die Sammlung des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums im Thurn und Taxis-Museum Regensburg* (Kataloge des Bayerischen Nationalmuseums, new series, vol. 3), Munich 2007, p. 62.
16. Waltraud Neuwirth, *Meißener Marken. Original, Imitation, Verfälschung, Fälschung*, 2nd edition, Vienna 1980, pp. 107, 124.
17. Neuwirth 1980, p. 124. Also from a different perspective, see: Julia Weber, „Original – Kopie – Fälschung: Das Verhältnis der Meißener Porzellane zu ihren ostasiatischen Vorbildern und beider Wertschätzung in Europa“, in: *Fälschung – Plagiat – Kopie. Künstlerische Praktiken in der Vormoderne*, edited by Birgit Ulrike Münch, Andreas Tacke, Markwart Herzog and Sylvia Heudecker (Kunsthistorisches Forum Irsee, vol. 1), Petersberg 2014, pp. 127-140, see pp. 135-137.
18. See now also, Schaffer-Hartmann 2013, pp. 38-39.
19. In Seelig 2014, "Gold Box Production", p. 76, the number of gold boxes of 385 is an error.
20. Seelig 2014, "A la recherche", p. 243; for this information I would like to thank Julia Clarke, London.
21. For the year of death as 1805, see: Schaffer-Hartmann 2013, p. 42, note 18.
22. See now also, Schaffer-Hartmann 2013, pp. 33-34, 39.
23. Clarke 2009, p. 317, no. 228; José de Los Llanos and Christiane Grégoire, *Musée Cognacq-Jay. Musée du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle de la Ville de Paris. Les collections. Boîtes en or et objets de vertu*, Paris 2011, pp. 199-202, nos 76-77; Truman 2013, pp. 270-271, no. 78 (most probably a Hanau gold box pp. 268-269, no. 77 is not made by the brothers Toussaint); Lorenz Seelig, "Les boîtes en or de Hanau du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle conservées au musée du Louvre", in: *La Revue des musées de France – Revue du Louvre* 64, 2014, no. 3, pp. 94-103, see pp. 95-96.
24. The following remarks are not published in the author's essay in: *Going for Gold*, 2014
25. Acc. No. 48.187.422 und 48.187.471. For the photos of these gold boxes and their marks I would like to thank Dr. Wolfram Koeppel and Tamara Schechter, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
26. Seelig 2007, pp. 262-273, 386-391, nos 34-36; re marks see: p. 71. A gold box in Seelig 2007, pp. 274, 391-392, no. 37 should be mentioned here. It also bears the previously described LF(?)T mark, but instead of the harrow it features two laurel branches imitating the Parisian charge mark of 1762-68, this marks might be dated as one used in between the mark ensembles with the harrow and the one with a rosette.
27. Compare p. ex. to: Truman 2013, pp. 115-116, 132-134, nos 21, 27. Compare too to a related gold box in the Wallace Collection, which is also tentatively ascribed to Berlin (Truman 2013, pp. 293-296, no. 86).



