

The Playing-card

*Journal of the
International Playing-Card Society*



Volume 33, No.3
Jan-March 2005



THE PLAYING-CARD

Volume 33, No.3

January-March 2005

ISSN 0305-2133

Journal of The International Playing-Card Society

Editor:

Michael Cooper, Flat 1, 43 Aldwych, LONDON,
WC2B 4DN, Great Britain

E-mail: michael.cooper@pgen.net

The Editor welcomes the receipt of articles, reviews, queries, opinions and any other material intended for publication at the above address at any time.

CONTENTS

NEWS

From The Chairmans Desk.....	138
Letters to the Editor.....	139
IPCS Convention Turnhout 2005.....	143

REGULAR FEATURES

Book Reviews.....	144
New Issues.....	211
Notes and Queries.....	140
Playing the Game: Recent Books.....	146
Publications Roundup.....	142
Tarot Reviews.....	149

ARTICLES.

The Sicilian Trumps <i>by Michael Dummett.....</i>	156
Playing Cards and The Great Exhibition in London, 1851 <i>by John Thorpe.....</i>	161
American Indian Playing Cards of French and English Derivation <i>Virginia Wayland, Harold Wayland & Alan Ferg.....</i>	166
Maltese Playing Card Makers 1684-1750 <i>by Giovanni Bonello</i>	191
Whist-Regeln in Kontinentaleuropa bis 1800 <i>by Manfred Zollinger.....</i>	198

On the Front Cover: *Gambling for the Buck*, by John Mix Stanley (born 1814, died 1872), 1867. Oil on canvas. 20" tall, 15 7/8" wide (50 cm x 30 cm). Courtesy of the Stark Museum of Art, Orange, Texas. Acc. No. 31.23/11.

On the Back Cover: *Apache Playing Cards* collected at Fort Bowie, Arizona, 1875 (from a facsimile edition published by H & V Wayland, Pasadena 1972).

The opinions expressed in this journal are those of the individual contributors and do not necessarily represent those of the Editor or of the I.P.C.S.

From the Chairman's Desk

It is always good to receive feedback from members. We must thank K. Frank Jensen and Jean Verame for their suggestions published in our last issue (The Playing-Card, Vol. 33, No.2, pp. 63-4). While Frank complains about the long delay of publication set by a quarterly cycle and about the diversity of languages (!), Jean Verame suggests we should move the dates of our conventions to another period.

We have already explained the reasons why we have changed our publication scheme (The Playing-Card, Vol. 32, No.6, pp. 219). It is, as Frank recalls, mainly to lighten the Editor's burden - a bimonthly magazine is too much for a benevolent person and I know no society which publish so many issues a year without a professional help - and secondly to limit our general costs, particularly that of the mailing which has been wildly increasing over the past years. This is also why we did not chose to hire a professional studio to do the job: we simply couldn't afford it.

Frank is right: one side effect is to slow down the pace of discussion. But was discussion much more developed "before"? I don't think so. Our magazines, whatever their cycle of publication is, offer little opportunity for a real "on-line" discussion. For this the Internet forums are much more qualified, and there are some on playing cards and many more on the Tarot!

On the other hand members will not lose from the new system (in fact a return to tradition, since, until 1995 we have been publishing The Playing-Card on a quarterly basis). Not only they get more

pages in one issue (76 pages in the last issue) but they will receive more stuff during the year.

Now to Frank Jensen's second remark. Frank thinks English should be "the only relevant language in an international magazine". Here I feel personally concerned, particularly when Frank writes that he is "annoyed when contributors, whom I know can write a perfect English, supply their articles in a foreign language".

I know how frustrating it is to find an article on a specially interesting topic but which is written in a language that you can't read. However, the languages The Playing-Card has always accepted are in limited number: they are French, German, Italian and Spanish. I know editors who were avid to get articles in languages other than English because they felt it was this which gave the international touch to our magazine. This is also my view: if the IPCS deserves its "international" appellation it is because we have a multi-language - although largely dominated by English - publication. Similarly our series of monographs ("IPCS Papers") is open to different languages: No. 1 was in English, No. 2 was in German, No. 3 again in English, and No. 4, to be published soon, will be in French (with a long summary in English). I don't think an English-only society would be truly international.

Although he's an "old" and active member, Frank Jensen rarely shows up in Conventions. Maybe he has the same problem as Jean Verame: the dates do not fit his business agenda. (*continued opposite*)



LETTERS TO THE EDITOR



An Enigmatic Betrothal

Dear Sir,

An important point is overlooked regarding the interpretation of the picture by Lucas van Leyden (The Playing-Card, Vol.33 No. 2) of a group of singularly depressed looking people with some playing-cards.

Picture titles are rarely supplied by artists. They are chosen (and occasionally altered) by subsequent curators, auctioneers, historians etc. to suit their own beliefs and their own cataloguing and classification purposes.

From the start, Alexandra Nagel uses the term 'The Card Reader' as if it were the original title of the painting - thereby placing an unfair bias on that interpretation. If it were so, we would already know what the scene represents, and the scrutiny of peripheral mystical codes and symbols would not be necessary. It would be useful to know

when the fortune-telling association was first applied and by whom.

Yours faithfully,

Trevor Denning, Birmingham, UK
(Received 22nd Jan 2005)

Reply from Alexandra Nagel

No, I don't know the original title of the painting, but it is quite certain that it was not The Card Reader. The one and only other title that I came across was Philip the Good Consulting a Card Reader, or Maximilian of Austria Consulting a Fortune Teller, the first originally given to the drawing Figure 2 in Magasin Pittoresque. I remained using The Card Reader because it is the title used in all the literature I have read. Besides, I did not have a proper alternative, except the one I offer in the last paragraph. Mentioning the issue of the title in the article, in my opinion, would not have added additional, valuable information. (8th February 2005)

From The Chairman's Desk cont.

It is experience which makes mid-September the best time for our Conventions. We have tried other periods: Spring in 1986 (New Haven) and August in 1993 (Sweden), with limited success. It seems mid-September is the *least inconvenient* date: people can arrange holidays in September easily, more easily than in November or December which are more devoted to business. We also have to take the other national clubs into account: Cartophilia Helvetica meet in

late April, and BDK/Talon meet in late May/early June. October is a particularly "full" month with no less than two conventions: 52+Joker in the US and the Spanish Asescoin. We are left with the beginning of the year, from January to March, which, I am sure no one would seriously think of.

Worshipful Company of Makers of Playing Cards: The 2004 Master's Cards

From Mark Ladd, Master of the WCMPC 2004-5:

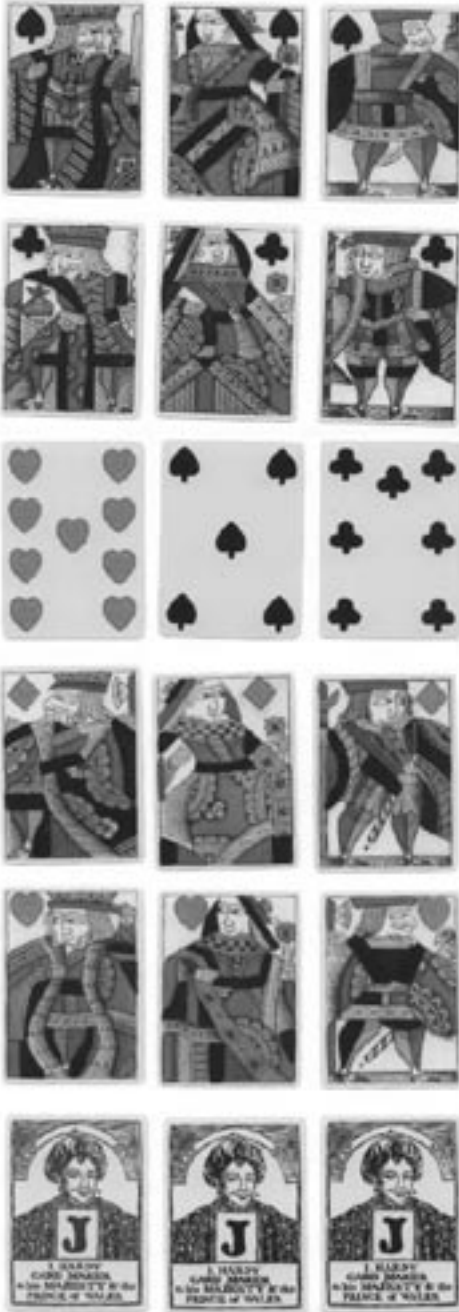
The design for 2004 cards selected by the Master celebrates the bicentenary of the Battle of Trafalgar. This is the second time this event has been celebrated by the Company. The 1905 cards were the first commemorative pack issued to celebrate an anniversary, the centenary of the Battle, and featured a portrait of Nelson, HMS Victory and the Arms of the Company used at the time.

This contemporary design features a different portrait of Nelson, HMS Victory and the Arms of the Company, granted in 1982. It also incorporates two modern "Trafalgar" features connected with the Company and the Master, HMS Turbulent, a "Trafalgar" class nuclear

submarine associated with the Company for several years, and the new Sainsbury Wing of the National Gallery in Trafalgar Square.

The faces are reproductions of a twin pack from the company's collection made around 1820 by the cardmaker I (James) Hardy who was Master of the Company in 1803-4 and so would have been a cardmaker at the time of Trafalgar. The packs contain a copy of the original Hardy Ace of Spades and the traditional Ace with the Master's picture.





Of course there were no jokers in Hardy's packs so the jokers are reproductions of the mark, "Great Mogul" possibly used by Hardy on the wrapper for his cards. Each manufacturer had to register his "mark" with the Company, originally for controlling the payment of duty but later, as at that time, it became a mark of quality.

The cards have been designed by Brad Baker, a specialist playing card illustrator, and printed by Richard Edward Limited, the only remaining wholly integrated UK card maker. The poker-sized cards are slightly larger than normal so as more closely to reproduce the original cards. The original cards were square cornered and 93x 65mm. whereas these cards are slightly smaller at 88 x 63 mm. (Illustrations courtesy of John Sings)

The Sicilian Trumps

From The Editor:

A part of the table in Michael Dummett's article The Sicilian Trumps published in the previous issue (The Playing Card 33(2) pp. 127-131) did not print. The cause of this seems to lie with an intermittent fault with the program used for making the tables within the PageMaker layout programme. I have reprinted the article in full in this issue so that the article can be read and understood in the manner the author intended. Extra pages were included to accommodate the reprinting of this article. I apologise to readers for this unfortunate event.

PUBLICATIONS ROUNDUP

REVIEWED BY PETER ENDEBROCK
Das Blatt No. 30 *The publication of the German group BubeDameKönig*
Number 30 of *Das Blatt*, came just in time for Christmas, and it has several interesting contributions again.

The first is an article by Sigmar Radau on playing-cards on the “Augsburger Monatsbilder”, a series of four paintings made around 1531, and showing urban life during the year in Augsburg at that time. They were most probably made in Jörg Breu’s (the Elder’s) workshop. The most interesting for playing-card enthusiasts is the first for January to March, although playing-cards are also shown in one of the others. Sigmar describes the cards shown and relates them to cards produced around that time. He explains why they resemble those of the “Augsburg pattern” recently described by Manfred Hausler. The following sections contain details about

the painter and about card making in Augsburg in the 16th century. The final section summarizes what we know about the games played at that time in Southern Germany.

A second article by Manfred Hausler tells about a law suit in Augsburg in 1623, where Leonhard Heckel was suited for having and playing with forged cards. The cards used are part of the file, and they look much like what we call vexing cards nowadays, so that it is very improbable that they were actually used for cheating. The cards were made from regular cards with the “Augsburg pattern”.



Detail from an “Augsburger Monatsbild”



A card from a criminal file in Augsburg

Then, Günther G. Bauer gives the rules for the game Viennese Trisette. He first cites a book from 1756, and afterwards relates that to rules from a book from 1786, from the time, when Mozart is known to have played that game.

Klaus Thiel then gives an overview of Black Peter games used for advertising. He shows and describes a lot of examples from the time 1890 to 1945, and in a second part from after 1945. The development of designs and their relation to the time are discussed.



Black Peter advertising Leiser shoes

Finally Rainer Sachs comments on Adolf Eiff's explanation for the "A" pattern on the gown of a playing-card as a logo used on the Ulm merchandise packaging (in the previous number of *Das Blatt*). In his opinion this has nothing to do with Ulm but is a sign often used during that time as an abbreviation for the Latin amor (or the French amour). He gives several examples where that sign can be found.

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convention itself will appear
with the next issue.



BOOK REVIEWS



Schweizer Spielkarten 2. *Das Tarockspiel in der Schweiz. Tarocke des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts im Museum Allerheiligen Schaffhausen.* By Max Ruh et al., 222pp, ISBN 3-907066-54-5.

REVIEWED BY PETER ENDEBROCK

This is the second catalogue in the new series *Schweizer Spielkarten*. It was published to accompany the exhibition "Tarock - Tarot" that was opened when the I.P.C.S. met in Schaffhausen last year. The catalogue has the Tarock cards in the Museum *Allerheiligen* in Schaffhausen as theme. There are five articles centred around Tarock in Switzerland.



first centuries of Tarock in Switzerland, and where the game was played. The relations of the cards used to those in the surrounding countries are shown. Next, John McLeod relates the Tarock games played in the different Swiss cantons and regions to those played in other European countries. The special rules used here are explained, and similar rules are compared. Possible historic relations are examined. The dialect of the Swiss region Surselva ("Surselvisch") has special expressions in conjunction with playing Tarock, and many of those are described by Felix Giger: "Mund, nar e bagat, juhè". Here again, the relations to Italian, German, and French Tarock are examined. Traditional Tarock cards were produced until recently by the playing-card factory Müller in Schaffhausen, and the history of those designs and packs is explained by Walter Haas. He also mentions the many Tarot packs produced by AGMüller, and I shall come back to that. Finally, an article by John McLeod again, with the rules for the traditional Swiss Tarock games, as played in the different regions of Switzerland. The first two articles are also printed in their original language (French for T.D., and English for J.McL.), and all articles have English and French abstracts.

The second part is the catalogue of the museum's Tarock packs from the 18th and 19th century, with 54 items, all illustrated in colour with their most important cards. The description might possibly be regarded as a bit sparse, but the main information is always given. I am not certain whether all of those packs were also in the exhibition, but that should not be the main concern:

The first article is by Thierry Depaulis, he gives a historical description of the



Claude Burdel, Freiburg, 1751

The catalogue gives a very good overview of Tarock cards in Switzerland, together with some packs from other countries, and it has a high value of its own.

The exhibition is still open until June 2005. Besides the packs described in the catalogue, many modern Tarot packs used for esoterics and fortune telling are shown. A lot of those were produced by AGMüller, who lead the Tarot market when it evolved.

You can buy the catalogue in the museum, or order it directly from there (**Museum zu Allerheiligen Schaffhausen**, Baumgartenstrasse 6, CH-8200 Schaffhausen). The price is SFr 40 plus p&p.



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Tel: 020 8349 2207,

Fax: 020 8346 9539

Mob 07768 292066

E-mail: yasha@compuserve.com

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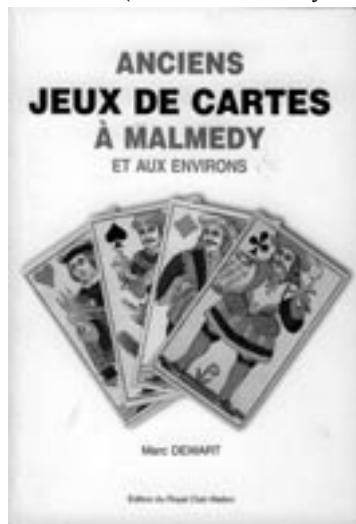
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Playing the Game: Recent Books

Marc Dewart: *Anciens Jeux de Cartes à Malmedy*

(Edition du Royal Club Wallon, Malmedy, 2004) FRENCH, 144pp



This excellent book is devoted to the card games played in and around the town of Malmedy in the south-east of Belgium. Most belong to the Couillon family, which was the subject of my last *Playing the Game* article in *The Playing-Card* Volume 33, No 2. Of particular interest is **La Brûte**, which is still played in Malmedy, and turns out to be closely related to the early 18th century Dutch **Volte-spel**. There are also chapters on **Le Couyon**, **La Gamèle**, **Le Houk-Foû**, and other local games. As well as tracing the history of these games up to the present day, and giving detailed explanations of their rules and variations, the author pays great attention to the Wallonian dialect expressions used by the players. Malmedy dialect is only distantly related to French, and the aspiring Brûte player will find himself dealing with expressions such as “*dju n’so nin namure*” (I have no

trumps) and “*kinte à stron du dj’vô*” (horse droppings: a sequence of 10-9-8-7). A 16-page glossary of dialect terms is provided as an appendix. The book is illustrated with photographs which convey some of the atmosphere of the games by depicting players past and present and places where they played, as well as some illustrations of playing-cards and scoring diagrams. The book is available from the Royal Club

Wallon, 4960 Malmedy, for 20 Euros, which can be sent by transfer to their bank account 792-5289634-82, IBAN: BE 25 7925 2896 3482, BIC: GKCCBEBB.



