



A Portuguese bishop's pontifical mass service by Luigi Valadier

A silver-gilt pontifical mass service belonging to the cathedral of Portalegre, Portugal, is here identified as the work of the celebrated Roman silversmith Luigi Valadier and dated 1769–71. It is closely similar to a contemporary service owned by Cardinal Domenico Orsini and both services can be linked to a group of drawings from Valadier's workshop.

by TERESA LEONOR M. VALE

WHILE COMPILING AN inventory for a planned museum for the cathedral at Portalegre in eastern Portugal in 2018, the present author examined an unpublished pontifical mass service.¹ Examination revealed a hallmark for Rome, the *bollo camerale* of the Reverenda Camera Apostolica, which provided a date of manufacture of 1769–71, together with a maker's mark for Luigi Valadier (1726–85), the outstanding Roman silversmith of the eighteenth century.² The service now consists of eighteen silver-gilt chiselled pieces, but it is incomplete because the chalice is untraced. The existing pieces are a pyx (Fig.1),³ a ewer and basin (Figs.2 and 3), a pair of cruets and its tray (Fig.8), a holy water bucket and its aspergillum or sprinkler (Fig.5), four round dishes (Fig.10), two oval trays (Fig.4), a bell (Fig.7), a pax (Fig.9) and a candle-holder and wick-trimmers (Fig.6). These are accompanied by two small ampules for the holy oils and a box for unconsecrated wafers, but it is not certain that they are part of the original set as they are greatly inferior in quality.

Pontifical high mass, also called a solemn pontifical mass, is a mass performed by a bishop using ceremonies set out for the Roman Catholic church in the *Caeremoniale episcoporum* promulgated by Clement VIII on 14th July 1600 in the bull *Cum novissime*. The *Caeremoniale episcoporum*, which went through several subsequent editions, is supplemented by other Catholic handbooks, such as the Breviary, the Missal, the Martyrology, the Pontifical and the *Rituale Romanum*.⁴ Although in modern English the term 'pontifical' is often associated with the Pope, any bishop may properly be called a pontiff. Thus the celebrant of a pontifical high mass may be any cardinal or bishop or even an 'inferior prelate', such as an abbot or apostolic protonotary. For a pontifical mass – or any solemn mass – the altar set

1. Pyx, by Luigi Valadier. 1769–71. Gilt silver, 21.7 by 11 cm. (Church of S. Miguel, Castelo Branco; © Diocese Portalegre-Castelo Branco).

comprises a cross and seven candlesticks, instead of the usual six, and the three altar canons (texts to prompt the priest). As in any mass, a censer is also needed for the purification of the altar, together with a chalice, pyx, ewer and basin, a pair of cruets and a pax. Apart from the chalice, all these pieces are found in the Portalegre service. They differ from those used for an everyday mass only in their high artistic quality. In the event that a solemn mass was to be performed by a cardinal or a bishop – and especially if it was not to take place in a cathedral – there could be no expectation that outstanding pieces would be available, so it was the usual practice for the celebrant to bring his own service.

The other objects in the Portalegre service are a bucket for holy water and its aspergillum, a bell, four round dishes and two oval trays, together with a candle-holder and its snuffers. The bucket is used at the beginning of the mass for the purification of those assembled and the bell is for calling their attention to a particularly important moment, the consecration. The dishes and trays may have been used at communion, to prevent a consecrated host or part of it from falling to the floor, or for collecting the towel that was used to wipe the hands of the celebrant. They could also simply be for ostentation – *ad pompam et ostentationem* – and as such were displayed at the sides of the altar in ceremonies of especial solemnity. The candle-holder confirms the identification of the set as a pontifical mass service because it is used only for such a celebration.⁵ It is placed on the altar to the left of the Missal for the use of those who have this privilege, such as cardinals and bishops, during the reading of the Gospel.⁶

I would like to thank Jennifer Montagu for reading a draft of this article and discussing it with me. I also thank Tiago Henriques, Diogo Gaspar, Paulo Mota Duarte and Canon Bonifácio Bernardo for help with access to the service.
1 The service was hitherto known only from two small black-and-white photographs published in L. Keil: *Inventário Artístico de Portugal*.

Distrito de Portalegre, Lisbon 1942, pls.157–58, and has seemingly never been studied in detail.