28. See: Durand/Bimbenet-Privat/Dassas 2014, p. 507, no. 223 (Michèle Bimbenet-Privat).
29. See p. ex. Seelig 2014, "Les boîtes en or", pp. 95-96, fig. 2.
30. See now, Truman 2013, p. 218, no. 60.
31. See: exhibition catalogue *Galanterie. Oggetti di lusso e di piacere in Europa fra Settecento e Ottocento* (Naples, Museo Nazionale della Ceramica "Duca di Martina"), Naples 1997, p. 116, no. 1.116.
32. See now, Truman 2013, pp. 219-220, no. 61.
33. Mary Webster, *Johan Zoffany 1733-1810*, New Haven/London 2011, pp. 15, 341-343, 379-380, 593.
34. Re Goethe's relationship to the Hanau *bijoutiers* see: Schaffer-Hartmann 2013, p. 42.
35. Seelig 2014, "Les boîtes en or", pp. 97-98.
36. Grandjean 1981, p. 346, no. 543; Seelig 2014, "Les boîtes en or", pp. 97-98, fig. 8. I would like to thank Michèle Bimbenet-Privat, conservateur en chef au département des Objets d'art du Musée du Louvre, for her photos of snuff boxes (Fig. 26/27) as well as for allowing me to reproduce the images of marks of Grandjean 1981 in this article.
37. Grandjean 1981, pp. 327-328, no. 518; Seelig 2014, "Les boîtes en or", p. 98, fig. 9.
38. de Los Llanos and Grégoire 2011, p. 184, no. 68 (This mark was attributed according to information by the author); Truman 2013, p. 255-256, re no. 73; Seelig 2014, „Gold Box Production“, p. 89, note 52; Seelig 2014, "Les boîtes en or", p. 98.
39. Grandjean 1981, p. 347, no. 544; Seelig 2014, "Les boîtes en or", p. 98, fig. 11.
40. Clare Le Corbeiller, *European and American Snuff Boxes 1730-1830*, London 1966, p. 40, figg. 314-319.
41. See p. ex. *Enamels of the World* 2009, p. 430, middle column, cat. 208; Clarke 2014, fig. 5.2.
42. Truman 2013, pp. 268-269, no. 77; see endnote 23.
43. The hypothesis that a homogenous group of gold boxes dating to 1765-1775 with the fabrication mark M&P („flanked by branches“) as well as APC („flanked by two identical marks, which include circles and branches or sunbursts“) had their origin in Hanau is not proven (Truman 2013, pp. 254-267, nos 73-76). While there are stylistic similarities to the DMC gold boxes, the fabrication marks' initials cannot be matched to any of the Hanau *bijoutiers*' names.
44. Seelig 2014, "Les boîtes en or", p. 99.
45. Grandjean 1981, p. 355, no. 562; Seelig 2014, "Les boîtes en or", p. 99.
46. Re Les Frères Souchay see: de Los Llanos and Grégoire 2011, pp. 188-191, nos 71-72 (attribution of the fabrication mark thanks to an information given by the author); Seelig 2014, "Les boîtes en or", pp. 96-97.
47. Ulrike Weinhold, "Eine Hanauer Tabatiere im Grünen Gewölbe", in: *Dresdener Kunstblätter* 57, 2013, no. 4, pp. 60-64, see p. 63, fig. 2.
48. Weinhold 2013; Seelig 2014, „Gold Box Production“, p. 84, plate 6.12; Gerhard Holzhey, "Die Verwendung unterschiedlicher Milchquarz-Typen bei Tabatieren des 18. Jahrhunderts", in: *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Gemmologischen Gesellschaft* 63, 2014, nos 1-2, pp. 13-34, see p. 18, no. 1, pp. 20-21, 25, 27, figg. 3, 15-17.
49. Grandjean 1981, p. 353, no. 558.
50. Seelig 2014, "Les boîtes en or", p. 97.
51. Grandjean 1981, p. 357, nos. 566, 567.
52. Re Esaias Obicker see: de Los Llanos and Grégoire 2011, pp. 185-187, nos 69-70 (attribution of the fabrication mark according to information by the author); Seelig 2014, "Les boîtes en or", p. 99.
53. Jutta Kappel and Ulrike Weinhold, *Das Neue Grüne Gewölbe. Führer durch die ständige Ausstellung*, Munich and Berlin 2007, p. 297, fig. 3.
54. Further explanation to the following in: Seelig 2014, "Les boîtes en or", pp. 99-101.
55. Truman 2013, pp. 272-275, no. 79.
56. Seelig 2007, pp. 95, 276-279, 392-393, no. 38.

57. Seelig 2014, "Gold Box Production", p. 78, fig. 6.5.
58. de Los Llanos and Grégoire 2011, pp. 188-189, no. 71.
59. Grandjean 1981, p. 348, no. 546.
60. See also Grandjean 1981, p. 126, no. 148 and pp. 138-139, no. 166 as well as de Los Llanos and Grégoire 2011, pp. 154-155, no. 50.
61. Grandjean 1981, p. 348, no. 546; Seelig 2014, "Les boîtes en or", pp. 99-100, fig. 13.
62. Grandjean 1981, p. 349-350, no. 550; Seelig 2014, "Les boîtes en or", pp. 99-100, fig. 14.
63. Grandjean 1981, p. 351, no. 553.
64. Grandjean 1981, p. 348, no. 546; Seelig 2014, "Les boîtes en or", pp. 99-100, fig. 13 ; see also: Grandjean 1981, p. 348, no. 547; Seelig 2014, "Les boîtes en or", p. 101, fig. 15 and Grandjean 1981, p. 350, no. 551.
65. Grandjean 1981, p. 352, no. 556. If one reads these initials as CF, the mark could be the fabrication mark of "Collin Frères", the brothers Collin, two sons of Philippe Col(l)in. For important information in this respect I would like to thank Mr. Stein Holm who studies Hanau marks connecting various fabrication marks to the Hanau goldsmiths' family Collin.
66. Grandjean 1981, p. 353, no. 557; Seelig 2014, "Les boîtes en or", p. 101, fig. 16.
67. Seelig 2007, pp. 68, 302, 404-405, no. 44.
68. See endnote 66.
69. Grandjean 1981, p. 351, no. 554.
70. See: Grandjean 1981, pp. 348-349, no. 549.
71. There is obviously no connection between the fabrication mark of cursive letters FJ and that of Antiqua letters FJ. All boxes marked thus have been produced at a later date (Clarke 2009, pp. 301-305, 315-316, nos 224-227).
72. I would like to thank Julia Clarke in London for drawing my attention to the numerous gold boxes with the aforementioned marks that have been sold at auction over the past few decades.
73. More on enamel medallions on Hanau boxes of the 18th century, see: Seelig 2014, "Les boîtes en or", p. 102.
74. Re the enamel painters Berneaud und Carteret see also Katharina Bott, „Hanauer Künstler sehen Italien 1782–Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts“, in: exhibition catalogue *Die Lust und Pracht Italiens. Hanauer Künstler sehen Italien (18.-20. Jahrhundert)*, edited by Katharina Bott and Richard Schaffer-Hartmann (Hanau, Historisches Museum Hanau, Schloss Philippsruhe), Hanau 2011, pp. 10-161, see pp. 89, 110, note 1.
75. Gerhard Bott, *Heilübung und Amusement. Das Wilhelmsbad des Erbprinzen*, edited by Historische Kommission für Hessen (VHKH 27,3, Schriften zur hessischen Kulturgeschichte), Hanau 2007, esp. pp. 125-126, 204-211; Schaffer-Hartmann 2013, pp. 37-38.
76. Clarke 2009, pp. 298-299.
77. These remarks are based on the author's unpublished lecture about 18th century gold boxes, held October 12, 2011 in the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich.
78. Re mercantilism see the summary on the subject in *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, vol. 8, Stuttgart and Weimar 2008, col. 380-387.
79. As an example see the CV of *bijoutier* Jean-Noë Lamy of Geneva (Clarke 2009, pp. 295-297) – son of a Hanau gardener and nephew of the Geneva *bijoutier* Noë Lamy Dela Man –, after a four year apprenticeship in Geneva and journeyman years in Hamburg respectively Altona and London he applied 1804/05 for citizenship in Hanau in order to work there as self-employed *bijoutier* (Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg, 81 Regierung Hanau B 1 80, no. 98). He married 1805 in Hanau (Wolfgang Scheffler, *Goldschmiede Hessens. Daten, Werke, Zeichen*, Berlin and New York, 1976, p. 476, Hanau, no. 248b).
80. See also: Scheffler 1976, pp. 18, 550-551, 714-741.
81. Wolfgang Pieper, *Geschichte der Pforzheimer Schmuckindustrie. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Nordschwarzwaldes*, Gernsbach 1989; Seelig 2007, p. 101.
82. Pieper 1989, pp. 46-47; Seelig 2007, p. 102.

