



Nº 8 • 2022
ISSN 2444-121X

The *Chursächsische Spiegelfabrik* at Friedrichsthal in the Electorate of Saxony: Rediscovery of a Forgotten Glass Factory and its Products

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- Fecha de recepción: 10-12-2021 - Fecha de aceptación: 17-05-2022 • Pags. 175 - 207
 - <https://doi.org/10.46255/add.2022.8.116>

RESUMEN

En este artículo se pretende rescatar del olvido una de las más importantes fábricas de cristal alemanas del siglo XVIII y principios del XIX: la casi desconocida *Chursächsische Spiegelfabrik* o Fábrica de Espejos del Electorado de Sajonia, fundada por el Elector en Friedrichsthal, al norte de Dresde, en 1709. Mediante nuevos resultados de investigación se traza la historia de la fábrica y se analizan los factores que dieron lugar a su apogeo a partir de 1787, cuando, además de espejos, empezó a producir objetos de cristal transparente y de colores para la mesa y de decoración, como fruteros, candelabros, jarrones, etc., así como lámparas y arañas. La introducción del Beinglas, o cristal blanco semi-opaco, en 1794 consagró el éxito internacional de la *Spiegelfabrik*, hasta que la producción cesó en 1815.

PALABRAS CLAVE: vidrio; fábrica de espejos; Beinglas; *Chursächsische Spiegelfabrik*; Sajonia; revistas de moda.

La *Chursächsische Spiegelfabrik* en Friedrichsthal en el Electorado de Sajonia: Redescubrimiento de una fábrica de vidrio y sus productos

ABSTRACT

This article aims to rescue from oblivion one of the most important German glass factories of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries: the Chursächsische Spiegelfabrik or Mirror Factory of the Electorate of Saxony, founded by the Elector at Friedrichsthal, north of Dresden, in 1709. Using new research results it traces the history of the factory and analyses the factors that led to its heyday from 1787, when, as well as mirrors, it started producing plain and coloured glass objects for the table and interior decoration, such as fruit bowls, candelabra, jugs, and so on, as well as lamps and chandeliers. Its international success culminated with the introduction of semi-opaque white bone glass in 1794, until production ceased in 1815.

KEY WORDS: glass; mirror factory; bone glass; *Chursächsische Spiegelfabrik*; Saxony; fashion magazines.

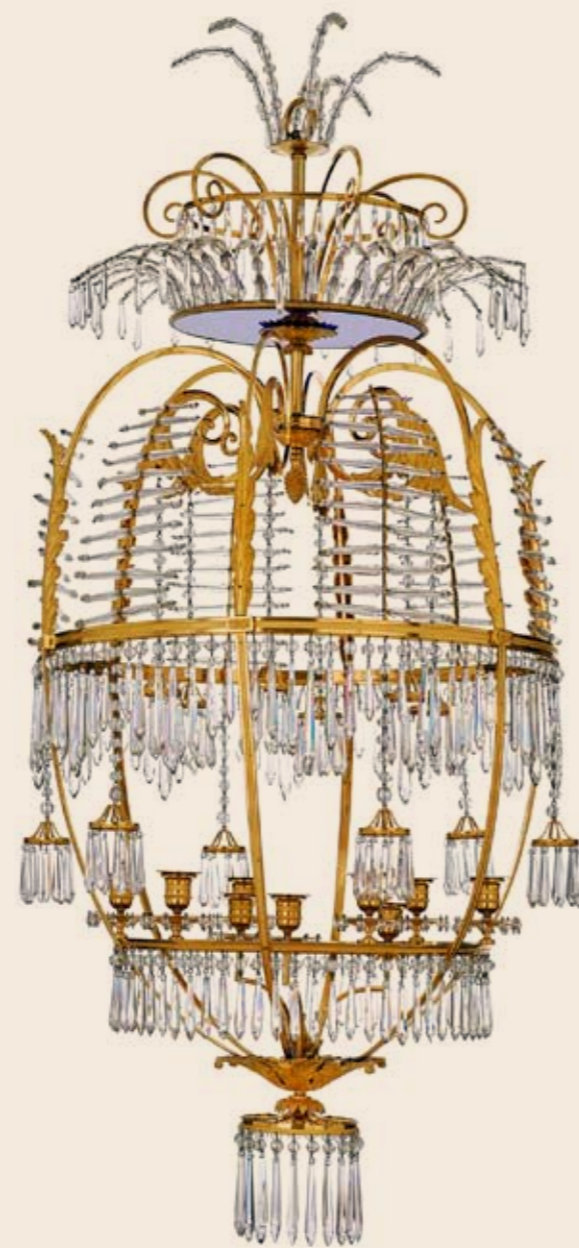


Figure 1

Above:
Egg-shaped chandelier from the *Chursächsische Spiegelfabrik*, Dresden, around 1800.
Photo: Frank C. Möller Fine Arts/Michael Holz

Left:
Matching design in *Journal des Luxus und der Moden*, March 1800, plate 8.
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THE CHURSÄCHSISCHE SPIEGELFABRIK AT FRIEDRICHSTHAL IN THE ELECTORATE OF SAXONY: REDISCOVERY OF A FORGOTTEN GLASS FACTORY AND ITS PRODUCTS

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INTRODUCTION

On 27 November 2018, an egg-shaped nine-light chandelier was offered for auction at Sotheby's in Paris. Its origin and history were unknown. The lot description merely stated that it was probably Northern European from around 1800. At that time, a chandelier of such an unusual shape was unknown to researchers and to the art trade, and it remained unsold.¹

A few months later, its origin was revealed beyond doubt when I happened to come across the March 1800 issue of *Journal des Luxus und der Moden*, the first periodical of its kind in the German-speaking world, published monthly in Weimar from 1786 to 1827 [fig. 1]. It features a coloured plate depicting the exact design of the Sotheby's piece and notes that this "egg-shaped chandelier of the newest taste" was made by the *Chursächsische Spiegelfabrik* (Mirror Factory of the Electorate of Saxony) in Friedrichsthal, about sixty kilometres north of Dresden, founded in 1709 by the Elector of Saxony, Augustus the Strong (1670–1733).²

As its name suggests, the original purpose of the *Spiegelfabrik* was the production of plate glass for mirrors and windows to supply the Saxon palaces and serve the local market. As such it enjoyed mixed fortunes for most of the eighteenth century. However, it flourished around 1800 with a diversified product range, concentrating on outstanding bronze-mounted glass objects such as candelabra, vases and chandeliers, which it sold very successfully, not only in Saxony and neighbouring Thuringia and Prussia, but also to distant countries such as Denmark, Russia, Sweden, France and even Spain.

The ultimate success of the *Spiegelfabrik* certainly owed much to the *Journal* itself, which promoted its products extensively, featuring and illustrating no fewer than twenty from 1788 to 1800. This gives us a substantial repertoire of visual evidence which provides a richly detailed view of an important and previously unrecognized manufacturer. It also raises the possibility of identifying other objects that are preserved in collections or have appeared on the art market as “possibly Russian” or of other uncertain origin, as having been produced at the *Spiegelfabrik*.

The extraordinary egg-shaped chandelier has now returned to Saxony, where it is currently on display in the Kunstgewerbemuseum (Decorative Arts Museum) of the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden (SKD), in the Imperial Rooms at Schloss Pillnitz.³

Remarkably, the research community seems to be largely unaware of this factory.⁴ The purpose of this study is therefore to fill a gap in our knowledge of eighteenth-century Northern European glass by retracing the history of the *Chursächsische Spiegelfabrik*, using archival material, historical sources and older studies, with an overview of the high-quality objects it produced in the period around 1800.⁵

EARLY GLASSWORKS IN SAXONY AND THE FOUNDATION OF THE SPIEGELFABRIK

The origin of the *Spiegelfabrik* lies in Augustus the Strong’s desire to establish his own production facilities for decorative arts and luxury goods in Saxony. A crucial role was played here by the Saxon scholar Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus (1651–1708), who advised the Elector as of 1696 on the introduction of a mercantilist economic policy, following the model developed by Colbert in France, by setting up proto-industrial factories for glass and porcelain production.⁶ Tschirnhaus also experimented with glass casting techniques and established grinding and polishing works for precious stones and plate glass.⁷

In 1708, the decision was made to found a factory outside Dresden, the *Chursächsische Spiegelfabrik*, specifically for the production of cast plate glass for mirrors and window panes following the techniques developed in France, as well as blown plate glass. A plan was presented by the Bohemian glass manufacturer of French origin Sebastian Massar,⁸ and a site was found in a richly forested area near Senftenberg, about sixty kilometres north of Dresden. In honour of the Elector, the works and surrounding estate

were called Friedrichsthal. No less than 3771 thalers was invested by the *Churfürstlich-Sächsische Rentkammer* (Rent Chamber of the Electorate of Saxony) and Massar took charge of the factory on a leasehold basis.⁹ Production began in 1709–10, with twenty-six glass workers, mostly brought from Bohemia by Massar.¹⁰ Massar turned out to be penniless, a swindler and even a bigamist, and only escaped arrest by fleeing abroad.¹¹

THE CHURSÄCHSISCHE SPIEGELFABRIK UP TO 1780

After this unpromising start, the tenants of the glassworks changed several times, with mostly limited success. When the *Kurfürstliche Rentkammer* took control and appointed the glass manufacturer Joseph Compagnon from Liège to manage the factory,¹² mirror production shot up, although this was only possible thanks to subsidies from the *Rentkammer*. By 1720, the Friedrichsthal glassworks had already proved to be clearly unprofitable, especially as the market was flooded with mirrors from Bohemia and Brandenburg. Thus, after only eleven years, it was shut down.¹³