2 See T.L.M. Vale: 'Eighteenth-century Roman silver for the chapel of St John the Baptist of the church of S. Roque, Lisbon', *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE* 152 (2010), pp.528–35; *idem*: 'Roman Baroque silver for the Patriarchate of Lisbon', *THE BURLINGTON MAGAZINE*

155 (2013), pp.384–89; and *idem*: *Ouvides-aria Barroca Italiana em Portugal*, Lisbon 2016. For the Valadier workshop, see *idem*, ed.: *The Art of the Valadiers*, Turin 2017.

3 The pyx is in S. Miguel, Castelo Branco, but its transfer to the future museum in Portalegre cathedral is planned.

4 See F. Tolloi: 'La messa pontificale,

caratteri e peculiarità', available at www.collegiumdivimarci.org, accessed 11th February 2020, see bibliography, esp. note 1.

5 The candle-holder is absent from the Orsini service discussed below.

6 On the use of the candle-holder, see G. Moroni: *Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastica da S. Pietro sino ai nostri giorni*, Venice 1851, I, p.72.



2. Ewer, by Luigi Valadier. 1769–71. Gilt silver, 26.1 by 8 cm. (Cathedral of Portalegre; © Diocese Portalegre-Castelo Branco).

3. Basin, by Luigi Valadier. 1769–71. Gilt silver, diameter 39.2 cm. (Cathedral of Portalegre; © Diocese Portalegre-Castelo Branco).



The presence of such an exquisite set in a small town in Portugal's interior, obtained from Rome during the reign of Joseph I (reg.1750–77), is puzzling for several reasons. The King did not enjoy the flow of Brazilian gold and diamonds that had enriched his father, John V, and his financial reserves were seriously depleted by the huge cost of the lengthy reconstruction that followed the catastrophic Lisbon earthquake of 1755. Moreover, between 1760 and 1770 diplomatic relations between Portugal and the Holy See were disrupted, the result of a number of factors, including the expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal in 1759, which prevented the confirmation of bishops, although Joseph I continued to nominate them for dioceses.

It is not until after 1769–71 that prelates were appointed to the diocese who might have had an interest in possessing such objects, Pedro de Melo da Silveira e Alvim (1730–77) and his successor, Manuel Tavares Coutinho da Silva (1724–98). Neither is well known.⁷ Pedro de Melo was born to a noble family in the diocese of Coimbra. His appointment as bishop of Portalegre by Joseph I in November 1772 was confirmed by the Pope in July 1773. He made his public entrance in Portalegre in late March 1774 and remained there until his death in 1777. Before becoming a bishop, Manuel Tavares was a friar in the Order of Santiago and had been a teacher and dean at the College of the Military Orders of the University of Coimbra. He also served as a deputy of the Inquisition and a canon of Guarda Cathedral. He was appointed Bishop of Portalegre by Mary I in May 1778 and was confirmed by the Pope in July. He made his solemn entrance into the diocese in November 1778.

Both Pedro de Melo and Manuel Tavares were committed to their work as bishops, most notably as it concerned buildings. The former promoted the conclusion of works (ongoing since the reign of John V) on the Bonfim Church and renewed the cathedral's cloisters. The latter oversaw the restoration of the main façade of the cathedral and its apse, and built a new chapel (dedicated to St James) in the cloisters, where some years later he was buried. He also extended the episcopal palace and built accommodation for the administration of the diocese. His keen interest in enriching the cathedral and equipping it with objects for the complex liturgical and ceremonial life of the time led Manuel Tavares to acquire vestments and several silver-gilt pieces (a monstrance, a chalice, a pyx and an altar cross), most of which were made in Lisbon.⁸ But nothing seems to link either prelate directly with Italy, still less with the Valadier workshop, although Pedro de Melo is known to have owned at least one book on Italian literature and antiquities, *Excursus litterarii per Italiam ab anno MDCCXLII. ad annum MDCCCLII*, by the Jesuit theologian, archaeologist and historian Francesco Antonio Zaccaria, published in Venice in 1754.⁹

7 For further biographical information on the bishops of Portalegre, see F. Ameida: *História da Igreja em Portugal*, Oporto 1970, III, p.574.

8 For example, the altar cross, diocese collection, Portalegre Cathedral, inv. no.DPCB.4.15.01.05259, bears the Lisbon hallmark for 1750–70 and the silversmith José António Viera (active 1750–1820).

