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Post-medieval European Ambers in Britain, Tankards in the British Museum, and the Biographical Data of Seventeenth-Century Bernsteindreher in Königsberg¹

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Nowożytnie przykłady europejskiego bursztynnictwa w zbiorach brytyjskich, kufle z Muzeum Brytyjskiego oraz dane biograficzne siedemnastowiecznych bursztynników w Królewcu

Punktem wyjścia do powstania tego artykułu są dwa bursztynowe kufle znajdujące się w zbiorach British Museum w Londynie. Artefakty te zostały szczegółowo przeanalizowane oraz osadzone w kontekście innych dzieł bursztynowych w georgiańskiej i wiktoriańskiej Anglii. W tekście opisano, jak wczesne fotografie omawianych obiektów sprawiły, że były one często przywoływane w badaniach nad bursztynem, a także w jaki sposób przyczyniło się to do utrwalenia określonych opinii i argumentów. Najważniejsze z nich dotyczą twórczości Jacoba Heise. W drugiej części tekstu przedstawiono nowe dane biograficzne dotyczące bursztynników z początku i połowy XVII wieku działających w Królewcu, wskazując, że być może autorem licznych dzieł bursztynowych z tego okresu, które przetrwały do dziś, jest Lorenz Schnipperling.

¹ I wish to thank Dr Anna Sobecka (Gdańsk), my colleagues at the British Museum, Dr Ildiko Pandur and Gábor Juhász (Budapest), Dr Henrik Klackenborg, Lena Marinus-Jensen, Micael Ernstell and Alexander Holm (Stockholm), Martin Kiener (Zurich), Michael Pearce (Scotland), Rosie Simon (London), the British Museum Scholarly Publications Fund, Olga Suchanova and the Reverend Ruth Barr (North Mymms) for their support in completing this paper. My thanks to the anonymous reviewers and Magdalena Cichowicz-Cieślak for their sage comments.

This contribution takes two tankards in the British Museum, London, as its starting point. It considers these artefacts in detail, highlighting some of the possible influences underlying their making (prints, other artefacts, relationships with goldsmiths and their work) as well as their place among other ambers in Georgian and Victorian England by considering ownership, sale and acquisition. It explores how early photography has led to these tankards becoming highly referenced within amber studies, and how this has also led to the perpetuation of particular opinions and arguments. Foremost among these have been judgements around quality and the work of the craftsman Jacob Heise. In its second half, this essay presents new biographical data around amber craftspeople in early and mid 17th century Königsberg, suggesting that the master Lorenz Schnipperling is worthy of greater consideration for many finely wrought ambers from this period still surviving today. The article is accompanied by three extensive appendices dealing with the British Museum's European ambers dating to after 1500, sales of amber in England, and amber craftspeople in 17th-century Prussia.

I. Two amber tankards in the British Museum

The British Museum (BM) collection of European carved ambers from the early modern era comprises two handfuls of qualitatively diverse pieces.² Yet it is also better known than many others thanks to the early taking of photographs which have granted two tankards – one on long-term loan – a place in nearly all serious studies of early modern amber artefacts since. This contribution revisits these two pieces. In the first half, it focuses on their history in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and their local contextualisation. In the second, it focuses on the craftsman Jacob Heise, to whom these and many tankards have traditionally been attributed. The paper problematises the narratives formed around the two British Museum vessels and suggests the attributional structures in place for Königsberg works require revision.

The Rothschild Waddesdon and the Jarvis-Mews Amber Tankards

There are two amber tankards in the BM. The first, WB.229, in the permanent collection, will be referred to as the Rothschild Waddesdon Tankard. The second, on long-term loan from the Church of St Mary, North Mymms, will be referred to as the Jarvis-Mews Tankard. They will be discussed in this order (figs.

² Appendix I: Post-medieval European Ambers in the British Museum – A survey with extended bibliography.

1 and 2) and extensive information is presented in Appendix I.

The Rothschild Waddesdon Tankard was presented to the British Museum in 1898. It formed part of Ferdinand Rothschild's gift to the Museum, the Waddesdon Bequest. This is a group of nearly 300 objects which takes its name from Baron Ferdinand's Buckinghamshire mansion, Waddesdon Manor, where they were displayed in a specially designed setting, the New Smoking Room. The Bequest and tankard with it have been on near permanent display in Bloomsbury since about 1900. In the most recent iteration of the Bequest (Gallery 2a, 2015), the tankard forms part of space exploring the Kunst- and Schatzkammer 'revival' in the 19th century and is presented in a recessed wall case alongside a small amber casket and fruit- and boxwood carvings. A clause prohibiting display outside of the Bequest means the artefact is rarely seen elsewhere. It did, however, play a key role in the London leg and accompanying radio series of *Germany: Memories of a Nation* (16 October 2014–25 January 2015), and it has become poster girl for the Museum's Members Programme.

The Rothschild Waddesdon Tankard has been a stalwart of English and German-language treatments of amber since being photographed for Charles Hercules Read's 1902 catalogue of the Bequest. Subsequent BM catalogues and other specialist works by curators Otto Pelka (1920) and Alfred Rohde (1937) have captured changing opinions on the pieces. The early availability of images of the Rothschild Waddesdon and Jarvis-Mews tankards cemented their popularity over other quantitatively and qualitatively stronger pieces in London. The collection at the Victoria & Albert Museum (V&A) was already sizeable in 1902,³



Fig. 1. Rothschild Waddesdon with arms of the Vasa dynasty in its cover, Königsberg, before 1654, British Museum WB.229, © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence



Fig. 2. Jarvis-Mews Tankard dated 1659, Königsberg, before 1659, on loan to the British Museum from St Mary's Church, North Myms

³ Marjorie Trusted, *Catalogue of European Ambers in the Victoria and Albert Museum*, London 1985 gives a concordance and provenance where known. Acquisitions before 1900 were: 4064–1856, crucifix on socle (67 cm), no provenance given; 4260 & 4261–1857, mass cruets, no provenance given; 111 and A-1872, wedding knife and fork, bought S. Rosenau, Kissingen; 155–1872, rosary bought A. Pickert, Nuremberg; 1059–1873, Judgement of Paris, bought Mrs. Matthew Marshall (Charlotte Jane Wilkin), 1873; 269–1875, casket given by Miss E.M. Dorrell,

and it had played host to spectacular guests, such as the Royal Collection's amber canister (1854–1887).⁴

Objects made of Amber in Britain, 1700–1900

Amber artefacts were by no means rare in Victorian Britain, as the survey of sales presented in Appendix II shows. This demonstrates the impressive range of early modern ambers available. This also captures the names of owners, the way objects were presented and the state of contemporary knowledge. The smallest artefacts are most numerable, for example: amber-hafted cutlery, jewellery (beads, necklaces, bracelets, and earrings), snuff- and scent bottles, snuffboxes, and watch cases. If not at auction, trade cards say something about where small works might otherwise be bought. The snuff box with mounted cover at the top of the trade card for Humphrey Pugh, toyman, at Racquet Court, Fleet Street thought to date to about 1740–1750, could very well be meant to be amber (fig. 3). Humphrey may have been related to Ellis Pugh, who is recorded as repairing a fine amber cabinet for Sir Gilbert Heathcote in February 1766.⁵ A trade card for James Cox, goldsmith at the Golden Urn, in the same Racquet Court (1751–1757), suggests he both buys and sells works in amber, while his contemporary John Sansom, a turner and handle maker in Cheapside, not only made the grips for tea and coffee pots, but also supplied small work in amber.

Cabinets, caskets, and boxes, often described as displayed on stands beneath glass, are numerable in auction catalogues. One of the most splendid was certainly the 'matchless cabinet of amber' offered at the 1858 retirement sale of dealer David Falcke, now in the Germanisches Nationalmuseum (fig. 4).⁶ The stock from his liquidated dealership also included an amber candlestick, carved amber (Italian style), an amber jug, and a carved amber cup. Falcke's sources are likely to be both continental and English, and despite good descriptions it has not yet been possible to conclusively identify these pieces in earlier or later sales.

1875; 270–1875, shrine, given by Miss E.M. Dorrell, 1875; 1391 to K-1888, part of a set of cutlery bought in sale of collection of Earl of Londesborough at Christies, London, 10 July 1888, lot 665; 524 to E-1893, cutlery, bought from F.E. Whelan; Bateman Sale, Part 1, Sotheby's London, 14 April 1893, Lot 43, sold as Venetian. In my doctoral project *Baltic Amber in Early Modern Italy*, 2010, I suggested the name Leonardus Marius on the cutlery in set 1391-K1888 may connect it to Leonardus Marius Goezanus (Van der Goes) (1588–1652) on whom see the biography and bibliographies available on Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren (DBNL).

⁴ See RCN45109, *Amber Canister c. 1660*, "Royal Collection Trust," <https://www.rct.uk/collection/45109/amber-canister> [accessed: 6.12.2024].

⁵ 'Pugh, Ellis' [in:] *Dictionary of English Furniture Makers 1660–1840*, eds. Geoffrey Beard, Christopher Gilbert, Leeds 1986.

⁶ On Falcke see Mark Westgarth, *A Biographical Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Antique and Curiosity Dealers*, ed. David Jones, "The Journal of the Regional Furniture Society" 2009, vol. 23, pp. 97–98. See also Lugt 24178, 1858-04-19.

Yet so rare are amber jugs that Falcke's example could potentially be linked to the piece purportedly owned by Joséphine de Beauharnais (d. 1814) sold twenty years earlier from the effects of Marguerite Gardiner, Countess of Blessington.

Regrettably, the range of ambers sold in these auctions is significantly more diverse than the variety preserved in London museums today: candlesticks, hour glasses, games boards, playing pieces, sacred and profane figures, carved reliefs, bottles, dishes, salvers, crucifixes and altars all appear. Many objects are incorrectly described as Italian. One, an 'old Italian shrine of amber, of architectural design, inlaid with numerous ivory plaques, carved with scriptural subjects in relief, with large carved figures of the Virgin and St John at the sides, and open tiers above, supported on spiral columns with cone tops (20 inches high, i.e. 50 cm)' sounds very like a Gdańsk-made piece. The New Gallery's 1893 Exhibition of Early Italian Art from 1300 to 1550 even included baroque ambers. A richly carved casket surmounted by a snail on show is likely that recently exhibited in Paris.⁷ At the same time, descriptions in which amber is combined with other hardstones, a characteristically Italian practice, go geographically unremarked.

With the vendors of many pieces known, it is possible to see the democratisation of amber ownership, although the many women owners may be heirs to collections as much as collectors. It is often possible to understand where these individuals obtained their wealth – a factor important for institutional due diligence today. Matthew Marshall, whose widow gave the Christoph Maucher Judgement of Paris (V&A 1059–1873) to the V&A upon his death in 1873, was a cashier of the bank of England and awarded compensation, either in his official capacity or as a direct owner, for the freeing of enslaved people in Guapo in Trinidad.⁸ Some of the articles covered in Appendix II may now be in Museums or still in circulation.⁹ Amber has a part to play in the decolonisation process. Archival sources from eighteenth century England confirm the key role amber played in cementing European hegemony. My own work, for example,

⁷ *Exhibition of early Italian art from 1300 to 1550* [exhibition catalogue], The New Gallery London, London 1893–1894, cat. 431: 'Amber Casket richly carved with arabesque ornaments and mounted at sides with caryatides in ivory and enamelled. The lid is surmounted by a snail, also of amber and enamelled, astride of which is a small figure of a boy holding a spear 16th century. Lent by The Hon. W. F. B. Massey-Mainwaring'; See Alexis Kugel, Rahul Kulka, *Amber: Treasures from the Baltic Sea, 16th–18th Century* [exhibition catalogue], ed. Monelle Hayot, Galerie Kugel Paris, Paris 2023, cat. 10.

⁸ See *Matthew Marshall (1791–1873)*, Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery database, <https://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/person/view/44622> [accessed: 6.12.2024].

⁹ Note, however, the clear continental provenance of some pieces with families who left Germany for Britain, such as the casket attributed to Michel Redlin, Gdańsk, about 1680–1690, sold Sotheby's Treasures, 9 July 2014, lot 22, <https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2014/treasures-princely-taste-114303/lot.22.html> [accessed: 6.12.2024]. On this family, see John Hilary, *From Refugees to Royalty: The Remarkable Story of the Messel Family of Nymans*, London 2021.

has highlighted the use of raw amber in payments for people.¹⁰ This is particularly unique to amber as a ‘stone’ object with *Kunstammer* connections, for the same cannot be said of quartz or agates.

Despite this dynamic market, the Rothschild Waddesdon Tankard was acquired in continental Europe. Standing 20 cm high, the tankard was described and contextualised at length by Hugh Tait in his 1991 catalogue of the Waddesdon Bequest, and it appears today as it did at the time of acquisition. The first known description of the piece dates to 1882 when it is described by the Czech art-historian Jan Koula and was in the collection of Ervin, Count Nostitz-Rienek II (1863–1931) (fig. 5).¹¹ The coat of arms in the cover had not yet been identified. The tankard was displayed at the 1891 Prague Centennial exhibition, and Ferdinand clearly acquired it at some point thereafter. The tankard was not initially part of the selection for the BM Bequest.

The body of the Rothschild Waddesdon Tankard comprises nine columns of decoration, each made of three separate panels, totalling some 27 individually decorated components (fig. 6). Each column focusses upon a female figure, framed by upper and lower plaques. Given the probable use of the fragile tongue-and-groove technique to secure the panels, their disposition is likely to be original. Tankard fragments in Budapest show how challenging remaking the jigsaw can be (see Pandur and Juhász in this volume).¹² Seven of the nine Rothschild Waddesdon panels are emblematic of the Vices, with the remaining two – placed either side of the handle – decorated with warriors. The upper register panels have been carved with marine monsters ridden or battled by putti and female figures. The lower register panels have been carved with animals (a bull, a horse, a cat, a unicorn, a lion, a crocodile, unidentified, a doe, and a monkey). Neither the marine nor the animal images appear to relate directly to the allegory they frame.

¹⁰ Rachel King, *Amber: From Antiquity to Eternity*, London 2022, pp. 152–155, 218–219. This work is being deepened for presentation at the workshop *Artifacts, Resources, and Circulation during the Early Modern Period*, 28.05.2025, University of Oslo.

¹¹ Given Ervin’s father’s interests (fourth president of the Society of Patriotic Friends of the Arts in 1839–1864, and donor to the National Museum and the Museum of Decorative Arts in Prague) it is reasonable to assume that the object was acquired before his death in 1872, if not a family heirloom. The source of the tankard is not discussed in publication Dana Stehliková’s *Kabinety umění a kuriosit* [exhibition catalogue] [*Cabinets of arts and curiosities: five centuries of arts and crafts collecting*], Prague 1995.

¹² Gábor Juhász, “...Collapsed, though we have all the parts” a previously unknown 17th-century amber tankard from the collection of Miklós Jankovich in the Museum of Applied Arts, “*Ars Decorativa*” 2002, issue 36, pp. 23–45, fig. 4; this tankard is described in Florian Romer, *Illustrierter Führer in der Münz- und Alterthumsabtheilung des Ungarischen National-Museums. Hungary*, Budapest 1873, p. 65.



Fig. 5. The Rothschild Waddesdon Tankard (BM WB.229) in Jan Koula's 1882 publication

These nine columns roughly correspond with eight convex panels in the foot. These are carved with an s-shaped frond with flower-head terminal, with a bird at its centre. The well of the tankard comprises a central medallion carved with an anthropomorphic rayed sun surrounded by a frame of seven curved panels carved with scrolling natural motifs. There are repairs to the rays of the sun. The foot comprises at least 16 individually worked panels of amber.