Tomáš Svoboda et al: *Oficiální Pravidla Karetních Her*

(Eminent, Prague, 2002) CZECH, 295pp

This is undoubtedly the best card game anthology that has been published in the Czech language. It begins with short chapters on the history of playing cards and on playing-card and card game terminology. The main part of the book provides descriptions of 327 card games, divided into 44 families of related games. The rules are set out in a terse format, which is most helpful for readers with only a sketchy knowledge of Czech! Each game description is preceded by a short introduction on

the history of the game and where it is played. Some readers may remember the principal author Tomáš Svoboda as the discoverer of the Trappola game **Stovkahra** which has survived in the Czech village Šumice in Romania (see *The Playing Card* Vol. 26 No. 2): this book describes no fewer than 11 Trappola games, past and present. There is of course an emphasis on Czech and Slovak card games, and many of the descriptions of these are based on first hand experience and original research, but a good international selection of games is also included. The index usefully specifies the number of players and type of cards required for each game. The book can be ordered from the publisher's web site www.eminent.cz, price 229 Kc.

Heinz Ronneberg: Skat ist Trumpf (Projektte Verlag, Halle/Saale, 2004)
GERMAN, 123pp

The first third of this book is devoted to the history of the German national card game Skat, its rules and organisation. Not content with accepting often repeated stories as fact, Heinz Ronneberg has taken some trouble to examine at first hand the available evidence about the origins of the game and the key people responsible for its dissemination and evolution in the 19th and 20th centuries. In the process he disposes of several myths and misconceptions. The largest part of the book deals with Skat strategy and tactics, and includes a discussion of the perennially popular but ultimately fruitless question of the proportion of luck and skill in the game. An unusual bonus is



a review of several of the Skat-playing computer programs that have appeared in recent years, none of which has yet reached the level of a competent human player. The book can be ordered from the publisher's web site www.projekte-verlag.de, price 24.60 Euro.

Antal Jánoska (editor):
Kártyakönyv (Golding,
Budapest, 2003) HUNGARIAN,
104pp

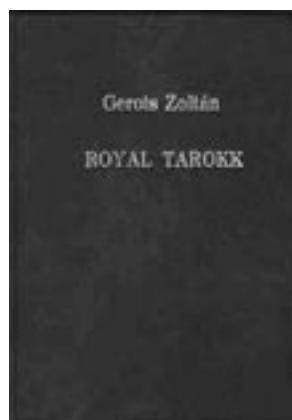
This book in A4 landscape format provides rules for 28 card games, including most of the popular Hungarian games (Rablóulti, Lórum, Zsírozás, Snapszer), but not Tarokk. The introduction acknowledges a debt to earlier publications, including the classic Nagy Kártyakönyv by Dr Mihály



Berend et al., the Kártyalexikon A-Z, and Gyula Zsigri's two card game books. It has copious attractive illustrations, which are mostly unrelated to the text. Many of the chapters begin with posed photographs of named people playing cards – at first I guessed they might be Hungarian celebrities but a Google search has so far failed to identify any of them, so maybe they are members of the editorial team testing the games. The publisher's web site is www.golding.hu, but since it has no on-line ordering facility it may be easier to obtain the book through the editor Antal Jánoska, who is an IPCS member.

Zoltán Gerots: Royal Tarokk (Budapest, 2002) HUNGARIAN, 113pp

Royal Tarokk is an extremely complex variation of Hungarian Tarokk, which was invented by Zoltán Gerots in 1985 and developed over the subsequent years. The aim was to provide a game that was suitable for tournament play: it is played between fixed partnerships and the scoring system strives to reduce the luck element and occasional large scores found in other forms of Tarokk. The enormous range and variety of possible announcements have made it possible to develop complex bidding systems, which partners use to exchange the information needed to undertake the most valuable contracts, known as trophies. The book gives the current rules of the game and some advice on bidding systems and play. It also chronicles the development of



the rules, and includes some past competition results, and the constitution of the Magyar Royal Tarokk Egyesület (Hungarian Royal Tarokk Union), from which the book can be obtained. Their address is Horánszky u.4, 1085, Budapest, Hungary.

K. FRANK JENSEN

Tarot Reviews

Gay Tarot *Lo Scarabeo*

First time I heard about Lo Scarabeo's gay tarot was when I visited them about 1½ years ago and the deck has now reached the market. In the accompanying booklet, a Lee Bursten states that "as an oppressed minority, often in danger of losing our jobs, our homes, our freedom, or even our lives because of our sexual identity, I believe gay men deserve a tarot deck, which can provide a non-threatening venue in which to explore issues of relationship and how to deal with a society whose attitudes toward homosexuality ranges from indifference to hostility".

"Gay Tarot" is kept in subdued tones with a very low colour intensity that almost makes it appear as if it was in grey tones only, in a drawing style similar to certain comic book stories. It is absolutely desexualised; those who expect to find sex scenes between male persons will be quite disappointed. At the most you will see two guys kissing and that on one card only out of 78, the Moon. The characters, of all ages and from different areas of life (among them the older, well-to-do politician type and the young, black guy with his skateboard), go through the entire deck. There is also the "caring person", whose mark is a turned around cap. Females are - almost - quite left out of the deck, except that the caring person (a main character in one of the stories told) is seen with the same small girl on several cards - could be his daughter - and on one card, the 3 of Wands, he is waving goodbye to a group which, besides the small girl, include a grown-up woman and a boy (his former family, perhaps). While the small girl is rendered in soft colours as all other characters are, the woman and boy are transparent, as were they only imaginations. This detail can, of course be interpreted in several ways, like much of the scenery can. My general impression of the deck is one of sadness and loneliness and an eternal longing after a different life. That is probably not what it is meant to express, but that is how I see it anyway. When I first looked through the cards, I found them rather boring, but a closer look revealed many interesting stories. It is a more profound deck than it immediately



appears to be. A contrast to the general, everyday life situations depicted on most cards are the traditional queens, which here are substituted by “guides” in the form of winged angels.

One detail I find annoying, not only with this deck but also in many others, is that what used to be a standard for tarot number cards, the appropriate number of suit marks incorporated in the design, has more or less disappeared. At best the suit marks are so intricately incorporated, that you have to look closely to find them. We have to depend on the title to see what card it actually is. Often does the illustrated situation not respond to the actual card’s traditional meaning either. From time to time I get the feeling that the illustrations were made for another purpose and just edited loosely for the deck.

I wondered about the statement of Lee Bursten that started this review. In my part of the world, like in many other Western countries, male homosexuality is no longer suppressed. On the contrary, gay people promote themselves and their lifestyle limitless through parades and in many other visible ways. Gay Tarot, Lo Scarabeo, Torino, Italy 2004 Design by Lee Bursten, art by Antonella Platano. 78 cards + title card + booklet. Cardboard case.

Brotherhood Tarot

Destiny, synchronicity or whatever else the reason is, caused that I, within a few weeks, received two tarot decks devoted to the lives of Gay people. One, “Gay Tarot” came from Catholic Italy and one “Brotherhood Tarot” from the stronghold of the Gay or “Radical Faeries” community in San Diego, California. So wide apart in origin and so different decks.

The “Brotherhood Tarot” was sent to me by its creator and publisher Pipa, who mentioned that Stuart R. Kaplan of USGames Inc. recommended him to do so. Taking into consideration that the majority of my reviews of decks from USGames are not overwhelmingly positive, I am still wondering, how it came to that. The declared purpose was to invent “...a tarot deck that would speak to the spiritual nature of gay men”. The “Brotherhood Tarot” is based upon digitally manipulated colour photographs by Patric

Stillman. The manipulation can be, for example, that a highlight is laid in here and there, a halo or shining rainbow colours are added, or skin colours changed from tanned to green. Compared to our days standard, the computer manipulation is not convincing.

We are right in sunny California in the middle of outdoors scenery in company



with men, exclusively men. While the Italian "Gay Tarot" gave us a few glimpses of the female gender, these guys here have eliminated women completely. "Them out of the picture; we are men and we are happy about that, we are ourselves, we are the world. We are of all ages (except young), some of us are in leather, many have tattoos, some are meditative, some play with weapons and fire, some shout, some fight. We are having fun and we want to expose it", could the manifesto be. Even more than in the Italian "Gay Tarot" the traditional suits of the tarot play only a minor part, if a part at all. This is just a series of 78 pictures. The page of Swords carries an axe, while the 6 of Swords has a staff. Confused? Most major arcana cards could just as well be number cards and vice versa. In a promotional paper, the editor states that, for example, the suit of Cups retells the story of Zeus's desire for Ganymede. That story



and others will be told in a book published later on. However, the book is not here yet, and if there are stories told, it is not obvious from the cards themselves. That the deck follows the structure of the so-called "Rider-Waite" is not obvious to me. Not that I would prefer it did so, but the creators state that it does.

When people make it a virtue to expose their sexual preferences, the question "What about eroticism in this deck" could justly be asked. Well, I am not the one to answer to what extent this deck has an explicit build-in sexuality that may appeal to someone. Personally, I find the nakedness exposed on some cards more laughable than anything else. Many have been tempted to create a photographic tarot but, with a few exceptions, they have not succeeded. It takes more than just dressing up a couple of amateur actors and then go outside shooting. Brotherhood Tarot, Oak Grove Oracle, San Diego, USA 2004. Limited edition of 2500 decks. 78 cards. Cardboard case. No booklet. www.oakgroveoracle.com

The Lover's Path Tarot Set

While Lo Scarabeo expresses exclusiveness in their gold stamped images, it seems to be a new trend for USGames to express the same through high quality boxes. Recently we saw their "Golden Tarot", a Waite-Smith remake; in the, so far, best box from USGames. With this new set, USGames have surpassed themselves. "The Lover's Path Tarot Set", consisting of a 78 cards tarot deck, an elaborate book and a "scroll", is contained in a beautiful, heavy cardboard case; the card deck itself has its own box, well secured within the outer box, a detail which so often is neglected.

The entire set is the work of the artist Kris Waldheer, well-known from her The



Goddess Tarot (1998). She conceived and illustrated the deck, she wrote the text and designed the layout of the box and book and, which I believe is the very first time that has happened with a tarot deck published by USGames, she kept the copyright herself. This indicates to me, that Stuart R. Kaplan considers this deck such a source of income that he has accepted to deviate from the usual practise of having the copyright transferred to USGames. Thanks to Ms. Waldheer for having broken that practise! Also on another note, it deviates from Kaplan's 2002 statement, that for USGames Inc, the deck itself is the important thing, "If the creator of a deck can't write a book him-/herself, we publish the deck and later, maybe, we can find one to make the book" (quoted as remembered). In this case we have an integrated product. The deck couldn't be without the book, the book not without the deck. If this deck is sold separately (a separate ISBN number and a booklet indicates, that it will be) the buyer certainly cheats her/himself.

So, what is it all about? It is all about love. An eternal and universal theme, that appeals to everyone and is an obvious theme for a tarot deck. It is not about a limited sphere of interest like Norse Mythology, Thai folklore, American Indians or whatever. It is about love. Romantic love, tragic love, unhappy love, fulfilled and unfulfilled love, as it is described in history and in literature. We meet them all, the famous lovers: Tristan and Isolde, Cleopatra and Ceasar, Orpheus and Eurydike, Arthur and Guinevere, Romeo and Juliet of course, and many more. The major arcana tells 22 such love stories and the minor suits use four of them to apply the stories to everyday life (leaving 18 to be treated at a later time?). Cups refer to Tristian and Isolde, staves to Siegfried and Brunnhilde, coins to Danae and Zeus and arrows to Cupid and Psyche. Love-related card spreads, keywords etc., are, of course, a part of this set. The enclosed scroll reveals when opened seven card spreads; one is called "The Burning Question".

Italian Renaissance images seem to be en vogue right now and in this case they are relevant; not only originated tarot in this period but many of the loves stories told did also or were used in art at the time. The 78 cards are of large size and the

space is well used. The decorated borders give an impression of looking in through a window, following the scenery that takes place inside. Seen from a design point of view, this pack is very well considered. The square book format is agreeable (why are not more books made in that format, which allow for better placement of illustrations following the text?). The whole set is consistently an aesthetic design work, which we rarely see in the realm of tarot. That I am not a 100% fan of Kris Waldher's art style and that I find the obvious Waite-Smith influence in the minors should have been evaded, is of less importance in this relation. One minor question: why are there not publication dates in the books and decks reference list? As readers of my reviews will know, it is not often that I am unconditionally positive to a deck from USGames. But in this case I am, due to the coherence between concept and design. The Lover's Path Tarot Set, USGames Systems Inc. USA 2004. Art, text and book design by Kris Waldheer. Large exclusive box. 78 large cards + title card + booklet+ scroll in a separate box. Book, 162 pages. Available from most specialist dealers and many bookshops. ISBN 1-57281-468-3 (card deck only www.loverspath.com.)

Golden Tarot of the Renaissance (Estensi-tarot)

In their series of elaborate tarot decks printed with gold, Lo Scarabeo have published a deck titled "Golden Tarot of the Renaissance". The deck is based upon the Estensi-tarot; the tarot, that for years was called "Charles VI tarot" and wrongly attributed to the French painter Jacquemin Gringonneur. The Estensi tarot, now attributed to an unknown artist of the Ferrara school, is kept in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, unfortunately in an incomplete condition since only 16 of the triumphs (majors) and one court card has survived. Lo Scarabeo's deck is based upon the surviving majors, while the 6 missing majors and all four minor suits are reconstructed by



Giordano Berti and executed by Jo Dworkin. With several existing majors from the same era, models for the trumps were not hard to find, while the reconstruction of the minors came to take a starting point in a series of frescoes painted for Duke Borso d'Este during 1469-71. These frescoes express the prevailing magical and astrological ideas of the late Middle Ages and Renaissance; the selection of details aiming at corresponding the motives with traditional mantic interpretations.

It can be discussed to which degree a work like this can said to be the first "complete copy" of a Ferrara tarot, as it is stated in the booklet. Historically seen, a true facsimile edition of the actual 17 cards in Bibliothèque National would have been more useful (but not saleable to the same degree, of course). The five language booklet that comes with the deck could have been more informative. Why is it, for example, not mentioned which 17 original cards have survived? Without prior knowledge of the images, it is not easy to judge which majors are original and which are remakes (which, of course, can be seen as a proof that the reconstruction was successful!). Information about the size of the original cards would also have been useful; Lo Scarabeo's deck is their standard size, while the surviving original cards undoubtedly are much larger. Anyway, a complete Ferrara tarot pack or not, it is a very nice deck; very well made, card titles and numbers are discretely placed so as not to disturb the images. The gold (on the box the technique is called "gold stamped") has the same type of pattern as the original cards and intensifies the feeling of a costly deck (which it is not). Golden Tarot of the Renaissance/Estensi Tarot, Lo Scarabeo, Torino, Italy 2004 Design by Giordano Berti, artwork by Jo Dworkin. 78 cards + title card + booklet. Cardboard case.

Blue Moon Tarot

Blue Moon Tarot is a major arcana deck self-published in 2001 and, due to a stated great demand from tarotists, again in 2004. The 2004 edition is limited to 1000 signed and numbered decks. The artist and publisher, Julie Cuccia-Watts, has long been known on the US tarot scene, being the creator of the multicultural "Ancestral Path



Tarot", where each suit covered a certain culture during a certain period; the suit of swords, for example, the feudal period in Japan. That deck was published by US Games Systems Inc. back in 1990.

The artist comments herself the publication of the second edition of her "Blue Moon Tarot, with... "For all of you who prefer your Tarot served up dark and serious, here is what you have been waiting for". I have not exactly been waiting for this deck, but I'm not a feministic minded USA-tarotist either, which is the target audience for this deck. Dark it is, admittedly. I would rather say that it has harsh colours in an art style that doesn't appeal to me. "Serious" and "Vibrantly alive", an expression the deck creator also uses, well, it depends on the audience, to which I do

not belong. The artwork is also rather incongruent; some scenes are acceptable while others are directly repulsive. That might be part of the game though.

The structure of the Blue Moon Tarot does not follow the usual tarot structure, it is based upon the lunar calendar, a concept the artist states came to her in a dream. Included in the deck are twelve cards representing the full moon in each of the zodiacal signs; the thirteenth moon of the year is represented by the Moon-card itself. Four cards represent the equinoxes and solstices. Another four cards are the seasonal Beltaine, Lammas, Halloween and Candlemas. That leaves one card, which is The World. This intricate structure is explained in detail in the 45 pages booklet that comes with the deck. That the deck is in demand in USA is obvious. It is now out of stock by most distributors, but still not impossible to find. Try Google to find a possible supplier, if you want to spend the \$50 the book/deck set sells for.



Frosch Tarot (Frog Tarot)

The next deck, "Frosch Tarot", in Michael Kutzer's series of tarot decks based upon the world of animals, has just become available. The series is now called "Cudahy Tarot" after the place in Wisconsin/USA, where Kutzer lives for the time being. Like the preceding deck ("Elefanten Tarot", reviewed in TPC#2/2004) this is a signed and limited edition of 32 decks only. Again, we have 78 small collectible pieces of art, all showing aspects in the lives of frogs which, at least it looks so, is not so different from that of human beings. The production was again taken exemplary care of by Susan Arenz, who printed the cards in delicate tones on a heavy watercolour cardboard, using a jet-ink printer.



Afterwards they were trimmed and corners rounded by hand. A simple box made in the same material. All hand manufactured and nice to look at and easy to store for the collectors, who are the potential customers for tarot decks of this sort. Available from www.tarotgarden.com or directly from the producer at caitlina@citylink.com. Price around \$135.

**TAROT REVIEWS CONTINUES
ON PAGE 215**



The Sicilian Trumps

At one period during the 1960s, Sylvia Mann and I used to meet regularly once a month for lunch in London in order to exchange news and views about playing cards and card games. I vividly recall my astonishment when, one day, she placed on the table for my inspection a Tarocco siciliano. I had not known that the game of tarocchi was played in Sicily; the cards were of a very small size; the suit cards were of Portuguese type, with Maids (*Donne*) as the lowest court figures of all the suits, and intersecting Batons and straight intersecting Swords on the numeral cards, but with no dragon on the sole Ace, the Ace of Coins (*Denari*); there were trumps numbered from 1 to 20, with many unusual subjects; and a card, *la Miseria*, whose role I could not guess.