9 The Bishop's copy, identifiable by his coat of arms on the binding, was sold at Cabral Moncada Leilões, Lisbon, *Antiques and works of art* (109), 28th–29th September 2009, lot 193.

10 It is mark no.1055 in C. Bulgari: *Argentieri, Gemmari e Orafi d'Italia*, Rome 1959, II, p.495; see also A. Bulgari

Calissoni: *Argentieri, Gemmari e Orafi di Roma*, Rome 1987, p.429.

11 *Ibid.*, p.45; I thank Anna Bulgari Calissoni for her generosity in sharing her immense knowledge of Roman silversmiths' marks and confirming the identification of those on this set.

12 See, for example, A. González-Palacios, ed.: *L'Oro di Valadier. Un genio nella Roma del Settecento*, Rome 1997; *idem: Arredi e Ornamenti alla Corte di Roma 1560–1795*, Milan 2004, esp. pp.313–426; and *idem: exh. cat. Luigi Valadier*, New York (Frick Collection) 2018.

13 F. Di Castro: *Via Margutta. Cinquecento anni di storia e d'arte*, Rome 2006, p.46.



4. Oval tray (one of a pair), by Luigi Valadier. 1769–71. Gilt silver, diameter 29 cm. (Cathedral of Portalegre; © Diocese Portalegre-Castelo Branco).

Below clockwise from left

5. Holy water bucket and aspergillum, by Luigi Valadier. 1769–71. Gilt silver, bucket 12.4 by 14.4 cm.; aspergillum length 17.3 cm. (Cathedral of Portalegre; © Diocese Portalegre-Castelo Branco).

6. Wick trimmers and candle-holder, by Luigi Valadier. 1769–71. Gilt silver, silver, trimmers 17.5 by 4.6 cm.; holder 32.3 by 13.5 cm. (Cathedral of Portalegre; © Diocese Portalegre-Castelo Branco).

7. Bell, by Luigi Valadier. 1769–71. Gilt silver, 12.5 by 6 cm. (Cathedral of Portalegre; © Diocese Portalegre-Castelo Branco).

8. Pair of cruets and tray, by Luigi Valadier. 1769–71. Gilt silver, each cruet 17.3 by 8.50 cm., diameter of tray 24.4 cm. (Cathedral of Portalegre; © Diocese Portalegre-Castelo Branco).

The Portalegre service, which was made before Pedro de Melo's appointment as bishop in 1772, was at some point in Manuel Tavares's care, as he was portrayed with what appears to be its bell by his side in a portrait now in the Bishop's Palace (Fig.14). It is likely that one or other of these bishops acquired rather than commissioned the set from one of the dealers in Rome who were able to obtain items from the Valadier workshop for foreign clients. This idea is supported by the fact that none of the pieces of the Portalegre service has a coat of arms engraved on it and there is no indication that arms have been erased. The service may have been purchased by a dealer or agent in Rome prior to a buyer coming forward, and so the engraving of the coat of arms would have been left for a later date.

As with other mass sets, marks are not found on every piece. Valadier's appears only on the holy water bucket (Fig.11) and the candle-holder, although on the latter it is much damaged.¹⁰ The *bollo camerale* No.132, which corresponds to the period 1769–71,¹¹ is identifiable on the basin (Fig.12), the tray for the pair of cruets, all four round dishes, both oval trays and the candle-holder. Taken together, these marks confirm that the Portalegre service was made in Rome in Valadier's workshop and received the mark of the Reverenda Camera Apostolica between 1769 and 1771.

Valadier's career is well understood, thanks in particular to research by Alvar González-Palacios.¹² After the death in 1759 of his father, the French silversmith Andrea Valadier, who had established himself in Rome in 1714, Valadier obtained his silversmith's licence on 24th February 1760. He continued his father's work, initially in partnership with his brother Giovanni (1732–1805), but they separated in 1762. Luigi Valadier, his wife, Caterina (a daughter of the Florentine sculptor Filippo della Valle), and their children moved from the area in which the family had lived and worked since 1714, near S. Luigi dei Francesi, to a house in the Strada Paolina (now via del Babuino), on the corner with the Vicolo del Carciofolo.¹³ The street, like many in its immediate vicinity, was home to



A pontifical mass service by Luigi Valadier



Left 9. Pax, by Luigi Valadier. 1769–71. Gilt silver, 18.1 by 14.5 cm. (Cathedral of Portalegre; © Diocese Portalegre-Castelo Branco).

