MAGNIFICENCE, SIGNIFICANCE AND DAILY USAGE – THE GERMAN TOILET SET OF THE LATE BAROQUE AND ROCOCO PERIOD.

by Bernhard Heitmann

IN THE HISTORY of European civilization the subject of beauty care and toilet manners, seemingly of little importance, is really of great interest and can be studied from its beginning in Medieval times. In various countries, the nobility and ruling classes commissioned items elaborately formed with costly materials, befitting their position. The inventories of the Medieval courts of France and Burgundy for example, list remarkable numbers of these precious objects. There we find accessories for the toilet, not listed as sets but as single objects. Even though they were used en suite each item was fashioned as an independent piece in its own style. This combination of heterogeneous objects in a group remained customary until the end of the Renaissance and Mannerist period.

In about 1500 we find the so-called 'restello' in Venice. This was a kind of shelf, that was usually fixed to a wall between two windows with a central mirror, with items to hold a wide range of objects used for the toilet such as combs, brushes, cosmetics and, more importantly, bleaching agents. Quite often, the restello was abundantly decorated with paintings, gold and stone decorations or with precious woods. Due to Venetian luxury restriction laws of the time, this extravagance was banished, but the restello only disap-



Figure 2. Set of boxes from the 'Mecklenburg Service'. Johann Erhard Heuglin II, Augsburg circa 1715 silvergilt, enamel. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe.

peared with the introduction of a smaller version, the solid table.

It is about this time that the expression 'toilet' came into use, for a *toile* (the French word for tissue) served to wrap the utensils used for the beauty ceremony and on which the objects were displayed. Soon the whole procedure of dressing was called the toilet.

In the 17th century, parallel to the development of dinner services, toilet sets were made to match and matching sets both in gold and silver were produced for the aristocracy. It was the baroque manner of extracting individual forms in an homogeneous concept that let to the creation of the service. The baroque toilet set

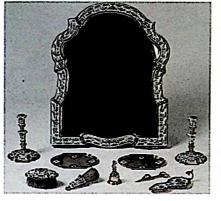


Figure 1. Toilet accessories from the 'Mecklenburg Service'. Johann Erhard Heuglin II, Augsburg circa 1715 silver-gilt, enamel. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe.

consisted usually of a mirror and candlesticks, a number of boxes, in pairs or in different shapes, scent bottles, trays and brushes. This concept more or less remained from the middle of the 17th century up to the end of the Rococo period. Early examples of French sets have probably not survived in France, but a few examples found their way to foreign courts, such as the set in Rosenborg Castle in Copenhagen and two in Britain, the Lennox-love and Chatsworth Sets. The French started and developed this fashion which was then copied all over Europe. We know for example, quite a number of English toilet ensembles were adapted to the English silver style.

It was in Germany however, that this phenomenon for French services was adopted most enthusiastically. German goldsmithing of the period, especially in the South German

city of Augsburg, with its long tradition of gold and silver work, had around 1700 not only the best masters in its guild, but also a group of agents and merchants who were able to solicit orders from all central over Europe and had the skill to organize a well trained and efficient

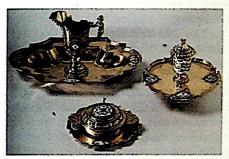


Figure 3. Ewer and basin, Écuelle, Footed Salver and Beaker from the 'Mecklenburg Service'. Johann Erhard Heuglin II, Augsburg circa 1715 silver-gilt, enamel. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe.

production line. Augsburg's dominance was almost equivalent to a monopoly. Their ability to blend the French influence with specific preferences to German taste made Augsburg very successful.

Up to now, several toilet sets developed in Augsburg have survived that embody the specific German form. Combined with the original components for the toilet, we also find objects not seeming to fit in at first glance. Depending on the quality and quantity of each toilet set, it included a plate for one and vessels in which to serve tea, coffee or chocolate with cups for up to six people – also an inkstand and bell. An article in the *Frauenzimmerlexikon*, edited by Amaranthes in Leipzig, 1715 (a guide for the fashionable lady), explains the enlarged set. The entry 'Nachttisch' (night-table, i.e. toilettable) describes all that was required by a lady for her toilet table. It enumerates all the items mentioned above and adds playing cards and chips, even a prayer book and a cross. The enlarged toilet set obviously represents nothing less than the combination of all the objects needed in the privacy of the bedchamber for the inhabitant and her visitors.

