

I Mirror Wall Sconces with the Pogoń Coat of Arms of Prince Paweł Karol Sanguszek

The 18th-century free hanging looking glasses in mirror frames come few in number in Polish collections; the rare examples can be found in museum holdings and palace interiors. They are usually described as products of the mirror glass factory in Urzecze from the second half of the 18th century, or as Silesian, Bohemian, or – seldom – English products. Since the monographies of European mirror glass factories or mirror catalogues are also sparse, it often proves impossible to unambiguously determine the producer and the time of production of an object.¹

This is also the case of the four mirror wall sconces² from the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw. The first sconce was donated to the museum in 1923,³ while the other three were deposited in the NMW by Józef Alfred Potocki in 1939 and eventually donated by his brother, Roman Antoni, in 1953.⁴

The mirror wall sconces, 148 × 104 cm in size, are in the shape of baroque armorial cartouches with characteristic “ears” (figs 1–2). On the central plate, supported upon the consoles of an aedicula with a triangular pediment crowned with a princely hat, there is the Pogoń coat of arms on an ermine-lined mantle, with two crossed marshal canes behind. Underneath the coat of arms, in the console, there is a hole where the missing candlestick arms were installed. In their structure and three-dimensionality of superimposed mirror glass sheets, the wall sconces resemble an architectural mirror relief or a commemorative plaque honouring a personality or a historical event.

The mirror sheets were produced from exceptionally pure glass with a cool greenish tinge, free from technological impurities or air bubbles. The surface was mechanically⁵ ground and

¹ See, i.a., Mieczysław Wallis, *Dzieje zwierciadła i jego rola w różnych dziedzinach kultury* (Łódź, 1956); Ada Polak, *Szkoło i jego historia* (Warsaw, 1981), pp. 194–201; Serge Roche, Germain Courage, Pierre Devinoy, *Miroirs* (Paris, 1986); Sandra Davison, Patricia R. Jackson, “The restoration of decorative flat glass case histories” in *Annales du 10^e Congrès de l’Association Internationale pour l’Histoire du Verre, Madrid-Segovie / 23–28 septembre 1985* (Amsterdam, 1987), pp. 465–80 (with previous bibliography).

² Wall sconce is a candle holder attached to the wall having a polished metal plaque or a mirror reflecting the candlelight. In the 18th-century Polish inventories it was called: “lichtarz do ścian z zwierciadłami” [“wall candle holder with mirrors”], “luster na ścianie zwierciadłowy” [“mirrored wall sconce”], “luster zwierciadłowy” [“mirror sconce”].

³ Inv. no. 43019 MNW; according to the inventory it was a “Venetian-type mirror with a coat of arms (of Czartoryski) [corrected to factual Kar. Sanguszek] some parts replaced new – said to come from the residence of Józef Potocki,” donated by the Management of Monument Department in Minsk on 22 March 1923 (receipt from the book of donations, no. 1088).

⁴ Inv. no. 211587/1–3 MNW (respective former numbers in the deposit register: 181611, 181612, 181613 MNW). They came from the Potocki Palace at 15, Krakowskie Przedmieście in Warsaw owned by Józef Alfred Potocki (1895–1968) and were deposited in the NMW in September 1939, and donated on 18 February 1954 by Roman Antoni Potocki (1893–1971).

⁵ See n. 28.

polished on both sides and the edges were profiled and bevelled. In case of the largest ones, the length and width does not go beyond 60 cm, with the glass sheet remaining c. 3–5 mm thick. Some of them have additional cut and engraved decoration, crafted on both sides of the glass sheet. The layered arrangement of the mirror glass plates and their bevelling provide the mirror with extra spatiality and depth, while also emphasizing the solidity of structure and quality of production process. The cut and engraved decoration plays on the nuances between the polished and matte areas and the location on either side of the glass plate that enhance the depth of the mirror and its “flesh” as well as differences in the texture of glass. The shades of silvering supply the mirror with an iridescent quality, the refracted light shining with diverse intensity.

The unique purity of glass and the thickness of the mirror glass plate suggest that they were not produced in the traditional process of blowing; rather, they were cast. The mirror glass plate manufacturing method and its cut and engraved decoration indicate that the mirrors must have been prepared in a factory specializing in the production of mirror plates, i.e., in glassworks equipped with a sufficiently modern furnace, casting table and the grinding and polishing workshops. The original design of the wall sconces that did not follow the 18th-century fashion for English-type looking glasses reveals an exceptional individuality of the designer or commissioner.