On the first of what were to be very many visits to Sicily, I met players of the game and learned that the Ace of Coins was not used in the game, but had been an addition to the pack in order to bear the tax stamp. I learned also the point-values of the cards and that the *Miseria* was the lowest trump, with no point-value, and ranking below the trump 1.

This in itself was an amazing thing. The trump 1 of the Sicilian pack is generally known as *i Picciotti* (the lads). It corresponds pictorially and in play to the Bagatto of other Tarot packs (it is occasionally called *i Bagotti*). In the Bolognese game there are eight cards with the highest point-value, being worth 5 points each: the two top trumps, the Angel and the World; the lowest trump, not even notionally numbered, and formerly called the *Bagattino*; the Fool (Matto); and the four Kings. The Matto serves to excuse its holder, when he plays it, from following suit or playing a trump: it has no power to win a trick, but also cannot be captured, being taken back by the player and added to those he has won in previous tricks. In all other games in which the Fool retains this role, whether played north of Bologna or outside Italy, the cards with the highest point-value of 5 points are the four Kings, the highest-ranking trump, the Fool and the lowest trump, the Bagatto, numbered 1. The point-system in Sicily is very different. The highest point-value of 10 points is reserved to the top trump, the Giove, numbered 20, the Picciotti, numbered 1, and the Fuggitivo, corresponding to the Fool. Each of the four Kings and each of the trumps 19, 18, 17 and 16 is worth 5 points. But it remains extremely surprising that there should be a trump below the trump 1 and lacking any point-value.

In the XVIII century the marchese di Villabianca, who wrote voluminously on every aspect of Sicilian life, composed a handwritten *opuscolo* on games, in which there is an entry on Tarocchi. This gives much information about the history of the game and of the cards in Sicily. Villabianca dates its introduction to 1662, and credits it to the then Viceroy, Francesco Gaetani. He says that he himself used to play, but has given up because his eyesight has become weak.

The sequence of trumps in the Sicilian pack runs as follows:

20	<i>Giove</i> (Jupiter)
19	<i>la Palla</i> (the Ball)
18	the Sun
17	the Moon
16	the Star
15	the Tower
14	<i>il Vascello</i> (the Ship)
13	Death
12	the Old Man (= the Hermit)
11	the Hanged Man
10	the Wheel of Fortune
9	the Chariot
8	Love
7	Justice
6	Fortitude
5	Temperance
4	Constancy
3	the Emperor
2	the Empress
1	i Picciotti
.	<i>la Miseria</i>

Trump 19 shows Atlas holding up the celestial globe; it is sometimes called *l'Atlante* (Atlas). Until the Modiano version was issued, the Old Man on trump 12 held, not a lamp, but an hourglass; he is not really a hermit. The older standard pattern for the Sicilian Tarot pack, which we may call STI, was replaced in about 1850 by a new pattern, which we may call STII; the current Modiano pack is a reasonably faithful descendant of it. In STI the Miseria is called LA POVERTA. Also, the banner held by the figure on trump 4 is inscribed LA COSTANZA, which enables us to identify the subject.

For comparison, I set out the trump order in other packs used in Bologna and points south.

<u>BOLOGNA</u>	<u>FLORENCE</u>	<u>MINCHIATE</u>	<u>ROME</u>	
The Angel	The Angel	The Trumpets	21	?
The World	The World	The World	20	?
The Sun	The Sun	The Sun		
The Moon	The Moon	The Moon		
16 The Star	The Star	The Star		
15 The Tower	The Tower	15 The Devil's House		

BOLOGNA	FLORENCE	MINCHIATE	ROME
14 The Devil	The Devil	14 The Devil	
13 Death	Death	13 Death	
12 Hanged Man	Hanged Man	12 Hanged Man	
11 Old Man	12 Old Man	11 Old Man	
10 Wheel	11 Wheel	10 Chariot	11 Wheel
9 Fortitude	10 Chariot	9 Wheel	10 Chariot
8 Justice	9 Fortitude	8 Justice	
7 Temperance	8 Justice	7 Fortitude	
6 Chariot	7 Temperance	6 Temperance	
5 Love	6 Love	5 Papa 5	6 Love
Pope	5 Pope	4 Papa 4	5 Sultan
Popess	4 Emperor	3 Papa 3	
Emperor	3 Empress	2 Papa 2	
Empress	2 Popess		
Bagattino	1 Bagatto	1 Papa Uno	1 Bagatto

In the Bolognese pack, the Pope, Popess, Emperor and Empress, called collectively *Papi* (Popes), were all equal in rank (as are the Moors by which they were replaced). In 1662 none of the Bolognese trumps were as yet numbered; that occurred only in the later XVIII century. The Florentine order is taken from the Rosenwald sheet in Washington. In the Minchiate pack there are twenty additional numbered trumps between trump 15 and the Star. 'The Trumpets' (*le Trombe*) is simply another name for the Angel; the card shows an angel blowing two trumpets and, with wings outspread, flying over a city. 15 the House of the Devil corresponds to the Tower. Papa 5 shows the standard depiction of Love, while Papa 4, Papa 3 and Papa 2 correspond to, and were adapted from, the Pope, the Emperor and the Empress respectively. There is no card corresponding to the Popess. Papa Uno shows a standard representation of the Bagatto. The Roman pack we know only from two fragmentary survivals. Of the 21 and 20 only the tops survive, showing the tops of two heads; but the presence of the 21 demonstrates that there was no unnumbered card below the trump 1. Almost certainly the three Virtues would have figured as trumps 7, 8 and 9. The Sultan on trump 5 replaces the Pope. Trumps 2-4 may have represented a Sultana together with the usual Emperor and Empress, or, perhaps, three other Moorish figures. When in 1725 the Papal Legate ordered Bolognese cardmakers to replace the four *Papi* by four Moors, he may have had the thought "as we do in Rome".

In the Bolognese pack, the Virtues come as a group above the Chariot. In Florence (and presumably in Rome) they have been placed lower, just above Love. In the Sicilian pack they come lower still, just below Love.

The cards whose presence in the Sicilian pack need explaining are 20 Jupiter, 19 Atlas, 14 the Ship, 4 Constancy and, of course, la Miseria. To these we may add 11 the Hanged Man, who is not hung by the foot from a gallows but by the neck from a tree, and 15 the Tower, which is neither burning nor being struck by lightning. Also to be explained are the figures on trumps 16-18 (Star, Moon and Sun).

What is at first sight the most puzzling, 14 the Ship, is in fact the most easily explained, because Villabianca gives the explanation. The Ship occupies the place at which we should expect to find the Devil. Villabianca tells us that in his youth trump 14 had shown the Devil, but that, in about 1750, Rosalia Caccamo, duchess of Casteldaci, had the Devil replaced by the Ship. The image of the Ship is obviously borrowed from trump XXI of the Minchiate pack. Villabianca explains that the Viceroy Francesco Gaetani, duke of Sermoneta, introduced the game of Minchiate into Sicily at the same time as Tarocchi. It was called 'Gallerini' in Sicily because the word "Minchiate" had there an obscene connotation, which it evidently did not have at that time in Rome or Florence. According to Villabianca, ordinary Tarot cards were sometimes known as "piccoli Gallerini". The game of Gallerini, played in a somewhat different way from Florentine Minchiate, died out in Sicily during the XVIII century, but survived in Genoa, where it was taken by Sicilian immigrants, until the 1930s. It has been a disappointment to me that I have never succeeded in discovering people there who used to play it.

The present harmless appearance of the Tower is also to be explained as an alteration made by the duchess Rosalia Caccamo. In a bit of the *opuscolo* which is now damaged and very hard to read, Villabianca says that in his youth trump 15 showed "*il novissimo dell'...*"; the last word is illegible, and I am unsure what it could be. Villabianca further says that the duchess had its subject changed into the Tower. Traditionally, trump 15 was sometimes known as 'the House of the Devil' or 'the House of the Damned', and occasionally outright as 'Hell'; Minchiate trump 15 shows a devil emerging to drag a woman down to hell. I suppose that it was something of this sort that the duchess replaced by the Tower as we now have it. Villabianca states that she paid the expense for the change of subject in trumps 14 and 15; I suppose that she paid cardmakers to make new wood blocks incorporating the new designs.

Trump 11, the Hanged Man, is probably susceptible of a simple explanation. In STI it is shown as a man hanged by the neck from a gallows -- executed, not lynched, as in STII. The card in other packs was generally known by the ordinary word for 'executed by hanging' (*l'Impiccato*). Presumably the custom of painting men hanged by the foot as a symbol of the execration of a traitor, well known in Rome, Milan and, above all, Florence, whose history is traced by Gherardo Ortalli in his book *La Pittura infamante*, was not known in Sicily; if so, it would have been natural to depict on the card a man hanged in the usual way. That is a much more

sensible thing than turning the design the other way up.

The top two cards of the Sicilian pack, with their classical subjects, are puzzling. We should expect to find the Angel as the highest trump and the World as the second highest. They have been changed by people with classical tastes. Atlas holding up the celestial globe is a comprehensible classicisation of the World; but Jupiter, as shown in STII, seated with his eagle on the ground beside him, bears no resemblance to the Angel. In STI, however, Jupiter is shown embracing Ganymede and riding on his eagle, which, with wings outspread, flies over a city. This has a definite resemblance to the highest trump, le Trombe, of the Minchiate pack, of which it is a classicisation. I believe that further classical references are to be found on trumps 18, 17 and 16. The figure of a man attacking another with a club on trump 18 (the Sun) may represent Romulus killing Remus. I think that trump 17 (the Moon) may show Diana looking at the sleeping Endymion. Finally, the figure on trump 16 (the Star) may be Alexander the Great on his horse Bucephalus. I take all these classical allusions, probably added soon after the Tarot pack was introduced into Sicily, as evidence that at first the game was played in the island amongst the nobility. We know that in the next century it was played by the duchess Rosalia Caccamo and by the marchese di Villabianca himself. Who but a member of the nobility would have had such classical tastes, and the authority or the money to effect the alteration?

That leaves Constancy and the Miseria or Povertà to be explained. The Viceroy probably brought the Tarot pack to Sicily from Rome. Suppose that it arrived with the Emperor, Empress and two Moorish figures on the four cards above the trump 1. Norman Sicily had been a truly multicultural realm, with Greek and Arab civil servants and artists in high favour at the court. But by 1662 there was probably much hostility towards Muslims, none of whom remained in the kingdom. What more likely than that the Sicilians wanted to replace the two Moorish figures? For the other they substituted a fourth virtue though it is surprising that they chose Constancy rather than the fourth cardinal virtue, Prudence. For the other they substituted Poverty, and placed it *below* the trump 1 as the lowliest of all the trump subjects. That was a very eccentric thing to do: but lack of originality is not a charge that anyone is likely to level against Sicilians.

Acknowledgements. The identification of the subjects on trumps 18, 17 and 16 were suggested to me by Signor Allegri, my wife and Professor Millar respectively.

JOHN THORPE

Playing Cards and The Great Exhibition in London, 1851

The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations was devised by the Society of Arts of which H.R.H. Prince Albert was the President. With the help of Henry Cole, an enthusiastic Committee member, who was

a designer as well as the organiser of a number of modest exhibitions in the previous years for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, the Society set about staging a competition for the design of a building to house the exhibits. However no submissions were thought suitable and eventually Joseph Paxton, who had been designing glass structures for over 20 years, and whose major work was the Great Conservatory at Chatsworth which he had created for the Duke of Devonshire, suggested a design in glass after visiting the proposed site in Hyde Park. The design was laid before the Royal Commissioners and submitted to Buckingham Palace, and, when the area covered was found



Henry Cole c. 1870

to include a number of great trees a circular roof was contrived that included the trees without damaging the design, knowing that the site would be cleared within seven months after the close of the Exhibition. It was decided to entrust the construction to Mr William Cubitt, the President of the Civil Engineers' Institution, and the contractors were Messrs Fox and Henderson. It was also agreed that half the building should be offered to foreign countries, and the other half reserved for Great Britain and her colonies.

The Superintendent of the Works for the exhibition was Owen Jones; a talented architect and designer who had a long association with the playing-card maker and advertising printer, De La Rue, and designed many of the backs of De La Rue's playing cards and also other printed advertising items. As Superintendent of Works, Owen's tasks included the decoration of the Crystal Palace, as well as the arrangement of the displays. Owen chose the primary colours red, yellow and blue for the interior painting and was initially heavily criticized but, after completion, the decoration was much praised with similarities to the effects in the paintings of Turner. The opening ceremony took place on the 1st of May graced by Her Majesty Queen Victoria, who was accompanied by H.R.H. Prince Albert and other members of the Royal Family. The closing day was the 15th of October after the Exhibition had been open for just over five months.



Left: Design of the Exhibition building; Right: 1851 photograph of the Exhibition building

In the English part of the Exhibition Messrs De La Rue & Co. displayed playing cards with ornamental backs of flowers, fruits, and ornaments, from drawings by Owen Jones; among them a series of four with interwoven monograms of H.M. The Queen, H.R.H. Prince Albert, H.R.H. the Prince of Wales, and H.R.H. the Princess Royal; the monograms in each being surrounded with groups of flowers executed in chromolithography. The rose and hawthorn, typical of youth and beauty, surrounded the monogram of Her Majesty; H.R.H. Prince Albert was appropriately represented by the holly, the ivy, and the oak as celebrated at Christmas; the fuchsia and daisy expressed the childhood of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales; and the primrose, the violet, and the lily, the innocence, modesty, and beauty of H.R.H. the Princess Royal. Each described according to the Victorian language of flowers. Packs of the cards were advertised for sale in the *London Illustrated News* in 1851 as 'Royal Illuminated Playing Cards' at a price of 'Two Guineas the set of four patterns or singly 10s 6d the pack'. In terms of today's money, based on inflation of the Retail Price Index, the set of four packs would have cost the astonishing sum of £150.



De La Rue playing-cards exhibited at the Great Exhibition. Left: Floral design for Queen Victoria; Centre: design for the Prince of Wales; Right: Design for Prince Albert

Messrs De La Rue also had some playing cards adapted for nearsighted people, the pips being in different colours; i.e. the spades in black, the clubs in green, the hearts in red, and the diamonds in pale blue. These coloured cards were suggested by Sir Frankland Lewis. Messrs De La Rue's playing cards, called Victoria cards, were outstanding for their finish, the quality of the paper and the printing, and the design and colouring on the backs.

But what can be discovered about the Messrs De La Rue playing cards as described in John Berry's catalogue of the Phillips Collection housed in Guildhall for the Worshipful Company of Makers of Playing Cards? Item No.203 is identical to the cards in the Victoria & Albert Museum catalogue showing an oval coat of arms of Queen Victoria above that of Prince Albert which is believed to have been reissued double-ended for the 1851 Great Exhibition. But it is item No. 1028 that John Berry states is hitherto unknown as these two cards are samples of a much wider card with the coat of arms appearing circular rather than oval, and the possibility is that these could have been on display and the larger design offered to H.M. Queen Victoria by Messrs De La Rue for her own private use. Indeed in 'The House of De La Rue' published on the occasion of the 150th Anniversary

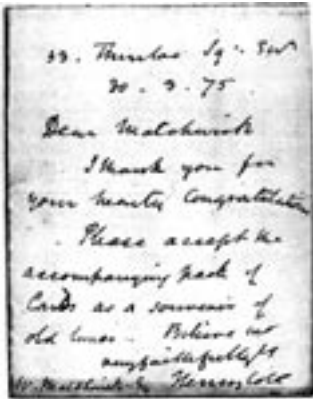


Card back design
(JB#1028) for the private
use of Queen Victoria

in 1963, it is stated that this design was subsequently reserved by Royal Command. Mr Whittaker of London also contributed some single playing cards with various patterns as examples but none exhibited were made up into packs of cards.

There were several exhibitors from foreign countries on display:- From France M. Blaquiere of Paris showed some playing cards with pips in different colours, and M. Hulot showed some court cards electrotyped. From Belgium M. Daveluy of Bruges showed some cards supposedly printed by a new process. From Frankfurt C.L.Wust exhibited some cards with defined backs printed in register, while M.Reuter of Darmstadt had some printed with oil colours. Other exhibitors of playing cards included M.Frommann of Darmstadt; H.L.Schnapper of Offenbach; G.Steiger of Vienna; Heurlin of Stockholm; and L.P.Holmblad of Copenhagen. In addition there were circular cards in the Indian Department, which were strongly varnished on both sides.

In the year of the exhibition, 1851, it was stated that the number of duty cards sold was 226,576 and 281,106 packs for export. It would have been more but permission to reissue second-hand playing cards had been retained in deference to those by whom clubhouses were supplied, the cards when once being played with becoming perquisites of the servants, who obtained a certain price from the original vendor, by whom they were again sold. As a result no person was allowed to manufacture playing cards in England except in the cities of London and Westminster, and in the city of Dublin in Ireland; manufacture being prohibited in Scotland. The duty being over 200 per cent on the cost of manufacture of the cards, besides the duty on the paper, as the board for the playing cards used in England consisted of four



Letter of 1875 from Henry Cole giving a pack of 'International' cards to the correspondent

sheets of paper. Any finished cards were then sorted and labelled 'Moguls' (best quality), with the seconds or slightly defective being marked 'Harrys', and those that were most defective being 'Highlanders'. The duty and export Aces were printed at Somerset House, on paper furnished by the card makers, engraved by Messrs Perkins & Co., and sent by them to the Inland Revenue Office.