It is remarkable that these lavishly furnished and richly decorated toilet sets, made of extraordinarily large amounts of silver or silver-gilt neither show damage nor traces of daily use as lesser examples would – that is of course if any examples have survived.

The wide range of functional objects displayed in an Augsburg set has led to its misunderstanding as a travelling-set. It will be reasonable to look at some examples first before discussing their real purpose and identifying their original character.

Four services have been chosen to demonstrate the variations of material, style and contents. Three of them were manufactured in Augsburg, and one in Vienna, but its relationship with the others is evident.

In 1949, the Hamburg Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe acquired a toilet service and chest which formerly belonged to the Grand Dukes of Mecklenburg. It was made between 1715 and 1720 by Johann Erhard Heuglin II, one of the leading masters of German Régence goldsmithing. The chest nowadays contains 27 pieces including: toilet accessories, écuelle, dish and cutlery for one person, a covered beaker, candlesticks, snuffers and a bell. Two empty spaces had been reserved for the – lost – scent bottles. The 28th piece, an important silver-gilt beaker with enamel decoration from Dresden, was added to the set but is heterogeneous.

The 'Mecklenburg-Set' is important in every way. All the items were manufactured to the highest quality. The generously mounted enamel decorations are white grounded, delicately painted and enriched with figural reliefs in gold. This type of enamel is usually called 'Fromery-Email' as the workshop of the Fromery family in Berlin sold similar products and sometimes signed them on the rear. Nevertheless, there are many who argue that the same enamel style was also manufactured in Dresden and Augsburg. Augsburg enamel painting of the period was well known and highly appreciated.

Heuglin worked as a goldsmith and engraver. His pattern book for toilet sets was famous and well known throughout Germany. Boxes, ewers, trays and coffee pots in the style of those patterns can be found with hall marks from many of the German cities that had important goldsmith guilds. The 'Mecklenburg Service' is the most elaborate example made by the master himself. A second set in the Residenz of Munich is similar in design but less enriched with enamels and not as complete as the ensemble in the Hamburg Museum.

This set has the elegant contrast of massive goldsmithing with delicate lines on an oblong form that give it the noble charm of the Régence period. The group of four pairs of boxes in different sizes, alone is a highlight of 18th century goldsmithing. The shape and decoration of the ewer and basin exhibit the perfection which made it the prototype for these objects for at least twenty years. The harmony of the silver-gilt and the delicately curved surfaces of the gold decorated enamel elements cannot be surpassed.

The pieces have no signs of use except some tiny cracks in the enamels on the candlestick bases. This shows that candles have been pressed from time to time into the nozzles putting pressure on the base. It is difficult to imagine what would have happened to the set if it had been regularly used for travelling, when even this harmless treatment caused damage to this sensitive material. It seems, that the set was carefully preserved and protected as a valuable object.

A second example was made in 1747-49 by Franz Christoph Saler, a master of Augsburg's Rococo period. It consists of white silver, only the interior of some vessels are gilded (fig. 4). It has been recently acquired by the Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin. The set is unique in quite a number of details. First of all, it is the only set preserved without the objects being completely gilded. We know that such sets were manufactured regularly but this is the only one known. This is of course important as the presentation of the set is different from a silver-gilt one. The form and material of the case is similar to other sets and the interior is covered with a turquoise silk velvet bordered with gold ribbons. The colouring harmonizes with the silver surfaces of the objects as does the red velvet in the chests of the silvergilt services. The set in white silver is as elaborately formed and chiselled as the gold coloured verions but it is obvious that it was made for lesser dignitaries or state occasions as were the gilt examples.

Another originality of the set is its contents: we can identify two strictly different forms of boxes, rectangular ones and a pair of round powder boxes with fairly different decoration in relief and engraving. What makes the set unique is the integration of heterogeneous objects such as the two sauceboats and the marvellous elaborate spittoon. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that this is the original combination. Every piece dates from the same year and shows the same maker's mark. Even the construction of the fitted chest proves that the accessories belong together.