At the time of purchase to the museum holdings, the attribution of the mirror wall sconces (the glassworks in Urzecze, c. 1750) did not raise any questions. The attribution was additionally supported by the engraved coat of arms of Paweł Karol Sanguszkowski, brother of Anna Radziwiłł, née Sanguszkowski, the founder of mirror glass works in Urzecze. It was only in the 1970s that the attribution was first questioned and it was suggested that they had been manufactured in Venice or Western Germany.⁶ After 1883, the sconces underwent conservation treatment, most probably in Italy, which we deduce from the Italian newspapers stuck underneath the mirror plates. It was probably then that the wooden supports were partly or entirely replaced and mounted in velvet-covered frames; the missing glass plates were replaced and the silvering was refilled or applied anew. The scope of the conservation treatment is a dubious issue; however, it does not seem to have essentially changed the shape and composition of the mirrors, as the meticulousness of the reconstruction is striking even today.

Because of the unique shape of the baroque mirror scone – a cartouche with a coat of arms – it is vital to determine the time and place of their production and the person who commissioned them.

Engraved on the sconces, the Pogoń coat of arms crowned with a princely hat and with marshal canes crossed behind it identifies the Sanguszkowski family without a shadow of a doubt. In the 18th century, as many as three representatives of the family held the office of the Marshal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania⁷: Paweł Karol (1682–1750), the Court Marshal (1713–34) and

⁶ “Collection de verre de Pologne,” *Bulletin des Journées Internationales du Verre*, no. 2 (1963), p. 49, fig. 43; *Sztuka zdobnicza. Dary i nabytki 1945–1964. Katalog*, Stanisław Gebethner, academic ed., Maria Markiewicz et al., eds, exh. cat., The National Museum in Warsaw, 1964 (Warsaw, 1964), p. 91, cat. no. 354, fig. 49 (Poland, Urzecze, c. 1750); Zofia Kamińska, *Manufaktura szklana w Urzeczcu 1737–1846* (Warsaw, 1964), fig. 18 (probably from Urzecze); *Polskie szkło do połowy XIX wieku*, Zofia Kamińska, academic ed. (Wrocław, 1974), fig. 95 (2nd edition 1987, pp. 134–35, fig. 100 – produced in Venice or Western Germany); Sławomira Ciepiela, *Szkło osiemnastowiecznej starej Warszawy* (Warsaw, 1977), p. 125 (Venice?); *Decorum życia Sarmatów w XVII i XVIII wieku. Katalog pokazu sztuki zdobniczej ze zbiorów Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* (Warsaw, 1980), p. 54, cat. no. 288 (Venice or Western Germany, c. 1750).

⁷ *Urzednicy centralni i dygnitarze Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego XIV–XVIII wieku*, listed and edited by Henryk Lulewicz and Andrzej Rachuba (Kórnik, 1994), pp. 75, 79.

the Grand Marshal (1734–50)⁸, and his two sons: Janusz Aleksander (1712–75), Court Marshal (1750–60, resigned in favour of his brother),⁹ and Józef Paulin (1740–81), Court Marshal (1760–68), and the Grand Marshal (1768–81).¹⁰ Ultimately, the office of the Marshal, be it the Grand Marshal of Lithuania or the Court Marshal, was uninterruptedly held by members of the family since 1713 until 1781.

In December 1738, Paweł Karol Sanguszeko (**fig. 3**) ceded to his son from the second marriage with Marianna, née Lubomirska (1693–1729), Janusz Aleksander, the administration of his maternal estate, including the Ostrogski Estate and wealth inherited from Aleksander Dominik Lubomirski (1693–1720). At the same time, his son, in exchange for the incurred expenditure and efforts, resigned from the property rights to Lewartów, later renamed Lubartów, in favour of his father.¹¹ Consequently, an inventory of Lubartów Palace was drawn up on 27 January 1739.¹² The furnishings included “mirror wall sconces, large, cut, with Pogoń [coat of arms] and Princely Hat in Upper Rooms: 12 in total, with 5 candlesticks of white prince’s metal¹³ each” and “wall sconces, small, also mirrored, elongated and narrow with one candlestick [...] in ground floor rooms, four hanging on lemon yellow ribbons and five on green ribbons.” The previous inventory written down in 1731¹⁴ only listed the “wall sconces” in the ground floor rooms.