The stepped cover consists of a lower and upper tier. There are six panels in the lower register. These alternate between s-shaped fronds with flower-head terminals and portrait heads in profile (two right-facing male warriors, and a left-facing female facing left). The upper tier has been lathe-turned from a single piece. It



Fig. 6. Detail of the body of the Rothschild Waddesdon Tankard, British Museum WB.229, © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence

is inset with roundel enclosing an openwork coat of arms, secured by a pane of transparent amber. This roundel is paralleled on the underside with a second. The roundel shows a woman pouring from an ewer into a cup. This is again covered by a pane of amber. There are at least 11 panels of amber in the cover. At least 55 immediately visible panels have been deployed in making this object.

The whole is secured and made handle-able by a gilt-metal, presumably silver, armature. This stabilizes and protects the convex panels of the foot, provides a substantial grip, completes and protects the upper lip, and supports as well as hinges the cover. The mount is unmarked, but has a series of potentially diagnostic features, such as the flame-like serrated border with projections accentuated

in black cold enamel, flower-shaped washers on the visible screws (some cast), a substantial ear-shaped grip with escutcheon terminal, and a trifurcated thumb-piece.¹³ Roman numerals have been scratched on the buttress undersides.¹⁴ The spine of the handle accommodates an amber siren fixed by a band of metal across the waist, as if a belt between torso and fish-tail.

Ambers, metal mounts, and sources of inspiration

The goldsmiths' work has particular characteristics of Königsberg production, most notably the sturdy lug shape with escutcheon terminal which, in some surviving tankard examples – with and without amber – have been engraved and enamelled.¹⁵ A tankard in Vienna has a heavily enamelled mount, fixed with flower shaped washers enamelled in mauve, as if forget-me-nots. Presented to Emperor Leopold I in 1650, it is a reminder that many of these objects now predominantly reds and golds also bore other colours, whether polychrome or blacks as captured by the broken Jankovich tankard in Budapest.¹⁶ Add to this that the Rothschild Waddesdon siren retains delicate white insets in ivory or bone, some pinpricked with black (as if eyes) and small voids across the piece suggest lost plugs.¹⁷

Treatments of ambers concern themselves less frequently with the metal mounts than with the sources of inspiration for the applied imagery. There are often attempts to identify print sources.¹⁸ The Kugel–Kulka catalogue of 2023 brings the field on substantially. It relates the Rothschild Waddesdon emblems to prints by Crispijn de Passe the Elder after Maarten de Vos dated to the 50-year window between 1590 and de Passe's 1637 death. The female bust on the cover

¹³ See Eugen von Czihak, *Die Edelschmiedekunst früherer Zeiten in Preussen*, Leipzig 1903; and Alfred Rohde and Ulla Stover, *Goldschmiedekunst in Königsberg*, ed. Ulla Stover, Stuttgart 1959; as well as Königsberg marked items in Museums or on the market for the shape. An extensive bibliography in Wolfgang Scheffler, *Goldschmiede Ostpreussens: Daten, Werke, Zeichen*, Berlin 1983.

¹⁴ Juhász, “...Collapsed, though we have all the parts”..., n. 18.

¹⁵ *Bernstein für Thron und Altar: Das Gold des Meeres in fürstlichen Kunst- und Schatzkammern* [exhibition catalogue], ed. Wilfried Seipel, Kunsthistorisches Museum Vienna, Vienna 2005, cat. 19; see also: *A Very Fine German Silver Parcel Gilt Tankard from Königsberg*, Helga Matzke, European Silver, <https://www.helga-matzke.com/objekte/a-very-fine-german-silver-parcel-gilt-tankard/> [accessed: 6.12.2024].

¹⁶ Juhász, “...Collapsed, though we have all the parts”...

¹⁷ *Bernstein für Thron und Altar*..., cat. 19.

¹⁸ Prints are frequently touched upon, and illustrated, as in Jutta Kappel, *Bernsteinkunst aus dem Grünen Gewölbe*, Dresden–München–Berlin 2005, cat. 8–9. The only dedicated treatment, to date, has been Silke Reiter, *Vom Entwurf zum Bernsteinartefakt – eine Studie über den Einsatz von Graphik in der Bernsteinkunst* [in:] *Bernstein: Kostbarkeiten europäischer Kunstkammer*, ed. Georg Laue, Munich 2006. See also Joanna Grążawska, *New attribution of the Adoration of the Shepherds medallion of the collection of Museum of Amber, Gdańsk*, “Bursztynisko/ The Amber Magazine” 2022, no. 46, pp. 60–64.

also appears to be related to de Passe's Virginia from his Famous Women of Antiquity series. The 2023 catalogue also identifies Christoph Jamnitzer's New Grotteßken Buch (Nuremberg, 1610) as the source of the marine fancies.

Prints undeniably played a part in the creation of early modern ambers, but it remains unclear whether directly or indirectly. Rendered more compactly or adjusted to fit the available nugget, reversed¹⁹ and reduced in their complexity, copies and versions of prints were clearly involved. Their impact could be felt over several decades, and this suggests an intergenerational inheritance which may relate to the longevity of workshops, familial preservation of source material, and to the training pathways available to those working amber as a medium. All are areas with enormous potential for future research.

Objects mediating prints are worthy of particular attention. Surviving artefacts – in whatever material – rehearsing all seven Vices in a single item are remarkably rare. Yet examples can be found. A Swiss chamber stove balancing sets of the Vices, the Virtues and the Seven Ages of Man is one example (V&A C.42-1932). Pelka, Rohde, Kugel and Kulka have all noted ivory tankards with similar serialising motifs, and the stem of Andreas Meyer's cup for the Custom's Guild in Königsberg relates clearly to the cresting figures on surviving and lost nautilus cups dated to the 1660s.²⁰ In what follows on the Jarvis-Mews Tankard, I will suggest southern German pewter. Kulka's chapter in this volume describes the use of drawings and verbal descriptions captured in letters between Berlin and Königsberg in the development of artistic programmes but less is known about the previous century beyond the Michel Redlin presentation drawings (about 1688), and the planning of the amber throne (about 1676).²¹ The conceptual process underlying amber artefacts in this and earlier periods remains weakly understood.

The second tankard in the British Museum is a long-term loan. It was bequeathed to the Church of St Mary, North Mymms by Dame Lydia Mews (1676–1754).²² No history of the artefact prior to the bequest is known, but Lydia stipulated in her will that it was intended for the altar of the church, perhaps in the role of communion flagon. Described as 'the' rather than 'my' as she does with her jewellery, this wording gives the sense of family ownership. Yet the tankard is not specifically noted in her father's testament, making this difficult to confirm.

¹⁹ Marjorie Trusted, *Smart Lethieullier's Amber Tankard*, "Apollo" 1985, vol. 121, 310–313.

²⁰ Czihak, *Die Edelschmiedekunst...*, no. 63. Andreas Meyer.

²¹ Kugel, Kulka, *Amber: Treasures...*, fig. 66–69, 285, 292, all about 1688.

²² Lydia was the daughter of George Jarvis, and widow of Sir Peter Mews (1672–1726, m. 1719). She was a tenant in her deceased father's home, North Mymms' house.

Amber drinking vessels in English sources

Just as in the nineteenth century, there are records of amber being owned and sold in the eighteenth.²³ At this juncture, I wish to focus on records of drinking vessels foremost. The earliest currently known English source dates to 1593, when Queen Elisabeth I was presented with an amber cup sent by Margravine Sophia, wife of Georg Friedrich of Brandenburg-Ansbach.²⁴ Her successor, Anna of Denmark, wife of King James I of England and VI of Scots, had four small cups in her possession in 1619, three certainly passed to her son Charles I,²⁵ who owned five in total.²⁶ Anne Carlton, Viscountess Dorchester (d. 1639) owned

²³ In addition to the historical sales listed in Appendix II, see recent sales with likely eighteenth-century provenance, notably a spectacular amber mirror, probably about 1690, with likely provenance Hugh, 1st Duke of Northumberland (1712–1786) or Elizabeth, 1st Duchess of Northumberland (1716–1776), Northumberland House, London (*Mirror, North German, probably Danzig, circa 1690*, Sotheby's, <https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2014/treasures-princely-taste-114303/lot.5.html?locale=en> [accessed: 6.12.2024]) and the crucifix inscribed 'This crucifix belonged to Cardinal York; the last of the Royal family of Stewart. / Obit. 1807' traditionally held to have belonged to Henry Benedict Stuart, Cardinal York, styled Henry IX, (Jacobite claimant to the thrones of England, Scotland, and Ireland) (1725–1807); Lady Louisa Percy (1802–1882), possibly gifted to her by her confidant Lady Louisa Stuart (1757–1852) (*Portable Altar, North German, probably Danzig, circa 1680*, Sotheby's, <https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2014/treasures-princely-taste-114303/lot.6.html?locale=en> [accessed: 6.12.2024]).

²⁴ *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library: Deposited in the British Museum*, London 1802, p. 488, no. 163; Repeated in William Petty, *Bibliotheca Manuscripta Lansdowniana: A catalogue of the entire collection of manuscripts ... of ... William marquis of Landsdowne*, London 1807, p. 287, no. 69; 4 June 1593; And Henry Ellis and Francis Douce, *A Catalogue of the Lansdowne Manuscripts in the British Museum: With Indexes of Persons, Places, and Matters*, London 1819, p. 141, no. 69.

²⁵ M.T.W. Payne, *An Inventory of Queen Anne of Denmark's 'ornaments, furniture, household stuffe, and other parcell's' at Denmark House, 1619*, "Journal of the History of Collections" 2001, vol. 13, issue 1, pp. 23–44, see: f. 17v 'a small looking glasse set in a case of yellow amber w[ith] sundry figures in a watchett velvett case', f. 19r 'a candlestick of yellow amber to hand upp in braunches in a double wooden box', f. 27v 'a cabonett of yellow amber garnished w[ith] silver guilte w[ith] in a black ebony Box', f. 28r: 'a p[ai]re of tables of white and yellow amber garnished w[ith] silver the table men and dice sutable in agreene velvett case', 'fowertene images of yellow amber cutt in a white wodonbox', and 'two small candlesticks three small cuppes and fower spoones of yellow amber in a painted box.'

²⁶ On Charles ambers, see *The Inventories and Valuations of The King's Goods 1649–1651*, "The Walpole Society" 1970–1972, vol. 43, ed. Oliver Millar. With the exception of the cups no. 157 and no. 174, all of Charles ambers appear in Anna of Denmark's inventory. They are no. 157 'an amber cupp', no. 174 'an amber cup with a foot broken [sold to Greenway 31 Dec. 1649]'; n. 240 'A Cabonett of yellowe Amber garnished w[i]th silver guilt with an ebony boxe', n. 280 'small Lookeing Glasse sett in a Case or frame of yellowe Amber with sundry figures in a Watchett velvet Case [Sold to De Critz, 23 Oct 1651]', n. 301 'Paire of Tables of White and Yellowe Amber garnished with silver. The Tablemen and Dice suiteable in a greene Case of vellvett [Sold to Latham 14 May 1650]'; n. 302. 'a candlestick of yellowe Amber to hang upp in Brannches in a double Woodden boxe [Sold to De Critz 23 Oct. 1651]'; n. 303 'fourteene Images of yellowe Amber cutt in a white Woodden Boxe, Twoe small Candlesticks, and 3. small Cupps, A standing Cupp and a double salt sixe spoones, and all of yellowe Amber [Sold to Houghton 23 July or 8 Oct 1651]'. Despite the

two amber cups stored in a cabinet.²⁷ Jacek Bielak has published the example of an amber ewer sent from Gdańsk to Hamburg in 1638 for the English ambassador, Sir Thomas Roe, then in the city for the ratification of the Treaty of Hamburg.²⁸ The naturalist John Tradescant the Younger, whose collection was later given to the University of Oxford by Elias Ashmole, owned several (d. 1662),²⁹ and the roughly contemporary Anne, wife of antiquary Sir Simon of Warwick, is detailed as having bequeathed an amber cup to Lady Puckering, wife of her cousin, the royalist politician Sir Henry.³⁰ Hans Sloane's catalogues show he had two amber cups, and auctions record Elihu Yale (d. 1721) and Anthony Bateman as owning them too (sale 1774). The amber cup sold from Horace Walpole's collection Strawberry Hill in 1823 must have been significantly older, as the auction records it had previously belonged to midwife to royalty, Mrs Sidney Kennon (d. 1754).

huge amount of attention paid to the board previously in the V&A, sold at Sotheby's in 2012 (*Games Board with Twenty-Eight Contemporary Draughtsmen, Attributed to Georg Schreiber (active first half 17th century) German, Königsberg, 1607*, Sotheby's, <https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2012/european-sculpture-works-of-art-l12231/lot.80.html> [accessed: 6.12.2024]), and now in the Deutsches Historisches Museum Berlin, this contribution is the first to link the board to Anna of Denmark. Tomasz Grusiecki, *Locating the Material: Prussian Carved Ambers, Place Ambiguity and a New Geography of Central European Art*, "German History" 2023, vol. 41, issue 3, pp. 444–471, fn. 21 notes the gift of ambers by Sigismund III to Anne of Denmark recorded in William Bruce, *Diary*, Archiwum Państwowe, Gdańsk, Bibl. Arch. Sygn. 300 R/Bb 32, f. 45, 52–53. Thank you to Anna Sobocka for obtaining copies and Michael Pearce for transcribing the pages for me. The letter June 1609 is addressed to Anna of Denmark's household and refers to 'anie other thing that is to be hadde in this countreye'. This may refer to amber, but it is not explicitly said. It is possible that Anna's ambers were received in the context of discussions to marry Anna's daughter Elizabeth to Wladyslaw of Poland. J.K. Fedorowicz, *England's Baltic Trade in the Early Seventeenth Century*, p. 140, n. 37 discusses the private visit of Jakub Sobieski and great hetman Zygmunt Myszkowski to London in 1609 to address a possible match. This was apparently looked favourably upon by the king of Denmark, who favoured a match 'as a lever against Karl IX of Sweden, with whom he was on very bad terms'.

²⁷ Francis W. Steer, *The Inventory of Anne, Viscountess Dorchester*, "Notes and Queries" 1953, vol. 198, pp. 515–519: two amber cups, two candlesticks of amber, one amber spoon, two amber dishes, and diverse other things.

²⁸ Jacek Bielak, *Mecenat miasta Gdańska wobec bursztynnictwa. Przyczynek do semantyki wyrobów rzemiosła w podarunkach dyplomatycznych nowożytnego miasta [in:] Bursztyn jako dobro turystyczne basenu Morza Bałtyckiego*, Jantar 2008, pp. 39–60, here p. 52.

²⁹ John Tradescant, *Musæum Tradescantianum: Or, A Collection of Rarities Preserved at South-Lambeth Neer London*, Oxford 1656, p. 36 on his amber cup and turned amber bottle. See also Tradescant's *Rarities: Essays on the Foundation of the Ashmolean Museum 1683 with a Catalogue of the Surviving Early Collections*, ed. Arthur MacGregor, Oxford 1983, pp. 234–235.