83. Olga Kostjuk, "Western European Refinement and Asiatic Luxury: Gold Boxes for the Imperial Court in Saint Petersburg", in: *Going for Gold* 2014, pp. 122-133; Alexander von Solodkoff, "Jean Pierre Ador and Russian Gold Boxes", in: *Going for Gold*, 2014, pp. 134-146.
84. Clarke 2009, p. 305; Winfried Baer, "Gold Boxes in Berlin: Thoughts on their Production for and beyond the Royal Court during the Reign of Frederick the Great", in: *Going for Gold* 2014, pp. 92-105, see p. 102. The marks J and T are probably those of André Jordan und François-Claude Théremin, owners of a Berlin *fabrique*.
85. Hessisches Staatsarchiv Marburg, 81 Regierung Hanau B 1 78, no. 45, fol. 38v-39r.
86. Arnulf Siebenecker, "Börse und Bibel. Auswirkungen der Hugenotten-Migration auf die wirtschaftliche Verfassung der Aufnahmeländer", in: exhibition catalogue *Zuwanderungsland Deutschland. Die Hugenotten*, edited by Sabine Beneke and Hans Ottomeyer (Berlin, Deutsches Historisches Museum), Wolfratshausen 2005, pp. 55-64, see p. 63; see also Friedrich Wilhelm Graf, "Beeinflussen religiöse Weltbilder den ökonomischen Habitus?", in: *Wirtschaftsgeschichte als Kulturgeschichte. Dimensionen eines Perspektivenwechsels*, edited by Hartmut Berghoff and Jakob Vogel, Frankfurt am Main and New York 2004, pp. 241-264, see pp. 249-256 as well as a summary in Ernst Koch and Ulrich Pfister, "Calvinismus", in: *Enzyklopädie der Neuzeit*, vol. 2, Stuttgart and Weimar 2005, col. 616-624, esp. col. 621-623.
87. Graf 2004, p. 251.
88. Siebenecker 2005, p. 63; see also: Graf 2004, pp. 259-260.
89. Viviane Rosen-Prest, "Willkommene Fremde? Zwei Jahrhunderte Geschichtsschreibung über Hugenotten im deutschen Refuge (17.-19. Jahrhundert)", in: *Die Begegnung mit Fremden und das Geschichtsbewusstsein*, edited by Judith Becker and Bettina Braun, Göttingen and Bristol, CT, 2012, pp. 137-153, see pp. 141-145.
90. *Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire des Réfugiés François dans les États du Roi*, 9 vols, Berlin 1782-1799, see vol. 5, 1786, p. 273.

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***Silver and Gold, Courtly Splendour from Augsburg, Munich/New York 1995***

**Exhibition Catalogue: *Der Mohrenkopfpokal von Christoph Jamnitzer*, Munich, Bayrisches Nationalmuseum 2002**

***Die Münchner Kunstammer*, 3 vols. Munich 2008 (co-author)**

***Die Silbersammlung Alfred Pringsheim, Riggisberg 2013* (Monographien der Abegg Stiftung, vol. 19)**