The final profit from the Exhibition helped to promote industry and many of the exhibits can still be seen in the complex of buildings and institutions that were erected afterwards alongside the Victoria & Albert Museum in Exhibition Road. Henry Cole built up the public collection of art that became the V & A. He had designed the first Christmas card in 1843, and the International pack of playing cards that celebrated the Royal Wedding in 1874, as well as assisting Sir Rowland Hill in setting up the Uniform Penny Postage scheme in 1840. He was made a Companion of the Bath as well as being nominated to the Legion of Honour and knighted in 1875. He eventually died in 1882 at the age of 73.

At the end of the Great Exhibition the Crystal Palace was dismantled piece-by-piece and reassembled in south London at Sydenham as a permanent exhibition centre. It opened in 1854 with extra transepts. Owen Jones was involved in the re-erection process and designed new Egyptian, Greek, Roman and Alhambra courts; the latter being a recreation of the Moorish palace in Granada and condensed into a few rooms



The Exhibiton building after re-erection in Sydenham and then known as the Crystal Palace

a version of the famous Court of the Lions. A fire in the palace in 1866 destroyed the north transept which had housed Jones's court. The palace continued to draw the crowds but went bankrupt in 1911 and was finally destroyed by fire in 1936. All that is left are some terraces, a public park, a dinosaur park and a railway station that originally served as a gateway for the masses of people that visited from London to remind us of the amusements and the wonderful firework displays that brightened the world in the Crystal Place.

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VIRGINIA WAYLAND, HAROLD WAYLAND & ALAN FERG

American Indian Playing Cards of French and English Derivation

With the arrival of Europeans in the New World came packs of paper playing cards. American Indian groups in contact with Spaniards had ready access to Spanish-suited printed cards, but when periodic hostilities stifled trade relations, a few tribes began making their own cards, notably Chiricahua and Western Apaches, in the North American Southwest (Figure 1, opposite), and Araucanians, in Chile in South America. Illustrations of cards made by these groups can be found in various publications (Apache: McCoy 1984; Wayland 1961a, 1961b, 1962, 1972a, 1972b, 1973; Araucanians: Mann 1990:Vol. I:180-181; Martinic 1992, 1994; Wayland and Wayland 1986). These cards were hand painted on rectangles cut from rawhide, with designs that, initially, were careful renditions of Spanish forty-card packs, containing numeral cards One (Ace) through Seven, and Court cards of Rey (King), Caballo (Horseman or Knight), and Sota (Page) in the suits of Coins, Cups, Swords, and Clubs. As artist copied artist, the designs began to drift from the Spanish templates and exhibit more and more native designs and attributes. Eventually, the suit symbols on Apache and Araucanian rawhide cards became largely unrecognizable as Coins, Cups, Swords, and Clubs, and the human figures on the Court cards were depicted in an essentially pre-Spanish style of native anthropomorphs, as painted on ceremonial hides, weapons, and clothing, as well as in rock art (Figure 2, overleaf).

From 1959 to 2000, the senior authors researched cards made by American Indians in North America. They located well over one hundred packs of rawhide cards made by Chiricahuas and Western Apaches, and a half-dozen more made by a few other Southwestern tribes, also based on Spanish/Mexican paper cards and designs. All of these cards are the subject of a separate, detailed study (Wayland, Wayland, and Ferg n.d.). Only six other packs of cards have been found that were made by American Indian tribes outside the Southwest: three packs appear to be derived from French/English-suited paper cards, while the origins of the other three remain unknown. These six packs are the subject of this article.

Card Playing amongst the Indians

Indian groups along the Middle and North Atlantic coast, near the Great Lakes, and on the Great Plains encountered primarily French, English, Dutch, Swedish, and ultimately American soldiers, colonists, and pioneers. All of these Europeans used paper cards bearing the French/English pattern, commonly



Figure 1: Map showing places and tribes mentioned in the text. Drafted by Ron Beckwith.

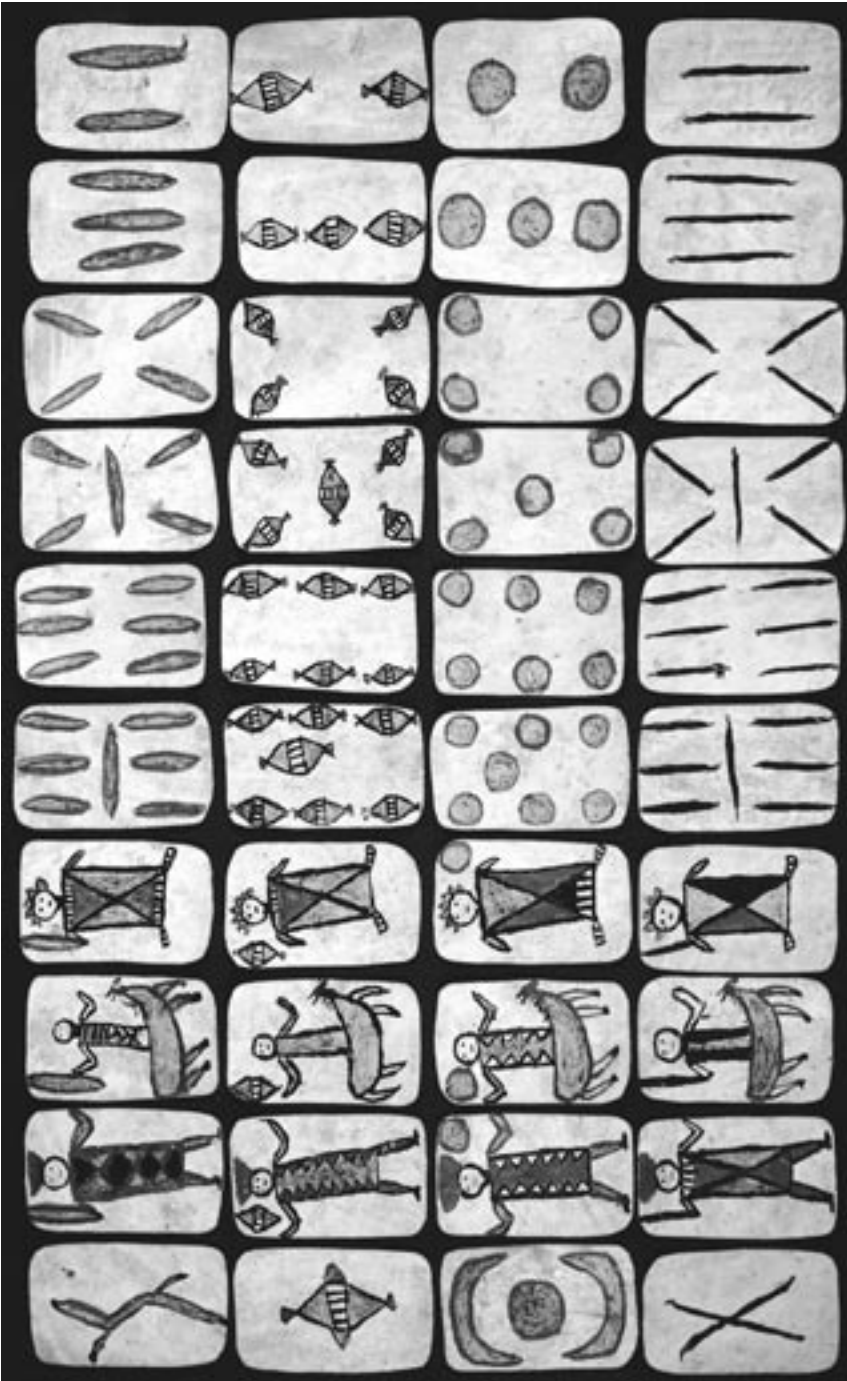


Figure 2: Western Apache Cards, Rawhide, paint. 3 7/8" tall, 2 1/4" wide (9.3 cm x 5.8 cm). Obtained on the San Carlos Indian Reservation on May 18, 1885 by Mrs. Robert Brent. This is a typical pack of Western Apache cards modeled on Spanish and Mexican forty-card, printed paper Monte packs, with Apache renditions of the Spanish/Mexican suit symbols of (top to bottom) Clubs, Cups, Coins, and Swords. Courtesy of the Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, Tucson. Cat. No. E-3705. Photograph by Helga Teiwes.

known today as "Bridge cards," with a pack usually consisting of fifty-two cards divided into the four suits of ♥ Hearts, ♦ Diamonds, ♠ Spades, and ♣ Clubs. Each suit has a King, Queen, Jack, and numeral cards One (Ace) through Ten. Early records of European card playing and gambling are often related to the censure of those activities. In 1619, on the North Atlantic Coast, the Virginia Assembly found it necessary to enact prohibitions against gambling with dice and cards. It ruled that the lucky winners should lose all their winnings and that both winners and losers were to be fined ten shillings: "one ten shillings whereof to go to the discoverer and the rest to charitable and pious uses" (Joint Committee on the State Library 1874:20). The stern Puritans a bit farther north were, of course, not supposed to have cards, even for a friendly game. Records of the Boston court for 1630-1631 reveal that there were those who transgressed:

It is likewise ordered that all persons whatsoever that have cards, dice, or tables [boards for chess or checkers] in their howses, shall make away with them before the nexte Court, under paine of punishment (Shurtleff 1853:84).

From the 1800s onward, there is a fairly steady stream of documentary evidence that various Indian tribes were using cards for gambling. If the cards had been of native manufacture, such an unusual fact would likely have been reported by early travelers. Thus we assume that the Indians had acquired printed paper cards of the French/English type.

François Victor Malhiot was a French Canadian who was scarcely 15 when in 1804-1805 he was given charge of a North West Company trading post south of Lake Superior. Among the goods in stock when he arrived was a pack of cards. Later, in a statement of goods received, he reported three packs of cards. Malhiot indicated that the Indians spent a good deal of their leisure time at the trading post (Malhiot 1910:165, 178, 182, 221), and presumably they saw, and perhaps participated in, many a card game.

Colonel George Boyd was the Indian Agent at Mackinac (in modern day Michigan) between 1817 and 1831. He reported that Chippewas played cards but that they were not so fond of card games as they were of their own games (Kinietz 1947:vii, 91).

Caleb Atwater was a Commissioner sent out in 1829 by the U.S. government to the Upper Mississippi Valley. He writes (Atwater 1831:117-118):

Gambling is very common among the Indians. On visiting the camp of the Winnebagoes...I found nearly every individual of mature age, engaged in some sort of a game. The young men were playing...with exactly such cards as our gambling gentry use...The game of cards must have been introduced among them, by the white men...

In 1835 I. I. (or J. J.) Ducatel visited the American Fur Company trading post at Lapointe, Wisconsin Territory, on Lake Superior. Two thousand Indians were gathered for the annual payment for land bought from them in Wisconsin and Michigan. Ducatel described the scene (1877:361, 362, 367, 368):

The Indians...have combined [invented] a game of cards (ahthadewenog) which

is said by those who play it to be full of interest and ingenuity...Cards were introduced among them by the British and American traders.

Again in 1855, in the description of the annual payment to Chippewas of Lake Superior, an agent of the United States government reported that the Fond du Lac bands had learned to play cards (“brag and poker”) from Europeans (Morse 1857:346, 347).

Maximilian, Prince of Wied, traveled from Germany to visit the interior of North America. Along the Upper Missouri River in 1833, in what is now North Dakota, the Prince noted that:

Card-playing has not yet reached these [Mandan] Indians, though it is in use among the Osages and other tribes (Maximilian 1843:358).

Several American artists traveled among the Indians in the 1800s and recorded their impressions in sketches and paintings. One of these, John Mix Stanley, painted at least five canvases showing Indians playing cards [1]. In *Gambling for the Buck*, shown on the front cover, Stanley depicts three men gambling for a deer that they have just killed, with cards bearing French/English suit symbols. The men’s shirts are of a Northern Plains or Upper Missouri style, and are probably based on a garment that Stanley collected and depicted repeatedly in other paintings (Penney 2002). Trenton and Houlihan (1989:121) note that the clothing and objects in this painting appear to be a melange drawn from various tribes, suggesting it was not a scene that Stanley actually witnessed, but rather was meant to evoke a generalized eastern Great Plains setting, perhaps in western Minnesota or the eastern Dakotas.

All of the cards seen by these northern travelers were probably the commercially printed paper variety, obtained from Europeans. Nevertheless, three Indian-made decks of cards were discovered. Two use French/English suit symbols and motifs, and the third appears to have been derived from that pattern. They are very different from Apache rawhide cards in that one is painted on birchbark rectangles (Ojibwa), and two are fashioned on thin wood slats (Eskimo and Blackfoot). Whether these packs are each unique to their respective cultures, made perhaps as tourist art or commissioned by collectors, or whether additional examples will be found, is unknown.

Ojibwa Cards

A group of fifty-two cards (Figure 3, overleaf) was accessioned by the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation (now National Museum of the American Indian [NMAI], Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.) in 1917 and catalogued as “Pack of 52 birchbark playing cards, made in imitation of white man’s pack with stamp. Ojibwa. Purchase.” Nothing further is known about where George Heye obtained these cards. Six of the cards were previously published in a popular article about Native American objects (Anonymous 1961:48).

Ojibwas once occupied the western Great Lakes area. They first encountered

French fur traders in the 1600s and were in regular contact with French and American traders throughout the 1700s. Most recorded Chipewyan/Ojibwa terms related to cards are actually loan words from French (Haas 1968), so it seems clear that French fur trappers first introduced playing cards to the Ojibwas (Table 1).

English	Yellowknife Chipewyan (Ojibwa)	French
Heart	'edziyé; literally "something's heart"	Le cœur
Diamond	lígaró	Le carreau
Club	lidréf	Le trèfle
Spade	libík'	Le pique
Ace	lás	L'as

The designs have been painted or blockprinted on bark from the white birch, or paper birch, tree (*Betula papyrifera*), a highly adaptable “paper” in the hands of Ojibwa craftspeople, who used it for a vast array of functional as well as decorative items. Gathering the bark, which might involve cutting down the tree, was formerly considered a man’s task, as was the manufacture of birchbark canoes. But thereafter, the fabrication of baskets and other items was usually carried out by women. It is unknown whether this division of work would have applied to the manufacture of these cards. Playing cards are not among the items recorded as having been made by the Ojibwa (Densmore 1928:387-397; Lyford 1943), though Mallery (1893:487, Fig. 685) illustrated four birchbark rectangles decorated with porcupine quillwork, depicting what he believed to be Ojibwa thunderbird motifs. However, Mallery knew nothing specific of their origin or use. In Mallery’s time, these objects were at the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia; portions of that institution’s collections were subsequently transferred to the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, and to the Heye Foundation (now NMAI). Recent inquiries at all three of these museums failed



Figure 4: Detail of Ojibwa birch bark cards showing the texture.



Figure 3: Cards, Ojibwa, prior to 1875. Birchbark, paint. 2½ x 2" (6.4 x 5.4 cm). Purchased by George Heye no later than 1917, these cards are faithful copies of a standard printed paper pack with French/English suit symbols. Courtesy the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Cat. No. 7/811. Photographs by Harold Wayland.

to locate Mallery's birchbark rectangles (Spamer 2004; Wierzbowski 2004a; Ganteaume 2004), and they will not be considered further.

The rectangles of bark for these Ojibwa cards (Figures 3 & 4) are not always evenly trimmed, and the corners are not always exact right angles. Some paper birch trees, particularly those that are reaching old age or have grown in extremely shaded areas, tend to be scored with fine superficial lines on the surface of the bark; lines of this type are noticeable on the bark used for these playing cards. Unidentified red and black pigments were used to paint the designs on the outer surface of the bark. The suit symbols follow the French/English convention of the Hearts and Diamonds in red, and the Spades and Clubs in black. These symbols are quite uniform and appear to have been blockprinted, perhaps with blocks carved from potatoes, which were commonly employed in decorating birchbark baskets. For illustrations of all fifty-two cards, see Wayland, Wayland, and Ferg (2004:Fig. 1).

The Kings, Queens, and Jacks appear to have been hand painted with a narrow brush or perhaps a frayed stick. The manner in which they are depicted is not particularly reminiscent of the images on French/English paper cards, but they are still easily recognizable.

The age of this pack of cards is difficult to gauge. They show little or no wear from play, and may have been made as curios for sale to travelers. There are no double-headed Court figures. Since the use of double-headed figures on paper cards became popular during the second half of the nineteenth century, we suggest that these cards were made prior to 1875 (as a round date), but how much earlier is impossible to say.

Yup'ik Eskimo Cards

The only known example of Eskimo-made playing cards are twenty cards (Figure 5, overleaf) collected by Louis L. Bales, an Alaskan trader, around 1900-1910, and sold to the Alaska State Museum, Juneau, in 1911 by United States naval officer and ethnologist George Thornton Emmons. The latter's notes describe these cards as "Set of 20 playing cards of wood ornamentally painted in red and black, in grotesque figures and in spots" (Henrikson 2004). Steve Henrikson, Curator of Collections at the Museum, noted (2001) that: "Emmons did not give a precise location where they were collected, and does not specifically say that they were collected from or made by Alaska Natives. However, he usually noted if an item is of non-Native manufacture, such as in the case of Russian trade goods collected from Alaska Natives." The cards were catalogued in 1941 as having been collected from Eskimos on the lower Kuskokwim River, Alaska.