³⁰ Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, DR 37 – ARCHER OF TANWORTH, DR 37/2 – 54 boxes of estate, legal, personal and official papers, DR 37/2/Box 90 – Collection of wills and inventories: Archer and other local families, [Copy] will of Anne Archer, wife of Sir Simon of Warwick: 'To cousin Sir Henry Puckering picture of Sir Thomas More; to wife of Sir Henry, amber cup...'

Were these cups tankards? It seems unlikely, as the phrase tankard is certainly used in the period, for example Anthony Brucer's 1752 gift of a 'fine amber tankard' to Susanna Triquand 'as an acknowledgement for the many favours' he had received from her family.³¹ With time, it may become possible to re-identify better described auction lots, such as goblets or the 'amber loving cup and cover, decorated with lion's heads and lozenge-shaped panels engraved on the inside, on metal feet' sold in a gilt and embossed leather case. The 'Lethieullier Tankard' retains its original case,³² and many auctions detail protective covers, such as the 'beautiful and rare old amber tankard and cover, exquisitely engraved with arabesques and other ornaments, with carved bands in relief [...] in the original case' sold in 1860. Discussions of ambers in early modern contexts often note storage, but few engage with cases, their materiality, and their makers. Cases not only suggest protection, but also portability, and performance.³³ A better understanding of their role in the object biography would certainly be useful. Kulka's article in this volume addresses the very specific packing requirements needed to transport fragile and complex works in amber. Every example of worked amber in England had to be imported, and the mechanisms supporting this are barely understood. In 1745, Gabriel Rzączyński wrote of a now lost but substantial (circa 48 × 28 × 23 cm) group of Diana and Actaeon sent to England around 1722.³⁴ Items like the Burghley figures (acquired Rome, 1700)³⁵ and the Blair Castle chessboard (acquired Amsterdam, 1758)³⁶ were acquired by Brits abroad and brought or sent home to be enjoyed. Some artefacts sold in London in the mid nineteenth century are explicitly continental in origin, such as the tankard brought to the capital from Kasteel Doorwerth in Gelderland, and the four pieces sold by the Lowenstein Brothers at Christies in 1860.

Eighteenth century inventories differ from their nineteenth century equivalents in their lack of variety, mirroring thereby different connections with

³¹ *The Will of Anthony Brucer, of St George the Martyr, in the County of Middlesex, Esq*, "The Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure" 1754, vol. 14, pp. 254–257.

³² See fn. 19.

³³ Allison Stielau, *The Case of the Case for Early Modern Objects and Images*, "Kritische Berichte" 2011, vol. 3, pp. 5–16.

³⁴ Gabriel Rzączyński, *Auctuarium historiae naturalis curiosae Regni Poloniae, Magni Ducatus Lithuaniae, annexarumque provinciarum*, Gedani 1745, p. 258.

³⁵ EWA08571, *Two Amber Figures of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Simon the Zealot*, North German, circa 1695, 11 cm, Burghley House Preservation Trust, <https://collections.burghley.co.uk/collection/two-amber-figures-of-the-apostles-st-peter-and-st-simon-the-zealot-north-german-circa-1695/> [accessed: 6.12.2024]; on figures see Appendix II.

³⁶ *Das Bernsteinschachspiel der Dukes of Atholl/ An Amber Chess Set for the Dukes of Atholl*, eds. Georg Laue, Virginie Spénlé, Courtney Marie Burrell, 4th ed., Munich 2018. Now in The Amber Museum Gdańsk.

continental Europe. Hour glasses and cabinets stand out. Cabinets were fairly new in this period having evolved from earlier storage pieces,³⁷ like the 'little amber box' to be given by Viscount and Lady Elizabeth Montague to her nephew, Lord Herbert, in 1657.³⁸ The earliest currently known record of a cabinet in England dates to 1690, and relates to the duchess of Portsmouth, Louise de K erouaille, mistress of Charles II. Cabinets were large and likely hard to come by. Trusted discusses Queen Anne's cabinet in her essay in this volume. This was presented to Anne by a man with links to the Baltic. John Robinson spent the 1680s and 90s as English ambassador to Sweden and was based in Gdańsk until 1709 before becoming Bishop of London in 1713. Robinson was also closely involved with the court preacher Daniel Ernst Jabłoński, and proposals to restore the episcopacy in Prussia.³⁹ These contacts surely facilitated such a gift, and it is worth mentioning the gift of a casket acquired by the civic authorities in Gdańsk and sent to Philip Stanhope, the 4th Earl of Chesterfield, ambassador to the Netherlands in the Hague,⁴⁰ but the route by which it arrived in England is not yet known.⁴¹ By 1725, a regular tax would be imposed on the import of amber cabinets, suggesting that they were arriving frequently enough to be considered.⁴² However, rewards given for the loss of items suggest they were still rare and prized.⁴³

The Jarvis-Mews Tankard

Standing just over 20 cm high today, the Jarvis-Mews North Mymms Tankard has never been described at length, perhaps because it is very similar to the Rothschild Waddesdon Tankard (fig. 7). Its body comprises nine columns of

³⁷ *Der Bernsteinschrank/ The Amber Cabinet*, ed. Georg Laue, vol. 2, Munich 2001, unpaginated.

³⁸ Gloucestershire Archives, D2700 – Badminton Muniments, Volume II Estate and Household, Wills and Related Trusts, 1st Marquess of Worcester, Case papers, 1652–1657, and related papers in suit of Henry Somerset.

³⁹ Bielak, *Mecenat miasta Gdańska wobec burszynnictwa...*, p. 54.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 53–54.

⁴¹ Queen Caroline (r. 1727–1737) also received an amber cabinet, from the King of Prussia, and this was visible in the Picture Gallery at Windsor, see Joseph Pote, *The History and Antiquities of Windsor Castle, and the Royal College, and Chapel of St. George: ... The whole intirely new wrote...*, Eton 1749, p. 419.

⁴² See *An Additional Book of Rates of Goods and Merchandizes...*, London 1725; Henry Crouch, *A Complete View of the British Customs... Announces undecimo...*, London 1725.

⁴³ See *Gloucester Journal*, Tuesday 1 April 1740, 'lost on or about the 23rd of November last between Abergavenny and London, a box directed to Miss Barlow at William Owen's [...] in Golden Square [...].items of clothing...] one amber egg-box set in gold. Whoever can give any intelligence of said things (so far as they may be had again) to William Mountain, Monmouth Carrier ...'. See also the report of the theft of a 'silver snuff box gilt within and amber cover' from the house of Dr Joseph Warren, Surrey, in *The Daily Courant*, 4 August 1722.

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decoration, each made up of three separate panels, resulting in 27 individually decorated components. Each column focuses on a central plaque with cartouche enclosing a female figure. There are upper and lower framing plaques. Seven of the nine panels show emblems of the Virtues with the non-figural panel – occluded by the mounted handle – showing a vase of flowers with tree-stump. The upper and lower framing panels have been carved with foliate ornament, some with shell motifs or stylized fleurs-de-lys. The ornament above the figure of Faith incorporates a crown. It is the sole panel to be related to the emblem below.

The nine columnar portions correspond approximately with the nine convex panels creating the tankard's curved foot. These are carved with animals (a bear, hound, horse, bull, dromedary, goat, boar, unicorn and stag). The foot has clearly been damaged, and the animals may no longer be aligned as intended.



Fig. 7. Detail of the body of the Jarvis-Mews Tankard

The tankard's well is formed of a central medallion surrounded by two concentric rings. The medallion shows a mounted knight spearing a dragon (fig. 8). Both rings comprise five panels: the outer undecorated, inner effecting a wreath. The St George motif, and George's connection with England, and the tankards presence in North Mymms appear to be a coincidence. The figure bears a spear rather than sword and is unlike surviving George jewels of the seventeenth century. Yet English St Georges in amber certainly exist (fig. 9). An unprovenanced undated example in a private collection bears a spear and the royal motto: *Honi soit qui mal y pense*. The motif on the Jarvis-Mews tankard seems to relate to the central well of a pewter dish in the British Museum, currently attributed to Nuremberg. This again raises the issue of inspiration, and other media can also be cited (fig. 10 and 11).

The stepped cover comprises two tiers. There are eight panels in the lower register with seven in the upper tier enclosing a central reserve. The eight panels are decorated with foliate ornament punctuated by birds, a monkey, a rabbit, a hound, a hare, and a squirrel. The seven panels above are decorated with putti atop sea monsters (a sea beast with sharp teeth, a sea elephant, a sea dog with wings, a monster fish, a sea snake with bill, a sea dog, a sea goat). The central reserves atop and within the cover are empty and may once have been filled.

The whole sits within a gilt-metal, presumably silver, armature which appears similar, yet also very different to surviving Königsberg mounts. Most notable are the differences in construction, the cage-like foot, the exceptionally broad rim to which the handle is fully affixed, and the ill-defined out-of-scale thumbpiece. The handle encloses (rather than supports) an amber siren with bare breasts and scaly lower body. Her eyes and nipples are set with ivory or bone; she wears a collar of beads and a stylized headdress. Given its exploded dimensions and inferior



Fig. 8. Detail of the St George in the Jarvis-Mews Tankard



Fig. 9. Amber "Order of the Garter", mounted in gold, likely 18th century or later, private Collection, Italy



Fig. 10. Gilt pewter dish with central medallion showing St George, Nuremberg, 16th century, BM 1878,1101.88, © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence



Fig. 11. Stove tile with St George, German 17th century, Dresden, Kunstgewerbemuseum 6808, © Kunstgewerbemuseum, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden, photo: Katrin Lauterbach

quality, it seems likely that this mount has been remade after a Königsberg original, possibly in 1806 when money was paid to repair it.⁴⁴

Common elements? Other parallels?

The Rothschild Waddesdon and Jarvis-Mews tankards share allegorical panels framed above and below, panels with animal and marine motifs, decorated wells, siren handles, and reserves within the covers. Many surviving tankards display combinations of these motifs, suggesting an established and popular visual vocabulary likely shared across a number of workshops. For example, similar foliate ornament is on both the Jarvis-Mews tankard and another in Dresden with allegories of the Seven Liberal Arts (Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe, III 77).⁴⁵ The Dresden tankard also incorporates animal panels and bears marine monsters on the cover. These features are also on tankard in Paris with allegories of the Virtues and the list could be continued. The abstracted strapwork ornament on the Jarvis-Mews Tankard finds broad

⁴⁴ Dorothy Colville, *North Myms Parish and People*, Letchworth 1972, ch. 3.

⁴⁵ Kappel, *Bernsteinkunst...*, cat. 12.

parallels in tankards with mounts by goldsmith Andreas Meyer, who worked in Königsberg between 1608–1647.⁴⁶

Yet there are also elements which do not sit so comfortably within the established lexicon. For example, there is an attempt on the Jarvis-Mews Tankard to create a particoloured rhythm alternating panels of orange and red, a feature more typically seen on objects with ‘flat’ surfaces such as boards and caskets. On one side of the tankard, the central panels descend, but this movement does not reverse or continue. Early in the tankard’s Museum history, the figures ‘1659’ were found scratched into a panel. This has been accepted as the date of its making, and Hugh Tait drew on it to cement qualitative conclusions. Tait considered this tankard of ‘inferior quality’ and deduced this resulted from it ‘being made at a period when the production of this type of object was coming to an end.’⁴⁷ There is nothing to confirm the authenticity of this superficial scratching. It could have been added at any stage in this object’s history. Nonetheless, the stump is certainly an unusual motif in the context of ambers and is usually understood as being symbolic of death in other art forms.

Much of the scholarship since Tait has demonstrated that his diagnosis of an ailing industry is clearly wrong. The 1660s, 1670s and 1680s are full of accounts of incredible artworks in amber made to gift to rulers across Europe. The highly accomplished shell-shaped cup in Dresden incontrovertibly inscribed 1659 (Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe, IV 340) patently demonstrates the problem with Tait’s conclusion.⁴⁸ While some elements of the Jarvis-Mews Tankard are weaker than on the Rothschild Waddesdon example, the handling of the backgrounds to its figures is stronger and more detailed. Greater curiosity for the works of less accomplished craftspeople would benefit the field, as would further inquiry into the practical processes underlying objects. The detailed cartouches in which the figures are set suggest, as might be expected, that they were prepared in matching suites, for the furled buds symmetrically orientate in pairs and complement one another to make specific forms or complete motifs when abutted. In the two BM tankards, the lateral band of decoration on the cartouche carries beyond the central cartouche into the borders of the upper and lower plaques too. This unification of border tracery across the Jarvis-Mews Tankard detracts attention from the fact that the decoration of at least one panel has been applied counter to the laws of gravity. However, there are also pieces in which this tracery is not completed. On the Windsor cannister (discussed above) the panels showing the allegorical figures

⁴⁶ Summarised in Kugel, Kulka, *Amber: Treasures...*, p. 150, p. 168. Meyer’s mounts have a characteristic enamelled curved tear-drop form which may suggest he was involved in the making of the pear-shaped tankard in Dresden. See Kappel, *Bernsteinkunst...*, no. 10.

⁴⁷ Hugh Tait, III. *The ‘Curiosities’* [in:] *Catalogue of the Waddesdon Bequest in the British Museum*, London 1991, no. 12, figs. 163–173.

⁴⁸ Kappel, *Bernsteinkunst...*, 2005, no. 13.

are interspaced with vertical bands of deeply carved masks. This could suggest that the panels were originally intended for a tankard, that panels of this type were created without a finished product in mind, or simply that the object's creator was not concerned by specific unification given the pan-application of relief achieves its own superficial visual unity. It remains unclear just how amber craftspeople planned these pieces, and this question is as true for their visual schemes as the assembly of the material needed. Nor is it yet known whether craftspeople availed themselves of prefabricated components. The sirens on tankard handles, for example, relate closely to figural handles for cutlery, often attributed to the town of Stolp (Słupsk).⁴⁹

The BM tankards employ in the region of 60 individual pieces of amber each. When Giacomo Fantuzzi visited Gdańsk in 1652, he observed a craftsman gluing a piece of amber to a palette, and then using a simple penknife to carve into it.⁵⁰ Another source of 1663 draws the turner's set up, suggesting the full equipment was very basic, there was bench with attached bow-driven lathe, a bench apron to catch waste abrasive sand, and a paring knife.⁵¹ In the same workshop the turner explained that he had been working on a casket for a year, saying something about the time required for complex pieces. Craftspeople appear to have produced in the hope of selling, as well as to commission.⁵² In the sixteenth century, the bowls of amber drinking vessels were more often made from turned single pieces. In his *Succini Historia* of 1551, Andreas Aurifaber

⁴⁹ On Stolp see Richard Schuppius, *Beiträge zur Heimatkunde Hinterpommerns. 2. Das Gewerke der Bernsteindreher in Stolp*, "Baltische Studien" 1928, Bd. 30. See also Jacek Kriegseisen, *Słupskie bursztynnictwo. Wzrosty słupskiego cechu bursztynniczego od XVI do początku XX wieku*, Słupsk 2002. The female figure set into the top of a lobed bottle recently attributed to Bartel Schödelook in Gdańsk and dated about 1645 (see Kugel, Kulka, *Amber: Treasures...*, cat. 8) is so reminiscent of the Rothschild Waddesdon woman that it must be asked whether such similarities derive purely from shared print sources.

⁵⁰ Giacomo Fantuzzi, *Diario del viaggio europeo (1652) con istruzione et avvertimenti per far viaggi unghi*, eds. Piotr Salwa, Wojciech Tygielski, Warsaw and Rome 1998.