In the years 1730–38, extensive construction and refurbishing works were executed, probably supervised by Paolo Antonio Fontana (1696–1765). A second floor was added and the staircase and the first floor (*piano nobile*), including the upper room called the parade room and two redecorated apartments, were significantly reconstructed.¹⁵ The representative function of palace interiors was emphasized through luxurious decoration including mirrors, so

⁸ Roman Marcinek, *Sanguszeko Paweł Karol* in *Polski słownik biograficzny. Sanguszeko Dymitr – Sapieha Jan*, Henryk Markiewicz, ed., vol. 34, book 4 (Wrocław–Warszawa [etc.], 1993), pp. 497–500.

⁹ Id., *Sanguszeko Janusz Aleksander* in *ibid.*, pp. 490–92.

¹⁰ Id., *Sanguszeko Józef Paulin Jan Adam* in *ibid.*, pp. 494–96.

¹¹ Grażyna Czapska, “Pałac Sanguszków w Lubartowie,” *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, 15 (1967), pp. 63–94. The Lubartów Estate was a part of the dowry of Marianna Lubomirska. As early as the 1720s, Lubartów became the main residence of Paweł Karol. In the 1730s, a parochial church was built, and a cloister and church of Capuchin Friars. The family archive was stored in the palace – see Krzysztof Syta, “Dzieje archiwów książąt Sanguszków,” *Miscellanea Historico-Archivistica*, 11 (2000), pp. 97–110.

¹² Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie, Oddział na Wawelu [The National Archive in Krakow, Wawel Division] (henceforth: ANK, Wawel Division), The Sanguszeko Archives 542: *Regestr rzeczy JO. X. JMCI. Pawła Karola Sanguszka* [...] [Register of possessions of Paweł Karol Sanguszeko, Grand Marshal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, head of Czerkasy County etc., of silver articles as well as various equipment, movables and accessories stored in the Lubartów treasury and palace, as well as silverware supervised by Janusz Paluchowski, the pantler, and various things, and generally at the disposal of Sir Michał Musianowski as the treasurer, and other deposited items, listed below in the same register, drawn up in Lubartów on 27 January 1739].

¹³ Prince’s metal – alloy of copper and zinc or copper and bismuth, formerly used to produce cheap jewellery; believed to have been invented by Rupert von der Pfalz (1619–82).

¹⁴ ANK, Wawel Division, The Sanguszeko Archives 492/3: *Regestr spisanych rzeczy w pałacu Lubartowskim* [...] [Register of listed items in Lubartów Palace, that is, in the chapel and ground floor and upper floor apartments, from now on supervised by Michał Tokarz on 22 October 1731]. According to the inventories of 1729, “upper rooms [were] sealed.” See ANK, Wawel Division, The Sanguszeko Archives 492/1: *Regestr opisanych rzeczy w całym pałacu Lewartowskim* [...] [Register of described items in the entire palace in Lewartów and its rooms, also in the treasury that can be found there, on 16 January 1729]; 492/2: *Regestr rzeczy w pałacu Lewartowskim* [...] [Register of items at Lewartów Palace and all rooms drawn up and handed to Mr Musianowski together with the keys on 5 February 1729].

¹⁵ Czapska, *Pałac...*, op. cit., pp. 66–67; Beata Purc-Stępnia, “Pałac w Lubartowie,” *Spotkania z Zabytkami*, 9 Ann 21 (1997), pp. 24–25.

fashionable in the 1730s. The following inventories from 1741¹⁶ and 1751¹⁷ locate the wall sconces in the side apartments, not in the main room. In the left hand apartment, four of them were hanging in the room viewing the garden and two each in the corner room and in the courtyard room, while in the right hand apartment two sconces were placed in the garden room and two in the corner room. The 1751 inventory also lists mirror sheets installed in the wall over the mantelpiece¹⁸ and between the windows, as well as freely placed mirrors “manufactured in glass frames” or “in engraved mirror frames” from Biała.¹⁹

The “mirror wall sconces, large, cut, with Pogoń [coat of arms]” were first mentioned by the inventory of the Lubartów Palace of 27 January 1739 – which presents us with a terminus ante quem for their production. Both the place and the time point unequivocally identify the person honoured through the objects: it was the then owner of the Lewartów Estate, Prince Paweł Karol Sanguszkowski, the Grand Marshal of Lithuania. Applying a single male coat of arms on the sconces may with a great probability limit the time span of the production of the sconces to the period when Sanguszkowski was a widower, i.e., between the death of Marianna, née Lubomirska in 1729 and Sanguszkowski’s successive marriage with Barbara, née Dunin (1718–91) on 17 April 1735 in Warsaw.²⁰ Upon marrying his third wife, who was 16 years old at the time, Sanguszkowski was 55. He found himself forced to enter yet another marital union “in the face of the forthcoming end of one’s clan”²¹ since he could not expect issue from the marriage of his son Janusz Aleksander with Konstancja, née Denhoff (1716–91). Therefore, upon commissioning the wall sconces for the decoration of his palace in Lubartów, he must have been convinced he would not marry again because of his age; hence the coat of arms with insignia of the office only referred to himself.