Production resumed in 1725 under the direction of the minister Count von Manteuffel (1676–1749). A commission was established to oversee not only the *Spiegelfabrik at Friedrichsthal*, but also the *Kurfürstliche Spiegelschleif- und polierfabrik* (mirror grinding and polishing works), known as the *Spiegelschleife*, established in 1715 at Plauen on the Weißeritz river, near Dresden.¹⁴ The buildings were improved, with a new grinding facility and kiln. However, the glassworks still operated at a loss and could only be kept alive by substantial subsidies, this time from the *Porzellankasse* (porcelain funds). The quality of the mirrors was still inferior to the Bohemian and Prussian products; a Hamburg dealer reported that he could not sell the Friedrichsthal goods because they were “out of fashion” and had many defects.¹⁵ Tellingly, in 1729 the Elector himself chose to import “many mirrors from foreign factories” for his Japanese Palace, though the *Kammer-Kolleg* urged him to use mirrors from Friedrichsthal in places where their defects would not be obtrusive.¹⁶ Dealers from Dresden and nearby Ruhland were engaged in 1726 and 1727 to sell the mirrors on commission at fairs, provided that they did not compete with the *Spiegelfabrik’s* official sales point in Dresden, the *Spiegelniederlage*, at Moritzstrasse 766,¹⁷ but they broke their contracts and the factory lost a large sum. Consequently, the Friedrichsthal glassworks was shut down again in the 1730s. The Elector ordered, however, that the buildings be kept in good condition and that two or three of the most skilled workers be retained for future use.¹⁸

The factory was revived in 1739 to supply mirrors for new palaces constructed in and around Dresden following the accession of Augustus III (Elector Frederick Augustus II) in 1733. For the Brühl Palace alone, 710 mirrors were ordered, earning the factory over 10,000 thalers.¹⁹ There were still quality issues, however, and the situation remained difficult. Things improved from 1744, when Johann Friedrich von Thielmann (1705–1782), the *Oberrechnungsrat* (chief accountant of Electoral Saxony), leased the

unprofitable glassworks for four years.²⁰ During Thielmann's tenancy the *Spiegelfabrik* cast the trumeau mirror for the vast and extraordinarily ornate mirror of Apollo and the nine muses by the Meissen artist Johann Joachim Kändler, commissioned by Augustus III as a present for his daughter, Maria Josepha of Saxony, the Dauphine of France, with a matching porcelain console table, and delivered to Versailles by Kändler himself in 1750.²¹ Thielmann also supplied the mirrors for the Hubertusburg Palace and the Japanese Palace in Dresden Neustadt. He proved such an able administrator that his lease was extended for many years.²²

From 1752, all foreign glass was subject to an import duty of 33⅓ percent,²³ which presumably helped sales of the Dresden mirrors. However, during the Seven Years' War (1756–63), not only did production cease, but all the plate glass stored at the Dresden *Spiegelniederlage* was destroyed during the bombardment of the city. The *Spiegelfabrik* did not recover, so Thielmann withdrew in 1773 and the factory was once again closed.

Not until 1776 was it leased again, to the merchant Gottlob Funke, from Meissen. With an advance from the pension fund he began building his own grinding and polishing plant in Friedrichsthal,²⁴ to avoid the enormous expense of transporting the raw glass to Plauen. However, the cost of these extensive improvements exceeded Funke's assets, and in 1780 he asked to be released from the contract.²⁵

1780–1815: THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE CHURSÄCHSISCHE SPIEGELFABRIK

From 1780, a new tenant, a Dr Heindel, leased the *Spiegelfabrik* in partnership with the merchant Friedrich Ferdinand Gottlob Breuer (1751–1839). Heindel left the company in 1783, and the *Kurfürstliche Rentkammer* once again took over the plant, assigning its supervision to two government officials: the *Amtshauptmann* Carl Victor August von Broizen (1741–1812) and the *Vize-Landsrentmeister* Friedrich David Grahl. Soon afterwards, Grahl became sole general manager on behalf of the *Rentkammer*. Breuer remained with the company and played a key role in its success. Through good management and considerable government subsidies, the Friedrichsthal glassworks began to flourish as never before. It now formed part of the *Königliche Spiegelfabrik* (royal mirror factory), which also included the *Spiegelschleife* in Plauen and the *Spiegelniederlage* in Dresden, now managed by Breuer, as well as another in Leipzig.²⁶ At the Dresden *Spiegelniederlage*, there were also workshops for producing frames and other decorations, including metalwork. These were praised for the outstanding quality of their work.²⁷

The crucial factor in the development of the *Spiegelfabrik* from 1787 was the decision to manufacture hollow glass objects, for which a new kiln was built at Friedrichsthal, in addition to mirror glass. This led to a whole new range of products.

THE LEIPZIG TRADE FAIR, BERTUCH AND THE JOURNAL DES LUXUS UND DER MODEN

Prime opportunities for factories to present their products were trade fairs, such as the one at Auerbachs Hof in Leipzig, an international event.²⁸ The *Spiegelfabrik* participated in this fair in the autumn of 1787, and the diversification of its product range was already evident. In July, a Leipzig weekly newspaper announced that the Dresden mirror factory planned to “attend, for the first time, the forthcoming Leipzig Michaelmas Fair, with an assortment of mirrors, console tables, plateaux [for surtouts-de-table] and various other glassware”.²⁹ In a letter, dated 20 November 1787, to the *Spiegelfabricken Commission*³⁰ in Dresden, Breuer reports on the recent Leipzig Fair:

Our goods met with general approval and were highly praised by connoisseurs. Particularly in view of the good taste and fine ornamentation of our frames, our factory is certainly superior to all others. [...] However, the fact that this time we were unable to arrive earlier [...] was disadvantageous for us and some of the sales we had hoped for were lost as a result [...]. Equally disadvantageous for us was our vault, which is quite exceptionally small and not at all suitable for our goods [...]. Since this vault was only rented for the Michaelmas and New Year fairs and we cannot keep one like this for the future, I have made every effort to obtain a better and larger one.³¹

The *Spiegelfabrik's* sales list for the 1787 Michaelmas fair shows that in addition to orders received to the value of 500–600 reichsthalers, sales amounted to 339 reichsthalers in mirrors and 43 in hollow glass objects;³² the latter corresponds to only about four items.³³ Sales were to increase substantially from then on, raising the question of what could have caused the demand.

An important part of the answer is the influential Weimar entrepreneur and publisher Friedrich Justin Bertuch (1747–1822), a companion and initially a good friend of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749–1832). In January 1786, Bertuch launched a monthly fashion journal in Weimar, the first of its kind in the German-speaking world: the aforementioned *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* (just *Journal der Moden* for the first year), which survived for 42 years, until December 1827.³⁴

As he had astutely perceived, the time was ripe for such a publication. A few weeks before, on 15 November 1785, the first true fashion magazine, *Cabinet des modes* (renamed *Magasin des modes nouvelles, françaises et anglaises* from November 1786) had appeared in Paris. Bertuch's *Journal* was the very first to imitate it, closely followed by *Il Giornale delle dame e delle mode di Francia* in Milan in July 1786.³⁵ Like its French model, each issue consisted primarily of reports on the latest European fashions, especially in Paris and London. It also included reviews on topics such as theatre, interior design, arts and decorative arts, music and garden design, even occasionally politics. At the back of each issue were a few coloured copperplate engravings, mostly of fashionable clothing.³⁶ From the very beginning, however, Bertuch always presented a special luxury object among the fashion plates in a section entitled *Ameublement*, described, like the clothing, in the accompanying text.



Figure 2

Twenty illustrations of objects by the Churfürstliche Spiegelabrik published in the *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* between February 1788 and March 1800.

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The key point for our purposes is that Bertuch strongly promoted and warmly praised the *Spiegelfabrik's* products. He started in February 1788 with a “richly decorated chamber lantern”, advising interested persons to contact the Factor in Dresden, Mr Breuer, and publishing the company’s price list.³⁷ Starting with this piece, he presented no fewer than twenty of its products over a period of twelve years [fig. 2], culminating in March 1800 with the egg-shaped chandelier referred to at the beginning of this study. This conspicuous preference for a specific manufacturer is unparalleled in Bertuch. Since his *Journal* was already publishing up to 2500 copies and was delivered and read far beyond the borders of Thuringia, it introduced the *Spiegelfabrik* to a whole new clientele.³⁸

How the first contact between the *Spiegelfabrik* and Bertuch came about has yet to be established. A few months after publishing the chamber lantern, he visited the *Spiegelfabrik's* rented vault at the Leipzig Jubilate Fair, according to a letter dated 17 May 1788 and signed “FdG” (probably Friedrich David Grahl):

The legate of the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, Bertuch, who is immensely interested in the same [warehouses in Leipzig], requests that the designs of the new glass models, decorations and other works presented here be sent to him, in order to publish them in several announcements in the fashion journal, and together with this, he asks to take a quantity of those factory-made goods on commission [...] and that the agent be granted a commission of five per cent on the sale [...].³⁹

We can confidently assert that certainly no other German mirror factory produces more beautiful work of this kind

The factory managers must have granted Bertuch’s request, for one year later, between July and December of 1789, he published an ensemble of objects from a *surtout-de-table*, presenting one object each month, such as a plateau, candelabra, ice buckets and fruit bowls. In September of that year, he additionally presented a mirror, and praised the *Spiegelfabrik* in the highest terms: “[...] We can confidently assert that certainly no other German mirror factory produces more beautiful work of this kind, in terms of both glass and frames, than the *Churfürstliche Spiegel-Fabrik* in Dresden”.⁴⁰ The new product range was available not only in plain glass, but especially in blue, red and green [figs. 3 and 4].⁴¹ The glass was occasionally combined with other materials: in August 1792 the *Journal* presented a “console candelabrum” (*Consolen-Leuchter*) from the “justly famous *Churfürstl. Spiegel-Fabrik* in Dresden” with a “figure of Flora in white Meissen biscuit porcelain”.⁴²

It was almost certainly this extensive, highly flattering and beautifully illustrated coverage in a new and prestigious form of dissemination for luxury goods, reaching many potential customers, that gave the mirror factory its breakthrough, rather than participation in the Leipzig Fair. The *Spiegelfabrik's* goods were not only of excellent quality, but also of captivating beauty, with forms that even recall precious works such as those produced by Matthew Boulton in Birmingham or by the Sèvres porcelain factory in France.