It is astonishing that the manufacturer Saler produced the complete set himself without help or contributions from other people. Cooperation with different workshops was more than usual in Augsburg, especially if a commission left little time between the order and the required delivery date. If masters of individual specialities worked together, the result always had to be a combination of objects in the style and fashion of the time. In Saler's case, a working master seems to have combined the ultimate fashion with some other elements. The mirror's lines are perfect and of breathtaking quality. Saler was one of the great specialists in the manufacture of mirror frames. The relief of the spittoon, the footed salver and the basin are perfect, the bases of the candlesticks, on the other hand astonish us by their plain round form in contrast to the lines of the Rococo period. Another curiosity is the shape of the ewer. Saler didn't copy the elegantly swinging lines developed at that time by the Satzger family in Augsburg but preferred proportions of heavier character.

The silver-gilt toilet service of 1751-53 (fig.5) represents

the fully developed type of the Augsburg with its full set complement. In 1990, it returned to its place of origin and is now part of the silvercollection in the Augsburg Museum. Together with the sets in Stuttgart and the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, which date from nearly the same period it documents princely the magnificence of the heydays of German Rococo silver. contains toilet accesfor chocolate, coffee and tea, an inkstand



Rococo silver. It Figure 4. Toilet Service in its fitted chest. contains toilet accessories, one plate, pots Silver. Berlin, Deutsches Historisches Museum.

and candlesticks with snuffers. It's manufacture was obviously needed very quickly and was therefore made with the cooperation of a group of goldsmiths. Nevertheless, the form and decoration of all the items are in complete harmony. Only by checking the master's marks can one identify the difference.

The splendidly decorated mirror frame shows that its maker also specialised in silver ecclesiastical objects. Its ornamentation is close to the work done on other altar frames of the time. The craftsmanship of each object in the set is perfect and the elaborate rocaille decoration is of the very best Augsburg's goldsmithing. Typical of its style is the fact that the body and surface of the items are blended, even amalgamated with the ornamentation. Foamy rocaille work with flowing movement grows out of the metalwork instead of covering it. It is the period when a combination of abstract forms were naturalistically used with birds, flowers and leaves. The study of the overall look of the service is as fascinating as the elaborate fine detailed work.

Even, when exhibited as a functional set, its magnificent appearance characterizes it as an important display, particularly when shown with the lid of the chest open.

The rich gilding proves it to be made for the ruling classes as the strict hierarchy of the period only allowed such luxurious items for the highest ranks of the aristocracy.

The massive gold service (fig.6) is the only one of the four services discussed that was not manufactured in Augsburg. Its master Domanek worked in Vienna and this toilet set is now in the collections of the Kunsthistorisches Museum. It had been made for the court. A month after the death of Maria Theresia in December 1780, it was taken from her private apartments to the imperial 'Silberkammer'. Originally it was housed in a fitted chest which contained along with the gold and porcelain objects a gold ornamented lace cover. The lace cover and the chest are lost today. The service has 58 items in total and is without doubt the most important toilet set in existence. Only three other gold sets have survived – the



Figure 5. Toilet Service in its fitted chest. Eight Goldsmiths of Augsburg, 1751-53 Silver-gilt. Augsburg, Städtische Kunstsammlungen.

two in the Hermitage collection in St. Petersburg and another belonging to the present Queen of Denmark.

One of the singularities of the Viennese set is its character as a toilet service for a gentleman. Within the toilet accessories are a set of razor knives one for each day of the week. (Six large and one smaller). Also included, are 2 another group of items usually not integrated in such a luxurious service. such as toothbrushes

and spoons for cleaning the ears. The service for coffee, tea and chocolate is also complete and situated below the three pots for hot beverages are a kettle and stand, six porcelain imari cups and two Meissen trembleuse cups. Previously, four gold candlesticks belonged to the set. These unfortuanely have been lost since 1945, but the snuffers and tray are intact.

The history of the set is not reported. We know neither its date or the occasion for its commission. But the fact that it is a massive gold set of imperial splendour allows us to presume that Maria Thesesia ordered it for her husband, the Emperor Franz Stephan, and probably gave it to him on the day of his coronation in 1745. The style is different from the parallel Augsburg goldsmithing, only the contents show the connection with the German type of service. Maria Theresia and her husband ruled Tuscany and lived in Florence up to her accession to the throne in 1740.

The Italian influences are too obvious to characterize it as Viennese work of the Rococo. The typical solidity of Italian goldsmithing and the taste for more symmetry, even in the lively swinging shapes of the objects is not to be found in contemporary goldsmithing of either Austria or Southern Germany. The movement and preference for more plain surfaces, and the way the individually worked ornaments are applied to the body of the vessels is completely different from the German style. Two of the items have a really Venetian character: the mirror with its massive shape and proportions and the ewer with its swinging, vividly dancing lines.