Secondly, the entry in the inventory of 27 January 1739 allows to ultimately give up the attribution of the sconces as produced by the mirror glass works in Urzecze. Although the enterprise was planted in the autumn of 1737, it was only in 1738 that the glass began to be melted, while the first stock of mirrors manufactured within was sent to Biała to Anna Radziwiłł in May 1739, i.e., four months after the sconces were mentioned for the first time. The excellent technological quality of the sconces indicates that they could not have been produced in the early period of the Urzecze factory. In the beginning of the enterprise, the mirror plates were

¹⁶ “Luster Zwierciadłowych wielkich szlifowanych z Pogonią.” [‘Mirror wall sconces, large, with Pogoń’]. See ANK, Wawel Division, The Sanguszkowski Archives 492/5: *Inwentarz pałacu Lubartowskiego* [...] [Inventory of Lubartów Palace with descriptions of various items in each room separately, as well as in halls, chapel and library, currently attended to by Leonard Bienek, presently a burgrave, drawn up sub numeris on 8 March 1741 in Lubartów].

¹⁷ “Luster wielkich Zwierciadłowych szlifowanych z Pogonią po pięciu Lichtarzy princmentalowych pobielanych maiących.” [‘Mirror wall sconces, large, cut, with Pogoń, having five candlesticks of prince’s metal each’]. See ANK, Wawel Division, The Sanguszkowski Archives 596: *Inwentarz wszystkich rzeczy ruchomych* [...] [Inventory of all movables, as jewellery, gold, silver, money, garments, furs, upholstery, household equipment, weaponry, coaches, team horses, riding horses, livestock etc. etc. left after the late Paweł Karol, Lord on Białe Kowale etc. Prince Sanguszkowski on Lubartów, Grand Marshal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, in treasuries, palaces and other various estates, truthfully drawn up by the spouse of the Prince, Princess Barbara, née Countess Dunin, according to the requirements of common law and the last will for the information of the successors, in Lubartów on 5 June 1751].

¹⁸ E.g., “Zwierciadło nad kominem [...] ze szkłem wkoło lapis lazurii” [‘Overmantel mirror (...) with glass around lapis lazuli’]. See *ibid.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.* The description “from Biała” refers to the provenance of mirrors, as it could have been a gift of Anna Radziwiłł, née Sanguszkowski, owner of the mirror glass works in Urzecze and glassworks in Naliboki. In the palace in Biała Podlaska, she stored glassware for gifts for her relatives and guests.

²⁰ Daughter of Jakub (d. 1730), the Referendary of the Crown and Marianna Grudzińska (d. 1727), raised by Helena, née Potocka, primo voto Dunin, secundo voto spouse of Antoni Andrzej Morsztyn (1677/80–1735).

²¹ Jakub Cichoński, *Pan starosta Zakrzewski* (Kiev, 1860), p. 43.

manufactured through blowing technique and the first large glass sheet was cast on a gunmetal casting table (*Giswerk*) as late as March 1756.²²

Casting glass sheets on a gunmetal casting table was first performed by Bernard Perrot in Orleans, France in 1687. The process was further perfected during the next couple of years by Louis Lucas de Nehou and introduced since 1693 [1695] to the Royal Mirror Glass Factory at Saint-Gobain.²³ The new technology enabled to manufacture glass sheets of larger sizes, of even thickness along their entire length and of higher quality. Cast glass turned out more durable, too, which made a better material for further processes of grinding and polishing.