The Kuskokwim River flows into Kuskokwim Bay, an inlet of the Bering Sea. From 1877 to 1881, Army Signal Corp naturalist Edward W. Nelson worked among Eskimos along the Bering Sea, collecting some ten thousand Eskimo objects for the Smithsonian (Nelson 1899:19, 23, 25, 330-331). The Russian

American Fur Company established its first station on the Kuskokwim in 1832, and Nelson noted that in the vicinity of trading stations Eskimos had learned to play cards, usually Poker, and were so enthusiastic that they sometimes gambled away all they possessed. Lucien Turner (1894:255) made a virtually identical statement about Eskimos/Inuit of Ungava Bay on the opposite side of the continent. But there are no Eskimo-made cards among the ten thousand artifacts Nelson brought back with him, which strongly suggests that there were none to be had, or that they were extremely rare.

The designs on the cards are painted in red and black stain on thin, light brown spruce rectangles that are somewhat smaller than, but in the same proportions as, printed paper cards. The designs are based on the traditional French/English pattern with four suits of Hearts, Spades, Clubs, and Diamonds. But this Eskimo pack currently has in each suit only the three Courts (King, Queen, Jack) and two numerals, the Ace and Ten spot. It is unknown whether these twenty cards constitute part of an original fifty-two-card pack, or comprise a complete set of cards peculiar to a particular game. Emmons's remarks suggest that this set may be complete as is.

The Ace of Hearts has a large traditional Heart in the center of the card. In contrast, all of the other Heart suit symbols, including those on the corners of the Ace, have been modified to a simpler shape. The other Aces and suit symbols generally conform to the designs found on paper cards. Particularly noteworthy is the Ace of Spades, on which the artist attempted to copy the large tax-stamp Spade found on English and American printed cards. The King is recognizable by a hint of a crown and the Queen by her triangular headdress, suggestive of seventeenth-century lappets, which characterize French/English card Queens, a detail found even today in designs for the Queen.

Although these cards are easily recognizable as derived from the French/English pattern, many Eskimo stylistic features have been incorporated. The Y-shaped element on the head of the Queen and the comblike crown on the head of the King are typical Eskimo decorative elements. The Y-shaped motif may symbolize a fish or whale tail (Kaplan 1985). The downturned mouth of the Queen appears on Bering Sea Eskimo depictions of females and seals, as does the straight mouth of the King (Ray 1982:55). Interestingly, the Kings' faces are not characteristically male, by Bering Sea Eskimo standards (Fitzhugh 1985).

The Jacks sport Euro-American accouterments, including tobacco pipes and headgear that may be depictions of sea captains' caps and Moravian missionaries' caps. Similar depictions are found on interiors of box lids painted by Bering Sea Yup'ik men, and incised on Bering Strait Inupiaq drill bows and ivory pipes. Finally, the motif used as a Club symbol, particularly well delineated on the Jacks, is the "field of berries" motif, also to be found on incised ivory objects (Hoffman 1897:863, Fig. 70).

Based on their design motifs, these cards were probably made around 1900, which is within the time period that Bales collected them. The double-headed King of Spades may correspond to the double-headed Court figures



Figure 5: Cards, Yup'ik Eskimo, lower Kuskokwim River, Alaska, circa 1900-1910. Spruce wood, paint. 3 x 2" (7.5 x 4.9 cm). Decorated with French/English suit symbols, these cards appear to be modeled after (left to right) the Ace, King, Queen, Jack, and 10 cards. Note the double-headed King of Spades. Courtesy the Alaska State Museum, Juneau. Cat. No. II-A-3352. Photograph by Steve Henrikson.

on French/English pattern cards, which began appearing regularly only during the last half of the 1800s. However, according to Kaplan (1985), the “use of a mirror image to create a more complex design is commonly found in Eskimo/Inuit art,” and thus this King of Spades may have nothing to do with double-headed depictions on European cards. Around 1875, numbers began to appear in the opposite corners of French/English pattern *numeral* cards. On the Eskimo Ten spots, there are no such corner indices, but on the *Court* cards, the suit symbols are placed in these locations.

It is unclear whether these cards were made for play or for sale to outsiders. A ladle thought to have been collected at the same time as the cards is also decorated with French/English suit symbols. Henrikson (2001) noted that he is not aware of other pieces of native Alaskan art with playing card motifs other than these cards and ladle. There would have been little need for an Eskimo to make cards for his or her own use, as commercial cards were available to Indians and Eskimos all over Alaska from at least the 1880s, and perhaps as early as the 1830s, when the first trading posts were established. Cards sometimes preceded actual contact with outsiders. Anthropologist Dorothy Jean Ray (1985) related that “when the Laplanders, with their four-cornered hats, came ashore at Teller Reindeer Station (north of Nome) in 1894, the Eskimos exclaimed that they were the people they had been seeing on their playing cards all those years!”

Blackfoot Cards

Although there are no specific notes regarding these Blackfoot cards (Figure 6, overleaf) in the Economic Botany Collections at the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, Richmond, England (Ozimec et al. 2004:53), they are known to have been collected by Eugene Bourgeau, a botanist with the Palliser Expedition to what is now south-central Canada from 1857 to 1860. The cards must have been collected before the spring of 1859, when Bourgeau left the Expedition and returned to London. They are identified simply as cards made and used by the Blackfoot. Bourgeau made some of his collections at the forts where he wintered, and it is possible that these cards were collected at Fort Edmonton, where Blackfoot Indians were known to visit (Ozimec et al. 2004:53).

Each of these twenty cards is a thin, rectangular slat of white spruce wood (*Picea glauca*). All were mounted on a board, and their backs could not be seen. However, the back of one loose card that has come loose is unmodified (unless there is some design hidden by the attached glue), and the backs of all of the cards are presumably blank. The designs on the fronts all appear to have been burned/pressed into the wood with a heated metal tool, probably a nail or an awl with a rounded tip. This decorative technique, pyrography, is known to have been employed by Ojibwas (Mallery 1893:218, 219).

There are no obvious suit symbols or indicators of numerical value on

these cards. However, they can be grouped into four sets of five cards each, each set including a card with a small cross in the center, three cards with very stylized anthropomorphs, and one card with short tick marks down both vertical edges (Figure 6). Of the four crosses, one is drawn inside a circle, and one inside a diamond. On the four cards with tick marks, the numbers of marks vary from nine to thirteen down each side of the card. The three varieties of anthropomorphic figures are: (a) hourglass-shaped body with curved head, filled with horizontal hachure, and stick legs; (b) hourglass-shaped body filled with horizontal hachure, with open, round head; and (c) open, rectangular body with stick legs, an ovoid head, and a chevron above the head (Figure 7-left). One of the rectangular figures has a triangle superimposed on it, which may or may not have been intentional. The number of hachure lines in the figures with hourglass-shaped bodies seems to vary in no patterned way, with two to five lines in each body segment.

The figures on the Blackfoot cards bear a general resemblance to depictions of humans on painted Blackfoot buffalo hides (Thomas and Ronnefeldt 1976:17), and in rock art usually interpreted as Blackfoot in origin (Figure 8-right).



Figure 7: Line drawings of the designs on the Blackfoot cards in the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, (see Figure 8 for comparison with rock art depictions).

Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park, in extreme southern Alberta, Canada, consists of a cluster of about sixty rock art sites containing several thousand individual figures. The human figures have been variously categorized, but those with rectangular and hourglass-shaped bodies are thought to have been made primarily, though not exclusively, from the mid-1700s into the late 1800s, probably by the Blackfoot (Keyser 1977:56-57; Magne and Klassen 1991:413-416) [2].

Mallery (1893:487, Fig. 683) illustrated a petroglyph from Kejimikoojik Lake, Nova Scotia, Canada, identified it as a Mi'kmaq thunderbird, and noted similar thunderbird depictions among other tribes, and a similar Ojibwa motif for a woman. This petroglyph (Figure 8 left) is strikingly similar to the hourglass-



Figure 6: Cards, Blackfoot, from what is now south-central Canada, circa 1859. White spruce, $3\frac{1}{2} \times 1$ " (9.0 x 2.9 cm). Although there are no suit symbols on these twenty cards, their number and organization mirror the twenty Yup'ik Eskimo cards (see Figure 5). Courtesy the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, Richmond, England. Cat. No. 27713. Photograph by A. McRobb.

shaped anthropomorphs with curved heads from the Blackfoot cards (Figures 6 and 7). Mallery (1893:487) wrote *the head, which appears to have a non-human form...may also be compared with...many totemic designations.*

Perhaps the most intriguing thing about the Blackfoot cards is that they are similar to the Yup'ik Eskimo cards, which are also twenty in number and made of spruce wood. While the Blackfoot cards have no suit symbols, they can be

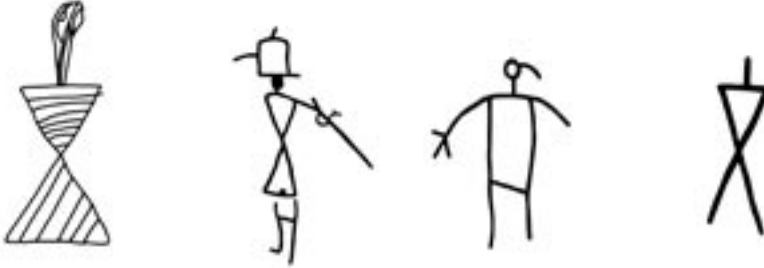


Figure 8: A purported Mi'kmaq petroglyph (left) (Mallery 1893:Fig. 683) and incised petroglyphs, probably Blackfoot in origin (right), from Writing-On-Stone Provincial Park, Alberta, Canada (Keyser 1977:Figs. 13 and 15) for comparison with Figure 7. Drafted by Ron Beckwith.

organized into four sets of five cards that are analogous to the suits of the Yup'ik Eskimo cards: an "Ace" with a single, centered design, three "Court" cards with three different depictions of human figures, and a high numeral card (compare Figures 5 and 6). The similarity of these patterns suggests that both the Yup'ik Eskimo and Blackfoot packs are complete as they are, at twenty cards. It is unclear whether both packs were actually used as cards in a game, or for some other purpose, or were made to be sold to outsiders. The Blackfoot cards were probably inspired, directly or indirectly, by paper cards in the French/English pattern. This latter inference would probably not have been possible had the Yup'ik Eskimo cards not been available for comparison.

Thompson (Nlaka'pamux) Cards

Twenty-two birchbark cards and their pouch were collected from Thompson Indians (Nlaka'pamux or Ntlakyapamuk) of British Columbia, Canada, by the Jesup North Pacific Expedition of the American Museum of Natural History in either 1897 or 1898 (Figure 9). James Teit collected these cards and prefaced his discussion of them, and two games played with them, by saying, *The Indians also have a game somewhat similar to cards* (Boas 1900:276).

Teit noted that there are two cards of each design, and although he does not state how many cards there were, he illustrates eleven designs, indicating a minimum of twenty-two cards in this pack. How standardized the designs and pack size may have been is unknown, since Teit remarked that *The pictures [on the cards] are suggested by the dreams of the owner of the pack* (Boas 1900:277). The cards illustrated by Teit have rounded corners and are painted with black and

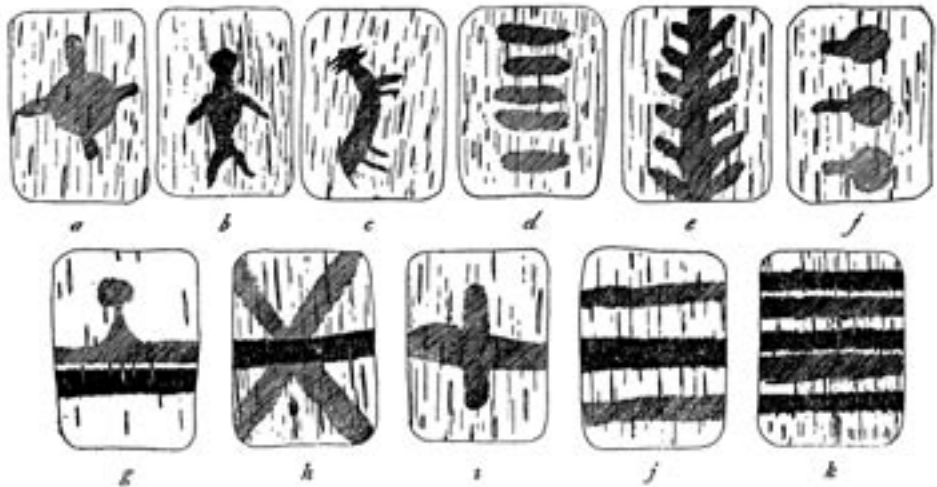


Figure 9: Thompson (Nlaka'pamux) cards, British Columbia, Canada, collected in 1897 or 1898. Birchbark, paint. Cards measure approximately 3 1/8" tall, 2 3/8" wide (8 cm x 6 cm). Drawings by Rudolf Weber, reproduced from Boas (1900:Fig. 264). Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History. Cat. No. 16/4584.

red pigments. The designs on these cards were identified (presumably by the maker) as (a) sun, (b) man, (c) dog, (d) fishes, (e) backbone of fish, (f) roots of *Lilium columbianum* Hanson, (g) loon-necklace, (h) crossing of many trails; (i) crossing of trails, bridge, or the four quarters, (j) trails, and (k) trails, creeks, or trunks of trees (Boas 1900:Fig. 264).

The image identified as *Lilium columbianum* roots (Figure 9f) appears to be three bulbs and may be an allusion to the use of this plant (commonly known as Columbian Lily or Tiger Lily) as food (Steedman 1930:479, 482; Boas 1900:231, 236-237). However, there is at least one mention of the use of another plant, *Aquilegia formosa*, a Columbian Lily look-alike, some unspecified portion of which was used as a charm by Thompson Indians to bring good luck in gambling (Steedman 1930:507). Given that the designs on these cards are derived from the owner's dreams, their specific meanings are impossible to infer. But it is conceivable that some designs may have served a dual purpose: the basic one of differentiating one pair of cards from all the others, and as a "built-in" good luck charm for the pack's owner. The "loon-necklace" design (Figure 9g) presumably refers to the distinctive summer feather pattern on the neck and head of the Common Loon (*Gavia immer*).

Boas (1900:381, Fig. 305) illustrated a pouch presumably made of buckskin, apparently made specifically to hold these cards, and wrote that *Gambling-implements were decorated with designs supposed to secure luck (Figure 10). On the pouch holding a set of birch-bark cards...is the figure of the sun. The dots signify stars; the cross means either the crossing of trails or a reel for winding string.*

In a later discussion of games played by the Coeur d'Alène, another



Figure 11: Cards of unknown cultural affiliation, originally in the collection of anthropologist Frank G. Speck, who died in 1950. Rawhide, paint. Sizes range from 2½ - 3" (6.9 - 7.5 cm) tall and 2 - 2" (5.1 - 5.4 cm) wide. Courtesy of Jonathan Holstein, Cazenovia, New York. Photograph by Jannelle Weakly.

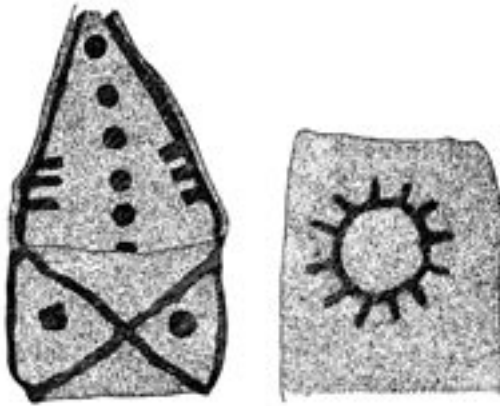


Figure 10: Thompson (Nlaka'pamux) buckskin card pouch, British Columbia, Canada, collected in 1897 or 1898. The dimensions are unknown. Drawings by Rudolf Weber, reproduced from Boas (1900:Fig. 305). Courtesy of the American Museum of Natural History. Cat. No. 16/4584.

Plateau tribe, Teit (Boas 1930:130) describes practices very similar to those of the Thompson Indians:

A card game was in vogue long ago; but particulars of this game and the marks on the cards are now forgotten. The cards were generally made of stiff hide of young deer; but some were of wood split very thin, and others were of birch bark. Each card was marked. Sometimes the designs represented dreams. As far as remembered, the cards were marked in pairs; but the number of pairs or

cards in the set is uncertain. Some say the numbers varied in different sets.

Certainly the designs on this pack appear unrelated to any European suit symbols. More intriguing is the question of whether the games and the concept of cards were introduced to the Thompson Indians or were their own invention. Barring the discovery of some early historical documents bearing on the matter, it seems unlikely that this question can ever be answered, especially since even native knowledge of the game seemed to be fading in the late 1800s [3].

Unknown Cards No. 1

Twenty-four rawhide cards (Figure 11, previous page) originally belonged to Frank G. Speck (born 1881, died 1950), an anthropologist acknowledged for his vast knowledge of ethnography and linguistics, with a particular focus on Algonquian groups in the Northeast of the United States (Hallowell 1951; Witthoft 1951). Roy Blankenship, Speck's grandson, recalled that as a child in the 1950s he played with these cards (Blankenship 1986; 1991:xii), which remained in the possession of Speck's widow until her death in 1979, when they were found in a box with various pieces of feather art and hair ornaments of the Oglala Sioux (Blankenship 1985), or possibly Delaware materials from Oklahoma (Blankenship 2001). The same year, they were sold to Jonathan Holstein [4].

