

Court dining in Baroque Vienna¹

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In the first half of the eighteenth century, almost every aspect of court life was affected by ceremonial. The complex table ceremonial reflected the differences in rank within the strictly ordered court and social hierarchy, which can be observed by a whole web of signs and gestures.

Even the material of the service reflected differences in social standing. In 1755, the lawyer Friedrich Carl von Moser observed: “At all but the smallest courts, table services are nowadays in silver. But on high and holy days the great imperial and royal courts dine off solid gold.”² The order of priority was consistently gold, silver gilt, and silver for noblemen according to their rank. For the untitled, no matter how wealthy or refined they might be, silver was not appropriate and pewter or faience were considered the only correct materials. These specifications were generally respected, so court banquets featured graded tables according to rank with different tablewares made in precisely these various materials. At the festive banquet mounted for the homage ceremony at which the estates of Lower Austria swore allegiance to Maria Theresa in 1740, for instance, the representatives of the city of Vienna, who were commoners, ate from pewter (*fig. 7*), while silver was used at all the other tables (*figs. 2, 5-6*).

Moser continues his explanation: “For the dessert one uses the so clean and costly porcelains of which there are also complete services, exceeding silver in cost.” Indeed, from the end of the seventeenth century, in addition to precious metals, princely tables also customarily featured porcelain, which however was only used for dessert.³ In the beginning, of course, only imported Far Eastern porcelain was available, which the Viennese nobility tried to buy at any price. Most of it was dec-



Figure 1. Imperial table in the *Ritterstube* of the Hofburg in Vienna on the occasion of the hereditary homage paid by the estates of Lower Austria to Emperor Joseph I on September 22, 1705
Copperplate engraving
From: Ludwig von Gülich: *Erb-Huldigung, so dem... Römischen Kayser... Josepho dem Ersten, von denen gesambten Nieder-Oesterreichischen Ständen ... abgelegt ... worden.* Vienna 1705
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich

orated in the Imari style. These decorative patterns were later copied in Meissen and at the Viennese porcelain manufactory of Du Paquier, which hoped to earn some of the huge quantities of money being spent on Asian porcelain.

Besides these dishes for dessert, the Du Paquier manufactory began to produce fine porcelain services “for the soup- or first savoury course” early on, and succeeded in selling them to important families of the empire. Given the clear specifications regarding the materials to be used at dining tables of noblemen, a closer look at the highly regulated customs at court



Figure 2. Imperial table in the *Ritterstube* of the Hofburg in Vienna on the occasion of the hereditary homage paid by the Lower Austrian estates to Archduchess Maria Theresa on November 22, 1740
Copperplate engraving
From: Georg Christoph Kriegel: *Erb-Huldigung, Welche ... Mariae Theresiae ... Von Denen gesammten Nieder-Oesterreichischen Ständen ... abgeleget Den 22. Novembris Anno 1740.* Vienna 1740
Gardiner Museum, Toronto; photography: Brian Boyle

dining tables helps to understand why and on which occasions this porcelain tableware could be used and appreciated.

Official court dinners followed very precise rules, especially at the imperial court in Vienna.

There were two sorts of princely or imperial table or meal: 'public' and 'ordinary.'⁴ The public meals were important official events in which the ruler was put on display at his table for the benefit of the court and any other interested parties, whether subjects or foreign guests. The magnificence of the dining hall, the splendor of the table decoration, and the perfection of the service were all intended to demonstrate the dignity, might, and wealth of the sovereign – the ruler legitimized by God – and so strengthen his subjects' feelings of closeness to him and the recognition accorded him by outsiders. Precisely because of this

external orientation, great care was taken to see that these public tables took place in strict accordance with ceremonial and nobody would be ignored or offended.

Many courts held public tables with great ceremonial at Christmas, Easter and Pentecost and on New Year's Day. There was also a great measure of table ceremonial on 'gala days' – the birthdays and name-days of members and relatives of the ruling house. The invited guests – foreign dignitaries and court office holders – were obliged to appear in gala dress. At the imperial court in 1718 there were sixteen such gala days. In addition, there was a public table every Sunday and feast day after the Emperor had attended mass. During Charles VI's reign, most royal and princely courts held a large number of public tables each year. It was only toward the middle of the eighteenth century that this practice was modified in favor of a greater measure of privacy. Maria Theresa canceled the Sunday public table and significantly reduced the gala days in number.