The production technology of glass plates was based on the strict technological rigour both within glass production and plate forming.²⁴ The specially selected recipe for glass,²⁵ the carefully purified raw materials, the elongated process of ingredient melting in the pot lasting at least 48 hours and the several hours of “cold fire” (controlled temperature) heating would result in the glass free from impurities or air bubbles. The glass prepared in this manner was taken out in the pot from the furnace and was cast onto a gunmetal casting table framed on the sides by brass slates and rolled out with a gunmetal roller.²⁶ The glass plate was then transported on a carriage to the annealing furnace (Fr. *carcasse*) where it was further heated for a couple of hours in order to remove defects resulting on the surface, finally being annealed in a process that typically lasted from five to eight days. It was only after that time that the glass plates were selected²⁷ and passed on to the polishing workshop. As early as the 1730s, the contents of one pot allowed for casting one mirror plate 112 × 70 inches in size and $\frac{9}{16}$ of an inch thick (291 × 182 cm in size and 1.4 cm thick); however, they came rare and costly as after the irregular edges were cut off and the glass was mechanically ground and polished, many of them did not stretch beyond the length of 80, 70 or 60 inches (208, 182 or 156 cm respectively).²⁸

²² Ead., “Stół do lania luster z manufaktury zwierciadlanej w Urzeczu” in *Ludwisarstwo w Polsce. Materiały z III Sesji Naukowej z cyklu ‘Rzemiosło artystyczne i wzornictwo w Polsce,’ zorganizowanej przez Muzeum Okręgowe w Toruniu oraz Toruński Oddział Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, w dniach 8–9 listopada 2002 roku*, Katarzyna Kluczwajd, academic ed. (Toruń, 2003), pp. 172–79.

²³ In the first half of the 18th century, the mirror glass factory at Saint-Gobain was the greatest producer of mirror glass plates in Europe and, until 1763 an exclusive producer for French market of *grandes glaces* (large mirror glass plates) measuring 60 × 40 inches (156 × 104 cm). See Polak, *Szko...*, op. cit., p. 198.

²⁴ The process was discussed on the basis of a description of the production cycle in the glassworks in Friedrichsthal (Saxony) cited in the following document: *Rzetelna i obszerna rezolucja punktów od Bachsztroma zastanych* [...] [Precise and extensive answer to query sent by Bachsztrom, in reference to the Mirror Factory of the Princess, Spouse of the Grand Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and to the respective work and detailed duties of Factory Managers and Workers, as well as other related Points. In Dresden on 16 May 1739. Adam Gottlieb de Rohr] or: *Obszerna Informacja o fabrykach zwierciadłowych i farfurowych* [...] [Extensive Information on mirror glass and faience factories including foreign mirror and faience prices sent by captain Rohr from Dresden on 12 December 1742]. (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [Central Archives of Historical Records], Archiwum Radziwiłłowskie [The Radziwiłł Archives] XIX, U VII, 5).

²⁵ “The glass that has a slightly green or greenish tinge is obviously the best one, since when silvered, it represents all objects in the most precise and natural manner. Hence this colour is described with a special term: green tinge [Pol. *zielony sztych*] or true Venetian or English colour. Transparent white glass is not at all estimated here, since when silvered, it reflects everything falsely, for instance, a man, even with the healthiest carnation, is represented as pale, yellowish or blackish, which is not to be feared of in case of the green glass.” (*Rzetelna i obszerna rezolucja punktów...*, op. cit., see n. 23).

²⁶ A glass plate was detached from the table by means of an “instrument they call a sabre” – *ibid.*

²⁷ Production quality control process allowing to sort out blemished samples.

²⁸ According to an account of 1739, the efficiency of the workshop was limited: “In such a glass grinding workshop where a pair of horses or oxen drive the mill, there are four wings that move 20 grinding boxes, 12 boxes with

Glassworks were highly specialized manufacturing enterprises and qualified personnel was a necessary condition to found and maintain them. Consequently, few rulers could afford to open a glass factory. The specificity of mirror glass works was the combination of several workshops; at the glassworks, there was also a grinding, polishing and bevelling workshop installed (with watermills, ox mills or hand-powered mills) as well as a silvering and assembling workshop.²⁹ Apart from the splendour brought to the patron, the glassworks also caused significant financial losses. In the first quarter of the 18th century in Europe, only few of them possessed casting tables³⁰ to produce flat glass, or water-powered grinding or polishing workshops. These were mirror glass works at Saint-Gobain, France, Murano, Italy, Neustadt/Dosse, Brandenburg (est. 1696), Spiegelberg, Wirtemberg (est. 1705), Friedrichsthal/Senftenberg, Saxony (est. 1709) with water-driven polishing workshop at Dresden, Germany (est. 1711) and Neuhaus/Fahrafeld, Germany (est. 1701), with storerooms in Vienna.³¹ In an attempt to protect the market and sales, the rulers safeguarded a monopoly for the mirror production in their countries imposing a ban on the import of foreign products.³²