The smoothness of the lines and the shining splendour of the polished surfaces are ideal for exhibiting the warm reddish colour of the gold. The objects are flawless and in mint condition. They obviously have never been used. The four services so far discussed belong to the group misleadingly called 'travelling-sets'. This name is not older than approximately 100 years. They cannot be found in any 18th century sources. The original name was always 'toilet' or, in German, 'Nachtzeug' (things or objects for the night – an alliteration to the fact that they were displayed in the bedroom). It may be possible that this erroneous description was the result of mixing up the 'necessaire de voyage' of the 19th century with sets of earlier times when travelling was not so common.

The French Revolution brought about a sharp break in customs and manners and we should bear this in mind when identifying the period of the Ancien Régime, the neoclassical and later period. The hierarchical feelings of the ruling classes in pre-revolutionary Europe completely dominated their sense of reality and social mores in a way which was impossible to imagine for subsequent generations.

With the beginning of the Régence and especially during the Rococo decades, the lives of the nobility 'were enacted on stage'. Even the simplest actions of daily life got specifically composed in style and refinement and lesser objects had to reflect the sense of nobility and even their use had to follow strict rules of protocol.

Looking at these magnificent services, it is hard to believe that they had been acquired even by the nobility for travelling. First of all, the delicate materials and surfaces used, consequently would have led to remarkable damage to the objects not to speak of the inevitable risk of loss while moving them from place to place. Another fact is that their cases are quite different from the massive trunks used then for transportation. Their wooden boxes only with leather covers and metal mounts lack the stability for rough treatment and shaking in a coach. They were obviously manufactured only as containers for the toilet sets whilst in storage.

Contemporary inventories show that the services were not part of the silver store in the vaults of a palace, but were regularly kept in the bedchambers or dressing rooms of their owners. It has already been mentioned that Maria Theresia's massive gold set was situated in her private apartments where she kept it in memory of her husband. Other sources confirm this fact. It is important to point out that the toilet sets have always been the private property of their owners, who were allowed to dispose of them if they so wished. It was easy to exchange the toilet sets for cash in case of need.

For that last reason silver toilet sets were regularly given to young princesses on their wedding day as they were both elegant and fashionable and a hedge against inflation.

Every detail needed to prove this argument can be found in the dowry inventories of the Bavarian princess Marie Josepha who married the Emperor Joseph II, as his second wife in 1765. Marie Josepha had been endowed with an enormous dowry and in the papers documenting it there are bills from the Augsburg silver merchant Rauner. For the wedding he delivered in total three complete toilet services. The silver-gilt and large white silver services were delivered by courier on the day of the wedding in Munich. Rauner's notes only list the two sets without enumerating their contents but gives their precise weight in precious metals. The delivery of the third one was quite different: it was sent to the court four weeks after the wedding and it is the only one which is enumerated item for item. The number of objects in this service was much smaller than the contents of the other two and its 15 pieces were priced at only 360 fl.

On the contrary, the prices of the larger services were 4.330 fl and 2.250 fl. respectively. It must be stated that the 15 pieces in the smaller service were accessories for toilet purposes only, and included a chamber pot and bell. However, the two larger sets consisted of complete services as shown in this article.

There can be no doubt that only the smaller toilet set was for the personal use of the young empress and that the items were displayed regularly on her toilet table, as no mention of a special container is listed in the bills from the merchant Rauner.

The large services in all their splendour had to be delivered on the wedding day in order to show the princely magnificence of the bride's father, the prince elector Maximilian Joseph, and to furnish the bride with the state silver she needed during her life at the Viennese court. Along with the other wedding gifts exhibited, these magnificent toilet services, when shown with their chests open, greatly impressed the guests during the reception.

The Augsburg silver bill tells even more, for we learn that the sets were delivered by the merchant Wilhelm Michael Rauner who represented an establishment specialising in silver which also had a business as creditors to the court. The Bavarian prince electors used this firm to pawn gold and silver objects for cash and at the same time order new plate. Rauner did not work on the objects himself but organised their production. He solicited the commissions, and proposed the size, fashion and style of the objects. For important orders of multinominal sets he commissioned different Augsburg goldsmiths at the same time who worked as independent masters for manufacturing these objects. He then grouped the completed work, paid the silversmiths, and arranged for their delivery and payment. This division of labour not only facilitated the production in the shortest time possible but also gave the merchant the chance to chose different tasks from specialised masters. The goldsmith did not then have to involve himself with offering objects in the most up to date styles; the soliciting of orders and methods of transactions for payment. These advantages enabled the Augsburg goldsmiths to concentrate on their craft; work on their specialist subjects and live with a guaranteed economic backing.