Of the various kinds of public table, the highest ranking were the ceremonial tables put on for great court and state festivities such as coronations, homage ceremonies, marriages and other similarly important events. Like the church services that



Figure 3. The wedding dinner of Maria Theresa and Franz Stephen, Vienna, February 12, 1736 (detail)
Unknown artist
Copperplate engraving
Albertina, Vienna

Figure 4. Free table of the three upper estates of Lower Austria on the occasion of the hereditary homage paid by the estates of Lower Austria to Emperor Joseph I on September 22, 1705
Copperplate engraving
From Gülich 1705 (*see fig. 1*)





Figure 5. Free table of the three upper estates of Lower Austria on the occasion of the hereditary homage paid by the Lower Austrian estates to Archduchess Maria Theresa on November 22, 1740
Copperplate engraving
From: Kriegl 1740 (see fig. 2)
Gardiner Museum, Toronto; photography: Brian Boyle

preceded them, they were a fixed part of these legally binding acts of state. Accordingly, as an indication of his special status, the ruler sat alone at the table or with his wife (figs. 1-2), or, on appropriate occasions like weddings, with his family (fig. 3). Ceremonial tables always stood on a raised podium under a baldachino – a sign of the highest-ranking personage in the room. Alongside the table there was usually a buffet with several shelves, which was used not only to serve drinks but also to display a magnificent array of silver and gold belonging to the sovereign to demonstrate his great wealth. At ceremonial tables, the acoustic signals indicating the preparation of the table, the entrance of the ruler into the dining room, the serving of the individual courses or the drinking of toasts, were not

given by trumpets alone, but by trumpets and drums, or even by a cannon shot. And the Emperor was “waited upon by the occupants of hereditary and other high court offices, with the signs of their rank,” that is to say, with the silver-tipped marshall’s batons or flags, and were “served by the highest nobility in accordance with full ceremonial.” Festive music was played and those in waiting had to be silent.

Most ceremonial tables were accompanied or followed by a banquet for the holders of the hereditary offices and other high-ranking dignitaries, members of the court, and other guests, for which several tables were laid, often in other rooms.

At the public tables the procedures, and the status of those carrying them out, varied in accordance with the importance of the occasion and the rank of the persons involved. In general, though, the more official the occasion, the more elaborate and finely differentiated the ceremonial and the higher the rank of those preparing the table, decking out the display buffet, carrying in the dishes and place them onto the table. When all the dishes for the first course were standing on the table in their correct order, the court-Marshall with all the gentlemen



1. Hr. Obr. Erb. Silber Kammerers Tafel. 2. Hr. Obr. Erb. Ruchelmeisters Tafel. 3. Hr. Obr. Erb. Hauptmeisters Tafel. Hr. Obr. Erb. Thuchhaiters Tafel. 1. Hr. Obr. Erb. Danners Tafel. 2. Hr. Obr. Erb. Hoff Carlans Tafel.

of the court accompanied the lord and lady in an ordered procession to the table.

At grand banquets with high-ranking foreign guests the seating plan was carefully determined as it had to follow rank strictly to avoid disputes. the higher one’s rank, the closer one would be to the ruler, with the place to the ruler’s right ranking highest of all.

The seating order at the weddings of imperial daughters, for instance, was an ever-recurring problem, because the groom was inevitably lower in standing not only than his bride but also than even the youngest archduchess. Nevertheless, it was obviously desirable to arrange for the groom, at least at the wedding table, to occupy the place alongside his bride, who herself could never have been expected to descend to a lower-ranking position. At the wedding of Maria Theresa to Francis Stephen of Lorraine on February 12, 1736 (fig. 3), etiquette demanded that the Emperor should take the central place on the long side of the table with the Empress on his right and the dowager Empress Wilhelmine Amalia on his left, while Maria Theresa – his successor in accordance with the Pragmatic Sanc-

Figure 6. Tables of the holders of the hereditary offices on the occasion of the hereditary homage paid by the Lower Austrian estates to Archduchess Maria Theresa on November 22, 1740
Copperplate engraving
From: Kriegl 1740 (see fig. 2)
Gardiner Museum, Toronto; photography: Brian Boyle

tion – sat on the right-hand end of the table, with her sister Maria Anna, the next to her in rank, sitting opposite her at the left-hand end. According to the ceremonial, the Emperor’s sister Archduchess Maria Magdalena, who lived at court, would have been entitled to sit to the right of Maria Theresa, but she “yielded her rank, only at this wedding table, so that the most serene bride and bridegroom can sit next to one another.”⁵