Above 10. Round dish (one of four), by Luigi Valadier. 1769–71. Gilt silver, diameter 25 cm. (Cathedral of Portalegre; © Diocese Portalegre-Castelo Branco).

11. Detail of Fig.5, showing Luigi Valadier’s mark. (© Diocese Portalegre-Castelo Branco).

12. Detail of Fig.3, showing the Reverenda Camera Apostolica’s mark (‘bollo camerale’).

the workshops of a variety of artists and craftsmen, from sculptors and painters to silversmiths, which may have influenced Valadier’s decision to move there.

In the 1760s, when Valadier became a member of the *Compagnia dei Virtuosi* (in 1765) and served as Fourth Consul of the Roman silversmiths’ guild (1766–69), he regularly made pieces for the Borghese, including the bronze decorations for the altar in the family chapel in S. Maria Maggiore,¹⁴ as well as lamps and other pieces intended for liturgical use. He also worked on items for the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament in S. Giovanni in Laterano, which was under Borghese patronage.¹⁵ In the years that followed he worked for the usual ecclesiastical clientele of Rome,¹⁶ for such aristocratic families as the Chigi,¹⁷ and increasingly for customers throughout Europe (there are, for example, numerous examples of his work in Britain) and beyond, including Mexico. The second half of the 1760s and the entirety of the 1770s were the Valadier workshop’s most prolific period. The years 1768–75 included a major commission for the high altar of Monreale Cathedral: the altar ledge (or gradine), which was unveiled in Rome in September 1768,¹⁸ two side panels (1769), a frontal (1770) and, finally, six statues of saints, completed over the course of 1775.¹⁹ In 1769 he made a casket for the remains of St Camillus de Lellis for the altar dedicated to the saint in S. Maria Maddalena, Rome.²⁰

During the time he received these commissions he made a solemn mass service for Cardinal Domenico Amedeo Orsini d’Aragona (1719–89), now in the cathedral at Muro Lucano, which is of particular interest for the study of the service in Portalegre, since the sets are close in typological and decorative terms as well as in date. The Orsini service (Fig.13), identified in 1994 by Renato Ruotolo,²¹ has been extensively studied by González-Palacios.²² Initially believed to have been made c.1779 or 1774–75,²³ it has more recently been dated to c.1768–69.²⁴ Given that the dates that correspond to the hallmarks of the Portalegre pieces are 1769–71, the two sets could be almost contemporary.

González-Palacios has pointed out that Domenico Orsini was not a priest, merely a cardinal deacon, which means that he was unable to celebrate mass. What use, therefore, would he have had for such a set? In the present author’s opinion, the Orsini set was never used, which helps to explain its pristine condition, enhanced by its gilding being retouched c.1781, as documented in an invoice from Valadier recently discovered by Alessandro Agresti.²⁵ By contrast, the Portalegre set has been used, and since it has not been kept in ideal conditions the pieces lack the immaculate appearance of the Orsini set, although in other ways the services are very similar. Their components almost all match in size (the variation is never more than two centimetres), share the same shapes and, most significantly,

14 See *Registro Generale di tutti li Lavori Ferriordegni e d'altri generi necessari per le professioni di argentiere, doratore, e fonditore di qualunque genere varie pietre dure e tenere lavorate e grezze nel negozio del Signore Giuseppe Valadier nell'anno MDCCXX*, Frick Collection Art Reference Library, New York, published in Vale 2017, *op. cit.* (note 2), pp.237, 252 and 325.

15 Bills for work carried out for the Borghese are in the Borghese archive and are cited in González-Palacios 1997, *op. cit.* (note 12), p.20; *idem* 2004, *op. cit.* (note 12), pp.353–54; and *idem* 2018, *op. cit.* (note 12), p.120.

16 For example, a monstrance for SS Domenico e Sisto, as recorded in L.A.

Chracas: *Diario Ordinario*, no.6972 (13th March 1762), p.8.

17 The earliest payment for work carried out by Luigi Valadier for the Chigi dates from 19th June 1765, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Archivio Chigi, fols.1176 ff; see González-Palacios 1997, *op. cit.* (note 12), p.21.