Given the diligence with which Speck documented virtually all of the materials he collected over the decades, attested to by all who knew him (Blankenship 1991), it is strange that no definite history can be associated with these cards. Speck supported the continuation or revival of traditional

activities in the communities he visited, and some of the ethnographic pieces he collected were undoubtedly contemporary replicas of items that had not been made for years, or even decades. These cards may be the result of such encouragement, or perhaps a commission by Speck, whose interests included nearly forgotten games (Blankenship 1991:12-13). Blankenship (1985) suggested that these cards might have been "made for Speck by Indian informants with decorations as remembered" (but see below) [5].

The fact that there is no documentation on these cards suggests that they were something that Speck acquired secondhand; Hallowell (1951:70) noted that Speck liked to visit antique stores and was known to purchase items from distant lands, including Africa and Australia. And lest we think we can exclude South America as a source for these odd cards, it should be pointed out that Speck was familiar enough with Araucanians to publish a note on two linguistic texts (Speck 1924). Thus, we are left with only the evidence of the cards themselves, and the remote possibility that they may be Sioux or perhaps Delaware in origin.

The rawhide of which these cards are made is quite stiff. The black, red, green, and dirty mustard yellow paints appear to have been applied with a brush, and all designs are painted on the hair side of the cards. The skin side is a light parchment color, while the hair side is a dark brown, suggesting that this side was treated with some substance. Whether the substance was applied before or after painting is unknown.

No two of the twenty-four cards have the same design. Several incorporate circles or dots, some have varying numbers of straight lines, several are vaguely reminiscent of botanical motifs, and others have an \times or a plus symbol. But we can find no similarities that would allow one to organize them into anything corresponding to suits or even numerals. We have no way of knowing whether these twenty-four cards represent a complete or partial pack, or whether the designs are peculiar to the maker of these cards, like the dream-inspired designs on the Thompson Indian cards described previously.

Unknown Cards No. 2

A group of nine rawhide cards (Figure 12) was auctioned on 26 August 2000 by Early American History Auctions, Inc., then of La Jolla, California, and now of Rancho Santa Fe, California. The cards sold for \$1100, but their current owner and whereabouts are unknown. The cards were offered as "Extremely Rare, Native American Playing Cards" and "Apache" (Early American History 2000:227-Item 1350). At present we know nothing of the history of these cards. The cards are cut with square corners. The colors in which they are painted are unknown. Each card has only one kind of symbol on it, painted once, or repeated up to four times. Early American History Auctions, Inc., was right to put "Apache" in quotation marks; in fact, these cards resemble no other rawhide cards with which we are familiar from either North or South America. The only possible exception is the pack described above from Holstein's

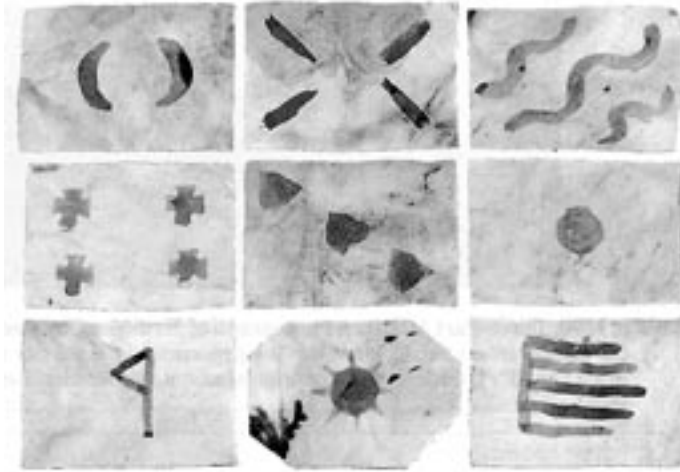


Figure 12: Cards of unknown cultural affiliation, sold at auction in August 2000. Rawhide, paint. Approximately 4 1/4" tall, 3" wide (10.8 x 7.6 cm). Courtesy of Early American History Auctions, Inc., Rancho Santa Fe, California.

collection. These two packs are similar in that they have no two cards with the same design, no apparent structure to the designs, and they share a few designs: circle, "sunburst," and a comblike element.

Conclusion

When Europeans introduced playing cards and card games into the New World, many Native American groups happily added them to their repertoire of gambling games. The vast majority of playing cards made by Native Americans were made by Apaches in the Southwest, modeled after Spanish and Mexican playing cards that became difficult to obtain during periods of extended hostilities. Other groups learned of playing cards from French, English, Dutch, and Swedish colonists, and probably always had adequate access to paper cards from these sources. However, a handful of French/English-suited cards were made, but whether for use, or to be sold to outsiders, is unknown. The Ojibwa, Eskimo, and Blackfoot cards seemingly show a progressive divergence away from their paper inspirations: the Ojibwa pack is a careful copy of a full fifty-two-card pack with French/English suits; the Eskimo pack retains the French/English pattern but has been cut to twenty cards; and the Blackfoot pack is also of this abbreviated size, with designs analogous to those on the Eskimo cards but with no recognizable European motifs.

Other cards, with designs that apparently have no relationship to either suit-systems or numerical values, are somewhat of a mystery. At least one pack (Thompson Indians) had imagery derived from dreams, but was used for games. These types of cards could predate the introduction of European paper cards, but more probably they illustrate how readily foreign objects may be adopted, and then modified, by cultures in contact.

Notes

- 1 These paintings are: *Game of Chance* (about 1850-1853, now owned by the Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art), *Assiniboin Encampment* (1865, Detroit Institute of Arts), *Gambling for the Buck* (1867, Stark Museum of Art), *Indians Playing Cards* (1866, Detroit Institute of Arts), and *Blackfoot Cardplayers* (1868, also known as *Indians Playing Cards*, collection of Stewart V. Spragins in 1983)(Kinietz 1942:33, 34; Schimmel 1983:188-189, 221-222, 393, 397, opposite 415; 2003).
- 2 Based on the locations of these types of figures in a complex rock art panel that records a battle, Magne and Klassen (1991:413-414, Fig. 5) suggested that the body shapes may reflect either men of higher (rectangular) and lesser (hourglass) status, or perhaps men (rectangular) and women (hourglass). All of this is of only limited value in trying to interpret or identify the figures on the Blackfoot cards, but is instructive in suggesting that the patterned body shapes on the cards are not simply decorative variations, and may imply specific status or gender attributes.
- 3 With cards from this group having possessed largely idiosyncratic designs, been produced in uncertain numbers of pairs, and on a variety of materials, an attribution as "Thompson Indians" or "Coeur d'Alène" will have to at least be considered for any unusual cards on rawhide, wood, or birchbark that may be encountered. However, extreme caution would have to be exercised before accepting such an attribution as genuine. This poorly documented but highly variable genre of cards could be used as a convenient catchall identification for odd cards of genuine Native American manufacture that lack identifiable suit symbols and/or provenience information. Unfortunately, it would also be the perfect identification for a limitless series of cards made as forgeries, on a variety of materials, no two of which would have to look alike.
- 4 When the cards were sold in 1979, with them was a paper tag with the notation "Sioux. Near Wounded Knee Creek. S. Dak." And Blankenship indicated that while these cards could have been made for Speck, he believed that they were actually obtained from Ira Reed in the early 1920s (Blankenship 1986). John Witthoft, one of Speck's students, noted that "Frank Speck never worked among the Sioux, but he accumulated many specimens from every possible source. The tag sounds to me like one from the Amos Gottschall stock which was dispersed by Ira Reed, an antiques dealer of Perkasio, PA, & Philadelphia, in the 1930's and '40's" (Witthoft 1985). William Wierzbowski, Assistant Keeper, American Section, at the University of Pennsylvania Museum, confirmed that this tag is a Gottschall tag - the size and handwriting of the Speck tag are identical with known Gottschall tags in the University Museum (Wierzbowski 2004b) - and provided the following historical information from a note written by Harriet Newell Wardle, a former curator at the Academy (Wardle 1942). Amos H. Gottschall was a native of Pennsylvania, who traveled extensively (e.g.,

Gottschall 1881), making huge collections of American Indian artifacts for others, and for himself, between 1871 and 1905. Gottschall's personal Collections I and II were donated to the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia; as noted above, in the discussion of Ojibway cards, portions of that institution's collections were subsequently transferred to the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, and to the Heye Foundation (now NMAI). Gottschall's Collection III was in storage until about 1939, when it was sold to Ira Reed, who sold to the public. All that being said, however, it is still impossible to know how much faith to place in the association of this tag with these cards, in a household filled with thousands of artifacts that had been subject to rearrangement for nearly thirty years.

- 5 Blankenship (1986) noted another pack of cards thought to have been made for, or perhaps commissioned by, Speck as a replica on what appeared to be cardboard. This pack was sold by the Speck estate in 1986 to an Indian arts and crafts dealer. What these cards looked like and their current whereabouts are unknown. Blankenship (2001) noted yet one more pack of cards that had belonged to Speck, perhaps painted on muslin, that was inaccessible; it was in storage with some of Speck's library. What these cards look like is unknown.

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Acknowledgments

A somewhat different version of this article appeared in American Indian Art Magazine (Wayland, Wayland, and Ferg 2004), and we would like to thank Mary Hamilton for permission to rework and republish it.

We thank the following people for their help through the years: David Fawcett, Lisa Callendar, and Cécile Ganteaume, Heye Foundation, now the National Museum of the American Indian, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; Chris Albano and Laura McShane, Cleveland Public Library, Cleveland, Ohio; Steve Henrikson, E. L. Keithahn, B. Lange Hulbert, and Laura M. Bracken, Alaska State Museum, Juneau; Julia Steele, Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, Richmond, England; Robin Yvonne Smith, First Nations University of Canada, Northern Campus, Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, Canada; Anibal Rodriguez and John Hansen, American Museum of Natural History, New York; Julie Schimmel, Gerald Peters Gallery, Santa Fe, New Mexico; David Penney and Jim Tottis, Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Michigan; Sue Harris, Stark Museum of Art, Orange, Texas; William Wierzbowski, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia; Earle Spamer, Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia; and Ron Beckwith, Roy Blankenship, William Fitzhugh, Jonathan Holstein, Susan A. Kaplan, Wendell Oswald, Dorothy Jean Ray, James W. VanStone, Jannelle Weakly, and John Witthoft.

Virginia and Harold Wayland were active members of IPCS for decades, and are well known to the readers of The Playing-Card. Virginia (born 1909, died 2001) began researching the history of playing cards around 1956. With her husband, Harold (born 1909, died 2000), a professor of Engineering Science at the California Institute of Technology, Pasadena, she had frequent opportunity to travel and pursue her interest in cards. Virginia Wayland was an Honorary Fellow of the I.P.C.S. Together the Waylands published sixty-two articles on the history of playing cards. Alan Ferg is the Archivist at the Arizona State Museum, University of Arizona, Tucson.

GIOVANNI BONELLO

Maltese Playing Card Makers 1684-1750

I do not believe it is at all well known that a thriving playing-card manufacturing industry had flourished in Malta since 1684. A few cards showing symbols of the Order of Malta had already given some inkling of local manufacture, but scholars tended to dismiss them as produced in Spain (or elsewhere) for use in Malta. I am glad to present hitherto unknown documentary evidence that proves the existence of an intensive playing card industry in Malta, and gives details of many manufacturers who made cards for local consumption and for export.

I cannot start but by mentioning the excellent pioneer works by Trevor Denning, Joseph Schirò and John Thorpe.¹ They based themselves almost exclusively on a physical scrutiny of some surviving 'Maltese' cards, both in local collections and abroad, and on the historical context in which they were produced. My own research on the subject, carried out at the National Archives in Rabat, Malta has yielded abundant fruit² and confirms many of their insights and conclusions, but also modifies others. What follows is the factual information contained in a substantial number of petitions, starting from one to Grand Master Perellos in 1699 by Andrea Inferrera (or Infirrerera) and Giuseppe Crisafulli, and others by the Calafiore brothers, Giuseppe and Francesco, in 1701. These are stories not devoid of human interest.

The Governance of Malta 1530 – 1798

Malta, today an independent state in the centre of the Mediterranean, in late medieval times formed part of the Kingdom of Sicily. In 1530, Emperor Charles V, as king of Sicily, granted the island in quasi-sovereignty to the chivalric Order of St John of Jerusalem, a military and hospitaller religious confraternity since known as the Order of Malta. Like the Templars and the Teutonic Knights, the Order had been founded in the wake of the crusades in the Holy Land, to assist pilgrims with military protection and hospital care. Seven years after the Turks evicted the Order from Rhodes in 1523 at the end of a prolonged siege, Malta was assigned to the knights as their base. The Order, truly international in composition, was made up of eight 'Langues' – France, Auvergne, Provence, Italy, Aragon, Castile and Portugal, England. The English Langue disappeared

¹ Trevor Denning, "What are Infirrerera Cards?" in *The Playing-Card*, Vol. XVI, No. 3, (Feb. 1988), pp. 71 – 74; Joseph Schirò "Eighteenth Century Playing Cards" in *Treasures of Malta*, Vol. V, No. 2, Easter 1999, p. 9 -13; Joseph Schirò and John Thorpe, "Playing Cards with a Malta Connection" in *Treasures of Malta*, Easter 2001 (No. 20), Vol. VII, No. 2, pp. 17 – 22; Trevor Denning and Joseph Schirò, "Maltese Dragon Cards" in *The Playing-Card*, Vol. XXX, No 1 (Jul. – Aug.) pp. 33 – 42.

² The latter part of this research was greatly assisted by Francesca Balzan, whom I thank profusely.

after Henry VIII dissolved the Order and confiscated its holdings in the Reformation. The domain of Malta was probably the first experiment in history of shared international sovereignty. The ‘knights of justice’ who made up the bulk of the Order of Malta had to prove unsullied nobility for at least four generations on both paternal and maternal side. They also took the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience. A Grand Master, elected for life by representatives of the Langues at the death of the former incumbent, ruled the Order, and Malta. In the period under review the Grand Masters were: Gregorio Caraffa (Italian); Adrien de Wignacourt (French); Ramon Perellos (Spanish); Marcantonio Zondadari (Italian); Manoel de Vilhena (Portuguese); Ramon Despuig (Spanish) and Emmanuel Pinto (Portuguese). The Order remained in possession of the island up to 1798, when Napoleon conquered it on his way to Egypt.

Printing in Malta ground to a halt between 1656 and 1756, owing to the inability of the Grand Master, the Bishop and the Inquisitor to come to an agreement as to who properly had the rights of prior censorship. It now appears that exceptions crept in for jobbing and for block (or frotton³) printing (from blocks engraved in hard wood, rather than by moveable type). This process could be used to print pictorial illustrations (woodcuts), musical scores, playing cards, etc. The basic design was printed in black, and then colours added by stencilling: yellow, red, green.

Inferrera and Crisafulli’s monopoly

Judge Giovanni Francesco Piotto of the criminal court, reporting to Grand Master Perellos on an application by the Calafiore brothers to make playing cards, undertook some historical research; he concluded that playing cards had been produced and printed in Malta at least since the times of Grand Master Caraffa (1680 – 1690) who had granted a monopoly to Inferrera and Crisafulli, *maestri cartari di questa sua isola*. The next Grand Master, Adrien de Wignacourt, confirmed this privilege *di mantenere alli maestri cartari nella facoltà di fabbricare e vendere essi soli le carte da giouco in questo Suo Dominio*.

Inferrera and Crisafulli describe themselves *servi umilissimi e vassalli fedelissimi* of the Grand Master – which seems to place them squarely as ‘Maltese’ subjects – if one could agree on a definition of what that meant at the time. They petitioned Grand Master Perellos for a review of their tax status. They already paid the *gabella* (tax) for the *bollo*, introduced by Cottoner in 1670. This almost certainly explains why some cards examined by Schirò have the Grand Master’s seal (the *bollo*) stamped in them.

To ensure no tax evasion took place, Wignacourt’s Collector of Customs had ordered the manufacturers of playing cards to stop marketing them directly. All sales were henceforth to be made through the Public Weigher of Valletta, who had arbitrarily “usurped” the right to claim one grano for each pack of

³ A frotton was a roller made of horsehair immersed in glue – strong and pliable.

cards he sold, both in the *Forfantone* and to the general public, the *Forfantone* (the knights' club) being Inferrera's and Crisafulli's best customer. The Weigher's levy, they stressed, lacked any legal basis, as it did not arise from any law or written order. All the Public Weigher did was to count the packs of cards that were provided complete in all aspects by the manufacturers and, for every dozen packs, pocket twelve grani. To reach some settlement Inferrera and his partner offered the Public Weigher five grani per dozen, but he dismissed this with noticeable contempt. They told Grand Master Perellos how burdened they already were with the *gabella della carta e del bollo*, how the price of paper had recently soared and appealed to his *somma benignità e carità* to mitigate the system, They obviously preferred an outright repeal of the order that only the Public Weigher could market playing cards - promising at the same time to retail the cards honestly (i.e. not defrauding the public revenue). Alternatively they would settle for a levy of five grani instead of twelve per dozen packs.

The Grand Master appointed Judge Francesco Vivieri of the criminal court to examine this petition. Vivieri conceded that he could find no legal basis for prohibiting the direct sale of playing cards except for an order by the Collector of Customs, adding that the *gabella del bollo* burdened the manufacturers not to mention the hefty increase in the price of paper. Vivieri recommended that Perellos should grant the requests of Inferrera and Crisafulli. On October 27, 1699, the Grand Master lowered the levy to six grani per dozen packs of playing cards.⁴

Giuseppe and Francesco Calafiore

Things took an awkward turn for the monopoly enjoyed by Inferrera and his partner when in 1701 they engaged Giuseppe Calafiore from Messina in Sicily, an expert card manufacturer by profession, to work for them in Malta. Calafiore moved to the island with his brother Francesco and their families. Alas something went wrong between them and their employer and they petitioned Grand Master Perellos to grant them a separate licence to start manufacturing and selling playing cards *di ogni specie* adding that they were carrying "the burden of a family, they desired to employ themselves in some trade ... to maintain both their own persons and their families." Giuseppe emphasised how he had come to Malta, at great inconvenience and expense, on the pressing insistence of Inferrera. When he finally acceded to Inferrera's demands, he settled in Valletta, trained a number of apprentices, and then Andrea Inferrera fired him! Would the Grand Master allow them to produce and sell their own playing cards?