The necessity to follow the changes and developments of style and fashion, surely would have been hard for a craftsman. The well organized system of goldsmithing in Augsburg had a solution for this question as a group of editors produced, in cooperation with talented engravers and goldsmiths etchings, in single leaves or bound as pattern books. These papers and specially made drawings were of great importance to the agents and working masters, as they gave ideas for objects and fashionable forms that helped to depict the style of the commissioned items. The pattern book of Johann Erhard Heiglen is the best known and the most elaborate book to demonstrate form, shape, decoration and the variation of the Augsburg toilet set in the year around 1720 (fig. 7).

It is helpful to look at paintings, especially ladies's portraits to find more information regarding the rites of the toilet ceremony and to study the objects represented. The best known artist for this topic is the Venetian genre painter Pietro Longhi who painted scenes of a more private character. His young ladies shown while dressing, give an idea of the importance of the daily toilet ceremony and its integration to family life and public representation. But there is little to see of the magnificently displayed toilet sets of the period. These services had a more representative touch to be used as the right background illustrations for real scenes of life. In Hogarth's Rake's Progress, however, in the 'marriage à la mode', a fashionable dressing table with precious objects is seen.

The ideal painting to explain this idea of the stately silver toilet set is John Zoffany's portrait of Queen Charlotte seated in front of her toilet table. The centre of the canvas shows the arrangement (fig. 8). The queen's face is reflected in the silver framed mirror. The light entering through the open door illuminates her graceful head and glitters brilliantly on the jewels in her hair and on her ears. A precious lace cover, decorates the mirror which can be laid over the whole display as soon as the queen leaves the table. On the lace tablecloth a choice of toilet accessories can be identified: Boxes of different sizes, a scent bottle and an onction pot with a cover in the shape of a crown, a huge pincushion with needles to fix ribbons and feathers during dressing, candlesticks and an écuelle, which document the combined display of toilet items and plate placed on the same table. None of the items seem to be filled with anything or to have been used or prepared for use. Everything is merely decorative and is nothing more than a delicate frame for a beautiful woman. Without being blasphemous, we can say that this table and its silver display is a kind of altar, the altar to the queen's beauty in the temple of vanity.

The association of a beautiful woman with the goddess Venus and the idea that the table with the toilet mirror is a kind of altar were common in the 18th century. All kinds of allegorical plays were highly esteemed and appreciated. Alexander Pope for example published in 1712 in the *Rape of the Lock* the following passage:

'Any now unveil'd the Toilet stands displayed each silver vase in mystic order laid. First rob'd in White the Nymph intent adores With Head uncover'd, the Cosmetic Pow'rs. A heav'nly Image in the Glass appears To that she bends, to that her Eyes she rears; Th'inferior Priestess, at her Altar's side, Trembling, begins the sacred Rites of Pride. Unnumber'd Treasures ope at once, and here he various Off rings of the World appear; From each she nicely culls with curious Toil, And decks the Goddess with the glitt'ring Spoil. This casket India's glowing Gems unlocks, And All Arabia breathes from yonder box. The Tortoise here and Elephant unite, Transform'd to Combs, the speckled and the white. Here Files of Pins extend their shining Rows, Puffs, Powders, Patches, Bibles, Billet-doux. Now awful Beauty puts on all its Arms; The Fair each moment rises in her Charmes, repairs her Smiles, awakens ev'ry Grace, Any calls forth all the Wonders of her Face; Sees by Degree a purer Blush arise,



Figure 6. Toilet Service of Emperor Franz I Stephan (detail). Anton Matthias Domanek, Vienna, circa 1745 Gold, porcelain, glass, mother of pearl. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.

and keener Lightnings quicken in her Eyes. The busy Sylphs surround their darling Care; These set the Head, and those divide the Hair. Some fold the Sleeve, whist others plait the Gown; Ans Betty's praised for Labours not her own'.

(cited after *The poems of Alexander Pope*, edited by John Butt, London 1963).