18 L.A. Chracas: *Diario Ordinario*, no.7989 (17th September 1768), pp.3–4.

19 J. Winter: ‘Luigi Valadier and Monreale’, *Antologia di Belle Arti* 34–42 (1991–92), pp.89–96; some models for parts of the altar remained in the workshop in 1810, see *Registro Generale*, *op. cit.* (note 14), pp.189 and 319.

20 L.A. Chracas: *Diario Ordinario*, no.8124 (6th January 1770), pp.17–18.

21 See S. Abita, ed.: exh. cat. *Argenti in*





are very similar in their decoration, both in their ornamental repertory (grapes and ears of wheat, for obvious symbolic reasons, together with undulating ribbons and ties) and in the way in which those elements are placed on the pieces.

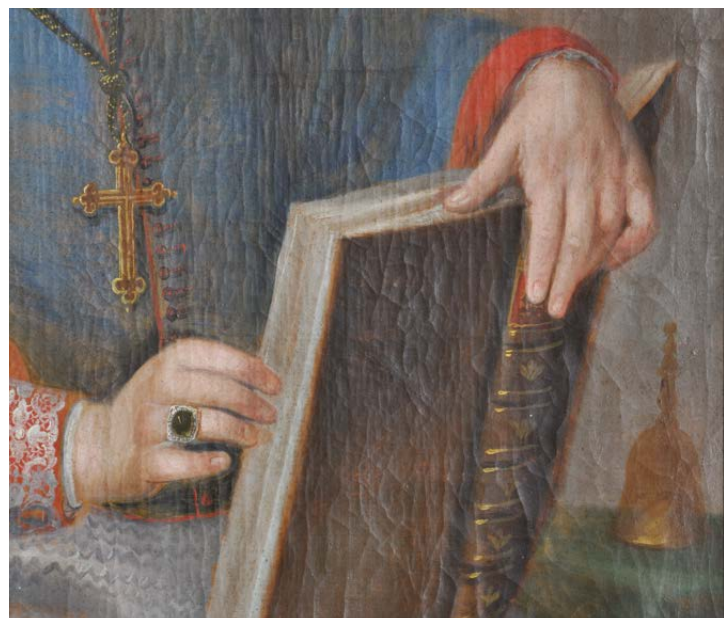
Two groups of related drawings are important to a comparison between the two services. The first is in an album of drawings in the Pinacoteca Comunale di Faenza,²⁶ which contains a drawing of a bell inscribed 'Luigi Valadier in Roma 1779'. This has recently been associated with a gold liturgical set (a chalice and paten, a pair of cruets with a tray, and a spoon and bell) commissioned in 1778 by the bishop of the Spanish city of Lleida, Joaquin Antonio Sánchez Ferragudo (d.1783), which disappeared in 1810.²⁷ Two other drawings in the album can also be associated with this set.²⁸ One depicts a round dish (or basin) and the other an oval tray (Figs.15 and 16).

The second group consists of two drawings formerly at New Wardour Castle, Wiltshire, one depicting cruets (Fig.20) and the other a pair of cruets and its tray (Fig.17), and two drawings in private collections, one of a ewer and basin (or possibly a cruet and tray), the other a holy water bucket (Figs.19 and 18). With the exception of the New Wardour drawing of the pair of cruets without a tray,²⁹ all have been associated with the Orsini service.³⁰ But now that the existence of at least two pontifical mass services by Valadier featuring a closely similar repertory of forms and decorative

13. Pontifical mass service, by Luigi Valadier. 1768–69. Gilt silver. (Cathedral of S. Nicola, Muro Lucano; photograph The Frick Collection, New York).

14. Detail of *D. Frei Manuel Tavares Coutinho e Silva, seventeenth bishop of Portalegre*. Eighteenth century. Oil on canvas, whole painting 107.5 by 84 cm. (Episcopal Palace, Portalegre; © Diocese Portalegre-Castelo Branco).

elements has been established, the drawings can be connected to both sets, although those drawings that include the arms of the Orsini (see Fig.15, for instance) are obviously directly related to the Orsini service.³¹ It seems likely that most of the drawings were made for that service, but that they were subsequently used for the Portalegre set and perhaps for other pieces too. The signed and dated drawing of the bell for the Lleida service is identical to the bell in the Orsini service, and both the Orsini and Portalegre services



Basilicata, Matera (Palazzo Lanfranchi) 1994, pp.58–61.