⁵¹ Georgii Schröders *Dantiscani in Patria Consulis Anno 1703 fato funci Quodlibet oder Tage Buch...* [Danzig 1663–1703], manuscript in the Gdańsk Library of Polish Academy of Science, Ms. 673, p. 172v. Cited, but without details in Janina Grabowska, *Polish Amber*, trans. Emma Harris, Warsaw 1983, p. 19. The equipment is minimal when compared with that described in Dresden. See *Die Inventare der kurfürstlich-sächsischen Kunstkammer in Dresden*, eds. Dirk Syndram, Martina Minning, vol. 1587, Dresden 2010, f. 232v.: "Things that are used for the turning of amber: 1 large chisel, called a 'boring bit', 1 large saw, 1 small saw, 1 wrench for sawing, 1 wrench *zum Docken* (to make balusters?), 5 drills, 14 irons called 'blades', 2 planes, 2 round irons [...] 8 drills for pipework, 11 wide chisels (small and large) 30 turning irons (large and small), 5 wooden balusters (and one of iron), 2 bows, 1 wooden piece for cutting to form, an old table in the place of the workbench, 1 white box with three drawers in which the things and irons for turning are stored together with some small pieces of amber, 6 pieces of amber (small and large).

⁵² On the sourcing of the amber objects for time-sensitive gifts, see Kappel, *Bernsteinkunst...*, p. 30, n. 14.

commented that pieces ‘as large as a head’ were used for bowls and cups.⁵³ A request from the elector of Saxony to his counterpart in Prussia in exactly a century later, requested amber ‘to be used for particular works’ specifying ‘beautiful clear yellow and white, amber’ and ‘fine big pieces.’⁵⁴ Substantial pieces were reserved for the highest persons. In 1646, the King of Poland-Lithuania’s Lord Marshall was presented with two barrels of amber which did not contain large chunks due to a poor harvest that year. He groused that the amber ‘must have come from the very worst catch’ because it was ‘totally unsuited to any kind of work’ but would keep him in incense for years.⁵⁵ The letter is a reminder that harvests were subject to the seasons and weather and varied year upon year. It also highlights the variety of sizes and qualities available. Both had been systematically sorted since the 1550s at least. Little is currently known about the supply chain to the workshops of Königsberg amber carvers and how labour was sourced and divided.

II. Making ambers in mid seventeenth century Königsberg

The second part of this essay makes a small contribution to developing this picture. Research into early modern amber has advanced significantly in recent decades. Georg Laue has been instrumental in furthering knowledge of Georg Schreiber’s *oeuvre*.⁵⁶ Rahul Kulka has brought new vigour to the study of amber at the Brandenburg-Prussian court,⁵⁷ building on the groundwork laid by Susanne

⁵³ Andreas Aurifaber, *Svccini Historia Ein kurtzer...*, Königsberg 1551, unpaginated, chap. 5. According to Karl Gottfried Hagen, *Geschichte der im Jahr 1803 in Ostpreußen gefundenen großen Börnsteinmasse...*, “Beiträge zur Kunde Preussens” 1824, vol. 6, p. 517; the same is also reported in Samuel Schelwig and Johann Wende, *Thema philosophicum, de succino...*, Thorunii 1671. I have not confirmed the latter source is correct.

⁵⁴ GStAPK, I. HA, Rep. 7, Preußen, 35l, f. 152: Letter from Ernst of Saxony to Elector Friedrich Wilhelm seeking to acquire amber for unnamed specific works, 1651, cited in Jeanette Falcke, *Studien zum diplomatischen Geschenkwesen am brandenburgisch-preußischen Hof im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert, Quellen und Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preußischen Geschichte*, vol. 31, Berlin 2006, p. 270.

⁵⁵ GStAPK, I. HA, Rep. 7, Preußen, 35l, ff. 176r-v: Letter from Andreas Adersbach to Elector Friedrich Wilhelm in Thorn relating the rude reception of his gift of amber by the Polish Court Marshall, 24th January 1646, cited in Falcke, *Studien...*, p. 270.

⁵⁶ Georg Laue, *Ambers from Königsberg for Europe’s Kunstammer: Master Craftsman Georg Schreiber and his Workshop* [in:] *Bernstein: Kostbarkeiten europäischer Kunstammer*, ed. Georg Laue, Munich 2006, pp. 10–22.

⁵⁷ Rahul Kulka, *Der Bernsteinkronleuchter der Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg als Symbol*, “BildGeschichte” 2022, no. 29; and Rahul Kulka, *An Amber Games Board from 1607: Reflections on the Matter of Prussian Amber Diplomacy around 1600* [in:] *Artistic Patronage in Central Europe: from Private Foundations to State Art, Proceedings of the 27th Conference of the Working Group of German and Polish Art Historians and Conservators*, Warsaw 2019.

Netzer.⁵⁸ Kulka's archival discoveries are finally advancing detailed primary knowledge beyond the little published by Alfred Rohde in the 1930s and 40s.⁵⁹

Rohde published pieces signed by Georg Schreiber, Jacob Heise, and Hans Kohn – and discussed other masters. To date only Schreiber and Heise have received significant attention. The Rothschild Waddesdon Tankard has been attributed to Jacob Heise since Rohde on the basis of, as Hugh Tait recorded in 1991, its quality and date.⁶⁰ Tait accepted Rohde's attribution without extension discussion and there are indeed some areas of confluence between the Rothschild Waddesdon Tankard and Dresden nautilus signed and dated Jacob Heise 1659 (Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe, IV 340). My focus is not on securing traditional attributions, or reattributing the British Museum tankards, but rather on broadly reopening discussion around them based on new developments in the general field and in light of the information I present below. The second, shorter half of this essay presents new biographical data drawn from keyword searches of digitally available Königsberg parish registers.⁶¹ The data has some failings, most notably being dependent on the transcribers and the user community, but a project dedicated to reading the digitised microfilms from reel to reel would quickly fill the current blanks.

Jacob Heise

In 1937, three vessels signed and dated by Jacob Heise (1654, 1659, and 1663) were known. One was lost to the turmoil of the Second World War and remains accessible only in photographic form. Its absence, and the belief that the Budapest piece had also been destroyed (corrected in this volume by Pandur and Juhász) has hampered genuine discussion of Heise's *oeuvre*. Now, 90 years later, attributions to Heise – driven by the market – are booming.

⁵⁸ Susanne Netzer, *Bernsteingeschenke in der Preussischen Diplomatie des 17 Jahrhunderts*, "Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen" 1993, Bd. 35, pp. 227–246.

⁵⁹ Alfred Rohde, *Königsberger Bernsteinarbeiten des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, "Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft" 1934, vol. 4, pp. 205–224; and Alfred Rohde, *Bernstein: ein Deutscher Werkstoff*, Berlin 1937; an even older source for names is Otto Pelka, *Die Meister der Bernsteinkunst*, Anzeiger und Mitteilungen des Germanischen National-Museums in Nürnberg, Leipzig 1918; and before this Wilhelm Tesdorpf, *Gewinnung, Verarbeitung und Handel des Bernsteins in Preussen von der Ordenszeit bis zur Gegenwart: eine historisch-volkswirtschaftliche Studie*, Jena 1887.

⁶⁰ Tait, *III. The 'Curiosities'...*, p. 160: 'the former practice of attributing works of this quality and date to the workshop of Jacob Heise of Königsberg, [...] is probably correct.'

⁶¹ See Appendix III. The sources drawn upon digitally are scanned copies of microfilm copies of registers which are or were once in the Archiv der Evangelischen Kirche der Union, Berlin, the Archiwum Państwowe w Warszawie, and apparently also Kaliningrad. The microfilms date variously to the 1930s through to the 1960s.

Until 2023, the only published biographies of Jacob Heise were Christine Nagel and Jutta Kappel's entry in the *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart* (2021) and Marjorie Trusted's in the *Grove Dictionary of Art* (online, 2003).⁶² For his date of death, all heeded Rohde's 1931 suggestion that he may have been identical with a 'judge'⁶³ also named Jacob Heise who died in 1667 and whose son, Daniel, a minor, became the ward of a pewterer, and later apprenticed as a border and trimmings maker. Recently, a payment to Jacob Heise for a casket in 1675 suggested that Heise continued to work for at least another 12 years than previously thought (and that Heise may have produced hitherto unrecognized forms).⁶⁴ If the Rothschild Waddesdon Tankard is by Heise, this would push his work back to before 1654. For the crowned coat of arms inset within its cover is that the Royal House of Vasa which ceased to be used after Queen Christina (r. 1632 to 1654) abdication from the Swedish throne.

Jacob Heise's Family

What then do digitised parish registers tell about Jacob Heise? Jacob was baptized in Königsberg in November 1621, the son of Jochim Heise, himself an amber turner. Königsberg comprised three so-called 'freedoms' until they were united in 1724 (fig. 12 and 13): Altstadt, Löbenicht and Kneiphof and Jochim had married in the reformed church in the Altstadt in December of the year before. Jochim's wife, Anna Tischkauen (possibly Tischkauer) was originally from Labiau (now Polesk) a town approximately 50 kilometres northeast of Königsberg where the river Deyma meets the Curonian Lagoon. No record of Jochim's baptism has yet been found. The spelling of the family surname as Heÿsen (ij) in many sources may suggest Netherlandish roots.

Jacob appears to have been their first child, and he was given the name of his maternal grandfather. In 1623, a daughter Agnes was born; in 1626 a son Laurentius. There may have been other siblings. Skilled craftspeople make up the godparents and witnesses. Cutler Conradt von Felde and his wife, for example,

⁶² Christine Nagel, Jutta Kappel, *Heise, Jacob* [in:] *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, vol. 71: Hedquist–Hennicke, first published 2011, now 2021, p. 264, digitally available as https://www.degruyterbrill.com/database/AKL/entry/_00309482/html [accessed: 6.12.24] and Marjorie Trusted, *Heise, Jacob* [in:] *Grove Art Online*, 2003, <https://www.oxfordartonline.com/groveart/view/10.1093/gao/9781884446054.001.0001/oao-9781884446054-e-7000037306> [accessed: 6.12.24]; For earlier, see also Herbert Meinhard Mühlpfordt, *Königsberger Skulpturen und ihre Meister 1255–1945*, Würzburg 1970.

⁶³ Alfred Rohde, *Das Kunstgewerbe in Ost-und Westpreussen* [in:] *Deutsche Staatenbildung und deutsche Kultur im Preussenlande*, Königsberg 1931, pp. 622–641, pp. 628–629 on Heise; The phrase used is *Gerichtsverwalter*, which Frühneuhochdeutsches Wörterbuch (FWB)-online explains is an 'educated person entrusted with the conduct of court, or a person carrying out the function of a judge'.

⁶⁴ Kugel, Kulka, *Amber: Treasures...*, p. 49.



Fig. 12. Hand-coloured engraving showing a bird's eye view of Mons Regius (Königsberg) after a print published by Braun & Hogenberg in 1582, British Museum, 1898,0725.8.909, © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence

were godparents to both boys. Laurentius' godfather, Adam Bruchmüller was a master tailor.

There was no guild of amber turners for Jochim to join in Königsberg in this period, but surviving artefacts show the type of works some were making there. The earliest is that marked GEORGIUS SCRIBA BORUSUS CIVIS ET INCOLA REGIOMONTI BORUSSORUM HOC FECIT 1616, although other earlier dated pieces have been attributed to him too.⁶⁵ Other primary sources and surviving artefacts also capture the name Hans Klingenberger. Records suggest that Klingenberger's workshop was in the Roßgarten district, an area in the eastern lee of the Castle, home to nobles and merchants. But Klingenberger was a resident of Löbenicht, and its parish registers record his daughter Sibilla married Georg Ruphau, a journeyman (Gesell) amber turner, in Spring 1600. Perhaps Ruphau was employed in Klingenberger's workshop (see tab. 2). Assuming both Georg and Sophia married aged around 20–25 years old, Klingenberger could have been about 40–50 in 1600.⁶⁶ Georg Schreiber acquired amber from Klingenberger in 1626.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Sotheby's, 12th April 1990, lot 199; translation: Georg Schreiber, Prussian citizen and inhabitant of Königsberg of the Prussians made this in 1616.

⁶⁶ Kugel, Kulka, *Amber: Treasures...*, p. 43.

⁶⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 43.

DIE STÄDTE KÖNIGSBERGS vor ihrer Vereinigung 1724

ALTSTADT
Neuroßgarten (Freiheit)
Steindamm (Freiheit)
Laak (Stadtteil)
Lomse (Stadtteil)

LÖBENICHT
Anger (Stadtteil)

KNEIPHOF
Vorstadt (Freiheit)
Alter Garten (Stadtteil)
Haberberg (Stadtteil)
Naßer Garten (Stadtteil)

SCHLOSSFREIHEIT
Burgfreiheit (Freiheit)
Roßgarten (Freiheit)
Sackheim (Freiheit)
Tragheim (Freiheit)
Neue Sorge (Stadtteil)
Groß Friedrichsburg (Festung)

Stadttoore

- Ⓐ Grünes Tor
- Ⓑ Friedländer Tor
- Ⓒ Brandenburger Tor
- Ⓓ Ausfallstor
- Ⓔ Steindammer Tor
- Ⓕ Tragheimer Tor
- Ⓖ Roßgärter Tor
- Ⓗ Königstor
- Ⓘ Sackheimer Tor

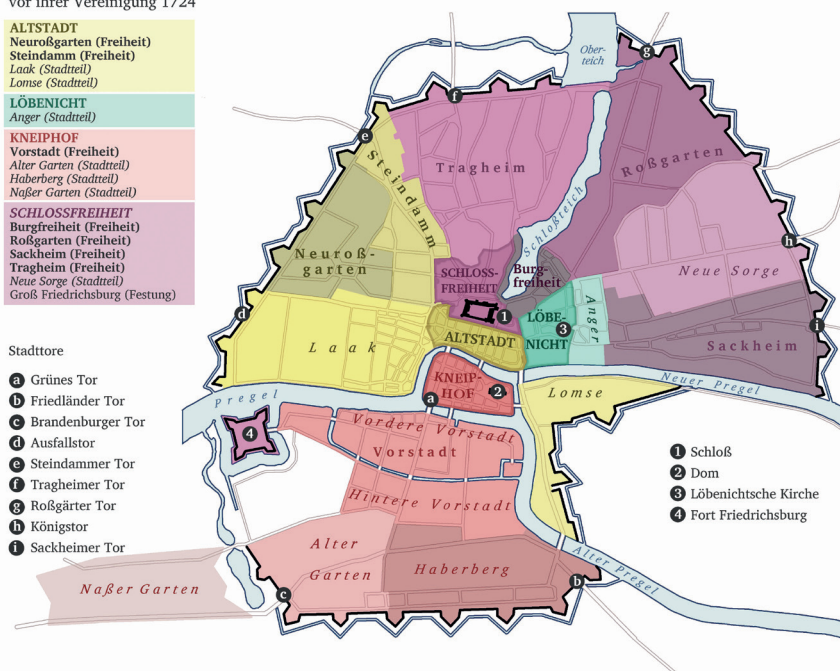


Fig. 13. The independent cities making up Königsberg (Prussia) in 1626, this file is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International license [<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/deed.en>]. Created by Hergeberge08, [https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:St%C3%A4dte_K%C3%B6nigsbergs_\(1626\).jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:St%C3%A4dte_K%C3%B6nigsbergs_(1626).jpg)

Georg Schreiber

Georg Schreiber was one of the two founding masters of the Königsberg amber turning guild in 1641. The son of a master cabinetmaker, Schreiber was born and lived in the Kneiphof, an island district, home to both the Albertina university and the gothic cathedral, surrounded by the River Pregel. Georg's father, also Georg, married there in 1583, and had at least three children: Ursula in 1584, Georg in 1586, and Caspar (named after Elisabeth's father) in 1587. Traces of Schreiber have not proven easy to find. He was present at the baptisms of Samuel Stubben and Daniel Schnipperling, the sons of amber turners Samuel Stubbe the Elder and Lorenz Schnipperling, in 1631 and 1643. Rohde wrote that Schreiber acquired Stubbe's tools from his widow. This must have been some time before 1638, for the records reveal that Stubbe's heir and daughter, Sophia, married Hans Kohn in that year. The Stubbe were based in the Altstadt, and the Schnipperling in the northern suburb of Tragheim.