Evidence of how diplomatic considerations led to questions of rank being handled with the greatest strictness is provided by the treatment of the groom’s brother, Prince Carl of Lorraine, who was not granted the honor of sitting at the wedding table, but was only allowed to attend the church wedding and indeed anything else that took place in public – ‘incognito’,

looking on from the clerics' choir or from the gallery.⁶ Nevertheless, he was permitted to dine at less official meals in a more private context with members of the imperial house, as he did at midday six days after the wedding with his brother the Duke of Lorraine in the latter's antechamber, in the company of the latter's bride Maria Theresa, her sister Maria Anna and the two sisters' aunt the archduchess Maria Magdalena. But even here it was not possible for them to sit together in a manner they considered best to promote good conversation. In the imperial court records there is a note that the seating order with the ladies on the long side and the gentlemen at the ends of the rectangular table was 'not approved of' by the Emperor, and that in future all should sit in one row on the long side.⁷

Differences in rank were also reflected in many other details, for example in the furniture the guests sat on. The same table might be furnished with stools, chairs with backs of various heights, and chairs also with arms, all of which could reflect distinction through the quantity of gilded cord. Such details were significant and were regularly described in court reports, letters, and diaries. And, as comparisons were constantly made, inevitably there were wrangles.

Similar distinctions were made in other elements of table ceremonial. The most distinguished of the ritual acts was perhaps the washing of hands with perfumed warm water before and after the meal. At great solemnities the water was offered with a ewer and hand-basin only to the highest in rank while the others received simply a wet napkin on a salver. The highest in rank could also be honoured by a 'threefold manner of waiting', where three persons were involved in serving one person, for instance, 'a senior chamberlain takes the sovereign's hat and gloves, gives them to another chamberlain, who in his turn passes them on to a groom of the chamber, who holds them until they are returned to the sovereign once the table is over.'⁸

As the guests sat down, the gentlemen who were serving moved their seats toward the table. Thereafter, the servers remained standing behind the table. On particularly solemn occasions such as weddings or hereditary homage ceremonies, the gentlemen who were serving and the court ministers stood behind the persons of princely status for the duration of the meal. Otherwise, once the highest person present raised his glass, the servers retired to the tables prepared for them, and pages took over their duties. The gentlemen had to return when the dessert was brought to the high table, and continue their duty until the guests retired to their private apartments in the same order in which they had come to the table.

The dining ceremonial practiced at the imperial court did not differ in any fundamental respects from those at the princely courts, except that those performing services were higher in rank and more numerous. However, whereas princes could sit with other nobles, and counts with burghers, the emperor, as a sign of his special status, ate alone or only with his highest family. Even princes of the empire or other visitors of similar high standing could only be invited to dine with the Emperor at the table put up in the Empress' apartments, where her court ladies would serve at table. In the evening, too, the Emperor usually dined with his family in the Empress' audience chamber, where 'the court is far less stiff in its behavior than at midday' in the Emperor's apartments.⁹ There was more freedom when the court was away from the Hofburg in one of the summer residences or at the hunt. Under Maria Theresa,

Figure 7. Table of the fourth estate on the occasion of the hereditary homage paid by the Lower Austrian estates to Archduchess Maria Theresa on November 22, 1740
Copperplate engraving
From: *Kriegl* 1740 (see fig. 2)
Gardiner Museum, Toronto; photography: Brian Boyle

the strict rules of her predecessors were relaxed in many respects.

Fortunately, great occasions of state such as coronations and homage ceremonies were frequently documented in an elaborate 'diarium' published after the event, often including engravings depicting the tables. One of the most lavishly illustrated records the ceremony taken place on November 22, 1740 in which the estates of Lower Austria paid homage to the Archduchess Maria Theresa, successor of her father Emperor Charles VI. It contains six engravings devoted to a total of twenty tables, which stood in various rooms in the Hofburg in Vienna (figs. 2, 5-7). Four of the engravings repeat older prints made for the diarium of the according homage ceremony paid to Emperor Joseph I in 1705 (figs. 6-7),¹⁰ while two plates were newly engraved: that of the ceremonial table (fig. 2, to compare with fig. 1), at which court ladies were present because homage was being paid to a woman, Maria Theresa. As the most important person she was sitting on the right of her husband, Francis Stephen of Lorraine who became Holy Roman Emperor five years later. Newly made was also the engraving of the free table of the three noble estates (fig. 5, to compare with fig. 4) probably because of the importance of including the five-shelved buffet displaying silver provided by the marshal of the land. The engravings give us a good impression of the atmosphere of such banquets and how they were served.