It is generally agreed upon that in the second quarter of the 18th century mirrors began to be employed in Poland as a popular element of architectural decoration, a fashion borrowed from France. It should be remembered though, that in the 1720s–30s the trend was not as much latent as simply very expensive, since mirrors were manufactured in a technologically demanding process. Usually, such decoration was limited to an overmantel mirror, or, less frequently, a mirror hung between two windows; mirror cabinets and mirror galleries remained a rarity.³³ Sometimes, medium-sized decorative mirror sconces were commissioned to decorate rooms.³⁴

Paweł Karol Sanguszko belonged to the court party of King of Poland Augustus II, and after the king's death in 1733, he supported the candidacy of Prince Frederick Augustus

thick sand, 4 with fine sand, and 4 with emery. Within four weeks, 50 mirrors [mirror plates] can be prepared, ready to be polished. In this way, once, 60 mirrors were ground in Friedrichsthal throughout two fortnights, with people working hard night and day and not sparing the cattle.” (*Rzeczna i obszerna rezolucja punktów...*, op. cit., see n. 23).

²⁹ A workshop that among many other tasks designed and assembled looking glasses in mirrored frames.

³⁰ In the scientific literature the glassworks machinery is rarely discussed. Therefore it is hard to find out when exactly the gunmetal table for casting glass plates, being a specialized element of the factory, was introduced. Often, we learn about its existence indirectly, for instance through information about an offered mirror plate that was more than 40 inches long, or from contemporary accounts (see *Rzeczna i obszerna rezolucja punktów...*, op. cit., n. 23). For example, the *Giswerk* at Friedrichsthal was crafted in the years 1723–26?, and was most probably designed by Erich Nicolas de Noor, whose family ran the glassworks at Neustadt a.d. Dosse since 1696, and who was the manager of the Dresden finishing glass workshop in the years 1715–44?, or by Joseph Compagnon from Liège, who was a tenant of Friedrichsthal's glassworks in the years 1713–20?.

³¹ The next ones were planted in Braunschweig – Grünenplan (est. 1743/44), in Bohemia – Bürgstein (est. 1756) in Hannover – Amelieth/Niennover (est. 1781) and in Lohr (Churmainz), Lettenbach (an der Saar), Schwarzenfels (Hessen-Kassel) and Schleichach (Würzburgischen), established on unknown dates.

³² Only rulers could guarantee a national monopoly for the production of glass plates, and by introducing custom barriers, they protected national production against exported foreign products. E.g., Louis XIV banned the import of Venetian mirrors after 1672 and similar bans were issued in Brandenburg, while managers running other glassworks repeatedly reminded of and asked for the introduction of restrictions upon importing foreign glass.

³³ Aleksandra J. Kasprzak, “Gabinet i Galeria Zwierciadlane w pałacu w Białej Radziwiłłowskiej” in *Rzemiosło artystyczne, Materiały Sesji Oddziału Warszawskiego Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki* (Warsaw, 1996), pp. 85–98.

³⁴ The smaller mirrored wall sconces were also featured in the palace in Lubartów (as evidenced by the inventories of 1729 and 1739). The inventory of the Pałac Błękitny [Blue Palace] in Warsaw of 9 November 1730 (written down after the palace was handed to Augustus II by Anna Orzelska) lists about 60 “wall sconces with mirrors in gilt frames,” including 14 pieces in the staircase, often hung on bright-coloured decorative silk cords with tassels (See The Princes Czartoryski Library in Krakow, Archiwum Gospodarcze 11 [Economic Archives]).

for the Polish throne. After the Warsaw confederation was established and Augustus III elected on 5 October, Sanguszko joined the closest circle of Polish advisors to the new king. He was present during the king's coronation ceremony on 17 January 1734 in Krakow. On 4 February 1734 he inherited the nomination for the Grand Marshal of Lithuania from Aleksander Paweł Sapieha, deceased on 4 January 1734 in Vilnius. Most probably, he left for Saxony on 22 February as a companion to the king; in July, he visited Oliwa; in September he resided in Dresden, taking part in confidential debates. He returned to his homeland in December 1734.³⁵