Judge Piotto, the *relatore* in this petition, aware that Inferrera and Crisafulli claimed some sort of monopoly in the field, consulted them on the Calafiore request and asked for their comments. The main question to be answered was

⁴ National Archives of Malta (NAM) *Gran Corte Castellania*, Suppliche/Botteghe, Vol. 1, ff. 14v - 15v.

– for what term had the monopoly been granted? Piotto invited Inferrera and Crisafulli to show him the original Caraffa and Wignacourt decrees. The *maestri cartari*, Inferrera and Crisafulli, came up with several old papers, which referred to their exclusive rights, but shied off when it came to producing the original decrees. Somewhat losing his patience, Piotto gave them a short time to present the documents. Inferrera resisted the request claiming the decrees to be *assolutamente smarriti* (absolutely lost). From which, I guess, Piotto assumed Inferrera’s reluctance to show the decrees meant that the term of the monopoly had actually expired. Inferrera and Crisafulli then ungracefully backed down and Perellos licensed the Calafiore brothers to start manufacturing playing cards.⁵ They must not have done all that well because two years later poor Francesco found employment as a servant with Fra Antonio Rossi, and pleaded for more time in which to pay what he owed the Treasury. He pawned a silver basin as guarantee of his good intentions.⁶

Crisafulli remained active manufacturing cards in Malta up to his death, after which his widow Rosa Maria carried on his business. In 1701 he informed the Grand Master that his earnings from making playing cards did not, on their own, cover the needs of his family. Would the Grand Master also allow him to print patents, departure cards, *responsali* forms used by notaries and other odd jobbing orders? He needed to know in advance, as the investment in plant alone would cost him more than a 100 scudi. The Grand Master consented.⁷ This I believe to be the first document which records that some printing was carried out in Malta, albeit on a quite minor scale, during the Prohibition, the hundred long years during which all press activity had been suspended. Another job printer is recorded in 1722, Joanne la Pilliani (French?), licensed to print *patenti, bullettini e responsali* (patents, bulletins and reply forms).⁸

In 1729 Rosa Maria Crisafulli explained how her late husband had carried out his trade of manufacturing and selling playing cards in a *bottega* in Valletta for many years, and asked to be allowed to carry on his business.⁹ She requested and obtained an extension in 1733 and again in 1738.¹⁰ The Crisafullis already had connections with Malta before Giuseppe established his playing-cards business. Don Luca Crisafulli from Messina, a silk merchant, visited the island

in 1673.¹¹ The Calafiores eventually settled in Malta: one of them, Gio Battista, became a notary public in 1748 and exercised his profession up to 1784.¹² And

so did the Gianmalvas (mentioned later) – one of their offspring, Paolo Vittorio, was notary public in 1781

⁵ NAM, *Gran Corte Castellania*, Vol. 1, ff. 103v - 104v.

⁶ *Archives of the Order of Malta (AOM)* 647, f. 222.

⁷ NAM, *Gran Corte Castellania*, Vol. 1, f. 21v.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, (1722 - 23), f. 16.

⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, f. 208.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, f. 226v, 227; Vol. VII (1737 - 38), f. 126.

¹¹ AOM 668, f. 18, 61, 67.

¹² AOM 1188, f. 396; AOM 1193, f. 169, 283.

Antonio Giordano - The first Maltese playing-card maker

Although the documents described above seem to imply that Inferrera and Crisafulli introduced the manufacture of playing-cards in Malta, this is hardly the case. Other papers point clearly to Antonio Giordano having preceded them. In 1718 an official report filed in the Castellania states: “Signor Antonio Giordano was the person who introduced in this dominion the art of manufacturing playing cards and carried on this activity until he died.”¹³ An earlier report, dated 1714, states that Giordano had manufactured playing cards in Malta for thirty years. That places the initial date of manufacture at latest 1684 – or earlier, depending on when Giordano died.

The Giordano story and its aftermath deserve to be told. In 1714 Antonio’s widow Isabella Giordano petitioned Grand Master Perellos to allow her to enter into the playing card business which her late husband had exercised with the greatest integrity, with her brother Diego Campolo (or Campoli) “expert in the said profession.” She needed to continue the business as she was *pooverissima*, with three daughters, two unmarried and one suffering from an *infermità incurabile*. The Grand Master acquiesced: Campolo could go on making playing cards in the Giordano workshop in Valletta.¹⁴

Five years later Campolo himself petitioned the Grand Master. Isabella Giordano had now passed away and his three nieces (one a widow) still needed assistance. Could the licence given to Isabella now be transferred to him? The other *cartari*, among them Giuseppe Crisafulli and Francesco Calafiore, objected, but Grand Master Perellos consented all the same.¹⁵ Diego Campolo’s licence to manufacture playing cards was renewed in 1722, with the faculty to substitute Michele Micallef in his stead.¹⁶

The Giordano saga now turns slightly convoluted. In 1747 Rosa Giordano again turned to the Grand Master, explaining how her father Antonio had been in the playing card business for *moltissimi anni*. After his death she had entered into partnership with Michele Micallef, the relevant licence being issued in his name. Recently Micallef had unilaterally walked out of the partnership. Now, being in sorry financial straits, without any pension, she needed to reactivate her business of manufacturing and selling playing cards. The Grand Master granted the petition.¹⁷

Shortly later Rosa asks to pass on her card manufacturing business to her relative Isabella (a different one), and her husband Emmanuele Enriquez. The latter applied for a licence to manufacture and sell playing cards, and Giuseppe (Josepho) Gianmalva having been consulted, asserted that so long as Enriquez was prepared to help Rosa Giordano with an alimony, he had no objections to

¹³ Ibid., Vol. III, f. 60.

¹⁴ Ibid., Vol. II, f. 52.

¹⁵ Ibid., Vol. III, f. 30.

¹⁶ Ibid., Vol. IV, f. 159.

¹⁷ Ibid., Vol. IX (1745 – 47), ff. 156 – 156v.

a licence in favour of Enriquez, considering also that Rosa had already transferred the *stiglio* and other equipment to Enriquez.¹⁸ Gianmalva is now described as *appaltatore delle carte da giuoco* – contractor of playing cards – which seems to imply some sort of official role in the wholesale of cards.

Other 18th Century Maltese makers

The records also show various other card manufacturers active in Malta at the beginning of the 18th century. In 1719 Francesco Calafiore, *cartaro* by profession, wanted to dispose of his business, owing to new commercial commitments. He asked to be allowed to transfer his playing-card workshop to Pasquale Magro. Before granting the permit, the authorities heard the views of other interested parties, among them Giuseppe Crisafulli, Josepho Giammalva and Didaco Giordano (son of Antonio?). Magro got his licence – the fact he enjoyed a good reputation helped.¹⁹ This is the first time Gianmalva is mentioned as a playing-card manufacturer. In 1721 he explained to Grand Master Zondadari that he had been making playing cards for twenty years, and from his shop he also sold tobacco, acquavit and coffee.²⁰ The Gianmalvas may then have split up, or, at least, Josepho and Antonino Gianmalva obtained separate licences to manufacture and sell playing cards.²¹ Josepho appears still active as a card manufacturer and dealer in Valletta in 1744.²² Only a year later Claudio Alessi petitioned for the renewal of a licence to manufacture playing cards together with his partner Giovanni Seychel.²³ In 1736 Alessi was still busy producing cards.²⁴

Michele Micallef, Campolo's substitute, turns up again in 1726. He referred to many previous licences to produce playing cards together with Diego Campolo who, he says, introduced their manufacture in Malta. Rosa and Josepha Campolo (two of the daughters, presumably) gave their consent. Apparently, the first playing-cards factory in Malta may have been a joint venture between Giordano and Campolo.²⁵ The authorities renewed Micallef's licence several times.²⁶

1727 sees another player in the field: Pasquale Delia, who obtained permission to *tener bottega* to deal in playing cards.²⁷ As also Gio Maria Tonna who, in 1734, was granted a renewal of his card manufacturing licence.²⁸ Equally

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. IX (1747 – 49), ff. 13v – 14; ff. 103 – 103v.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Vol. III, unnumbered but f. 58.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, f. 125.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII (1734 – 36), f. 141v, 152v; Vol. VII (1737 – 38) f. 103.

²² *Ibid.*, Vol. VIII (1740 – 43), f. 84v; (1744 – 45), f. 95v.

²³ *Ibid.*, f. 38; Vol. VII (1736 – 37), f. 17.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII (1736 – 37), f. 17.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, f. 117v.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, Vol. V, f. 137v, Vol. VI, f. 120v, 192; Vol VII (1734 – 36), f. 184.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Vol. V (1726 – 27) f. 80v.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Vol. VII (1734 – 36), f. 38.

interesting is the fact that Maltese card makers exported their products to Europe. In 1730, for instance, there is evidence of a cargo including thirteen dozen sets of playing cards shipped to Ancona, and others to Calabria.²⁹

These new documents prove conclusively that the cards mentioned by Denning, Schirò and Thorpe were legally made in Malta, not clandestinely. Also, that the name Infirrerera found on some of them refers to a local printer, not a Spanish one working abroad for the Malta market. And that the production, sale and export of playing cards made in Malta was big business. Some of the Inferrera cards have been identified. Do any of the others survive?

²⁹ NAM, Consolato di Mare, Vol. XX, f. 955 (Ancona). Reference to Calabria mislaid.

Acknowledgements:

I would like to thank Mr Noel D'Anastas, Ms Maroma Camilleri, Mr John McLeod and Ms Francesca Balzan for their assistance with this article.

APPENDIX: PLAYING-CARDS MANUFACTURERS IN MALTA, 1684 - 1750 *(some dates may be approximate)*

- 1684 or before Antonio GIORDANO** - partnered by **Diego CAMPOLO** (or Campoli) -introduces playing card manufacture in Malta. On Antonio's death (c. 1714) business carried on by widow **Isabella**, with Campolo's assistance. On Isabella's death (c. 1719) manufactory permit transferred to Campolo. **Rosa**, daughter of Antonio takes over and enters into partnership with **Michele MICALLEF**. Partnership dissolved and in 1747 business is transferred to (a different) **Isabella GIORDANO** and her husband **Emmanuele ENRIQUEZ**.
- Before 1690 Andrea INFERRERA** (or INFIRRERA) and his partner **Giuseppe CRISAFULLI** obtain a monopoly for manufacturing playing cards. On Crisafulli's death (c. 1729) his widow **Rosa Maria CRISAFULLI** continued the business, with licences renewed in 1733 and 1738.
- 1702 Giuseppe** and **Francesco CALAFIORE**, brothers, previously employed by Inferrera and Crisafulli, start their own independent playing card manufactory. Francesco Calafiore in 1719 transferred this business to **Pasquale MAGRO**.
- 1719 Josepho GIANMALVA** first mentioned as a playing-card manufacturer in 1719, though in 1721 he claims he had been manufacturing cards for twenty years (on his own or for others?). From 1736 separate licences are issued for Josepho and **Antonino GIANMALVA**. Josepho is still active in the card manufacturing trade in 1744.
- 1722 Claudio ALESSI** renews his licence to manufacture playing cards, with **Giovanni SEYCHEL** his partner. Still active in 1736
- 1722 Michele MICALLEF** - first mentioned as Diego Camplo's substitute in the manufacturing licence. His permit renewed several times, at least up to 1736. Partner with Rosa Giordano up to 1747.
- 1727 Pasquale DELIA** licensed to deal in playing cards.
- 1734 Gio Maria TONNA** renews his licence to manufacture playing cards.

Whist-Regeln in Kontinentaleuropa bis

HOYLE ABROAD: ENGLISH SUMMARY

There is no need to repeat all that has already been said about the importance, success and craze which Edmond Hoyle's "A Short Treatise on the Game of Whist" (1742) had in England. How Hoyle and his whist book have travelled to the continent is, however, less known. Contrary to what was thought until now, Hoyle's book was translated and printed first in Portugal. This extremely rare book was published in 1753. Only one copy seems to have survived. Two later 18th-century editions bear witness of the game's success in Portugal. A few years later, in 1754, it was to Germany to enjoy a translation. Finally, the first French version was printed in 1761 at Bern, Switzerland! The French players' interest being aroused, four different translations followed in 1763, 1764, and two in 1765. That of 1764 turns back to the old "whisk" spelling, a variation which is later to be found also in Germany and in Portugal. However, the French translations will dominate the rest of Europe: one finds them in Turin, in the Netherlands, in Austria, but also in Russia, where one of the French editions is the basis of a Russian translation which was published in 1769, another translation being done in 1791. On the other hand the German version led to a Danish translation in 1786 and to another one in 1794. Italy hesitated until 1821 before Hoyle's whist rules were translated. With these translations Britain could rival France's cultural hegemony – even if these translations were for a large part done in French. A new English "fashion" in the world of card games started to settle and to prevail until the introduction of the new game of bridge.

Die Bedeutung der Literarisierung und Kodifizierung des Kartenspiels ist ohne den Beitrag Edmond Hoyles (1672-1769) kaum richtig zu ermessen. A *Short Treatise on the Game of Whist* (1742) erlebte beim Tod des Autors (1769) bereits die 15. Auflage. Auch danach kamen Adepten nicht um Hoyle herum. Wie hätte es auch anders sein können? Eine für W. Webster 1743 veranstaltete "second edition" wurde "sold by all the booksellers and pamphlet shops in town and country". In diesem Jahr hatte sich Hoyle's Text bereits angeschickt, die Spielwelt zu kolonialisieren. Zu den ersten Londoner Drucken – in der Frühzeit offiziell von F. Cogan besorgt – gesellten sich früh irische Raubdrucke. 1743 legten die Brüder George und Alexander Ewing in Dublin sowohl eine "fourth" als auch eine "fifth edition" auf, die freilich mehr einer Londoner (for F. Cogan) als genuin irischen "third" bzw. "fourth" zu folgen scheinen. Die Ewings blieben aber auch danach den Hoyleschen Spieltexten als Nachdrucker treu, was eine entsprechende Nachfrage auf der Schwesterinsel signalisiert.

Wie Robert Southey zu Anfang des 19. Jahrhunderts schrieb, seien wenig Bücher in englischer oder in einer anderen Sprache so oft gedruckt, und noch weniger so intensiv studiert worden wie die Hoyles.¹ Verehrer des Whist erklärten den "Treatise" bald als "the gospel of Whist-Players" und seinen Autor als "a second Newton"; Horace Walpole wollte eine "Grammatik" des noblen Bilboquet schreiben – "in opposition

to Mr. Hoyle's" Whist-Traktat; ganze Bände erschienen zur Korrektur und Modifizierung Hoyles, jedoch gingen schließlich alle in seinem Namen auf.² Rückblickend erscheint es manchmal, als ob Hoyle das Whist selbst erfunden hätte. Dem ist freilich nicht so, auch war er nicht der erste, der die Regeln aufzeichnete. Whist in älteren Formen erscheint in dem Charles Cotton zugeschriebenen *The Compleat Gamester* von 1764 und in neueren Formen in den Ausgaben ab 1709 (weitere Ausgaben bis zum Erscheinen von Hoyles Whist: 1710, 1721, 1725, 1726, 1734 – in der erstmals Whist im Titel genannt wird – und 1739)³ behandelt. Doch erst Hoyle machte das moderne Whist und seine Regeln zum Zugpferd der Kommerzialisierung und der Moden.