At eighteenth-century courts, the table was generally laid and served in accordance with the *service à la française*, developed at the court of Louis XIV. The banquet was divided up into two or occasionally three savory courses, followed by one course of dessert or sweetmeats. Each course was composed of a number of different dishes, which varied according to the occasion and the number and social standing of the guests. The ceremonial table at the hereditary homage ceremony for Maria Theresa in 1740, at which only she and her husband ate, consisted of two savory courses with thirteen dishes each (fig. 2), while at the ceremonial table in Dresden for the wedding of Princess Maria Amalia of Saxony to Charles VI of Sicily in 1738, at which eleven persons partook, there were forty-two serving dishes for each of the three courses.¹¹ All the dishes for any course were brought to the table at the same time and were laid out in a symmetrical arrangement along both axes of the table, which was often a long rectangular form (figs. 4, 5, 7). Along the long axis were large dishes with decoratively arranged foods and *étagères*, with parallel rows of smaller dishes and plates on either side. Table centerpieces could be placed in the middle as eye-catchers, either a *plat de ménage* with cruets for vinegar, oil, salt, and other seasonings or parts of the dessert composition known as 'dormants,' because they 'slept' unused until the dessert course (fig. 2). At a round table, the centrally placed main dish was often raised on a ring so that the smaller dishes could surround it (fig. 6).

When the guests entered the hall, they were welcomed by the festive sight of the first course already on the table. It in-





Figure 8. Tureen stand from a hunting service, c. 1735
Vienna, Du Paquier manufactory
Sammlungen des Fürsten von und zu Liechtenstein, Vaduz-Vienna

cluded *hors d'oeuvres*, soups, entrées, and meat and fish dishes prepared in the form of strudels, pies, and ragouts. The meat was already cut up, and the dish was easily divided into portions. For this course, tureens as well as a set of round and oval serving dishes were used. The second course was set on the table in the same way as the first—meaning that each course had the same number of dishes. This course was composed principally of roasts—joints of meat and whole fowl roasted in one piece—along with pies, various *entremets* (brawns, vegetables, or salad), and sweet dishes such as almond cakes. In Catholic Vienna, fish was substituted for meat on over one hundred fast-days a year.

Menu cards did not exist in the eighteenth century, so the guests at large tables did not know exactly what food had been served. They helped themselves to the various nearby foods or asked a neighbor for assistance. The serving dishes were not moved and, when guests wanted to taste something too far removed, they depended on servants to assist with the help of their long-handled serving cutlery (see figs. 4, 7). Impressive is the hustle-and-bustle at the tables, as servants bring new

dishes in and offer drinks in glasses, which at court had to be emptied straightaway and returned to the server. Some of the servants are unashamedly helping themselves and even allowing the dogs to take their fill.

The transition from one course to the next took usually place while the guests were sitting down. In the depiction of the homage ceremony of 1705, the table has just been re-laid (fig. 4). While the used dishes and plates have been cleared away to tables at the side, servants in Spanish black coats are bringing in more food on the left in the foreground and through the door on the right. They are carrying *étagères*, two of which are already on the table, so the dessert is being served.

The *service à la française* had the advantage that, from the beginning, the table was laden with a spectacular quantity of food. It also had clear disadvantages, especially that the long-waiting food was often cold. As Count Friedrich Ulrich Lynar wrote of a dinner held at Nymphenburg one summer evening in 1762: 'We sat down to eat at ten o'clock and all the princely company ate from a table laid with eighty places. It is just the same here as it is at the tables of all great lords: all the food is cold and, in spite of the many dishes, one gets little to eat.'¹² One result of the *service à la française* was a general trend toward a homogeneous design of the tableware in form and decoration and towards a wide range of different items or types.