Figure 3
Two ice buckets in blue and red glass from the Chursächsische Spiegelfabrik (Journal des Luxus und der Moden, August 1789, plate 23).
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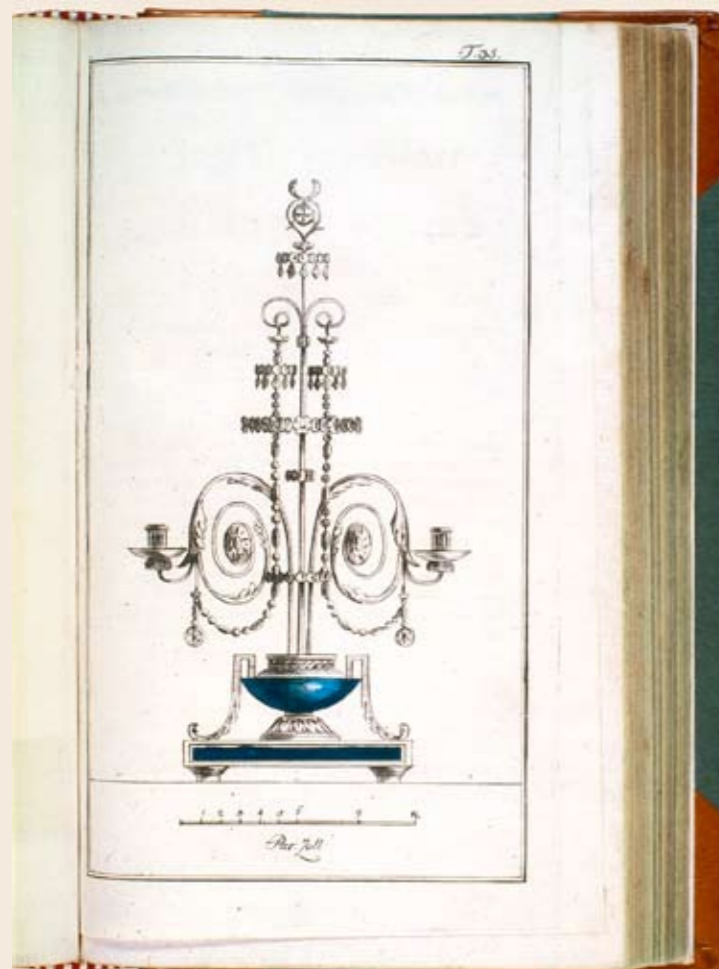


Figure 4
Below, right:
A pair of candalabra from the Chursächsische Spiegelfabrik, late eighteenth century. Private collection, Switzerland.
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Below, left:
An illustration of the same model from the Spiegelfabrik, with slight variations in material and colour (Journal des Luxus und der Moden, December 1789, plate 35).
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BONE GLASS

A highly successful new development occurred in late 1794, with the introduction of a new material: a translucent or semi-opaque white glass known as bone glass (*Beinglas*). The material itself was not new. It had been known since antiquity that adding calcified bone ash produced opaque white glass, and it was already being made in Italy around 1500. Johann Daniel Crafft (1624–1697) is credited with introducing bone glass into Northern Europe in 1663,⁴³ and in 1689, Johann Kunckel gave Crafft's recipe (for "porcelain glass") as 60 pounds of sand, 40 of potash and 10 of burnt bones or horn.⁴⁴

The first evidence of this new material is Bertuch's description of a "Chamber lantern in bone glass" in December 1794:

Luxury and its servant, the fine arts, play with everything and use everything that can please us and flatter our refined sensibility. In this way they have even used white marble, and particularly the fine Italian alabaster of Volterra and its semi-transparency, to make hollow, thinly worked vases and vessels of various shapes from it, in which a wax candle is hung, in order to illuminate ladies' chambers and boudoirs with a pleasant half-light like soft moonlight. These vases or lamps of Volterra alabaster are already quite generally known as an object of modern luxury, and [...] stand at rather high prices, costing from 40 to 80 reichsthalers. Since white bone glass, when vessels made of it are sufficiently thick and have been ground matt on the outside, has the external appearance of Volterra alabaster and also its white semi-transparency, the *Churfürstliche Spiegelfabrik* in Dresden has made the happy attempt to manufacture such chamber lanterns in matt-ground bone glass and to decorate them with gilt bronze in a simple and noble taste. Here, in plate 32, we provide one such Dresden chamber lantern, whose beautiful form is certainly fit to decorate the most tasteful room. Incidentally, it goes without saying that such lighting is not suitable for brilliant parlour rooms but only for tastefully decorated bedrooms, chambers and intimate boudoirs.⁴⁵

This remarkable description suggests that Volterra alabaster was the model for the factory's matt white bone glass, which offered the same refined and subdued effect, especially suitable for ladies, at a more affordable price. The previous month, in 1794, we find a reference in a Leipzig trade journal to a lamp of "Alabatre de Volterra" offered for sale by the Leipzig art dealer Carl Christian Heinrich Rost (1742–1798).⁴⁶ The accompanying plate reveals metalwork details, including a circular suspension ring, characteristic of Dresden chandeliers, so it is safe to assume that this alabaster lamp was assembled at the *Spiegelniederlage*.

SCHURICHT, GOETHE AND THE ROMAN HOUSE IN WEIMAR

The August 1796 issue of the Journal presents a second object in bone glass from the *Spiegelfabrik*: a “Newly-invented tripod-candelabrum”. In this case, however, the description identifies its designer, the Dresden architect Christian Friedrich Schuricht (1753–1832):

This extremely beautiful furnishing object is the invention of the tasteful Mr. Hofcondukteur Schuricht in Dresden and is manufactured at the *Churfürstliche Spiegelfabrik* there. It presents an antique gilt bronze tripod with rams’ heads and festoons, in which stands an egg-shaped vase of matt-ground milk glass, in which one can hang a light for softer illumination of a boudoir or bedchamber, and thus use it as a room lantern. During the day, this vase has a beautifully shaped lid, also in milk glass, on the top of which lies a beautifully worked antique bronze rosette, with three holes, so that if the lighting of the room is to be strong, one can insert three bronze branches and turn it into a three-armed candelabrum. At the bottom, the tripod stands firmly on an oval base of grey marble. The whole candelabrum is three feet eight inches high to the rosette, and must be placed in a small niche raised three feet from the floor, so that the illumination comes above eye level. This object was designed to furnish a small antique vestibule decorated with plaster imitating marble that has four such niches with similar tripods in its four corners; and it creates a splendid effect, as it can be used in two different ways for lighting.⁴⁷

This underappreciated architect and book illustrator, who trained at the Dresden Academy of Arts, must also have met with the approval of Goethe, for in 1794 he had engaged Schuricht as successor to the Hamburg architect Johann August Arens (1757–1806) to complete the interior of the Römische Haus (Roman House), designed for Duke Carl August of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach (1757–1828), on the river Ilm, on the outskirts of Weimar.⁴⁸ The house, influenced by Doric architecture, was furnished in the years 1796 to 1797, and a detailed inventory from 1797 provides information about the furniture, vases and lamps; these have not been preserved in situ and were deemed lost.

Bertuch’s advertisement for the tripod-candelabrum in August 1796 came at the height of the furnishing of Roman House. A glance at the 1797 inventory reveals the following entry for the vestibule, which matches Bertuch’s description: “In four small niches there are four tripod pieces in white bone glass, with wooden [*sic*] decorations and marble plates, in the form of vases; the feet are of heavily gilt bronze”.⁴⁹ They were purchased from the *Churfürstliche Spiegelfabrik* at the Leipzig Jubilate Fair of 1797, for a total of 280 reichsthalers.⁵⁰ Thus the architect Schuricht had designed the four tripod-candelabra, which, despite being reserved for the Duke of Saxe-Weimar, were presumably exhibited as a highlight of the fair until they were collected. Goethe habitually left virtually nothing to chance, and he may have given Schuricht precise instructions for their design. The Roman House can certainly be considered Goethe’s brainchild.⁵¹ An identical pair in the Marmorpalais in Potsdam can now be confidently attributed to the *Spiegelfabrik* by virtue of the details of the metalwork [fig. 5]. They are very probably the originals from the Roman House.⁵² A variation of this model with

painted metal imitating porphyry attributed to Stobwasser also exists [fig. 6]. The inventory further mentions a table in the centre of the room with a three-armed candelabrum vase of bone glass: a pair closely matching this description, surely by the Dresden *Spiegelfabrik*, is preserved in the Wittumspalais (Dower Palace) in Weimar, the seat of the duke’s highly cultured mother, dowager duchess Anna Amalia (1739–1807) [fig. 7].