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The Schnipperling baptism appears to record Schreiber working from the Mönchehofe, but the script is hard to read. Kugel and Kulka have recently shared hitherto unknown payments to Schreiber in 1648, at which point the master would have been around 62.⁶⁸

Heise's youth

Jacob Heise seems to have been around a decade younger than Samuel Stubbe the Elder and Lorenz Schnipperling. He was 35 years behind Georg Schreiber, and around 60 to 70 younger than Hans Klingenberger. He is unlikely to have known the latter, but his father may have done.

The early years of Jochim and Catharina's marriage, Jacob's own formative years, are unlikely to have been easy ones. Georg Wilhelm, son of Johann Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg and Anna of Prussia, inherited the Margravate of Brandenburg and the Duchy of Prussia in 1619, only for Ducal Prussia to be quickly occupied by Sweden in the Polish Swedish War (1621–1625). Amber turners are likely to have suffered as harvests of amber dwindled (tab. 1). The material rose in price and became more highly taxed in England than ever before (tab. 2). In September 1629, Sweden and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth signed the six-year long Truce of Altmark, which allowed Sweden to retain control of Pillau, Fischhausen, Lochstädt, and Memel, all crucial for the collection of amber. In 1630, Axel Oxenstierna expressly forbade amber turners from being on or collecting amber from Prussia's beaches.⁶⁹ The occupation of Ducal Prussia lasted thirteen years, and it is notable that the sale of amber to Schreiber for which the elderly Klingenberger was fined falls within this window.

1624	1625	1626	1627	1628	1629	1630	1631	1632	Total	
3.125	1.625	0.25	0	0.625	0	0	0	0	5.625	barrels

Table 1. Finds of amber on the Nehrung Strand during Swedish Occupation (1624–1632)⁷⁰

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 46.

⁶⁹ Max Töppen, *Zwei Verfügungen Axel Oxenstierns inbetreff des Bernsteins aus dem Jahr 1630 und 1631*, "Altpreußische Monatschrift" 1899, Bd. 36, H. 3, pp. 136–138.

⁷⁰ GStAPK XX HA, Etatsministerium 16a 16: Bernsteinverwaltung; intus: schwedische Besatzung (1629–39) f. 59r: *Verzeichnis was von Ao. 1624 biß 1632 der Nerungstrand [sic] an Bernstein getragen*.

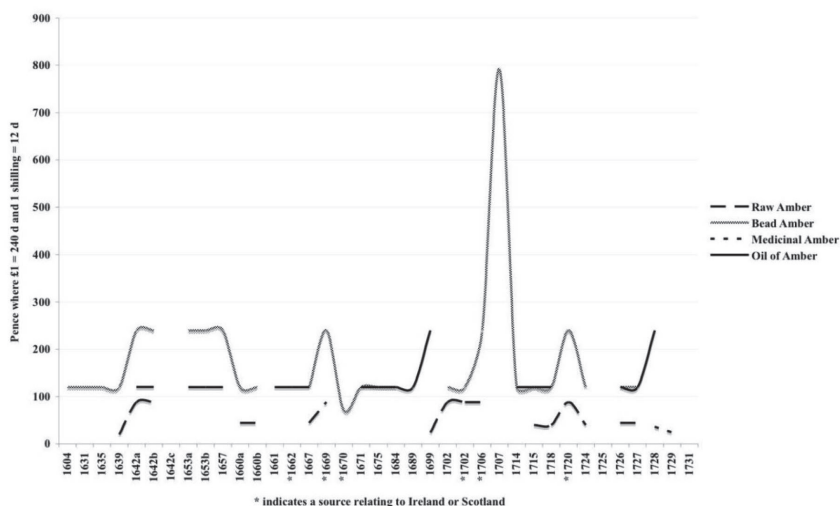


Table 2. Amber and taxable rates in Great Britain (1604–1731)⁷¹

Heise's marriage

Jacob married in 1647 aged 26. The roll states that he is a fully fledged amber turner, rather than apprentice or journeyman. His spouse was Catharina Schumacher. She lived in the Altstadt, but was originally from Kolberg (Kołobrzeg, now Poland), some 500 kilometres to the east.

Jacob's family life initially appears to have been lived out between the parish of St Trinitatis in Haberberg, a working-class suburb that was home to the cattle and horse markets, and the Altstadt. At least five children were born in the next 15 years: Jochim, in around 1649 (died age 3 ¼ in 1652), Catharina Jr in 1650, Jacob Jr in 1651 (died 1651), Georg in 1654, and Daniel in 1661. Assuming a cycle of a child every two years, there may have been more.

Stretching over a decade, these baptismal records cover the period of Heise's signed and dated works: 1654, 1659, 1663. With only one piece surviving intact,

⁷¹ Compiled from the following sources: *The rates of marchandizes*, London 1604, 1635, 1642, 1653; *The booke of rates*, London 1631; Philbert Guybert, *The charitable phisitian*, London 1639; *A svbsidie*, London 1642, 1657, 1660, 1661, 1667; *An act for settling the subsidie of poundage*, Dublin 1662, 1669; *The rates of His Maiesties customes*, Edinburgh 1670; *The acts for tonnage and poundage*, London 1671, 1675, 1684, 1689; Richard Score, *A guide to the customers*, London 1699; *The act of tonnage & poundage*, London 1702, 1706, 1726, 1728; *A collection of several acts and statutes...*, Dublin 1702; *A continuation... of the clerks guide*, London 1707; *The duties at this present time on all merchandize*, London 1714; Thomas Langham, *The neat duties*, London 1715, 1718, 1727; *A collection of several statutes...*, Dublin 1720; Crouch, *A complete view...*, London 1724, 1725, 1731; *An additional book of rates...*, London 1725; John Stevens, *The royal treasury...*, London 1728; *Historie van den algemenen en byzonderen koophandel van Groot Brittannien...*, Delft 1728.

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and only two of three surviving at all, it is unwise to trace Jacob's development on the basis of signed objects. The parish records, on the other hand, suggest social advancement. When Catherina Jr was baptised in 1650, her godparents and witnesses were drawn from the working classes. One was a journey-man merchant, Henrich Wegener. The family were clearly supported by an inter-generational, strongly local, and craft-skill-related network. Wegener's wife and Catherina's second godfather Valtin Treptow were witnesses at another baptism at which uncle Laurentius' godfather was also a witness. One year later, at the baptism of the ill-fated Jacob Jr, two members of the electoral court were called upon: Joachimius Otto, a court messenger, and the wife of Andreas Seidler (position unclear). For Georg in 1654, two of the three godparents are drawn from the amber crafting community: amber master Daniel Damcke and amber master Melchior Lemke's wife. Six years later, the first godparent for Daniel is Samuel Ossigius, Secretary of the King of Poland.

Heise's death

Jacob's death/burial is registered in March 1670. He would have been around 49. This information conflicts with the recently published payment to Jacobus Heise in 1675. There are other Jacob Heise living in Königsberg in this period: one, for example, is a ropemaker. But there do not appear to be two amber workers of the same name. Could it be that Jacob and Catherina had a second infant christened Jacob for whom record has yet to be found? If born in the years between Georg and Daniel, this child could have been about twenty in the mid-1670s.

Guild Masters

Nothing has yet been found to confirm or disprove that Jacob Heise was or tried to become a member of the Königsberg amber turning guild. This was incorporated in 1641 with masters Georg Schreiber and Lorenz Schnipperling and expanded further in 1643 by the already mentioned Daniel Damcke, Melcher Lemke and Hans Kohn as well as a further figure, Jochem Vogt.

Parish records begin to set the masters in their family context and social context. Vogt, Lemke and Kohn are clearly all of much the same age. If around 20–25 at the time of their marriages, they would have been aged around 30–35 when they became guildsmen (see tab. 3).

- Daniel Damcke was a godfather to one of Jacob Heise's children, but nothing more has yet been found.
- Jochem Vogt married Anna, and had a son Daniel in 1638, followed by Anna Jr in 1640. Melcher Lemke's wife is godmother to Daniel. Vogt's wife Anna was godmother to Lorenz Schnipperling's daughter in 1643. Jochem re-marries in 1653.

Table 3. Who lived and worked where?

	Lived	Worked
George SCHREIBER JR	Kneiphof	Mönchehof
Samuel STUBBE	Altstadt	–
Jochim HEISE	Altstadt	–
Jacob HEISE	Altstadt/Haberberg	–
Franz TRETER	Altstadt	Steindamm/ Steindammer Tor
Hans THURAW	Altstadt	Steindamm
Daniel DAMCKE	–	–
Hans KLINGENBERG	Löbenicht	Roßgarten
Jochem VOGT	Löbenicht	–
Melcher LEMKE	Löbenicht	–
Hans KOHN	Tragheim/Altstadt	[---] Mühle
Lorenz SCHNIPPERLING	Tragheim/Neuroßgarten	Fuurburgerstrasse

- Melcher Lemke married Christina, and had a daughter Dorothea in 1636, and short-lived son Abraham in 1638. Following Christina's death, he remarried Maria, who is certainly Daniel Schnipperling's godmother in 1643, and may also have been Georg Heise's in 1654.
- Hans Kohn married Sophia, daughter of the deceased amber turner Samuel Stobben, in 1638, and had daughters Anna and Elisabeth in 1641 and 1642.⁷²

The records discovered to date likely represent only the tip of the iceberg. Heise can be linked to Damcke, Lemke, and Treter, but not to the others. Lemke and Vogt can be linked to Schnipperling, and Schnipperling to Schreiber.

Lorenz Schnipperling

The records are the strongest for Lorenz Schnipperling. Living in Tragheim, baptisms have been found for five children: Johannes (1641), Daniel (1643), Euphrosine (1645), Anna Elisabetha (1650), and Michael (1653). Schnipperling is described as the Electoral Amber Turner in all of these. At the first baptism, godparents include an electoral valet and electoral chamberlain. At the second, the godparents include the amber turner Georg Schreiber, painter to the Elector, Mathias Czwiczek, the physician Tobias Dettloff, and Melcher

⁷² See his signed but undated work in Stockholm in the Royal Collections, and the *tazza* discussed in the Pandur/Juhász contribution to this volume (fig. 14 and 15).



Fig. 14. Amber cup with cover, signed IOHAN. KOHN. FECIT. REGIOMONTI, about 1635, © The Royal Court, Sweden/ Photo: Alexis Daflos



Fig. 15. Detail of amber cup signed IOHAN. KOHN. FECIT. REGIOMONTI, about 1635, © The Royal Court, Sweden/ Photo: Sven Nilsson

Lemke's wife. For the third, the godparents are Elector Friedrich Wilhelm, a secretary of the electoral chamber, an electoral valet, the wives of the Elector's Chamberlain, of amber turner Jochem Vogt and physician Tobias Dettloff. When his son Michael is baptised in 1653, we encounter a merchant, a cupbearer, the amber turners Franz Trager and Jochem Vogt, and the wife of the court apothecary. These documents record that Schnipperling had his workshop on the *Fuurbergerstrasse*.

Schnipperling's closeness to the Elector makes Lorenz – alongside Georg Schreiber – a plausible candidate for many of the high-quality ambers from this period. Yet not a single surviving or lost artefact has ever been attributed to him. Given his clear friendship with court painter Mathias Czwiczek, the pair of sculpted figures of the Elector and his wife in Kassel are plausibly by Schnipperling as they relate to a Czwiczek painting completed about 1649 following their marriage in 1646 (Hessen Kassel Heritage KP B VI/I.20 u. 21, fig. 16).⁷³

⁷³ *Bernsteinkästchen mit den Statuetten des Großen Kurfürsten Friedrich Wilhelm von Brandenburg und seiner Gemahlin Louise Henriette von Oranien*, Hessen Kassel Heritage



Fig. 16. Amber casket with figures of the Great Elector Friedrich Wilhelm of Brandenburg, and his wife Louise Henriette of Orange, possibly Lorenz Schnipperling, Königsberg, 1650–1660, Hessen Kassel Heritage KP B VI/I.20 u. 21

Whodunnit?

Surveying these sources is illuminating and also reveals a further amber turner in this network: Franz Treter. Particularly interesting are also the relationships that are absent. None of the godparents or witnesses are, for example, gold- or silversmiths. And if records relating to Andreas Knieffel, Andreas Meyer or Philipp Hoyer – goldsmiths known to have worked with amber turners – are consulted, nothing there suggests that they were especially friendly with Schreiber and co.⁷⁴ Other amber turners, however, do emerge in goldsmiths' records, such as Hans Thurau. His widow, Marie, married goldsmith Gerhart Heller.⁷⁵

What more, then, can be said about attributing works to Heise? There are certainly pieces which clearly relate to the signed nautilus cup (Dresden, Grünes Gewölbe, IV 340) and which may be correctly attributed to Heise, for example

Objektsammlungen, <https://datenbank.museum-kassel.de/15237/0/0/0/s25/0/100/objekt.html> [accessed: 6.12.2024], with full bibliography there.

⁷⁴ Scheffler, *Goldschmiede...*, no. 63.

⁷⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 106.



Fig. 17. Seal of Marie Eleonora of Brandenburg, reversed for legibility, Riksarkivets föremålssamling, sigillstampar, nr 3, image © Emre Orgun



Fig. 18. Arms of the Vasa dynasty from the Rothschild Waddesdon Tankard, © The Trustees of the British Museum. Shared under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-SA 4.0) licence

the nautilus cup in the Metropolitan Museum in New York (Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917, 17.190.547). A further cup ‘in the form of a shell ... on top ... a white amber figure representing Neptune’⁷⁶ was once in the Grand-ducal collections in Florence, and others might emerge with time. Kugel and Kulka have correctly noted the resemblance of these pieces to hardstone vessels, and as I have suggested for visual sources, the link between these ambers and other works in other materials requires close scrutiny. The correspondence between the stem on Andreas Meyer’s shell-shaped cup made for the Königsberg Customs Guild in 1631 (dest. 1945) and the three-dimensional figures which surmount amber nautilus cups is worthy of note. Assuming Meyers’ stem is original, at least this relationship requires deeper exploration.

Could Heise have made the Rothschild Waddesdon Tankard? He was certainly an accomplished amber turner by 1654, the latest possible date for the coat of arms. No exact match for this has yet been identified, but the prominent and unusual framing cornucopia are notably found on a personal seal belonging to Maria Eleonora, daughter of Johann Sigismund of Brandenburg, and widow of

⁷⁶ Archivio Biblioteca Uffizi, Ms. 95, Inventario della Galleria (1753), f. 87v, no. 913: Un bicchiere o ghiaro d’ambra gialla in forma di nicchia con suo piede che forma una figura in atto di sbranare un leone e sopra detto ghiaro vi è un figuretta d’ambra bianca che rappresenta Nettuno, alto ¼ incirca [14.5 cm].

Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden (fig. 17 and 18). The seal is inscribed 1640.⁷⁷ If there is a link to Maria Eleonora – whether as commissioner or recipient – then the most likely period is during the eight years she spent back in Germany following the death of her brother Georg Wilhelm in December 1640. A question mark remains around the pairing the Vasa heraldry with allegories of the Vices. Given the difficult relationship between the dynasties and the occupation of Ducal Prussia the combination may be meaningful. Other surviving tankards, however, enclose scenes relating to drinking, raising the worry that the arms have been reused from another artefact, possibly in the nineteenth century. Christina was known to have received ambers from Rudolph II's collection, taken from Prague by Swedish troops in 1648 at the end of the Thirty Years' War. A link to Sweden, and therefore back to Prague, would certainly have been appealing for Bohemian collectors like Nostitz, were it to have been realised.

Dating the Rothschild Waddesdon Tankard by this armorial is probably somewhat ill-advised. However, if authentic, Heise would likely have been in his late teens and early twenties, possibly completing his apprenticeship and on the road. It is not yet clear where and with whom he trained, but given his father was also an amber turner, he is likely to have been exposed to the trade from a young age and he may have shown precocious talent. A little discussed shared feature of the Heise nautilus and the Rothschild Waddesdon Tankard are the carved heavy-browed fleshy faces. Similar fanciful *mascarons* are visible on the Windsor cannister and on other artworks.⁷⁸ These have yet to be discussed as potential markers of style. It is not yet known whether Jacob worked alone or collaborated with others, something Rahul Kulka's essay in this volume sheds light on for a century later.

Conclusion

The historical linking of the Rothschild Waddesdon Tankard with Heise is a key piece of evidence rehearsed in many catalogue descriptions of comparable works. This paper presents some initial anchors which potentially disrupt this identification and subsequently narratives also formed around the Jarvis-Mews Tankard. The exploitation of digitised primary sources has significant potential to impact other long-held opinions. In terms of his life dates, a very young Heise can be considered for the tankard, but the attribution is unlikely to ever be confirmed without clear primary evidence to that effect. My goal has

⁷⁷ Preserved in the Riksarchivet in Stockholm, Riksarkivets föremålssamling, sigillstamplar, nr 3. My thanks to Dr Henrik Klackenberg for sharing this with me. Many of the ambers in the Swedish Royal Collections have been or are still linked to Maria Eleonora. See the ewer and basin attributed to Georg Schreiber, about 1620, which bears the Brandenburg coat-of-arms. My thanks to Alexander Holm for briefly discussing Maria Eleonora with me.

⁷⁸ For example *Bernstein für Thron und Altar...*, cat. 30.

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not been to secure or refute the attribution to Heise, but rather to explore it. In approaching his person from hitherto unattempted angles, I have uncovered and introduced new critical material which disrupts and reopens established discussions. This essay began as a close study of the pieces, their appearance, collection, acquisition and interpretation, it was never anticipated that commercially available family history software would highlight a need to rehabilitate Lorenz Schnipperling. Returning to the parish registers is likely to reveal a range of new candidates for authorship and add new interest to this branch of study going forward. Future research is likely to shed ever more and exciting light on the networks that underpinned amber working in seventeenth century Königsberg.

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Appendix I

Post-Medieval European Ambers in the British Museum – A survey with extended bibliography

- 1753 Surviving from the Hans Sloane Bequest:
- SLMisc.795, 'A figure cutt in white amber sett in yellow': https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_SLMisc-795;
 - OA.2916, cameo: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_OA-2916.
- Sloane's catalogues have been digitised and made key-word searchable. He also owned:
- '2053. A piece of amber w^t. a Lyon carv'd on it';
 - '2061. A Heart in yellow amber in w ch. Is this and the [sic.] &c.;
 - '2072. Several pieces of carv'd Ivory likely taken from Amber Cabinets where they were for ornament;'
 - '-878. An amber Crucifix of several colours carv'd by given to [him] by Mr. Aston;'
 - '-1012. The figure of a man sitting on a deaths head wt. his hands lifted up &c. [...] in white amber given me by D^r. Slare.'

All recorded in Sir Hans Sloane, *Miscellanea*, eds. Kim Sloan, Alexandra Ortolja-Baird, Julianne Nyhan, Victoria Pickering and Martha Fleming, digital ed., London 2019, <https://enlightenmentarchitectures.reconstructingsloane.org/cataloguemiscellanies/index.html>. The source of Sloane's wealth and his work in Jamaica are discussed here: <https://www.britishmuseum.org/about-us/british-museum-story/sir-hans-sloane>. See also the drawings SL.5283,257-8: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_SL-5283-257 and https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_SL-5283-258. Dr Anna Sobecka recognised these drawings as relating to Jacob Theodor Klein's Museum. The 'cabinet of Mr Kloyk' should read 'Mr Kleyn'. Sloane and Klein corresponded, and Klein published in the *Philosophical Transactions*. Klein's collection of amber was recorded in a manuscript catalogue, the *Musei Kleiniani*, Gdańsk 1738, in the Friedrich-Alexander-University, University Library. The drawings in this manuscript were by Klein's daughter Dorothea Julianne Gralath (1718–1788). One of the BM drawings relates that the specimen was sold in 1727, a fact not related in the 1738 manuscript. These drawings are catalogued as 'Plants in amber & mandrakes by Mr. Catesby', in MS 3972C Vol VI Sloane's catalogue of books and printed ephemera, eds. Kim Sloan, Alexandra Ortolja-Baird, Julianne Nyhan, Victoria Pickering and Martha Fleming, digital

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On Witt (d. 1869), see BM database.
- 1878 1878,1230.650, charka, bequeathed by John Henderson: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1878-1230-650;
On Henderson (d. 1878), see BM database.
- 1898 WB.221, box, bequeathed by Baron Ferdinand Rothschild: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_WB-221;
WB.229, tankard, bequeathed by Baron Ferdinand Rothschild: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_WB-229;
For WB.221:
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- Edward Alfred Jones, *Old Silver of Europe & America from Early Times to the Nineteenth Century*, London 1928, p. 187;
- Alfred Rohde, *Bernstein: ein Deutscher Werkstoff*, Berlin 1937, p. 74, pl. 50, fig. 121;
- Rosa Hunger, *The Magic of Amber*, Radnor 1979, p. 54;
- Hugh Tait, *The Waddesdon Bequest: The Legacy of Baron Ferdinand Rothschild to the British Museum*, London 1981, p. 91, col. pl. XVIIA-B;

- Tessa Murdoch, *The Quiet Contest: The Huguenots 1685–1985* [exhibition catalogue], Museum of London, London 1985, p. 156;
- Helen Fraquet, *Amber*, London 1987, p. 41;
- Hugh Tait, III, *The 'Curiosities'* [in:] *Catalogue of the Waddesdon Bequest in the British Museum*, London 1991, no. 12, figs.163–173;
- Jutta Kappel, *Bernsteinkunst aus dem Grünen Gewölbe*, Dresden–München–Berlin 2005;
- *Baroque, 1620–1800: Style in the Age of Magnificence* [exhibition catalogue], eds. Michael Snodin, Nigel Llewellyn, Victoria & Albert Museum London, London 2009, pp. 56, 333 [cat. 35];
- Neil McGregor, *Germany: Memories of a Nation*, London 2014, p. 38; and <https://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/articles/1VIZKYHRvvhT1twZbzq3DS/a-close-look-at-objects-from-germany-memories-of-a-nation>;
- Gina Murphy, *Additions and Omissions: The Transfer of Bequest Objects from Waddesdon Manor to the British Museum* [in:] *A Rothschild Renaissance: A New Look at the Waddesdon Bequest in the British Museum*, eds. Pippa Shirley, Dora Thornton, London 2017, p. 57, fn. 184 – the tankard was not part of the original inventory of the Smoking Room and is not shown in the Red Book photographs, but it came into the Museum as part of the Bequest following Ferdinand's death in 1898. This leads to the suggestion that the pieces were acquired between October 1897 and December 1898, or that they were elsewhere at Waddesdon;
- Kathryn Jones, *European Silver in the Collection of Her Majesty The Queen*, London 2017, pp. 82–85;
- *Sin. The Art of Transgression* [exhibition catalogue], National Gallery of Art London, London 2020;
- Rachel King, *Curators Choice*, "British Museum Magazine" 2021, issue 99, p. 64;
- "British Museum Magazine" 2021, issue 100, for advertising;
- *Amber: Baltic Gold* [exhibition catalogue], eds. Isabelle Frank, Indra and Harry Banga Gallery, City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong 2022;
- Rahul Kulka, *Der Bernsteinkronleuchter der Stiftung Preußische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg als Symbol*, "BildGeschichte" no. 29, n. 17;
- Gábor Juhász, "...Collapsed, though we have all the parts" a previously unknown 17th-century amber tankard from the collection of Miklós Jankovich in the Museum of Applied Arts, "Ars Decorativa" 2002, issue 36, pp. 23–45;
- Alexis Kugel, Rahul Kulka, *Amber: Treasures from the Baltic Sea, 16th–18th Century / Ambre: trésors de la mer Baltique du XVI^e au XVIII^e Siècle* [exhibition catalogue], ed. Monelle Hayot, Galerie Kugel Paris, Paris 2023.

- Rachel King
- 1922 Eu.1922,1012.2, ritual knife, donated by Dr Abraham Cohen: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_Eu1922-1012-2;
On Cohen (d. 1936), see BM database.
- 1958 1958,1201.2309, watch case, donated by Courtenay Adrian Ilbert: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1958-1201-2309;
On Ilbert (d. 1956), see BM database.
- 2019 2019,8034.52, necklace: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_2019-8034-52.
- ???? 2002,0331.4-5, votives, acquisition history unknown, found unrecorded in museum: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_2003-0331-4 and https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_2003-0331-5.
- ???? OA.1702, two knives in case, acquisition history unrecorded: https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_OA-1702; nb. not the cutlery dated 1689, published by Rohde (1937). The latter has not been identified among the BM collection. According to communications in the BM Archive, Rohde was provided with negatives and a price list on 27.06.1936.
- Loan Tankard on loan from the Church of St Mary's in North Mymms since 1901.

Archival materials:

Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, p. 69 – North Mymms Parish Records / Incumbent / DP69/3 – Property and Income of Benefice, in which there are copies of correspondence between the vicar and Bishop of St Albans concerning the churchwardens' wish to sell the tankard, Jul 1899–Apr 1900, with extract from the will of Dame Lydia Mew of Christchurch, Southampton dated 1751 bequeathing the tankard to stand on the altar at North Mymms; Letter recommending the loan of the tankard to the British Museum, Jun 1900; Receipt from the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities, British Museum, for the loan of the tankard, Jul 1901; Description of the tankard by the vicar, Jul 1901 (with amendments dated 1931 and 1932). See further paperwork DP69/3/6 'Papers relating to proposed sale of amber tankard, and photographs'. See also BM internal documentation.

History and Bibliography before 1901:

On a visit by the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society in August 1876, see Dorothy Colville, *North Mymms Parish and People*, 1972, ch. 3. The proposed sale of the tankard was exceptionally controversial, and the Parish side is recorded in Colville. Public concern is recorded in the press. See articles: *SALE OF CHURCH PROPERTY*, "Notes and Queries" 9th S.V., 19 May 1900, p. 395. Citing the Barnet Press, letter from F.T. Cannick regarding proposed sale to raise money to repair tower and vestry of North Mymms Church: 'Is it lawful to sell church property?'; See also Herts Advertiser – Sat. 28 April 1900, p. 6; Sat. 5 May 1900; Sat. 21 April 1900; Sat. 27 April 1901, p. 5, 6; Sat. 13 April 1901,

p. 3, Sat. 11 May 1901, p. 5; Sat. 18 May 1901, p. 2, 3; Sat. 4 January 1902, p. 6; and the Barnet Press – Sat. 27 April 1900, Sat. 4 May 1901, Sat. 11 May 1901.

Bibliography after 1901:

The loan to the British Museum was reported in the London Evening Standard on Tuesday 6 August 1901, and thereafter the tankard is referred to in its museum context.

- *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Hertfordshire*, ed. William Page, vol. 2, London 1908, p. 259;
- “Leominster News and North West Herefordshire & Radnorshire Advertiser”, Fri. 4 May 1906, p. 3;
- “Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail”, Mon. 14 May 1906;
- *Notes of the Month*, “The Antiquary” 1906, vol. 42, issue 5, p. 163;
- “The Architect and Contract Reporter” 1906, vol. 75, p. 233;
- British Museum Department of Mediaeval Antiquities and Ethnography, *A Guide to the Mediaeval Room and to the Specimens of Mediaeval and Later Times in the Gold Ornament Room*, Oxford 1907, p. 32;
- “The Architect and Contract Reporter” 1911, vol. 85, p. 45;
- Otto Pelka, *Bernstein*, Berlin 1920, p. 103, ill. 67 (Mymms) and 68 (WB);
- Karl Baedeker, *London and Its Environs: Handbook for Travellers*, Germany 1923, p. 356; “Transactions of the East Hertfordshire Archaeological Society” 1923, vol. 7, p. 152;
- British Museum Department of Mediaeval Antiquities, *A Guide to the Mediaeval Antiquities And Objects of Later Date in the Department of British and Mediaeval Antiquities*, London 1924, p. 304 [on display in the Franks Bequest Room];
- Charles Hercules Read, *Catalogue of Silver Plate, Medieval and Later, Bequeathed by Sir A. Wollaston Franks*, London 1928, p. 28, n. 33;
- Alfred Rohde, *Königsberger Bernsteinarbeiten des 16. und 17. Jahrh.*, “Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft” 1935, vol. 1, pp. 205–224, here 222;
- “Hertford Mercury and Reformer”, Friday 14 April 1939, p. 183;
- “Transactions of the Ecclesiological Society” 1948, p. 220;
- “Gardeners’ Chronicle” 1966, p. 14;
- Dorothy Colville, *North Mymms Parish and People*, 1972, ch. 3;
- Philippa Glanville, *Silver in Tudor and early Stuart England: a social history and catalogue of the national collection, 1480–1660*, London 1990, p. 261;
- *Baroque, 1620–1800: Style in the Age of Magnificence* [exhibition catalogue], eds. Michael Snodin, Nigel Llewellyn, Victoria & Albert Museum London, London 2009, pp. 56, 333 [cat. 35];
- Philip Petchey, *Hidden Treasure: The Church of England’s Stewardship of Its Silver Plate*, “Ecclesiastical Law Journal” 2018, vol. 20, pp. 16–50, n. 7. Petchey explains that in a resolve of 2 February 1906, the Society of Antiquaries

especially commended the loan rather than sale of the amber tankard to the BM. The Society was prompted to write to all bishops, archdeacons and chancellors by two recent attempts to sell chalices from churches at Churchstanton and Appleby.

Appendix II

Post-Medieval European Amber in English Sales and Auctions

Sales of cutlery, combs, cane handles, needle cases, mouthpieces, seals, beads (necklaces, bracelets, earrings), specimens and inclusions, or snuff/patch boxes are not included below.