22 González-Palacios 1997, *op. cit.* (note 12), pp.142–47; A. González-Palacios, E.P. Bowron and J.J.J. Rishel, eds: *exh. cat. Art in Rome in the Eighteenth Century*, Philadelphia (Museum of Art) 2000, p.189; González-Palacios 2004, *op. cit.* (note 12), pp.360–61; and *idem* 2018, *op. cit.* (note 12), pp.336–46.

23 González-Palacios 1997, *op. cit.* (note 12), p.142; González-Palacios, Bowron and Rishel, *op. cit.* (note 22), p.189; González-Palacios 2004, *op. cit.* (note 12), p.360.

24 See González-Palacios 2018, *op. cit.* (note 12), p.345.

25 *Ibid.*

26 The album is published by Francesco Leone in G. Leardi, ed.: *exh. cat. Valadier*

Splendore nella Roma del Settecento, Milan (Borghese Gallery) 2019, pp.81–183.

27 See I. Puig, J. Yeguas: 'L'Obra de Luigi Valadier a Lleida', in B. Bassegoda, J. Garriga and J. Paris, eds: *L'Època del Barroc I els Bonifàs*, Barcelona 2007, pp.135–56.

28 It was published in association with the Orsini service in González-Palacios 2004, *op. cit.* (note 12), p.364.

29 The drawing is mentioned without being linked to the Orsini set in *ibid.*, p.360.

30 See González-Palacios 1997, *op. cit.* (note 12), p.147; and *idem* 2004, *op. cit.* (note 12), pp.361–64.

31 The coat of arms on the Orsini service is not the personal arms of Cardinal Domenico Orsini, but that of his family with the galero and tassels.



Opposite clockwise from top left 15. A round dish or basin, by Luigi Valadier. Brown ink on paper, 42.5 by 45 cm. (Pinacoteca di Faenza).

16. An oval tray, by Luigi Valadier. Brown ink on paper, 24 by 34.5 cm. (Pinacoteca di Faenza).

17. A pair of cruets and a tray, by Luigi Valadier. Brown ink on paper, 34.8 by 28.8 cm. (Wiltshire and Swindon Archives, Chippenham, 2667/18/16.)

18. A holy-water bucket, by Luigi Valadier. Pencil and brown ink on paper. (Private collection).

19. Ewer and basin, or cruet and tray, by Luigi Valadier. Black and brown ink on paper. (Private collection).

20. A pair of cruets, by Luigi Valadier or his workshop. Black and grey ink on paper, 18.4 by 11 cm. (Wiltshire and Swindon Archives, Chippenham, 2667/18/15).

Right 21. Detail of Fig.8, showing the stopper of one of the cruets. (© Diocese Portalegre-Castelo Branco).



have decoration that matches the drawings, such as the ornament on the borders of the basin, round dishes and oval trays. There are also some significant variations between the services. The Portalegre set is in general simpler and more naturalistic in its ornament than the Orsini service, although its cruet stoppers – which are missing from the Orsini service – are of unusual sophistication and beauty (Fig.21) and the pax (Fig.9) is treated more elaborately than the Orsini example. It depicts the *Pietà* in a composition that seems to have been inspired by a famous seventeenth-century relief in the now destroyed church of S. Maria della Navicella, Chioggia,³² rather than the *Ecce Homo* on the pax in the Orsini service – perhaps the result of an intervention by the client or his agent?

There are important differences between the drawings that can be explained by the context in which these pieces were made, a Roman workshop in the second half of the eighteenth century. Valadier's own hand is recognisable in such expressive sheets as the drawing for a holy water bucket (Fig.18). The drawing for a pair of cruets formerly at New Wardour Castle (Fig.20),³³ however, is a presentation piece made to be shown to potential clients and although it reflects Valadier's mind and working methods it was probably drawn by one of the numerous silver workers (*lavoranti*) in the workshop. This is typical of the diversity of the drawings known from Valadier's workshop.