The Polish visitor must have been impressed with the (unpreserved) interiors of the Dresden Castle – lavishly fitted out with mirrors from the Friedrichsthal glassworks and whose cut decoration was crafted in the glass finishing workshop at Dresden. The Saxony's specialty were also furniture including writing tables and cabinets with polished mirror plates. Since 1715, the Dresden's glass finishing works under the patronage of King of Poland Augustus the Strong and managed by Erich Niclas Noor was the permanent and exclusive deliverer of polished mirror plates to the court.³⁶ Since mirrors were articles of luxury at that time which confirmed the owner's rank and wealth, they were a precious and desirable acquisition. It is hard to resist a presumption that Sanguszko, upon his visit at Dresden during which he maintained close relations with the court, may have commissioned mirror sconces for himself there in 1734. With a certain probability we can also assume that the mirror sconces could have been a generous gift from King of Poland Augustus III to the trusted adherent who supported the ruler throughout the difficult process of taking over the reign. Nothing else could have been such a noticeable material proof of Sanguszko's position. Eventually, the mirror sconces also celebrated the fact of accepting one of the highest offices in the country (figs 4-7).³⁷

Both the mirror works in Friedrichsthal and the partnering water-driven glass finishing workshop in Dresden opened up the ranking of the most modern Saxon manufactures of the first half of the 18th century.³⁸ Unfortunately, so far we have only known two objects confirmed by archived documentation that can attest to the quality of the mirrors produced in the factory. These are writing cabinets from Moritzburg, crafted by carpenter Johann Gotfried Heinrich Grahl in the years 1725–27, with mirrors polished by Erich Niclas Noor. Characteristically, the mirrors are decorated through cutting on both sides of the sheet.³⁹

The household expense book of Paweł Karol's court from the years 1734–43 confirms significant purchases in Saxony.⁴⁰ For instance, on 23 March 1738 Paweł Karol's emissary – Franciszek,

³⁵ Marcinek, *Sanguszko Paweł Karol*, op. cit., p. 498.

³⁶ Gerhard Glaser, "Das Grüne Gewölbe im Dresdener Schloß als Weiterentwicklung der barocken Architekturidee des Spiegelskabinetts, als Spezialmuseum und als Ausgangspunkt gegenwärtiger Museumsgestaltung," *Jahrbuch Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden*, Bd. 12 (1980), pp. 7–67.

³⁷ Roche, Courage, Devinoy, *Miroirs...*, op. cit., p. 25. Mirrors made precious and significant diplomatic presents, i.e., Louis XV presented Sultan Mahmud I with two large mirrors that cost 24,982 French livres in 1742, and in 1751 the king of Denmark with mirror plates that cost 24,576 French livres.

³⁸ Adolf Hantzsch, "Die Spiegelschleife bei Dresden," *Mitteilungen des Vereins für Geschichte und Topographie Dresden und seiner Umgebung*, H. 4 (1883), pp. 38–58; Gerhard Krüger, "Die Glashütte zu Friedrichsthal," *Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preußischen Geschichte*, 39 (1927), pp. 75–88.

³⁹ Gisela Haase, *Dresdener Möbel des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig, 1983), p. 44.

⁴⁰ ANK, Wawel Division, The Sanguszko Archives 512: *Księga zawierająca różne rachunki domowe X. Pawła Karola Sanguszka* [...] [Book containing various household accounts of Prince Paweł Karol Sanguszko, Grand Marshal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania including the register of wines, various equipment and items, commissions to factories,

upon leaving for Dresden, obtained for “various expenses” 800 ducats (650 ducats from the Prince and 150 from the Princess), equalling about 14,000 Polish zlotys. We can calculate (on the basis of price lists from the glassworks in Brandenburg, Saxony and Urzecze from the years 1738–40) that Sanguszko’s 12 mirror sconces from Lubartów could have been bought for 4,000–11,000 Polish zlotys.⁴¹ The detailed record, however, does not mention the specific expenditure for the mirror sconces commissioned in Dresden. It may be that the enigmatic note from 9 July 1737 stating that 83 ducats were paid “to the Doctor for merits” with a note added “And to the same one for the mirrors [...] 158 ducats”⁴² referred to the payment of at least a part of the sum for the mirrors,⁴³ or else – what seems more probable – for the freight.