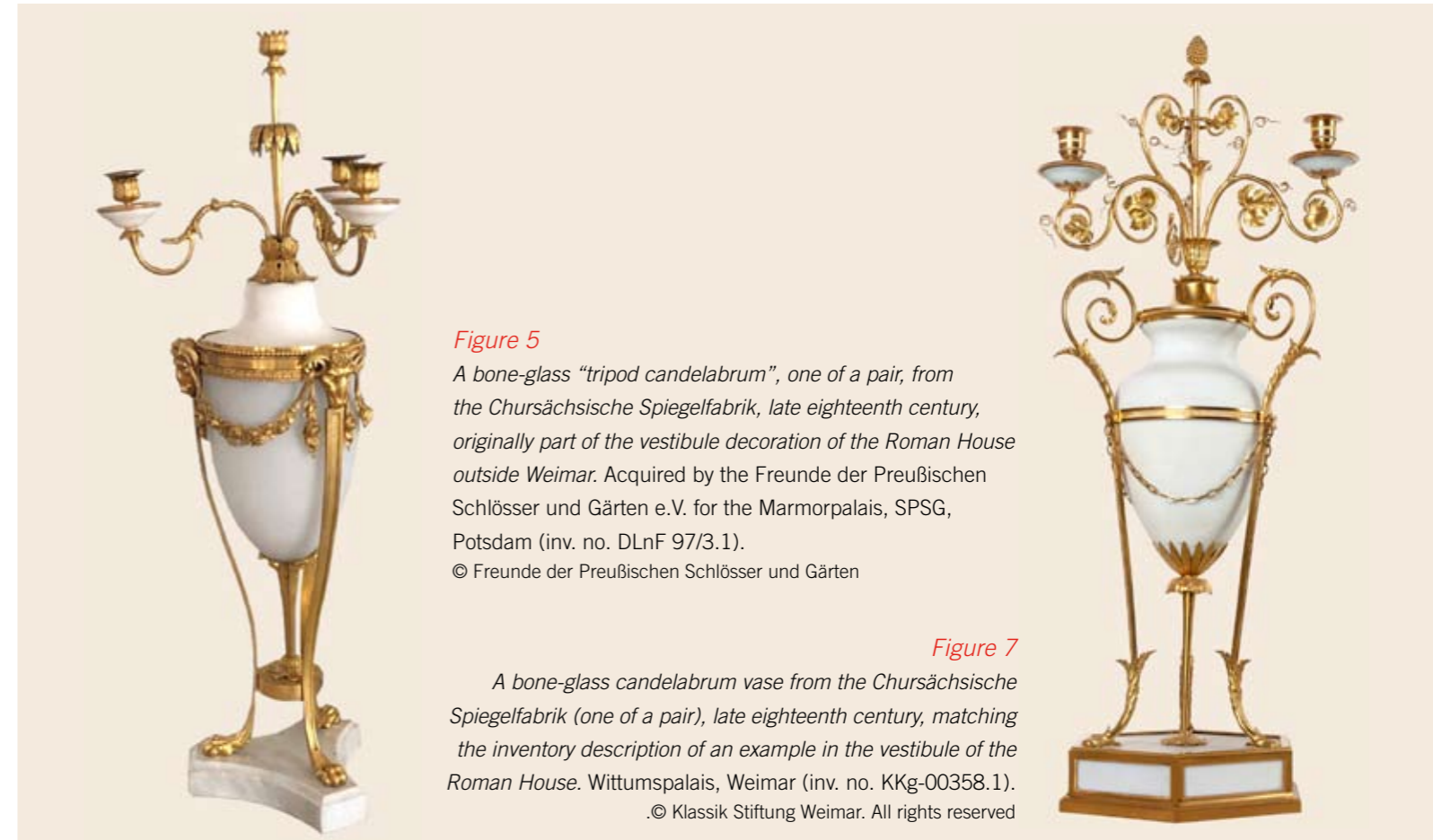


Figure 5

A bone-glass “tripod candelabrum”, one of a pair, from the *Chursächsische Spiegelfabrik*, late eighteenth century, originally part of the vestibule decoration of the Roman House outside Weimar. Acquired by the Freunde der Preußischen Schlösser und Gärten e.V. for the Marmorpalais, SPSG, Potsdam (inv. no. DLnF 97/3.1).
© Freunde der Preußischen Schlösser und Gärten

Figure 7

A bone-glass candelabrum vase from the *Chursächsische Spiegelfabrik* (one of a pair), late eighteenth century, matching the inventory description of an example in the vestibule of the Roman House. Wittumspalais, Weimar (inv. no. KKg-00358.1).
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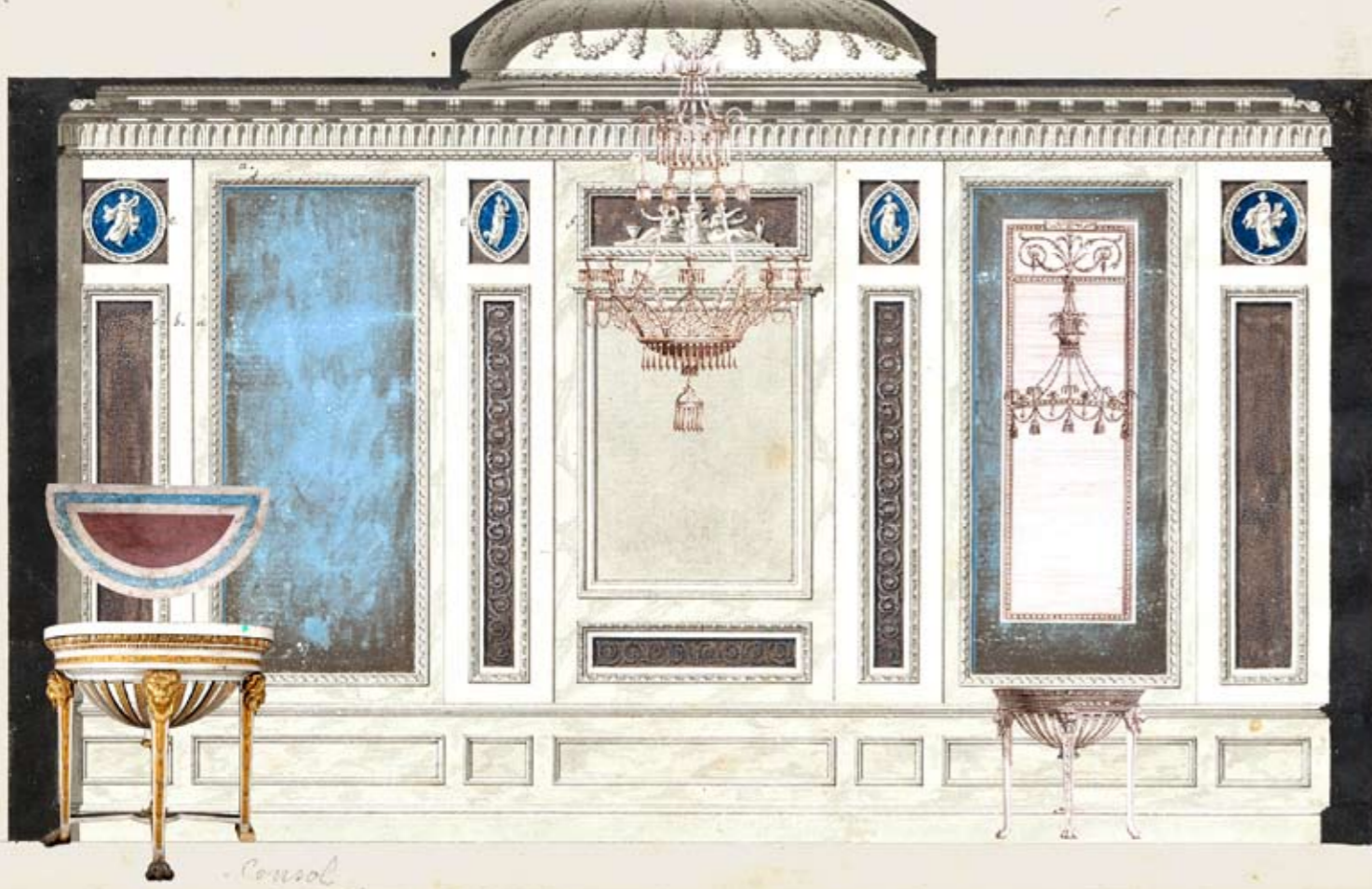
Figura 6

Left:

A pair of “tripod candelabra” with painted metal decoration (*tôle peinte*) imitating green porphyry attributed to Stobwasser and gilt-bronze mounts by the *Churfürstliche Spiegelfabrik*, late eighteenth century. Museum of Lacquer Art, Münster (inv. nos. GFL-2010-1a and GFL-2010-1b).
Photo: Frank C. Möller Fine Arts/Michael Holz

Right:

Detail from the illustration of the same model as a “newly-invented tripod-candelabrum” from the *Spiegelfabrik* (*Journal des Luxus und der Moden*, August 1796, plate 24.)
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However, the Roman House also contained other items supplied by the Dresden *Spiegelfabrik*. Going clockwise from the vestibule into the next room, one enters the Great Hall, also called the Blue Salon or Audience Room [fig. 8]. Here, as in the vestibule, Schuricht had provided an exact drawing of the wall elevations, completed on 7 July 1794. The inventory contains detailed descriptions of a matching pair of semi-circular pier tables with mirrors in this room: “[...] At each of them there is a semi-circular chandelier of Bohemian cut glass with similar tassels and drops. Above these is a gilded bow-shaped band, on which four gilt bronze nozzles are mounted [...]” Two further plates in the Journal present exactly these objects. The pier table was published in the September 1796 issue, without indicating its origin;⁵³ the mirrors are presented as products of the *Spiegelfabrik*.⁵⁴ Furthermore, in the inventory we find a detailed description of a chandelier that also hung in the Blue Salon: “[...] a very beautiful chandelier of Bohemian cut glass, with various gildings, fixed in the dome, with eight candle nozzles for illumination; the lower disc is of blue glass [...]” Bertuch presents this chandelier in December 1797 as an example of the kind that the *Spiegelfabrik* was now manufacturing, a “new and exceedingly tasteful form of chandelier”, which had won “the acclaim of all connoisseurs”.⁵⁵ With its eight branches in the form of upward-curving leaves, each surmounted by a candle nozzle, the chandelier is reminiscent of a star or a flower opening, while the large disc of cobalt blue glass inserted in the centre lends it an almost mystical aura. An example of the same model is preserved in the David Collection, Copenhagen [fig. 9]. These new insights into the original furnishing of the Roman House have recently led to the discovery of the chandelier and the remains of the mirrors (in the form of the semi-circular bands supporting the nozzles) from the Blue Salon in the storerooms of the Klassik Stiftung Weimar. A pair of console tables matching the inventory description and Schuricht’s design was also located there.⁵⁶



< Figure 8

Composite simulation of the original furnishing of the Blue Salon in the Roman House, c. 1797, based on a wall elevation by Christian Friedrich Schuricht from 1794 (Klassik Stiftung Weimar, inv. no. KHZ-AK1621). Superimposed on this are details from the illustrations of the console table, the mirror and the chandelier from the *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* (respectively September 1796, plate 27; February 1797, plate 6 and December 1797, plate 36) and photographs of a console table and its top in the collection of the Klassik Stiftung Weimar (inv. no. Kg-2012/118.1).

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Figure 9

Eight-light chandelier from the Chursächsische *Spiegelfabrik*, late eighteenth century. The David Collection, Copenhagen (inv. no. L10). Photo: Pernille Klemp

The design of the console tables is very close to that of an earlier pier table from the *Spiegelfabrik* published by Bertuch as early as February 1790, suggesting that Schuricht may have been designing objects for the Dresden mirror factory prior to his engagement in Weimar.⁵⁷ They reflect the influence of antiquities from Pompeii and Herculaneum, which Schuricht had studied in detail during his travels in Italy in 1786. He also included a very similar console table among the designs he submitted for Joseph Friedrich von Racknitz's 1796 publication on different interior styles from around the world.⁵⁸

Anna Amalia herself may have contributed significantly to Schuricht's candelabrum vases. Like the designs of Matthew Boulton in England and Sèvres in France, they were inspired by models from classical antiquity. While in Naples in 1789–90, Anna Amalia, in the company of Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), was a frequent guest of the director of excavations in the Kingdom of Naples, Domenico Venuti. This group of antiquity enthusiasts included Venuti's nephew Marcello Inghirami-Fei (1766–1841), who, in 1791, founded a large workshop in his native Volterra, where antique vases, lamps and vessels, also mounted with bronze if desired, were made from the region's extensive alabaster deposits.⁵⁹ It is therefore possible that the impulse for the production of vases and lamps imitating Volterra alabaster at the *Sächsische Spiegelfabrik* came from the circle of Anna Amalia and Herder.

Customers

The company's success during these years is reflected in a sales list summarizing the value of the total sales to over fifty German and international destinations for the period 1783 to 1802, and separately for 1803.⁶⁰

Among the first enthusiasts for the new products was certainly the Court at Weimar — the sales list mentions orders to the city — and the Weimar Schloss, the seat of Carl August of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, who incidentally also emerges as one of the first subscribers to Bertuch's *Journal* in 1792.⁶¹ The cities and regions with the largest sales figures for 1783–1802, in addition to Weimar, were Anhalt, Berlin, Copenhagen, Frankfurt, Mecklenburg, Magdeburg, St Petersburg, Riga, Silesia, Vienna, and especially Warsaw. However, by far the highest figure is that of Hamburg. This was presumably due not so much to the presence of a large clientele as to the fact that Hamburg, a major port and trading city, was conveniently located, like Dresden, on the River Elbe, and the products could be transported there by water, with less risk of damage.

It comes as a surprise to find that the Prussians were among the first to appreciate the new products offered by the Saxons. An example of the beautiful "chamber lantern", the first *Spiegelfabrik* piece advertised by Bertuch in February 1788, hung in King Frederick William II's corner chamber in the Marmorpalais in Potsdam,⁶² and in the yellow chamber there was another bell-shaped example in bone glass with painted decoration from Dresden [fig. 10].⁶³ Frederick William's mistress and later closest con-



Figure 10

Bone-glass lamp with painted decoration, Chursächsische Spiegelfabrik, late eighteenth century (lost); here seen in its original setting in a historical photo from the former Oberhofmarschallamt/ Verwaltung der Staatlichen Schlösser und Gärten dating from around 1927–45, showing of the Yellow Chamber in the Marmorpalais, Potsdam, Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg, around 1927–45. Photo: SPSG Berlin-Brandenburg

fidante, Wilhelmine Encke (1752–1820), Countess von Lichtenau from April 1794, was increasingly involved in the furnishings of the royal palaces at this time, and she may well have been responsible for the acquisitions from Dresden; she would certainly have known Bertuch's *Journal*.

From about 1797, the bronze factory of Werner & Mieth, founded in Berlin in 1792 by the former porcelain modellers Christian Gottlieb Werner and Gottfried Mieth, produced models strikingly similar to those of Dresden. Before this, however, it was unable to supply such lamps for the Pfaueninsel (Peacock Island, 1794–95), Schwedt (1795) and Paretz (1796) palaces, owing to the opposition of the guild.⁶⁴ Some pieces were provided, however, by the Dresden factory.



Figure 11
View of the “Tahitian Chamber” in the palace on Peacock Island, Berlin, showing the bone-glass lamp from the Churfürstliche Spiegelfabrik that was part of its original decoration (SPSG Berlin-Brandenburg, inv. no. VIII 1339).

Photo: SPSG Berlin-Brandenburg/Jörg P. Anders

Left:
Matching design published as a “Chamber lantern in bone glass” (Journal des Luxus und der Moden, December 1794, plate 32).
© Klassik Stiftung Weimar. All rights reserved

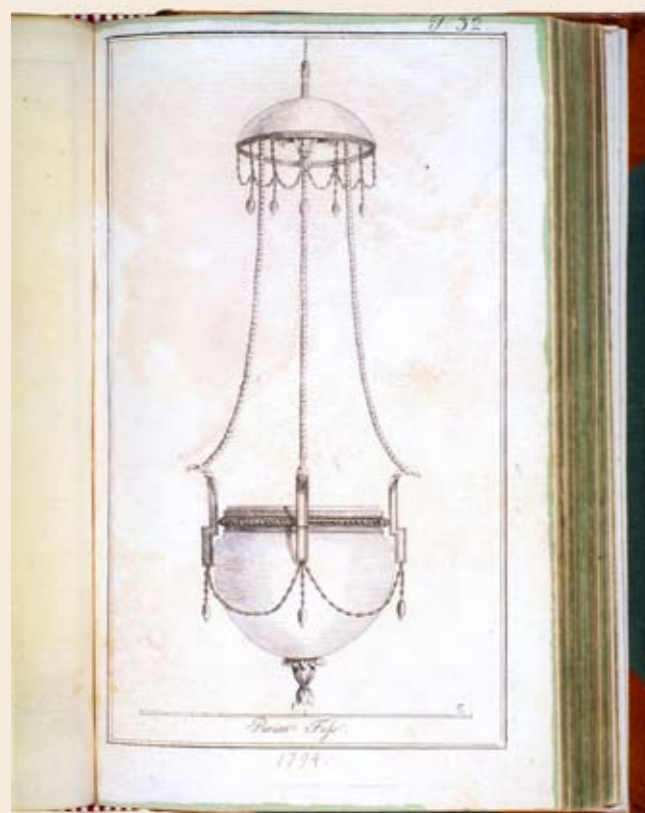


Figura 12
The Rosenlaube room at Schwedt Palace (Oder, destroyed 1945) in 1943–45, showing an alabaster lamp with gilt bronze mounts from the Chursächsische Spiegelfabrik, late eighteenth century (lost).

© Bildarchiv Foto Marburg/Müller und Sohn

As soon as the “chamber lantern of bone glass” appeared in Bertuch’s *Journal* in December 1794,⁶⁵ two of these lamps, one in bone glass [fig. 11] and the other in alabaster, were acquired for the chambers located one above the other in the tower of the palace on Peacock Island, then under construction; they are still preserved in situ. It can now be ascertained on grounds of style as well as the details and quality of the bronzework, that the bone-glass example was certainly made in Dresden — probably one of the first of its kind to be sold — and the alabaster one, again, points clearly to the *Spiegelniederlage* for its bronze mounts.