Figure 9. Large round tureen from the service for Czarina Anna Ivanovna, c. 1735
Vienna, Du Paquier manufactory
Melinda and Paul Sullivan Collection, West Hartford;
photography: Joseph Coscia Jr

The Viennese porcelain manufacturer du Paquier was evidently aware of this trend and manufactured all the items required for the table in a variety of different models and complete services with stylistically matching items, mostly for the first or soup-course as well as for the dessert. From the surviving services it is sometimes difficult to say whether they were intended 'for the first soup-course' or for the dessert. For dessert, all that was needed were plates for the guests and a number of serving dishes in various sizes. But as tureens and sauce boats occasionally formed part of dessert services, their presence in a service is no indication of use. If a service contains a large number of tureens in different shapes and sizes however it can be assumed that it was intended for the first course, with its soups and ragouts.

Du Paquier often produced tureens without stands as it was intended to combine them with stands in precious metal which had many advantages: they reflected the candlelight, and the contrast created by the shine of their surface and the colors gave the table an aura of opulence dear to the baroque heart. The special interest in combining porcelain with silver is one characteristic of Du Paquier porcelain that is not found at Meissen or other European porcelain factories.

The existing services and archive material show how successful du Paquier was in attracting important members of the

Vienna court, and other people in the vicinity of the court, to purchase porcelain tableware for the dessert and for first savory course. The princes of Liechtenstein, for instance, owned several Du Paquier services for the dessert as well as for the soup-course (fig. 8). The owners of Du Paquier tableware were principally members of the higher nobility, for the most part princes or counts of the Holy Roman Empire, closely associated with the imperial house by being members of the Order of the Golden Fleece, occupants of higher posts at court, imperial chamberlains and envoys, or foreign ambassadors.

Obviously in their homes, the Vienna's princely palaces, where the ceremonial was not as strict as at the imperial court, most sumptuous festivities were held and the greatest culinary delights have been enjoyed. In 1716 the English Lady Montagu wrote home enthusiastically: 'I have already had the Honour of being invited to Dinner by several of the first people of Quality, and I must do them the Justice to say the good taste and Magnificence of their Tables very well answers to that of their

Furniture. I have been more than once entertain'd with 50 dishes of meat, all serv'd in silver and well dress'd, the dessert proportionable, serv'd in the finest china; but the variety and riches of their wines is what appears the most surprising. The constant way is to lay a list of their names upon the plates of the Guests along with the napkins, and I have counted several times to the number of 18 different sorts, all exquisite in their kinds. I was yesterday at Count Schonbourn's, the vice chancellor's Garden, where I was invited to Dinner, and I must own that I never saw a place so perfectly delightful as the Fauxbourgs of Vienna.¹³ And in 1730 the German traveler Jakob Küchelbecker recorded his stern disapproval: 'Vienna has been overtaken by luxury, which seems to increase year by year ... There is more excessive eating and drinking in Vienna than anywhere else ... and people seem to think there is no better way of spending the greater part of the day than at table with a glass of wine.'¹⁴

The general level of luxury should not surprise us, as any self-respecting grandee had to prove himself worthy of his princely title not only through ambitious building projects but also through extravagant festivities with splendid banquets. On one occasion, Prince Nikolaus I von Esterházy even covered his garden with salt, an expensive commodity, to give Maria Theresa the pleasure of a sleigh-ride in summer. Foreign ambassadors and other envoys were duty bound to represent their sovereigns fittingly in the imperial capital, so were also obliged to live well and invite the entire court to their festivities. Embassies set the general standards for fine entertaining in Vienna, particularly as their events were held in the palaces of the Viennese nobility and were reported on in the *Wienerisches Diarium*, the Viennese Newspaper. There were usually more than one hundred guests, who were 'most finely fed' at long, elaborately decorated tables.

To host these festivities in style, the nobility of Vienna were prepared to invest large sums of money not only in expensive foods but also in fine tableware. Silver tableware was certainly present in large quantities at all the grand Viennese palaces. At the banquets held for the various homage ceremonies, the holders of the hereditary offices were required to provide silver for their own tables. All that the emperor provided was the food. Silver, whether displayed on the buffet or used on the table, demonstrated to the assembled company its owner's wealth and financial independence – and thus his suitability for high office at court.