After the death of Paweł Karol, the estate was divided between his three sons from the third marriage. Lubartów was bequeathed to the oldest son, Józef Paulin, and in the inventory of 1782 drawn up after his death,⁴⁴ four of the 12 sconces were listed in the ground floor chapel: “Mirror wall sconces hanging on the walls, large, with Pogoń coats of arms and five Prince’s metal [brass] branches for candles: 4 in total.” The next inventory of 1796⁴⁵ located them in the palace treasury: “Mirror wall sconces with Sanguszko’s coats of arms, including one broken, brass candlesticks 20, four.” At the beginning of the 19th century, when the unattended estate began to decline and the palace became desolate, probably a part of the furnishings together with Sanguszko’s archives were moved in 1812 to Zasław. In the first half of the 19th century, the estate was united in the hand of the last representative of the family – Eustachy Erazm. In 1865,⁴⁶ four wall sconces were mentioned in the inventory of his son Roman Stanisław’s palace in Sławut, with three of them hanging in the “drawing room” – “a wall sconce without frames with Pogoń coats of arms”, one in the painted room – “a wall sconce with Pogoń [coat of arms].” After his death in 1881, they were passed to his only daughter, Maria Potocka from Łańcut, whose grandsons donated them to the collection of the National Museum in Warsaw.

Sanguszko was a typical representative of his times – a persistent adherent of the Wettin House on the Polish throne, a far-sighted landlord, taking a lot of care especially for the palace

and soldiers for the Prince’s regiment from the years 1734–1743]. Considering the manner of running the accounts at the time, it was probably one of several household expenditure books. 1 ducat = 18 Polish zlotys (17 without commission), which gives 13,600–14,400 Polish zlotys in total.

⁴¹ A mirror 40 inches long cost 40×8 Polish zlotys = 320 Polish zlotys, $\times 12$ items = 3,840 Polish zlotys; a mirror 50 inches long cost 120×8 Polish zlotys = 960 Polish zlotys, $\times 12$ items = 11,520 Polish zlotys (1 thaler = 8 Polish zlotys). See Zbigniew Żabiński, *Systemy pieniężne na ziemiach polskich* (Wrocław–Kraków, 1981), p. 132.

⁴² Which equals 2,686 to 2,844 Polish zlotys.

⁴³ The word “lustra” [‘mirrors’ or ‘sconces’] in 18th-century Polish could also mean ‘chandeliers.’

⁴⁴ ANK, Wawel Division, The Sanguszko Archives 748: *Regestr wszystkich rzeczy ruchomych* [...] [Register of all movables in money, jewellery, accessories, pewter, copper, household equipment, weaponry, carriages, coaches, team horses, riding horses, livestock and all movables, left after the late Józef Paulin on Biały Kowel, Duchy of Zasław, Tołoczynskie and Krupeckie County, Lubartów, Kańczuga and other lands, the Prince Sanguszko on Lubartów, Grand Marshal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Knight of the Order of the White Eagle, my most beloved husband and benefactor, in the treasuries, palaces and all estates in various places, found intact after his much regretted death, all revised [...], drawn up truthfully and satisfactorily by me, Anna née Countess Cetner of Czertwice, Princess Sanguszko, spouse of the Grand Marshal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, his dowager, fulfilling my lawful duties, for the information of the successors, in Lubartów on 4 April 1782].

⁴⁵ ANK, Wawel Division, The Sanguszko Archives 492/8: *Regestra rzeczy, w skarbcu Lubartowskim* [...] [Register of items held in the Lubartów treasury, drawn up in April 1796].

⁴⁶ ANK, Wawel Division, Archiwum Podhoreckie [The Podhorecki Archives] II 245: *Remanent* [...] [Inventory [...] at the palace in Sławut, drawn up on 1 December 1865].

in Lubartów which he chose for his headquarters. It is no surprise that the 12 mirror wall sconces were destined to decorate his favourite residence. He must have decided to buy such luxurious items as mirrors after 4 February 1734, i.e., after being honoured with the office of the Grand Marshal of Lithuania, when he visited Saxony as a companion of the king, and before his return to Warsaw in December 1734, a fact confirmed by the appearance of a single coat of arms on the sconces. The date of the marriage with Barbara, née Dunin in April 1735 determines the ultimate deadline of the commission. The sconces were manufactured in Saxony of glass plates produced in the glassworks at Friedrichsthal, and most probably ground and polished at the Dresden polishing workshop which is suggested by the mixed decorative technique using the nuances between cut and engraved decoration, applied on both sides of the glass plate. Because of the scope of the commission, considering both the size and the number of the mirrors, it is supportable to presume that they were transported to Lubartów already after the third marriage of Prince Sanguszek. They played an important role in the decoration of the representative palace interiors that glorified the family continuator who through his third, belated marriage with Barbara, née Dunin guaranteed the continuity of the princely name.

Translated by Karolina Koriat