The same new type of lamp was used shortly after this in other Prussian palaces. In 1795, the Berlin architect Friedrich Gilly (1772–1800) completed several rooms in Schwedt Palace (located about 100 km north-east of Berlin, destroyed in 1945). The historical inventory includes an “alabaster lamp” in the Rosenlaube, referred to here as the “bedroom” [fig. 12]. Then from 1796, David and Friedrich Gilly modernized the house at Paretz for the future King Frederick William III (1770–1840) and his wife Louise (1776–1810). In the vestibule there was once an enormous bell-shaped bronze-mounted bone-glass lamp, undoubtedly a product of the *Chursächsische Spiegelfabrik*.⁶⁶

Incidentally, a chandelier very similar to the one in the Great Hall of the Roman House was delivered to Charlottenburg Palace in Berlin in the summer of 1797 by the *Spiegelfabrik's* Berlin rival, Werner & Mieth.⁶⁷ Furthermore, Louise decorated her bedroom at the Potsdam Stadtschloss with a vase lamp by Werner & Mieth [fig. 13]. The model follows a *Spiegelfabrik* design published in variations in the January 1798 and June 1799 issues of the *Journal*;⁶⁸ a surviving example from the *Spiegelfabrik* is again distinguished by its characteristic bronze mounts [fig. 14]. This highlights the remarkable fact that the Dresden *Spiegelfabrik* seems to have served as a model for Berlin luxury goods production.

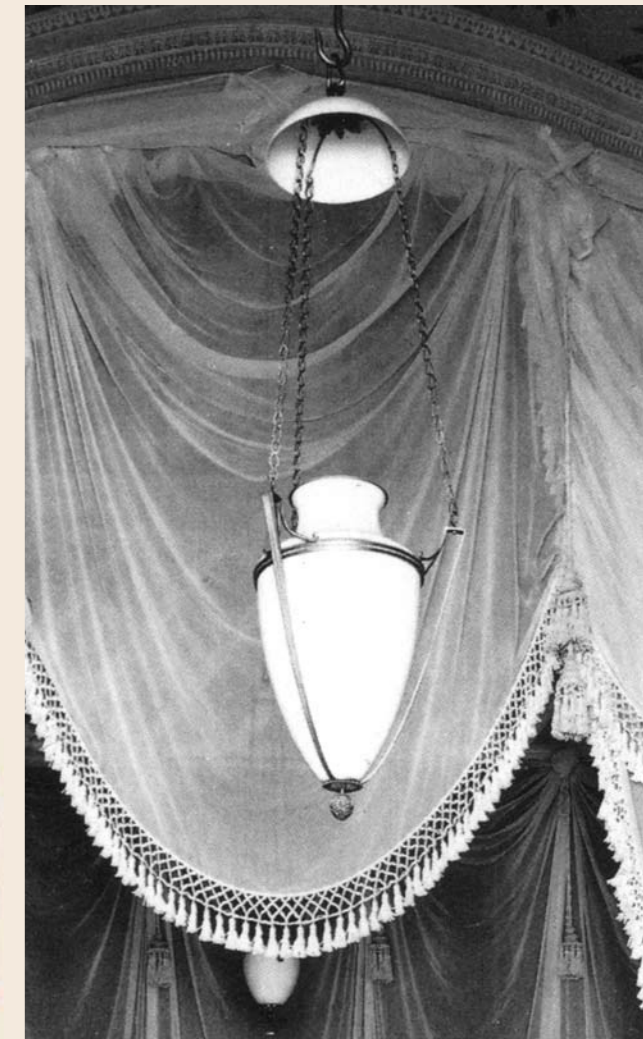


Figure 13
Flussglas lamp by Werner & Mieth, Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin, around 1800 (lost), in Queen Louise of Prussia's bedroom in the Potsdam City Palace, c. 1921. Photo: Brandenburgisches Landesamt für Denkmalpflege und Archäologisches Landesmuseum, Bildarchiv, neg. no.: 38 k 10 / 5600.19

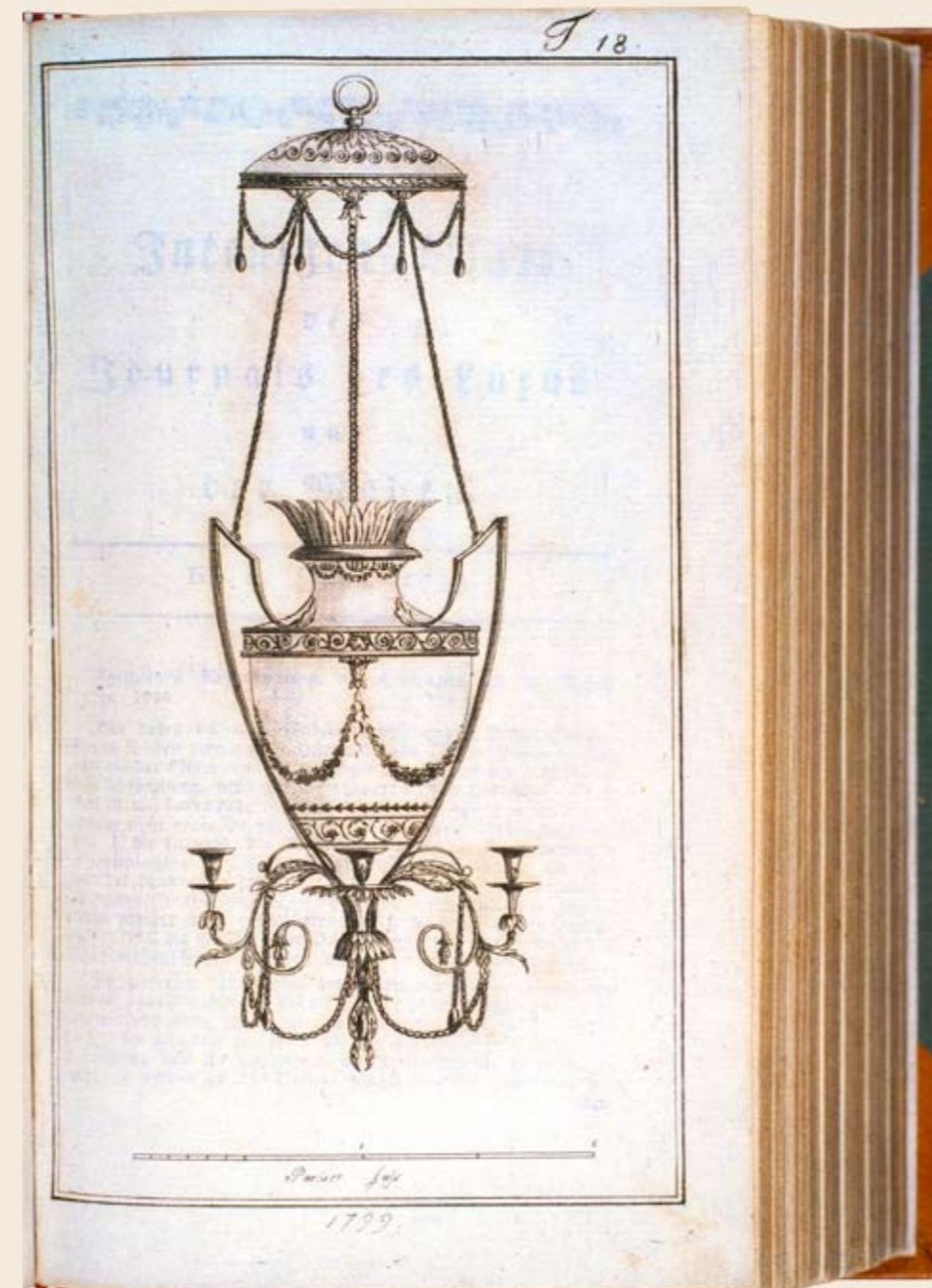


Figure 14
Left: *Vase-shaped bone-glass "cabinet lantern", Chursächsische Spiegelfabrik, around 1800. Art trade.*
Right: *Similar model published in the Journal des Luxus und der Moden (June 1799, plate 18). © Klassik Stiftung Weimar. All rights reserved*



Figure 15
 Twelve-light chandelier from the Chursächsische Spiegelfabrik, late eighteenth century.
 The David Collection, Copenhagen (inv. no. L4).
 Photo: Pernille Klomp

The *Spiegelfabrik* sold many products to Poland; the highest sales figures for 1783–1802, after Hamburg, are those for Warsaw. Significant quantities also went to Riga, St Petersburg, Vienna and Copenhagen. In the 1790s, a wealthy Danish nobleman and governor, Pierre de Bosc de la Calmette, and his wife Elisabeth (Lise) built a château on their estate, named Liselund, landscaped in the English manner, on the island of Møn. In a lavish room with a wall decoration of palm trees we find a *Spiegelfabrik* lamp identical to the one in the tower room on Peacock Island. A particularly large and splendid twelve-light chandelier — possibly one of the largest ever made by the *Spiegelfabrik* — hangs today in the David Collection in Copenhagen. It was purchased as Russian around 1920–36 from Herrenhaus Lehmkuhlen near Plön in Schleswig-Holstein, a region which belonged periodically to Denmark during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries [fig. 15].