While Pope transforms the simple actions of the toilet ceremony into the pagan liturgy of a divine woman, the stately embellished Augsburg sets enoble the objects of daily use. Up to now we have only just glanced at the most magnificent goldsmith's work. It might be of interest to conclude with a resume of the objects and activities of the real toilet ceremony of 18th century aristocratic life.

In that period, daily dressing easily took up to three hours or more. Ladies, and gentleman as well, were accustomed to the martyrdom of a complicated make-up and exaggerated dressing detail. During these long and sometimes boring hours, distraction and entertainment was more than welcome. When for example a lady woke up in the morning, the servants accompanied her to the dressing table where she refreshed her face with some rose-perfumed water. The ewer and basin for this purpose were part of the items spread out in front of the mirror. The combing of her



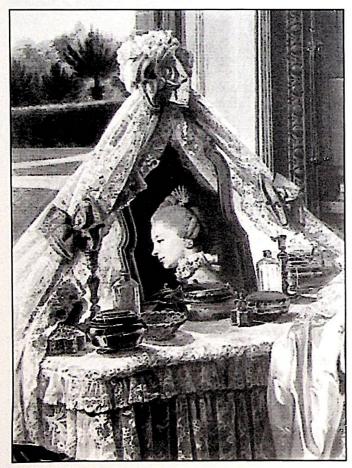
Figure 7. Etching from a Pattern Book for Toilet Sets. Johann Erhard Heiglen, Augsburg, circa 1720. Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe.

hair, the fixing of wigs or false locks took quite 3 time. Mastic and onction for these activities were at hand in small boxes and bottles. The bigger boxes

contained powder in various colours. The hair was powdered 'à la mode', the make-up of the face was usually a rose blush on a white ground. A curiosity, was the painting of blue lines to follow the veins on the neck and temples to accentuate the aristocratic blue blood shining through the delicate tender skin. Black patches of different sizes were at hand to hide spots or less beautiful details of the face but were more often used to underline or to point out the fine details of the chin or cheeks. Booklets of that time published detailed advice and prescriptions as to where to fix these patches and to interpret the proper meaning of their setting.

Other boxes contained feathers, ribbons and decorations

Figure 8. Queen Charlotte in front of her Toilet Table (detail). Oil on canvas, John Zoffany. London, Her Majesty, Queen Elizabeth II.



for hair and dress, pomades, onctions and agents were used as well. Special roots served for the cleaning of the teeth and scent bottles were filled with fashionable perfumes.

During this long lasting ceremony, the lady could have her first meal of the day. Breakfast was not usually enjoyed in the company of the court but taken in private. It consisted mainly of a broth, often with marrow bones, a glass of water or wine in the covered beaker and some bread (the lid of the beaker saved the liquid from the powder which flew around during combing and hairdressing).

When visitors, friends or guests showed up and assisted the progress of the ceremony, it was customary to offer one of the hot drinks, so much in fashion in the elegant world of that period. Coffee and tea were served in simple cups. For the consumption of chocolate the special type of trembleusecup was used.

For the innumerable billet-doux, notes and letters of the time, the inkstand with sandbox and bell had to be at hand. Gentlemen and ladies as well, ruled their households even in their morning gowns, the ladies in front of their dressing tables and the gentleman whilst being attended by their barbers. Messages were written and sent by servants and – naturally – received at the toilet table too.

The Rococo period didn't know the shyness and the stiff discretion of the Victorian Age. Privacy could be reduced without any loss of grace or elegance in front of other people in their apartments. The frankness of the art of make-up and dressing was amazing and gives us an idea of the airy atmosphere of that procedure. The serenity of the period was effortlessly combined with the strict protocol of court rules. The magnificence of representation was essential, but was only one facet of 18th century existence. In a miraculous way, Hofmannsthal and Strauss in their opera 'Der Rosenkavalier' succeeded with the levee scene in the first act, to bring back to life the princely splendour and natural charm of real life and the perfectly styled way of life on the borders of aristocratic obligations.

The magnificent toilet services shown in this context may document the skill, taste and possibilities of 18th century continental goldsmithing. At the same time it is as fascinating to look at them as documents of a historical turning point – the refinement of living at the very moment before the decline of the aristocratic world. The exquisitely elaborate ensembles bear witness to the playful taste, even in aristocratic appearance and to the grandeur of contemporary craftsmanship as well.

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