- 1690a Getty Provenance Index, Sale Catalog BR-A39, 27.05.1690
– Lot 92. An amber cabinet of the Dutchess of Portsmouths [sic];
- 1690b Getty Provenance Index, Sale Catalog BR-A66, John Bullard, London, 2.12.1690
– Lot 49. An amber cabinet and silver jar, very fine;
- 1722 Elihu Yale, at his dwelling house, Queens Square, London, Sale 8.03.1722
– Lot 308. Three heads in Altra relievo, two in ivory, the other in amber;
– Lot 371. An amber box, a small screen, and a piece of waxwork;
– Lot. 465. An Amber cup and cover, with a chest and box ditto, and twelve strings of beads, etc., of various sorts;
- 1725 Marquis of Powis, Household contents, Ormond Street, near Queens Square, Sale 10.05.1725 [Lugt 335]
– 12. A pair of fine amber candlesticks ... £5.0.0;
- 1734 Earl of Sussex, Auction 11.04.1734 [Lugt 439]
– XXXVII Lot 4. An amber hourglass £00.10.00;
– II Lot 6. An amber snuff box with gold rim and hinge [no price given];
- 1737 John, Earl of Ashburnham, Household furniture, at dwelling in St James Square, Auction 24.05.1737 [Lugt 473b]
– Lot 56. Six powder and patch boxes, and an amber hourglass for a toilet;
- 1739 Charles, Earl of Halifax, Auction 6.03.1739 [Lugt 497]
– Lot 57. An amber hourglass, 2 agate cups, 1 ditto with handles, an agate spoon;
- 1744 Joseph Sedgwick, Auction Mr. Ford 13.03.1744 [Lugt 591]
– Lot 177. An old man's head in a ruff, on a piece of fat amber;
– Lot 198. A small amber cabinet and three amber figures, and a small piece of fat amber;
- 1759 A gentleman travelling in Italy, Auction Samuel Paterson 10.04.1759 [Lugt 1044]
– Lot 44. Two amber eggs with gilt rims [sold £00.14.00];

- 1773 James West (1703–1772), politician and antiquary, President of the Royal Society, Auction Messrs. Langford 27.02.1773 [Lugt 2127]
- Day 3. Lot 1. An amber dish with handles (broke);
 - Day 5. Lot 17. A large piece of amber, in the shape of a pearl drop, most remarkably fine, out of the collection of Albertus Seba;
 - Day 7. Lot 8. A small but curious amber cabinet;
 - Day 7. Lot 9. A piece of amber with moss in it, ...;
- 1774 Richard Bateman, his museum at Abbey of Old Windsor, Auction Mr Christie, 3.05.1774
- Lot 50. Two of the apostles, most beautifully cut in amber with glass shades;
 - Lot 57. Two small amber figures, a curious carving in ivory of the Virgin and Child in sliding box;
 - Lot 76. A small amber cup, a small salver crystal mounted in silver, and a goa stones;
- 1776 Philip Carteret Webb, lawyer and antiquary, Busbridge, Surrey, Auction Messrs. Langford, 29.04.1776 [Lugt 2538a]
- Lot 49. A coutteau de chase [sic], with an amber handle, elegantly carved and mounted in gold, wt. 1 oz 7 dwt. This was his late Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland's;
- 1806 Richard Naybours, Auction Messrs. Greenwood, 18.07.1806 [Lugt 7138]
- Lot 149. A pair of figures, carved in amber;
- 1811 Auction, Mr. Robins 21.06.1811 [Lugt 8030]
- Lot 81. An agate cup mounted in silver, a salver of amber, a saucer of rare old scarlet and gold Japan...;
- 1812 Richard Summers, dealer with private museum in Old Cavendish Street, retirement 1810, Auction Mr. Squibb, 8.04.1812 [Lugt 8147]
- Lot 99. A very beautiful amber cabinet in a glass case;
- 1818 Auction Mr. Squibb and Son, Saville Row, 20.04.1818 [Lugt 9352]
- Day 1. Lot 100. A jewel box, curiously formed of amber, agate, etc.;
 - Day 1. Lot 102. A looking glass in a curious and finely carved amber frame;
 - Day 2. Lot 32. A looking glass, in a curious and valuable frame of amber, and a case to ditto;
 - Day 2. Lot 33. A curious amber jewel casket;
 - Day 4. Lot 24. A looking glass in a curious amber frame;
 - Day 4. Lot 35. A looking glass in a curious and fine amber frame;
- 1819 Queen Charlotte, Auction Mr. Christie, 7.05.1819 [Lugt 9589]
- Lot 75. A chess board, composed of transparent and opaque amber, with emblems and French inscriptions under the squares, two drawers with boxes of the same to contain draught men of amber, and a set of ditto chess men in a third drawer; the whole contained in a Japan lacquer case;
- 1822 William Beckford, Fonthill Abbey, Mr. Christie, 1.10.1822
- IX Lot 56. A triple jewel cabinet of opaque, with panels of transparent amber, carved with sacred, legendary and other subjects, in relief, separated

- by cameos of white amber, the lower casket of the three is ornamented with miniature figures of saints, of white amber, on brackets, the whole supported on feet shaped as bunches of grapes, of yellow amber. This rare and costly article was made for the Princess of Bavaria in 1655. Also a glass case to ditto;
- IX Lot 72. A fine amber cabinet with rich carved devices and glass shade;
 - Lot 1030. A group formed of amber of the Wise Men's Offering, rare and curious, and a case lined with silk to protect it;
- See also John Rutter, *Delineations of Fonthill and Its Abbey*, London 1823:
- The Eastern Yellow Drawing room: an amber cabinet;
 - The Western Yellow Drawing room: an amber jewel cabinet made for the Princess of Bavaria in 1665;
- 1824 Newspaper advert for Mr. Philipp's auction in Morning Post, Thursday 24 June 1824
- 25.06.1824: a curious tankard and dish of amber;
- 1826 Auction Mr. Foster, 29.11.1826 [Lugt 11300]
- Lot 40. An amber pedestal;
- 1833 William Wilson, FSA, of the Minorities, Auction Messrs. Christie and Manson, 31.01.1833 [Lugt 13185]
- Lot 93. The game of the goose, with a carving in amber in the centre, the other figures of agate, jasper, and mother of pearl, on a slab of tortoiseshell;
 - Lot 105. Two small figures of Apostles in amber ...;
- 1838 William Esdaile of Clapham Common (1758–1837), see *Centre for the Study of the Legacies of British Slavery* database; Auction, Messrs. Christie and Manson, 8 King Street, St James's Square, 22.03.1838 [Lugt 14987]
- Lot 145. A small amber casket, richly ornamented with medallions and figures [sale price annotated £1.4s.1d];
- 1839 James Forbes, possibly James Forbes of Seaton (d. 1839), Aberdeen, Auction Messrs. Christie and Manson, 8 King Street, St James's Square, 25.06.1839 [Lugt 15497]
- Lot. 88. A small casket of amber;
- 1842 Horace Walpole's Strawberry Hill Collection, Auction George Robins 25.04–21.05.1842
- XIII Lot 84. A curious old amber jewel casket;
 - XIII Lot 114. ... An amber toothpick case ... given to Horace Walpole by Lady Mary Coke;
 - XV Lot 22. ... a small amber crucifix ...;
 - XVI Lot 49. A beautiful amber cup and cover, richly carved and engraved and mounted with silver gilt. From Mrs Kennon's collection;
 - XXIII Lot 15. A curious old knife and fork, amber handles [sold to James Charles Money, £00.10.6];

- 1848 Duke of Buckingham, *The Stowe Catalogue, Priced and Annotated by Henry Rumsey Forster*, London 1848 [Lugt 19122] *Post-medieval
European
Ambers...*
- Lot 48. An amber crucifix, and a bronze crucifix – from the abbey of St Bertin at Rouen, sold to [Samuel] Litchfield £2.9.0;
 - Lot 101. A group of the Nativity, sculptured in a large specimen of amber, sold to Col. Sibthorp, M.P. £3.5.0;
 - Lot 212. A pair of toilette candlesticks – of amber, with reliefs in ivory, sold to T.A. Boswell, Esq. £8.8.0;
 - Lot 213. A triple casket, of amber, with friezes and medallions in relief – in beautiful Italian taste, under glass shade. This beautiful object of decoration is from Fonthill, sold to [Charles] Redfern [dealer d. 1868] £12.15.0, Mr. Redfern subsequently sold this lot to Sir H. Broughton (d. 1899), of Broughton Hall, Stafford;
 - Lot 287. A casket, of amber, sold to Russell £3.5.0;
 - Lot 829. Heads of the Triumviri, and 2 intaglios in amber H. Smith Esq. £4.10.0;
 - Lot 78. ... Beautiful series of different varieties of amber ... sold to the Directors of the Jardin des Plantes ... the collection of amber included in this lot was presented to the Duke of Buckingham by Captain Nevill R.N.;
- 1849 Marguerite Gardiner, Countess of Blessington, Gore House, Upper Kensington, retiring to the continent, Auction Mr Phillips, 7.05.1849 [Lugt 19367]
- Lot 100. An antique jug with handle, formed of amber, engraved over, and mounted in silver – formerly in the possession of the Empress Josephine;
- 1850 Francis Du Roveray, Auction Messrs. Christie and Manson, 1.03.1850 [Lugt 19699]
- Lot 131c. Bacchus and a satyr – a beautiful carving by Fiamingo in amber – on ebony pedestal. From the collection of Count Costello of Naples;
- 1851 Property of a Gentleman, removed from Mayfair, Auction Messrs. Foster and Son, 29.01.1851 [Lugt 20147]
- Lot 185. A beautiful model of a cabinet, in pure amber, with folding doors and drawers, under glass shade and stand;
- 1854a Auction Messrs. Christie and Manson, 3.05.1854 [Lugt 21888]
- Lot 104. A figure, in amber and ivory, mounted on an amber pedestal;
- 1854b A gentleman, Auction Messrs. Christie and Manson, 16.06.1854 [Lugt 21986]
- Lot. 164. An amber box, mounted with gold, and set with mosaic;
- 1855 Thomas Windus, Esq. FSA, Gothic House, Stamford Hill, Auction Messrs. Christie and Manson, 27.02.1855 [Lugt 22279]
- Lot 342. A small casket, formed of slabs of amber, engraved with seaports and foliage;
- 1857a Robert Owen, dealer, Bond Street, Auction Messrs. Christie, Manson and Woods, 23.04.1857 [Lugt 23549]
- Lot 52. A figure of a peasant, carved in amber, ...;

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King

- 1857b** A Gentleman, from the Chateau of Doorwerth, in Holland, Auction Messrs. Christie and Manson, 4.06.1857 [Lugt 23667]
- Lot 158. An engraved amber cup, on foot;
 - Lot 159. An amber tankard, metal-gilt, mounted;
 - Lot 171. A box containing a set of amber chessmen;
 - Lot 175. An amber scent bottle, carved with marine deities;
 - Lot 176. Twenty small amber bottles etc.;
 - Lot 183. A [card box], with engraved amber counters;
- 1858a** Auction Messrs. Christie and Manson, 7.06.1858 [Lugt 24318]
- Lot 276. A very beautiful amber cabinet, with camei and other ornaments – in a glass case;
- 1858b** David Falcke, dealer New Bond Street, Auction Messrs. Christie and Manson, 19.04.1858 [Lugt 24178]
- Lot 295. A small amber candlestick; and various pieces of amber;
 - Lot 470. A fine piece of amber, carved with marine deities, dolphins, and foliage of fine Italian work;
 - Lot 498. An amber jug, carved with arabesque figures, etc, mounted with silver gilt, in old case;
 - Lot 596. An oval carved cup, of amber, mounted with hands and handles of silver gilt;
 - Lot 1204. A brush, with amber handle, engraved with German inscriptions;
 - Lot 1207. A knife and fork, with amber handles, carved with busts, and mounted with silver gilt, in case;
 - Lot 3122. A matchless cabinet of amber, of architectural design, with spirally twisted Corinthian columns, and pilasters surmounted by busts, carved with classical figures, medallions of Roman emperors, saints, portraits of burgomasters, hunting subjects, surmounted by a figure of Orpheus charming the brutes, with a whole-length portrait of William III on the door, for whom this beautiful cabinet was made; carved with an equestrian figure inside the upper compartment, a large subject of marine deities in the centre, in the lower casket Venus and Adonis, medallions and figures of the Roman emperors, and Arion on the dolphin, with three drawers beneath, coats of arms round the sides – 24 in. long, 15 ¼ in. wide, and 23 in. high – glass shade and stand. It was presented by the King to one of his ministers, charged by him to arrange an enormous loan;
- 1859** Auction Messrs. Christie and Manson, 27.06.1859 [Lugt 24984]
- Lot 452. A small crucifix, of porcelain, on cross and stand of amber, carved with figures – glass shade and stand;
 - Lot 455. The Virgin and Child, carved in amber, on a pedestal of the same, with subjects of the Brazen Serpent and the Temptation;
 - Lot 456. A carved amber candlestick, with twisted pillar, on carved foot;

- 1860a** John Swaby, esq. (possibly John Swaby, antique dealer in Wardour Street), Auction Mr. Philipps, 05.03.1860 [Lugt 25336]
– Lot 13. A carved amber hourglass, in its original leather case;
- 1860b** Rev. Frederick Leicester, Auction Messrs. Christie, Manson and Woods, 18.05.1860 [Lugt 25595]
– Lot 81. An amber figure of St Elizabeth, the hands of ivory;
- 1860c** Henry Bradley, Leamington, and a Gentleman, Auction Messrs. Christie, Manson and Woods, 28.05.1860 [Lugt 25615]
– Lot 33. A chessboard and men of amber, carved with masks and flowers;
- 1860d** Poss. W. Angerstein, Auction, Messrs. Christie, Manson and Woods, 3.07.1860 [Lugt 25685]
– Lot 76. A beautiful and rare old amber tankard and cover, exquisitely engraved with arabesques and other ornaments, with carved bands in relief, it is in the original case;
- 1863a** Advert in Leeds Intelligencer, Sat. 07 February 1863, for sale by Messrs. Hardwicks and Best in Large Picture Gallery of the Music Hall, Albion Street, Leeds
– Rare amber casket formerly in the possession Murat [Joachim Murat, d. 1815];
- 1863b** Received from Italy, Auction Messrs. Christie, Manson and Woods, 22.07.1863 [Lugt 27453]
– Lot 101. Two medallions carved in amber, in silver filigree frame
- 1865a** John Greaves, Irlam Hall, Lancashire, Auction Messrs. Christie, Manson and Woods, 05.06.1865 [Lugt 28568]
– Lot 549. A high-relief carving of Venus and Adonis with dogs in high relief [ms. note: sold for £01.15.06];
– Lot 550. Six specimens of amber [ms. note: sold for £05.15.06 to Durlacher];
- 1865b** Edward Strutt Hallum of Southampton, Auction Messrs. Christie, Manson and Woods, 14.06.1865 [Lugt 28623]
– Lot 116. An amber casket;
– Lot 119. A figure carved in amber; eight specimens of amber, ...;
- 1865c** Mr. Bryant, St James Street, Auction Messrs. Christie, Manson and Woods, 21.06.1865
– Lot 197. A pair of taper stands, of amber and ivory, carved with reliefs;
- 1866** Henry Farrer FSA, dealer Wardour Street, Auction Messrs. Christie, Manson and Woods, 12.06.1866 [Lugt 29206]
– Lot 324. Salvator Mundi, and twelve apostles: a set of very fine carvings in amber – on pedestals of the same – in green morocco case;
– Lot 710. A bottle of amber, carved with figures of boys and flowers;
- 1869** Henry Maxwell, Lord Farnham, Farnham, Cavan, Auction Messrs. Christie, Manson and Woods, 8.04.1869 [Lugt 31155]
– Lot 139. Christ in the Garden, carving in amber in relief in glazed case;