However, although precious metal was an indispensable element at the noble table, Du Paquier's range of finely decorated porcelain successfully created a completely new ideal in the mind of the nobility, for porcelain had a number of clear advantages over silver. Unlike silver, which gave an unpleasant flavour to eggs and acidic foods, porcelain imparts no taste. Furthermore, it does not scratch easily, so it is suitable for shellfish such as oysters. The most important reason why it added an opulent new dimension to the dining table, however, was simply because it was colorful – a feature much in accord with the baroque concern to appeal to all the senses. When guests entered the lavishly furnished and lit dining hall to the sound of festive ceremonial music, they were greeted with a most splendid sight: the colored porcelain radiant against the white tablecloths, combining effectively with silver stands and candelabra and complementing the aromas of fine foods – a

scene perfectly calculated to satisfy the most ambitious nobleman's desire to demonstrate his exalted station in society. Thereby the luxury material porcelain was just as expensive as silver. Unlike silver, it could not be melted down to raise funds, so its possession subtly emphasized that the owner was not only artistically refined but also securely wealthy. Another attraction to circles close to the court may have been that porcelain, unlike precious metals, had no connotations related to social standing. Consequently, it enabled princes and other nobles to vie with the emperor – or even outdo him – without actually competing directly with him or transgressing the bounds of their own station.¹⁵

It is evident that the imperial house also owned Du Paquier tableware and used it as diplomatic gifts, for example a service with more than 30 tureens for for Tsarina Anna Ivanovna (*fig. 9*). However, for the grand official occasions bound by the demands of ceremonial, it was still to be long time before the highest courts would replace silver or gold with porcelain.

Notes

- 1 The lecture held at *The International Ceramics Fair & Seminar* in June 13th 2009 was based on the chapter 'The Art of Dining' by the author published in the 3 volume-book, *Fired by Passion: Vienna Baroque Porcelain of Claudius Innocentius Du Paquier*, edited by Meredith Chilton and Claudia Lehner-Jobst, published by Melinda and Paul Sullivan Foundation for the Decorative Arts with Arnoldsche Art Publishers: Stuttgart, 2009, II, pp. 764-847. For more information, detailed references and illustrations, see this chapter. This article combines parts of this chapter with some additional material.
- 2 Friedrich Carl von Moser: *Teutsches Hof-Recht*, Frankfurt a.M./Leipzig 1754/1755, I, p. 539.
- 3 See Meredith Chilton: The Theater of Dessert in: *Fired by Passion* (note 1), vol. II, pp. 848-911.
- 4 On this subject see also Hans Ottomeyer, Michaela Völkel: *Die Öffentliche Tafel: Tafelzeremoniell in Europa. 1300-1900*, exhibition catalogue of the Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin, 2002.
- 5 Quoted from Ingrid Haslinger: Der Kaiser speist en public. Die Geschichte der öffentlichen Tafel bei den Habsburgern vom 16. bis ins 20. Jahrhundert. In: Ottomeyer/Völkel 2002 (note 4), p. 52.
- 6 Discriptions of the wedding in the Wienerisches Diarium Nr. 12, 1736 and in Vienna, Main Court and State archive (HHStA), ÄZA, K. 37.
- 7 Vienna, Main Court and State archive (HHStA), ÄZA, K 37.
- 8 Julius Bernhard von Rohr: *Einleitung zur Ceremonial-Wissenschaft Großer Herren*. Berlin 1733, p. 107.
- 9 Johann Basilius Küchelbecker: *Allerneueste Nachrichten vom Römisch-Kaiserlichen Hof nebst einer ausführlichen historischen Beschreibung der Kaiserlichen Residenz-Stadt Wien und der umliegenden Oerter*. Hannover 1730, p. 389.
- 10 Two of these older prints repeated in 1740 are not illustrated here, but in Ottomeyer/Völkel 2002 (note 4), pp. 157-160, figs. 48d and 48e. All six illustrations of 1705 are repeated in the diarium of the homage ceremony paid to Emperor Charles VI in 1712.
- 11 The exact sequence of the dishes is published in Maureen Cassidy-Geiger: Innovations and the Ceremonial Table in Saxony 1719-1747. In: *Zeichen und Raum: Ausstattung und höfisches Zeremoniell in den deutschen Schlössern der Frühen Neuzeit*. Edited by Rudolstädter Arbeitskreis zur Residenzkultur. München 2006, pp. 152-162.
- 12 Quoted from Eduard Vehse: *Geschichte des Hofes vom Hause Baiern 1503-1825*. Leipzig 1885, II, pp. 46-47.
- 13 Quoted from *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*. Edited by Robert Halsband, Oxford 1965-1967, I, p. 260.
- 14 Küchelbecker 1730 (note 9), p. 426.
- 15 On this subject see also Cassidy-Geiger 2006 (note 11), p. 141.