A bill in the Borghese archive concerning objects made around 1768–69, which coincides with the date of the Portalegre service, includes the names of some of those who were employed in Valadier's workshop:

Pippo Francisi and his son Michele, Pozzi Maggiore (the elder), Vollinter, Camillo, Baroni, Andrea moulder, Pietro, Brandi, a German, Master Giorgio, Derossi's brother, a man from Livorno, a new worker, Derossi Maggiore (the elder), Paolone, Borgiani, Leopoldo, Giulio polisher, Filippone, Checco del Frontone and his assistants, Diego, Chiani, the one from Siena, a casemaker, Giovannino, Venanzi, a bell maker, Giosafatt, Obbiteliese, a coach-maker, Santi, Signor Claudio, Filippo from Ceprano, Giardoni, Ghinassi, Mannochj, Menichella, Ciriaco, Francesco

Via, a labourer for beating slabs, a joiner for making a table for the silver, a turner, a wood-carver for making a model, a turner for making eight lids, a turner for making eight pepper-pots [?].³⁴

This is not necessarily a list of people who worked full time in the workshop; it more probably refers to craftsmen whom Valadier called on to help fulfil commissions from the Borghese at that time. A silversmith such as Francesco Giardoni would have owned his own workshop and foundry, so his collaboration with the Valadier workshop would have been temporary. The same is true of Pozzi and Borgiani, both from families of silversmiths active in Rome in the eighteenth century. 'Pippo' (Filippo) Francisi (1750–1816) was also a member of a family of silversmiths; his father, Giuseppe (1720–87), had worked with Valadier from 1755 to 1785.³⁵ Ghinassi, Manocchi and De Rossi are also the names of families of silversmiths.

The listing of the highly specific jobs highlights the multifarious nature of the skills practised within the workshop: a polisher (*'pultore'*), a casemaker (*'astucciario'*), a bellmaker (*'campanaro'*), two wood-carvers (*'ebanista'*), two turners (*'tornitore'*) and so on. Throughout the 1770s around one hundred craftsmen would continue to be involved with the workshop,³⁶ their trades and skills ranging from silversmithing, casting, gilding and sculpture (in stone or metal) to inlaying coloured stones (*pietre dure*) and skilled carpentry (cabinetmaking). This explains the many different hands recognisable in the drawings from Valadier's workshop.³⁷

Furthermore, the shop's commercial character (it was referred to as *'negozio di belle arti'* some years later) is worthy of note.³⁸ The first two rooms had doors, windows and shop fronts that looked onto the busy Strada Paolina and were used for displaying items and models that would draw in clients. This surely contributed to the growing diffusion of Valadier's works among a clientele who consisted not only of prominent figures in Roman society but also the agents of foreign dignitaries – one such might have acted for a Portuguese bishop – or even young aristocrats on their Grand Tour. Such clients did not require a unique object or set, but would be satisfied with a piece associated with the prestigious workshop of the Valadiers.

32 See U. Middeldorf and O. Goetz: *Medals and Plaquettes from the Sigmund Morgenroth Collection*, Chicago 1944, p.28, no.186. I thank Jennifer Montagu for kindly drawing my attention to this publication.

33 See González-Palacios 2004, *op. cit.* (note 12), p.361.

34 'Pippo Francisi e il figlio, Michele, Pozzi Maggiore, Vollinter, Camillo, Ba-

roni, Andrea formatore, Pietro, Brandi, un tedesco, Mastro Giorgio, il fratello di Derossi, il livornese, un lavorante nuovo, Derossi maggiore, Paolone, Borgiani, Leopoldo, Giulio pulitore, Filippone, Checco del Frontone e il suo lavorante, Diego, Chiani, il senese, un astucciario, Giovannino, Venanzi, un campanaro, Giosafatt, l'obbiteliese, un facocchio, Santi, Signor Claudio, Filippo di cepra-

no, Giardoni, Ghinassi, Mannochj, Menichella, Ciriaco, Francesco Via, un facchino per battere piastre, un ebanista per una tavola per l'argento, un tornitore, un ebanista per un modello, un tornitore per otto coperchi, un tornitore per otto peparole', transl. the author, Vatican, Archivio Segreto, Archivio Borghese, fol.5275; see González-Palacios 1997, *op. cit.* (note 12), p.28; and Vale

2017, *op. cit.* (note 2), pp.49–51.

35 Bulgari, *op. cit.* (note 10), I, pp.461–62.

36 This figure rose to 180 in the 1780s, see Di Castro, *op. cit.* (note 13), p.49.

37 On the role of drawing in the Valadier workshop, see T.L.M. Vale: 'Presenza e ruolo del disegno nella bottega Valadier', in Leardi, *op. cit.* (note 26), pp.60–67.

38 See Registro Generale, *op. cit.* (note 14).