- Rachel King*
- 1871 Property removed from Madingley, Cambridge, Auction Messrs. Foster, 14.06.1871 [Lugt 32584]
- Lot. 198. a beautiful antique amber casket with carved panels, angles and figures, glass case, carved and gilt stand;
- 1874 Alexander Barker, dealer 103 Piccadilly, Messrs. Christie, Manson and Woods, 6.06.1874 [Lugt 34958]
- Lot 492. Venus and Adonis, a carving in relief in amber;
 - Lot 496. An old Italian casket, of amber, with medallions carved with figures, birds, and foliage, and with losses in relief, on feet carved with masks, 21 in. long – glass shade and stand;
- 1881 Benjamin Disraeli, 1st Earl of Beaconsfield, Auction Messrs. Christie, Manson and Woods, 13.07.1881 [Lugt 41255]
- Lot 218. An amber casket, of architectural design, with figures and animals carved in bone;
- 1882 Dante Gabriel Rossetti, artist, Auction T.G. Wharton, Martin and Co., 15.07.1882 [Lugt 42193]
- Lot 346. Bronze spoon, items for chatelain, a rosary, antique brass purse, a small (German) prayer book with silver clasps and corners, and amber box;
- 1884 Mrs. E. Smyth, Auction Messrs. Christie, Manson and Woods, 14.01.1884 [Lugt 43510]
- Lot 318. ... and two figures carved in amber, in a case;
- 1888 Henry Wilkinson, White Webbs Park, Enfield, Auction Messrs. Christie, Manson and Woods, 29.02.1888 [Lugt 47119]
- Lot 27. The Annunciation, with angels and clouds above, a group of three large carvings in amber – in ebonized frame, with border of lapis lazuli;
 - Lot 28. An oblong box of amber, inlaid with plaques of carved ivory;
- 1892 Samson Wertheimer, dealer, of 154 New Bond Street London, Auction Messrs. Christie, Manson and Woods, 15.03.1892 [Lugt 50597]
- Lot 85. A scent bottle, formed of a large piece of amber, boldly carved with figures of boys, festoons, and groups of fruit in high relief;
 - Lot 172. The Madonna, with Infant Child, and St Elisabeth – a carving in bold relief in dark-coloured amber;
- 1896a Sir Julian Goldsmid, lawyer, Auction 8.06.1896 [Lugt 54639]
- Lot 507. A nautilus shell cup engraved and partly coloured, on amber stem, and octagonal foot inlaid with ivory, 10 in. high;
 - Lot 960. Another [oblong casket] of inlaid amber and ivory, with plaques carved with figures and cupids on sea monsters, 7 ¼ in. by 4 ¾ in.;
 - Lot 965. A small vase and cover, of amber, mounted with silver-gilt borders studded with turquoises;

- 1896b** Alfred, Viscount Clifden, Auction Messrs. Robinson and Fisher, 10.06.1896 [Lugt 54548]
- Lot 146. An important old Italian carved amber loving cup and cover, decorated with lions' heads and lozenge-shaped panels engraved on the inside, on metal feet, and the antique Morocco case for same, richly tooled in gold;
- 1899** Contents of Moor Hall, Harlow, Essex, Auction Messrs. Christie, Manson and Woods, 24.11.1899 [Lugt 57590]
- Lot 69. An old Italian shrine, of amber, architectural design, inlaid with numerous ivory plaques, carved with scriptural subjects in relief, with large carved amber figures of the Virgin and St Joseph at the sides, and open tiers above – supported on spiral columns with cone tops – 20 in. high – 17th century;
 - Lot 70. A pair of Italian ebony show-cabinets, of architectural design, with glazed ends and doors and looking-glass backs, and decorated with groups of silvered foliage, with numerous cut crystal and amber fruits, flowers, beads and pendant ornaments – 40 in. high, 34 in. wide – on boldly carved and gilt scroll stands in ebonised plinths – late 17th century.

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Appendix III

Biographical Data for Amber Craftspeople in Königsberg

GEORG/ JÜRGE SCHREIBER THE ELDER

m. GEORGE SCHREIBER, Tischler, spinster ELISABETH BELIKER (daughter, CASPAR BELIKER, origin recorded but illegible) 7 April 1583, Dom Kneiphof. Recorded as Master at Baptism #3.

Children

1. Baptism URSULA, 7 March 1584. Godparents: Leophas Perüsker, Jacob Himpel, Schnurrleinsohn's wife, Jacob Feierabend's wife, Jürge Kupfürhofe's wife. Dom Kneiphof.
2. Baptism GEORGE, 28 November 1585. Godparents: Andreas Graff, Henning Bergman's wife, Balthasar [-]erman's wife. Dom Kneiphof.
3. Baptism CASPAR, 4 April 1587. Godparents: Julius the Organbuilder [der Orgelbauer], Master Melchior Breier, Batholomei Ritter's wife. Dom Kneiphof.

GEORG SCHREIBER THE YOUNGER

m. not yet found. His wife may be MARIA SCHREIBER, godmother to JOHANNES DICENTEN, baptised 19 June 1633, son of ERNEST DICENTEN. Godparents: Johann Trübser, [---] from Brandenburg, Melcher [---] Miller from Pobesten, Hanß Georg Canzleij Vertrauter, Bartholmei Drachster's wife, GEORG

Rachel
King

SCHREIBER'S WIFE MARIA.

Children

not yet found, however, note: JOHANNA SCHREIBER, marriage (suggesting birth circa 1620–1630), to GEORG LINDNER (poss. b. 1620, son of HANS & DOROTHEA LINDENER, Löbenicht) in 1648. Dom Kneiphof.

Godchildren

See SAMUEL STUBBEN, 1631.

See DANIEL SCHNIPPERLING, 1643.

HANS KLINGENBERG

m.1. not yet found. His wife may be HELENA KLINGENBERCK, godmother to ANNA STOBBE, daughter of HANS and DOROTHEA STOBBE, 1631, Löbenicht. Helena is referred to in her own right, rather than as Hans Klingenberg's wife, suggesting he may be dead. Note the payment to a Hans Stuebbe in 1608 listed in Kugel, Kulka, *Amber: Treasures...*, p. 351.

Children

1. Baptism SIBYLLA KLINGENBERGER not yet found, see marriage below.
Marriage SIBYLLA KLINGENBERGER, daughter of IOHANNIS KLINGENBERGER *Birnstaindreher* and GEORG RUPHAU/RUPKAU *Bornsteindrehergesell*, 1600, Löbenicht.

SAMUEL STUBBEN/ STOBBE(N) THE ELDER

m.1. not yet found. His wife is likely ELISABETH, death recorded 10 February 1659. This could equally have been his daughter ELISABETH, but it would be unusual for her not to have been registered under her husband. On another Stuebbe, see Kugel, Kulka, *Amber: Treasures...*, p. 356, n. 115.

Children

1. Baptism ELISABETH not yet found, see marriage below #4.
2. Baptism SAMUEL, 7 March 1631. Godparents: GEORG SCHREIBER, Daniel Harnischer, Adam Schwartz's wife *Ladenmacher*. Altstadt.
3. Baptism MARIA, 15 June 1633. Godparents: Hans Müller, Georg Lopner's wife, [---] wife. Altstadt.
4. Marriage ELISABETH, 20th after Trinity Sunday 1636, with Christoph Pilke *Kauffgesell*.

JOCHIM HEISE

m.1. JOCHIM HEISE, *Bornsteindreher*, spinster ANNA TISCHKAUER (daughter, JACOB TISCHKAUER, Labiau) 27 December 1620, Altstadt.

Children

1. Baptism JACOB, 15 November 1621. Godparents: Conradt von Felde [identified in other sources as a cutler, m. 1613, d. 1645], Donata Britsch, Christof Schulz's daughter, Maria, Hans Großenfleisch's daughter, Maria, Steffen Mulzer's wife.
2. Baptism AGNES, 20 February 1623. Godparents: Hinrich Diekersch, Steffen Mulzer, Martin Schnegkshipper, Daniel Hunssburg's wife, Christoff Praetorij's wife.
3. Baptism LAURENTIUS, 30 August 1626. Godparents: Michel Tham, Christoph Patz, Adam Bruchmüller [identified in other sources as a master tailor, m. 1639], Conrad von Felden's wife, Gerge Falckenberg's wife.

JACOB HEISE

m. JACOB HEISE, *Bornsteindreher*, spinster CATHARINA SCHUHMACHER (daughter DANIEL SCHUHMACHER, Kolberg), 3rd Sunday after Easter 1647, Altstadt.

Children

1. Baptism JOCHIM, not yet found, about 1649, see #4.
2. Baptism CATHARINA, 2nd Sunday after Easter 1650. Godparents: Valentin Treptaw [m. 1639], Hinrich Wegener [identified as *Kaufgesell* at his marriage in 1641], Leonhard's son, Nicolaus Thomae with Jurg Sohne (presumably an apprentice), Jurgen Sohne's wife, Marten Freudenthal, Hinrich [-] reise's wife (Altstadt), Hans Freudenthal's wife. Sankt Trinitatis, Haberberg.
3. Baptism JACOB, 3 September 1651. Godparents: Joachimus Otto, Georg [...], Hanß Thege, Frantz [Treter's?] wife, Andreas Seidler's wife. Altstadt.
4. Death/Burial JOCHIM, 27 Reminisc 1652, aged 3 ¼. Hospitalkirche, Löbenicht.
5. Death/Burial JACOB, 3rd Sunday after Easter April 1652. Altstadt.
6. Baptism GEORG, 26 April 1654. Godparents: Michel [-]rrel, DANIEL DAMCKE, MELCHOR LEMKEN'S WIFE. Altstadt.
7. Baptism DANIEL, 19 September 1661. Godparents: Samuel Ossigius, Benjamin Hanterich, Michel Daniehl Metens, Martin Gelgenhausen's wife, Gustape/Christoph [identified differently in different versions of record] Schützen's wife. Altstadt.

Death/Burial JACOB HEIßE, 28 March 1670, Bornsteindreher, buried by M. Daucher. Altstadt.

DANIEL DAMCKE

Godchildren

See GEORG HEISE, 1654.

Rachel
King

JOCHEM VOGT/ VOGET

m1. ANNA, godmother to LORENZ SCHNIPPERLING'S daughter in 1643 (below).
m2. REGINA 1653.

Children

1. Baptism DANIEL, Thursday after 1st Trinity 1638. Godparents: Michael Puske, Christoph Grunenberg [identified in other sources as a pewterer], Andreas Hoffman [identified in other sources as a grocer], Maria, Georg Schwartzwald's wife, MELCHIOR LEMCKE'S WIFE. Löbenicht.
2. Baptism ANNA Jr, Palmarum 1640. Godparents: Daniel Merten, Lorentz Stoltz, Andreas Knoblauch's wife, Ertman a [profession illegible]'s wife, Andreas Galoß, *Schuster*, his wife. Löbenicht.

Godchildren

EUPHROSINE SCHNIPPERLING, 1645.
MICHAEL SCHNIPPERLING, 1653.

MELCHER LEMKE

m.1. CHRISTINA.
m.? MARIA godmother to DANIEL SCHNIPPERLING (1643).
m.? Unidentified, poss. MARIA, godmother to GEORG HEISE (1654).

Children

1. Baptism DOROTHEA, Reminisc. 1636. Godparents: Zacharias [surname not recorded], Hans Schotten's wife, Maria Hans Gröbel's wife. Löbenicht.
2. Baptism ABRAHAM, in the week after the fifth Sunday in Lent, 1638. Godparent: Hans Schmid. Both [presumably meaning mother and child] died a few days after this. Löbenicht.

HANS KOHN/ KÜHN/ KOHEN

m. Hans Kohn, *Bornsteinmacher/dreher*, spinster SOPHIA STOBLEN (daughter of SAMUEL STOBLEN) 19 Trinitatis 1638.

Children

1. Baptism ANNA, 20 May 1641. Record gives his working location as near to [--] Mühle[?]. Godparents: Miss [*Jungfer*] Glorbuerzsche, Anna Thomashe, Sabiene Roruchen, Trude Hannes' wife, Timothe Albrecht *Handelsman in Kunigshof*, George Gottschalck *consistorius*, Jacob Schiltkumst, *Koch in der Bordgaße*. Tragheim.
2. Baptism ELISABETH, 2 Jan 1642. Godparents: Georg Blum, Samuel Schreiber, Hanß Wedemann's wife, Daniel Hennigshausen's wife, Georg Decimatis's wife. Altstadt.

LORENZ SCHNIPPERLING/ SCHNIPPERLINCK

m. not yet found, all baptism records refer to him as being the Electoral Amber Turner or Worker [*Churfl. Birnstaindreher/ Birnsteinarbeiter*] in the Fuurbergerstr.

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Children

1. Baptism JOHANNES, 24 March 1641. Godparents: Christian Krahe, *Churfl. Cammerdiener*, Joh. Millothu[-]ius *Churfl. Cammermeister*, Joh. Rogge, Maria Schleicken, Maria Heissen. Tragheim.
2. Baptism DANIEL, 7 April 1643. Godparents: GEORG SCHREIBER *Birnstaindreher am Munchehofe*, Mattheß Chwitzigk *Churfl. Mahler*, Tobias Dettloff *Medicus*, [---] Orthia Ritter's wife, MARIA LEMSCHKE, *birnstaindreher'sfr. Neuroßgarten*.
3. Baptism EUPHROSINE, 31 May 1645. Godparents: Elector Friedrich Willhelm. Richard Dietert *Churfl. Geheimbter Cammersecretarius* Tragheim.
4. Death/burial daughter, 29 April 1648.
5. Baptism ANNA ELISABETHA, 28 March 1650. Godparents: Christoff Volk, Valentin Dittmer, Hanß Kusen's wife, George Dittmer's wife. Neuroßgarten.
6. Baptism MICHAEL, 9 Feb 1653. Godparents: Christoff Polekein *Kaufmann*, Michael Appel [identifiable in other sources as *Weinschenk*], Franciscus Treter *Bornsteindreher*, Jochen Voget *Bornsteindreher*, Cathe, Michael Wilden, *Hofapotheker's* wife, Maria, Johan George von Jerusalem's wife [identifiable in other sources as Maria Betrams, m. 1647], Regine Fetterin. Tragheim.

OTHER BERNSTEINDREHER

FRANZ TRETER

m.1. FRANCISCUS TRETER, *Bornsteindreher Gesell*, widow URSULA (widow of WILHELM ZOLLEN, formerly a *Rattstuben* [---] deceased 8 days ago in Löbenicht). Witnessed by Georg Werner. Exaudi 1634.

m.2. FRANTZ TRETER, *Bornsteindreger auff's Stein'*---, spinster ANNA (daughter of PETER BEERMAN/BURMAN, *Churfl. [--]schneider* from Königsberg. 17 Trinit. 1646. Altstadt.

Godchildren

JACOB HEISE, 1651 [poss.].

MICHAEL SCHNIPPERLING, 1653.

HANS THUROW

m. JOHANN THURAW, *Mitbuenger und Bornsteindreher uff's Stain'*---, spinster Maria Fußknecht (daughter of Matthes Fußknecht, a *Riemer*), 2nd Sunday after Epiphany 1649. Altstadt.

Death/burial 1 March 1654. Altstadt.