The Dresden products seem to have penetrated the French market after 1800. The Paris sales figures for 1803 are higher than for the whole twenty-year period up to 1802. Further interesting information about French purchases in 1804 is offered by a Munich newspaper, in a review of that year's Leipzig Michaelmas Fair:

There was an extraordinary demand at this Fair for mirrors, candelabra and bone-glass lamps. The Kurfürstliche *Spiegelfabrik* in Dresden distinguished itself here quite superbly by its tasteful forms and beautiful work. [...] For it always has orders for months ahead on all sides. [...] It recently succeeded in obtaining orders for some chandeliers for Malmaison itself. But actually, the ever-growing and insatiable demand for mirrors and glass lamps is proof of the prosperity and disposable wealth among the lower classes, in whose homes one now frequently finds the luxury furnishing of the genteel.⁶⁹

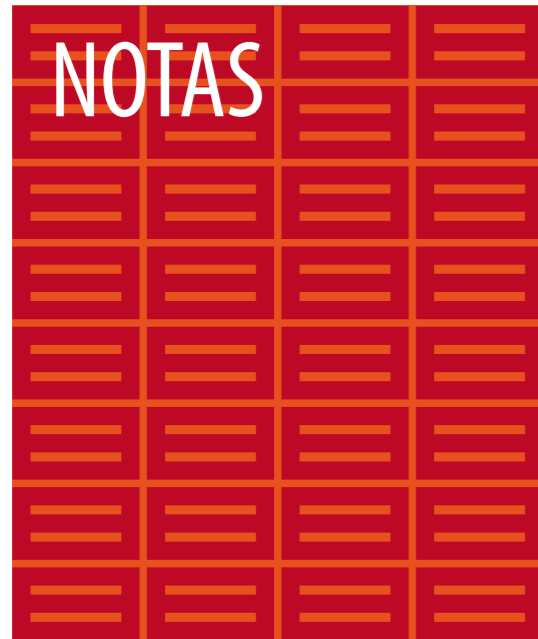
The company was evidently operating at full capacity, supreme in its field locally and selling abroad in the very highest quarters: Malmaison, west of Paris, was the country seat of the French empress Joséphine (1763–1814). As the model of the eight-light chandelier in the Roman House at Weimar — which had received the “acclaim of all connoisseurs”, according to Bertuch —⁷⁰ has appeared several times on the French art market, we may assume that it was popular in France after 1800. Interestingly, the writer also highlights the demand among less aristocratic customers, suggesting that the *Spiegelfabrik's* products represented a badge of status for the aspirational and newly affluent lower classes.

THE END OF THE SPIEGELFABRIK

In 1801, *Hofmeister* Benjamin Sahr replaced Grahl as general manager.⁷¹ In 1803, the mirror-glass furnace ceased to be fired, and in 1807 the production of mirror glass ended altogether, as Bohemian mirror glass was now freely distributed at the fairs, undermining sales of the domestic product. On the other hand, the production of blown glass increased considerably.⁷²

Between 1806 and 1813, large parts of Germany, including Saxony, were under French occupation. Presumably, like Werner & Mieth in Berlin, the company sold many of its products to France at this time, which may explain why glass chandeliers and objects of uncertain origin, which can now be identified as works from the *Spiegelfabrik*, have regularly appeared on the French antiques market. The German campaign against Napoleon in 1813 led to the destruction of the *Spiegelschleife*. The mirror factory never recovered. From June 1815, the Friedrichsthal works was assigned to Prussia,⁷³ and the company moved to the premises of the Dresden *SpiegelNiederlage*, but it had in fact stopped manufacturing glass and now mainly imported it from Bohemia.⁷⁴ However, the bronze mounts, hardly inferior in quality to those produced in Paris or London, were probably still manufactured at the *Niederlage* to embellish the imported glass goods.

Thus, after just over a century, the history of this factory in Saxony came to an end. Through a combination of quality, experience, effective management, subsidy when needed, and excellent publicity from incipient fashion journalism, thanks to Bertuch, it had, for a while, vindicated Augustus the Strong's exercise in state-sponsored enterprise, until war took its toll. We now have a reasonable picture of the products manufactured at the *Chursächsische Spiegelfabrik* between 1788 and 1815, though work remains to be done. The earlier production between 1710 and 1787, however, still remains a mystery. The veil that has covered the history of this fascinating factory for so long has not yet been entirely lifted.⁷⁵



¹ Sotheby's Paris, 27 November 2018, lot 109: "Lustre cage en crystal, verre et bronze doré. Travail du Nord de l'Europe d'époque Néoclassique, vers 1800".

² Augustus the Strong was Elector Frederick Augustus I of Saxony from 1694 to 1733 and Augustus II, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, from 1697 to 1706 and from 1709 to 1733. For the chandelier, see Friedrich Justin Bertuch, ed., *Journal des Luxus und der Moden* (Weimar: Verl. des Landes-Industrie-Comptoirs), March 1800, pp. 158–59 and plate 8.

³ The chandelier was acquired for the museum in 2020 with partial financial support from the Ernst von Siemens Kunststiftung; see <https://www.ernst-von-siemens-kunststiftung.de/objekt/kronleuchter-aus-der-chursächsischen-manufaktur-für-schloss-pillnitz-spätes-18-jahrhundert.html> (accessed 26 November 2021).

⁴ Käthe Klappenbach first drew attention to it by identifying a chandelier from the *Chursächsische Spiegelfabrik* in the Museum Behnhaus Drägerhaus in Lübeck, having located a print showing this model of chandelier in the December 1797 issue of the *Journal des Luxus und der Moden*; see Käthe Klappenbach, *Kronleuchter mit Behang aus Bergkristall und Glas sowie Glasarmkronleuchter bis 1810* (Berlin: Akademie, 2001), pp. 49, 74 (ill. 71), 102 and 359.

⁵ This study is based on research results presented by the author in a lecture on the *Chursächsische Spiegelfabrik* given on the occasion of the reopening of the Imperial Rooms at Schloss Pillnitz on 12 August 2021, where the chandelier was presented to the public. I would like to thank Dr Christiane Ernek van der Goes for providing me with archival material from the Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden (see notes 31, 32, 39 and 60).

⁶ Winfried Siebers, "Diplomatie und Politik in der frühauflärerischen Apodemik", in *Wissen und Strategien frühneuzeitlicher Diplomatie*, ed. by Siegrid Westphal and Stefanie Freyer (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2020), pp. 23–42 (p. 34).

⁷ Hanns Frommhold, *Spiegelschleife, Pulvermühle und Kanonenbohrwerk. 3 churfürstliche Industrieanlagen an der Weißeritz in Dresden* (Dresden: Verein für Geschichte Dresdens, 1929), p. 9. For the history of the glassworks founded around 1700 and the role of Tschirnhaus, see Gisela Haase, "Tschirnhaus und die sächsischen Glashütten in Pretsch, Dresden und Glücksberg", in *Ehrenfried Walther von Tschirnhaus (1651–1708). Experimente mit dem Sonnenfeuer. Eine Ausstellung des Mathematisch-Physikalischen Salons der Staatlichen Kunstsammlungen Dresden*, exh. cat. (Dresden: Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, 2001), pp. 55–67.

⁸ Gerhard Krüger, "Die Glashütte zu Friedrichsthal (Niederlausitz)", *Forschungen zur Brandenburgischen und Preußischen Geschichte*, 39 (1927): 75–88 (pp. 75–76).

⁹ Ibid. For an early account of the founding and early history of the *Churfürstliche Spiegelfabrik*, see August Schumann, *Vollständiges Staats-, Post- und Zeitungslexikon von Sachsen*, II (Zwickau: Verlag der Gebrüder Schumann, 1815), pp. 818–25. See also Adolf Hantzsch, "Die Spiegelschleife bei Dresden", *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte und Topographie Dresdens und seiner Umgebung*, 4 (1883): 37–58.

¹⁰ Friedrich Gottlob Leonhardi, *Erdbeschreibung der churfürstlich- und herzoglich-sächsischen Lande*, vol. 2, Leipzig 1803, p. 503; Schumann, p. 819.

¹¹ Leonhardi, p. 503; Krüger, p. 76.

¹² Schumann, p. 818.

¹³ Krüger, p. 77.

¹⁴ Schumann, p. 819; Hantzsch, pp. 42–43.

¹⁵ Krüger, p. 78.

¹⁶ Jean Louis Sponzel, *Kabinetstücke der Meissner Porzellan-Manufaktur von Johann Joachim Kändler* (Leipzig: Hermann Seemann Nachfolger, 1900), p. 37.

¹⁷ Krüger, p. 79. *Niederlage* is the historical German term for a warehouse and sales point.

¹⁸ Krüger, p. 81.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Frommhold, pp. 21–23; Krüger, p. 82.

²¹ Anon., "Nachricht von Herrn Johann Joachim Kändlers Leben und Arbeiten", in *Neue Bibliothek der schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste*, vol. 18, no. 2 (Leipzig, 1775), pp. 296–303 (p. 298).

²² Krüger, p. 82.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Krüger, p. 83.

²⁵ Hantzsch, pp. 46–47.

²⁶ Schumann, pp. 819–20.

²⁷ Leonhardi, p. 508.

²⁸ The Leipzig Fair, held three times a year, at New Year, on the Fourth Sunday of Easter (Jubilate-Messe) and at Michaelmas (Michaelis-Messe, 29 September), consisted of a complex of almost 100 vaults, rooms, halls and outbuildings, stretching for almost 140 metres in the centre of Leipzig.

²⁹ *Leipziger Intelligenz-Blatt*, 28 July 1787, p. 1.

³⁰ As we have seen, this commission was created in 1725 to oversee the progress of the *Spiegelfabrik* and the *Spiegelschleife*; see Schumann, p. 819.

³¹ Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10036 Finanzarchiv, Rep. IX, Lo 36183, No. 2973d, Bilanz Spiegelfabrik 1788.

³² Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10036 Finanzarchiv, Rep. IX, Lo 36183, No. 2973d, Bilanz Spiegelfabrik 1788, fol. 3.

³³ See Bertuch, *Journal*, August 1789, plate 23 and p. 358; September 1789, plate 25 and p. 406. The prices for the glass vessels shown range from 10 to 14 reichsthalers.

³⁴ On the relevance of Bertuch's *Journal*, see Nadine Hecht, *Luxus um 1800. Warenangebot und Konsumenten im Spiegel zeitgenössischer Werbemedien* (Doctoral thesis, Otto-Friedrich-Universität, Bamberg, 2019).

³⁵ Kate Nelson Best, *The History of Fashion Journalism* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017), pp. 24–25. See also Daniel L. Purdy, *The Tyranny of Elegance: Consumer Cosmopolitanism in the Era of Goethe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

³⁶ Angela Borchert and Ralf Dressel, ed., *Das "Journal des Luxus und der Moden": Kultur um 1800* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter, 2004), pp. 195–215.

³⁷ "The latest luxury is to hang a beautiful antique lamp, a *cassolette* or a tastefully and richly decorated lantern with a number of wax candles inside [a chamber], and to place at most a pair of antique *flambeaux* on the mantelpiece or under the mirror. An exceedingly beautiful lantern of this kind, which can be used partly for a chamber, partly also for a *sala terrana*, where there is much draught of air, has recently been produced by the Churfürstliche Sächsische Spiegelfabrik in Dresden (which manufactures exceedingly beautiful works [...]). The whole is composed of cut glass lozenges, pearls, rosettes, etc. and gilt bronze", Bertuch, *Journal*, February 1788, pp. 70–71 and *Intelligenzblatt*.

³⁸ Borchert and Dressel, p. 205.

³⁹ Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, 10036 Finanzarchiv, Rep. IX, Loc. 36183, No. 2973d, Bilanz Spiegelfabrik 1788.

⁴⁰ Bertuch, *Journal*, September 1789, pp. 406–08 (p. 407), referring to Plate 26, which shows two gilt mirrors.

⁴¹ Ludwig Wilhelm Gilbert, *Handbuch für Reisende durch Deutschland*, vol. 2 (Leipzig: Schwickertscher Verlag, 1792), p. 368.

⁴² Bertuch, *Journal*, August 1792, pp. 434–35 and plate 24.

⁴³ Werner Loibl, "Johann Rudolf Glauber und die 'gläsernen' Folgen", *Journal of Glass Studies*, 49 (2007): 81–101 (p. 86).

⁴⁴ Johann Kunckel, *Ars vitraria experimentalis, oder vollkommene Glasmacherkunst*, 2nd edn (Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1689), pp. 57–58.

⁴⁵ Bertuch, *Journal*, December 1794, p. 607.

⁴⁶ *Journal für Fabrik, Manufaktur, Handlung und Mode* (Leipzig: Voß und Compagnie), November 1794, p. 388, plate III.

⁴⁷ Bertuch, *Journal*, August 1796, p. 432.

⁴⁸ Kai Fischer, "Die Tätigkeit des Architekten Johann August Arens am Bauprojekt Römisches Haus", in *Das Römische Haus in Weimar*, ed. by Andreas Beyer (München: Stiftung Weimarer Klassik, Hanser, 2001), pp. 40–47.

⁴⁹ *Inventarium über das neue Hauß 1797, aufgeführt von Martin Wagner*, Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Weimar, 9155b.

⁵⁰ Thüringisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, W B 8573, Invoice no. 1819 of 17 March 1797.

⁵¹ Joachim Berger, "Carl August als Bauherr und Bewohner des Römischen Hauses", in *Das Römische Haus in Weimar*, ed. by Andreas Beyer (München: Stiftung Weimarer Klassik, Hanser, 2001), pp. 25–39.

⁵² The pair was purchased for the Marmorpalais, Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg (SPSG), in 1996 (inv. nos. DLnF 97/3.1 and DLnF 97/3.2). The bases are modern; the original oval bases were probably replaced as they did not seem appropriate once the objects had lost the context of their original oval niches.

⁵³ Bertuch, *Journal*, September 1796, pp. 482–83 and plate 27.

⁵⁴ Bertuch, *Journal*, February 1797, pp. 98–99 and plate 6.

⁵⁵ Bertuch, *Journal*, December 1797, pp. 630–31 and plate 36.

⁵⁶ All objects Klassik Stiftung Weimar, the chandelier inv. no. Kg-2020/46; the mirror lights inv. nos. Kg-2020/47 and Kg-2020/48; the console tables inv. nos. Kg-2012/118.1 and Kg-2012/118.2.

⁵⁷ Bertuch, *Journal*, February 1790, p. 131 and plate 6.

⁵⁸ Joseph Friedrich, Freiherr zu Racknitz. *Darstellung und Geschichte des Geschmacks der vorzüglichsten Völker in Beziehung auf die innere Auszierung der Zimmer und auf die Baukunst*, vol. II (Leipzig: Georg Joachim Göschen, 1796), plate 11, https://haab-digital.klassik-stiftung.de/viewer/image/1319649041/29/LOG_0015/ (accessed 26 November 2021).

⁵⁹ Frank C. Möller, "18 Objekte um 1800", <https://docplayer.org/39123212-Ich-wuensche-ihnen-bei-der-lektuere-viel-spass-ihr-frank-c-moeller.html> (accessed 26 November 2021); Claudia Nordhoff, "Der Meister und sein Schüler: Jakob Philipp Hackert und Francesco Inghirami in den Wäldern der Toskana", *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen*, 54 (2012): 49–77 (p. 51).

⁶⁰ Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden, Rep. IX., Loc. 36177, No. 2895b, Bilanz Spiegelfabrik 1803, fol. 127.

⁶¹ Hecht, pp. 55–56. At the Wittumspalais in Weimar, a number of objects survive that can now be attributed to the *Spiegelfabrik*: several bone-glass tripod-candelabra and ceiling lamps,

the latter exemplifying the use of blue and red glass as in the vessels presented by Bertuch in August 1789; see fig. 3.

⁶²The earliest inventory of the Marmorpalais, dating from around 1793, mentions a “lantern with bronze, with 4 lights, the outer measure 5 feet high” for the “Wooden panelled writing chamber”. It is still present in the 1799 inventory; SPSG, *Historische Inventare* Nr. 377, fol. 7. I would like to thank Dr Burkhard Göres for providing me with this and the following reference. The lantern must have been in situ at least until 1932, as it appears in its original setting on a photograph from that year.

⁶³The same inventories list “a bone glass lantern, decorated with bronze and arabesques, 3 feet and 1 inch high” for this room; see SPSG, *Historische Inventare* Nr. 377, fol. 8. Again, it is documented in situ in the early twentieth century; see Hermann Schmitz, *Das Marmorpalais bei Potsdam und das Schlösschen auf der Pfaueninsel* (Berlin: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1921), plate 30.

⁶⁴On Werner & Mieth, see Klappenbach, and Frank C. Möller, “A Search for the Unknown Architect”, lecture presented at the 16th Annual Assembly Light and Glass, Maastricht, 20–23 August 2015.

⁶⁵See note 45 above.

⁶⁶See Hermann Schmitz, ed., *Wohnzimmer und Festräume Berliner Baumeister vom Ausgang des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin: Verlag für Kunstwissenschaft, 1923), p. 56.

⁶⁷Klappenbach, cat. no. 76, p. 269 and p. 98. Incidentally, when a chandelier of a closely related model came up for sale at Christie’s on 26 April 2016, lot 133, it was attributed to the Dresden *Spiegelfabrik* on the grounds of the design published by Klappenbach (see note 4). It can now be established that this example was certainly made by Werner & Mieth, especially in view of the use of the typical nozzles of that manufactory as well as other serially produced elements, and the quality of the metalwork; the bronze elements from Dresden appear slightly more old-fashioned, with heavier cast, finer execution of the chiselling, and heavier gilding.

⁶⁸Bertuch, *Journal*, January 1798, pp. 54–55 and plate 3; June 1799, p. 314 and plate 18.

⁶⁹*Kaiserlich- und Kurpfalz bairisch privilegierte allgemeine Zeitung*, 7 (1804), no. 3412 (6 December December 6, 1804), p. 1362; <https://www.bavarikon.de/object/bav:BSB-MDZ-00000BSB10504243?c> (accessed 26 November 2021).

⁷⁰See note 55 above.

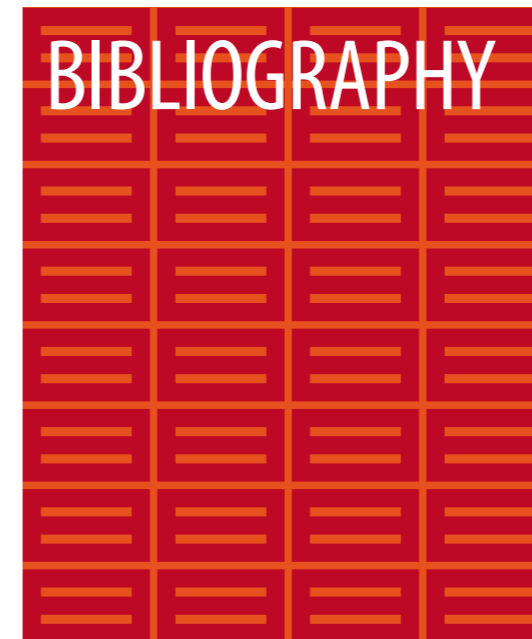
⁷¹Krüger, p. 83.

⁷²Schumann, pp. 823–24.

⁷³Hantzsch, p. 53–54.

⁷⁴Schumann, p. 186.

⁷⁵I would like to express my gratitude to Daniela Heinze and Charles Davis for their support in giving this essay its final form in English, and to the latter for his thoughtful reading and valuable contributions.



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