La Partie de Whist

Sein Buch wurde unerhört schnell zum Attribut nobler Lebensführung. Bereits 1744 gibt Sarah Fielding in *The Adventures of David Simple* ironische Ratschläge, um in die guten

Gesellschaften Londons eingeführt zu werden ("to get introduction to persons of fashion"): gute Kleidung, gepuderte Perücke und sein "whist-book" dabei; dem Protagonisten hingegen, Sohn eines Kleinhändlers, ist diese Zugangsweise fremd: "What do you mean by a whist-book?". Zwar im Whist bewandert, kann er die Praxis, Spiele aus Büchern zu lernen, nicht verstehen. Wie sein Dialogpartner jedoch klar macht, ist es gar nicht wichtig, daraus zu lernen: "I cannot tell what use it is for, but I know it is a fashion to have it, and no one is qualified for the conversation in vogue without it."⁴ Southey's Befund scheint sich zu bewahrheiten, denn Hoyle wurde tatsächlich gelesen. Die englische Romanliteratur seiner Zeit reagierte sofort auf diese neuartige Literarisierung der Spielwelt. Als dem Spiel ergebene Figuren der sozialen Elite werden bei der Lektüre von "Hoyle's method of playing the game of whist" angetroffen, die sie beiseite legen, um die Partie der vergangenen Nacht zu diskutieren.⁵ Spätere, vor allem englische Autoren von Spielanleitungen, kamen nicht umhin, den Giganten zu erwähnen, hatte Hoyle doch sein Gebiet weit über das Whist auf andere Spiele ausgedehnt. Martin, "maître d'académie de jeu" in Paris, schrieb sein *Quadrille*-Buch 1764 ausdrücklich nicht für Anfänger; diese verwies er – oder sein englischer Übersetzer – auf Hoyle ("beginners may have recourse to

La Partie de Whist, nach J.-M. Moreau le Jeune Radierung von J. Dambroun, 1770 (Musée français de la Carte à jouer, Issy-les-Moulineaux, © MFCJ / F. Doury)



Hoyle auf englisch (Sammlung T. Depaulis)

Mr. Hoyle's principles" – und, fährt er fort: "I shall only rectify such mistakes as he has fallen into".⁶

Hoyle hat mit seinem Whist-Buch dem populären Anarchismus eines verrufenen Spiels die Gefährlichkeit genommen, indem er es zur Formulierung von Regeln erhob, die auf richtigem sozialem Verhalten basierten. Damit leistete er einen Beitrag zu jenem Transformationsprozess, der über Druckwerke die neuen Leitbilder uniformer und standardisierter Codes vermittelte und festschrieb, die die Welt durch Umsicht, Kalkulation und Geregeltheit beherrschen wollten.⁷ Andere machten sich den Erfolg Hoyles und die ungeheure Beliebtheit des Whist zu Nutzen. Unter dem Pseudonym Bob Short veröffentlichte Robert Withy, ein Börsenmakler (Stock-Broker) im Jahr 1791 *Short Rules for Whist* oder *Hoyle abridged* und verkaufte binnen eines Jahres angeblich 7000 Stück.⁸

Hoyle war nicht nur ein Thema für Kulturhistoriker, seine Texte und die zahlreichen Drucke forderten auch

Bibliographien heraus. Die lange Zeit verbindlichste und tiefendeste Kenntnis verdanken wir Frederic Jessels *A bibliography of works in English on playing-cards and gaming* (London 1905). Alle späteren bauen auf seinem Wissen auf, so auch John C. Rather und Walter Goldwater mit *According to Hoyle...1742-1850. A bibliography of editions by or based on the writings of Edmond Hoyle* (New York 1983). Doch manches, vor allem die Wege, die Hoyles Texte – vor allem sein Traktat über das Whist, das eines der beliebtesten Spiele werden sollte – von England aus genommen haben, und die Adaptionen in Form von Übersetzungen in andere Sprachen, blieben nur unvollständig bekannt. Mit den folgenden Darstellungen können dazu neue Erkenntnisse präsentiert werden.

Hoyles Einfluß ist auch quantitativ beeindruckend. An die 200 europäische Spielregelbücher zwischen 1700 und 1800 (darunter auch drei nordamerikanische und ein auf Barbados gedrucktes⁹) widmen sich in unterschiedlicher Ausführlichkeit dem Whist (siehe oben "The Compleat Gamester"). Ganze 8 davon erschienen vor 1742, dem Jahr des Erstdrucks von Hoyles "Short treatise". Alle übrigen stammen entweder direkt von Hoyle oder sind mehr oder minder von ihm beeinflusst. Von besonderer Bedeutung für Hoyles außerbritische Berühmtheit wurde anscheinend

die zehnte offizielle Londoner Auflage von 1750, die wieder für Thomas Osborne in London ("at Gray's Inn") gedruckt wurde.¹⁰ Obwohl sie sich inhaltlich nicht von früheren, wie beispielsweise der achten von 1748 unterschied,¹¹ war sie es, die der Kontinent endlich wahrnahm. Diese Ausgabe findet sich in namhaften großen Bibliotheken wie München, Göttingen, Versailles und Modena.

Portugal

Hoyle erhält seine erste kontinentale Staatsbürgerschaft in einem Land, wo ihn bisher niemand vermutet hatte – in Portugal. 1753 erscheint in Lissabon "Na Regia Officina Sylviana, e da Academia Real" in Übersetzung von Luiz de Vasconcellos Botelho der *Breve tratado do jogo do Whist*. Die Existenz dieser allerersten kontinentaleuropäischen Übersetzung des Whist-Traktats war bislang nicht bekannt. Im Frühjahr 2003 bot sie Richard C. Ramer, Old and Rare Books, New York, N. Y., an, und fragte sich zu Recht, ob dies die "first edition" sei.¹² Sie ist es, wie soeben gezeigt, in mehr als einer Hinsicht. Bis dahin kannte man die Ausgabe von 1768, ebenfalls eine Übersetzung von Vasconcellos Botelho und in Lissabon, aber in der Druckerei von Joseph da Silva Nazareth erschienen – und auch nur in einem Exemplar bekannt.¹³ Bekannt war auch ein weiterer Druck, den Joseph (José) da Silva Nazareth 1784 folgen ließ und der immerhin in zwei Exemplaren in öffentlichen Bibliotheken erhalten ist.¹⁴ Gegenüber der Ausgabe von 1753 und 1768 ist er um die Vorrede "A Quem ler" und andere Passagen gekürzt, der Name des Übersetzers ist weggelassen. Schließlich erschien 1818 in Lissabon eine "2a edição" (sic!) des *Tratado do jogo do Whist*. Die Pionierleistung von Vasconcellos Botelho war vergessen. Nun mag diese historische Führungsposition des an Spieltexten nicht eben überreichen Portugal¹⁵ verwundern. Zieht man jedoch die engen Verbindungen zwischen Portugal und England, oder besser die Abhängigkeit des ersteren vom zweiten, wie sie vor allem durch den Methuen-Vertrag (1703) ihre bekannteste kommerzielle Form annahm,¹⁶ in Betracht, so ist die frühe Rezeption und Umsetzung englischer "Produkte" weniger erstaunlich. Rätselhafter ist hingegen der Umstand, daß in einem Theaterstück von 1770 das Whistspiel



Hoyle auf portugiesisch

thematisiert wird, das Spiel aber nichts mit seinem Namen der portugiesischen Spielbücher noch mit dem bei Hoyle gemein hat. Und das, obwohl eine der Figuren festhält, “que ha do Isque hum livro impresso”. Isque für Whisk: War hier älterer englischer oder doch schon französischer Einfluß am Werk (siehe unten)?¹⁷

Im Vorwort an den Leser und die Leserin wird Hoyles Leistung gewürdigt. Sein Werk, seine Erfindung, sei so gut aufgenommen worden, daß innerhalb weniger Jahre acht Ausgaben erschienen seien. Und nach der letzten, also der achten von 1748 mit “muitas outras leys do jogo”, der “memoria artificial” (artificial memory) und einem “Capitulo de treze casos”, ist die Übersetzung entstanden. Damit sollte auch der portugiesischen Nation das so kluge Spiel bekanntgemacht werden.

Der deutschsprachige Raum

Auch die chronologisch zweite Sprachstation Hoyles auf dem Kontinent war Spieleforschern bislang unbekannt. Sie liegt im deutschsprachigen Raum außerhalb Österreichs (und der Schweiz). Ein Jahr nach der portugiesischen Übersetzung erschien die *Kurzgefaßte Anweisung zum Whist=Spiele, aus dem Englischen des Herrn Hoyle nach der neuesten Ausgabe übersetzt. Im Jahr 1754*, die wahrscheinlich in Helmstädt gedruckt worden ist.¹⁸ Welches die neueste Ausgabe ist, wird nicht deutlich. Aber bedeutet der Hinweis auf die neueste Ausgabe nicht eine bereits verbreitete Spielrezeption? Der selbe Titel erschien 1768 ebenfalls ohne Druckort; das einzige bekannte Exemplar liegt allerdings in Gotha, das tatsächlich als Druckort in Frage kommt.¹⁹ Bereits 1756 fanden die deutschsprachigen Regeln Eingang in die Sammlung *Die Kunst die Welt erlaubt mitzunehmen in den verschiedenen Arten der Spiele, so in Gesellschaften höhern Standes, besonders in der Kais. Kön. Residenzstadt Wien üblich sind* (Wien und Nürnberg: Georg Bauer)²⁰, und 1760 sind sie recht ausführlich in einem Werk zu finden, in dem man sie nicht sofort erwarten würde, nämlich in *Natürliches Zauber=Buch oder Neu=eröffneter [!] Spielplatz rarer Künste, Zweyter Band, in welchem nicht alleine eine Fortsetzung aller Taschen=Spieler= sondern auch mathematischer, physicalischer, Mahler und Frauenzimmer=Künste nebst denen heut zu Tage gewöhnlichsten Spielen enthalten [...]* (Nürnberg: Wolfgang Schwarzkopf).²¹ Erst ab 1775 nimmt sich auch das behäbige *Neue Königliche L’Hombre* (Hamburg: Heroldische Buchhandlung) des Whistspiels an – und behält es bis ins 19. Jahrhundert bei. 1787 erschien ein 24seitiges Bändchen ohne Druckort, die *Anweisung, das Whist=Spiel recht zu lernen*. 1787. Oettinger nennt ein verwandt klingendes Werk (*Anweisung zur Erlernung des Taroc-, Piquet-, Whist-, und Boston-Spiels*), das 1787 in Lüneburg bei Herold und Wahlstab, sowie einen fast gleichlautenden Titel (*Anweisung, das Whist=Spiel recht zu erlernen*), der 1788 bei Gerlach in Dresden erschienen sein soll.²² Eine *Neueste Anweisung* für das Erlernen des Whistspiels publizierte Christian Gottfried Flittner (unter dem Pseudonym Düben) zuerst 1795, dann 1797, 1798(?), 1799 und/oder 1800 in

Berlin,²³ eine *Neueste Anweisung zur leichten und gründlichen Erlernung des Tarock= Piquet= Whist= und Boston = Spiels* erschien 1797 (in Gotha?). Für **Österreich** druckte Ghelen 1776 in der kaiserlichen Residenzstadt Wien ein Whist-Buch. Das war allerdings in französischer Sprache, und eben ein Raubdruck.

Whistregeln finden sich in den 1790er Jahren in diversen anderen – aber nicht allen – Sammlungen deutscher oder österreichischer Provenienz, so 1795 in *Der beliebte Weltmensch, welcher lehret die üblichsten Arten der Spiele in kurzer Zeit nach den Regeln und der Kunst von sich selbst zu begreifen, und in allen Gesellschaften [sic!] als Meister aufzutreten* (Wien, Josef Gerold), ebenfalls 1795 in *Gesetzbuch der modernen Spiele Casino, Whist, Boston, Billard, Schach, Toccategli, Taroc, l'Homme, Imperial, und Triomphe* (Wien und Prag: Schönfeldsche Handlung), und ab 1797 in den diversen Ausgaben des *Spiel-Almanach* von Julius Caesar (Berlin: Wilhelm Oehmigke der Jüngere). Am altehrwürdigen “Neuen königlichen L’Hombre” orientierte sich 1799 ein *Neuestes Spielbuch* (Wien: Johann Georg Edler von Mößle).²⁴

Auch Hoyle-Derivate wurden in Deutschland rezipiert. Bald nachdem Bob Short seine Hoyle nachempfundene Kurzfassung der Whistregeln veröffentlicht hatte, reagierte der deutsche Buchmarkt mit einer Übersetzung von A. F. Thoelden. 1793 erschien in Leipzig bei Friedrich Gotthelf Baumgärtner Hoyle im Kleinen oder Kurze Regeln für kurze Gedächtnisse beym Whist-Spiel mit den Gesetzen dieses Spiels. Eingerichtet entweder für den Kopf oder die Tasche von Rob. Short oder von Robert Kurz. Zum Besten der Familien gedruckt, um Zän-kereyen zu vermeiden. Eine Neuauflage folgte 1794.

Frankreich – und die Schweiz

Die französische Rezeption setzt 1761 mit dem *Abrégé du traité de Hoyle sur le jeu de whist, publié en anglois en 1750* ein.²⁵ Erschienen ist er nicht in Frankreich, sondern - in der Schweiz, genauer in Bern bei A. Wagner fils.²⁶ Nach allgemeiner Übereinkunft handelt es sich um eine gekürzte Übersetzung der zehnten Auflage des “Short Treatise of Whist”. Auffallend ist die Art, wie der Autor genannt wird: “de Hoyle”, als ob schon eine gewisse Vertrautheit mit dem Namen bestanden hätte. Doch der



Hoyle auf französisch
(Sammlung D. Temperley)

gekürzte Traktat genügte Frankreich bzw. den französischsprachigen Spielern nicht. Es folgen insgesamt vier verschiedene Übersetzungen.²⁷ Der Berner folgte 1763 eine Pariser, die sich – ein bißchen in irischer Nachdruckmanier – als elfte Edition ausgab: *Le jeu de Whist de M. Hoyle, ouvrage complet, dans lequel est contenu la méthode pour jouer & pour parier d'une façon égale & avantageuse. Avec les Loix du Jeu. Onzième édition. Signé de la main même de l'Auteur Edmond Hoyle. Exemplaire unique, par conséquent, qu'on ne peut apprécier. [...] A Londres. Traduit de l'Anglois, à Paris. M. DCC. LXIII.* "Complet" und "onzième" beziehen sich zweifellos auf *Hoyle's Games Complete*, den Schmutztitel für die "eleventh edition" von *Mr. Hoyle's Games of Whist, Quadrille, Piquet* [...]. Dieser Druck ist undatiert, stammt aber ziemlich sicher aus dem Jahr 1757.²⁸ Von besonderem ästhetischem Reiz in diesem Druck von 1763 ist ein Kupferstich mit whistspielenden Damen und einem Herrn, "Dessiné et gravé par Martinet". Es ist außerdem eines der ersten (und wenigen) französischen Kartenspielregelbücher, das sich als aus dem Englischen übersetzt deklariert (davor und danach [1774]) waren es die Schachspielbücher Gioachino Grecos, übersetzt aus dem Italienischen; vor 1765²⁹ wird auch das Tresette aus dem Italienischen übersetzt. Was sich bis 1800 als aus dem Englischen übersetzt deklariert, ist im Wesentlichen Hoyles Whist!

Bereits 1764 folgt eine weitere Übersetzung. Sie führt das Spiel unter einem Namen ein, der zwar englischen Ursprungs ist, aber ein französisches Spezifikum wird, das jedoch selbst Voltaire Probleme beim Aussprechen bereitete³⁰: *Almanach du Whisk, ou Traité du jeu de Whisk, contenant les Loix de ce Jeu & des Règles pour le bien jouer. Par Edmond Hoyle. Traduit de l'Anglois. A Amsterdam. Et se trouve à Paris, chez Musier Fils, Libraire, quai des Augustins, au coin de la rue Pavée. M. DCCLXIV.* Diese Ausgabe wird in der "Encyclopédie" (Bd. XVII, 1765, s.v. whisk/whist) erwähnt. Musier fils (Jean-Baptiste-Guillaume) legt des "Almanach" oder "Traité" bereits 1765 erneut auf, doch diesmal mit Antoine Fournier.³¹ Musier und Fournier legen damit einen Grundstein für eine lange Serie von "Almanachs". 1766 erscheint der *Almanach du Whisk* wieder bei Musier fils und Fournier, 1767 bei G. Pascal Prault, 1770 bei Musier fils ("Traité" und als fünfte Edition) und 1781 bei Fournier.³² Das ist die sechste und erste von Fournier alleine veranstaltete Ausgabe des "Traité". Fournier nimmt diesen Druck ab 1782 in seine Serie *Almanach des jeux* auf. Allerdings behält er bis 1784 die Schreibweise "Wischt" bei, die er dort seit 1779 verwendete und auch dem "Wischt Bostonien", dem späteren Boston, verpaßte. Diese Eigenart beanspruchte allerdings schon 1778 ein gewisser Delaulne in seiner einaktigen Komödie *Le wish et le loto*, und der hier abgebildete Stich *La partie de Wisch* von Jean Dambrun nach J.-M. Moreau le Jeune (1783) belegt die Verbreitung.

Der *Almanach du Whisk* von 1764 ist außerdem interessant, weil sich mit seinem Text die Schreibweise Whisk in der berühmtesten französischen Spielregelsammlung, der *Académie universelle des jeux* einbürgerte. 1765 reagierte sie auf den Spielertrend und fügt erstmals den lange etablierten Spielen die Regeln des "Traité du jeu de Whisk" an. Selbst in Deutschland wurde diese Form rezipiert. Martin Ehlers erwähnt in seinen *Betrachtungen über*

die Sittlichkeit der Vergnügungen (2. Theil, Flensburg und Leipzig: Kortensche Buchhandlung 1779) "das in unsern Zeiten so geliebte und selbst besungene Whiskspiel". Damit ist das *Chanson sur le jeu de whisk* von M. de Plainchêne von 1776 gemeint, das sich auch in diversen Regelsammlungen findet.³³ 1783 bringt auch Fourniers *Almanach des jeux* ein *Air Le Whisk*. Das portugiesische *Isque* wurde bereits erwähnt.

Musier fils ist in Sachen Whist so etwas wie ein Doppelagent. 1765 erscheint bei ihm und Gogué das Werk *Francion, l'Anti-Whisk: ou le jeu françois, avec la méthode pour le jouer*. Was sich hier der mutmaßliche Autor Joseph Durey de Sauvoy, Marquis du Terrail,³⁴ ausdachte, war eine bemerkenswert frühe Reaktion auf ein sich verbreitendes Spiel, eine Erfindung, die als nationalistische Konkurrenz gedacht war, aber chancenlos und ohne großes Echo blieb.³⁵

1765 ist noch in anderer Hinsicht ein besonderes Whistjahr. Zunächst erscheint noch einmal ein abgekürzter Traktat: *Traité abrégé du jeu de Whist, contenant les loix de ce jeu & des règles pour le bien jouer, avec divers Calculs pour en connoitre les Chances, et plusieurs cas difficiles dont on montre la solution; par Edmond Hoyle. Traduit de l'Anglois. 1765.*

Der erste Teil des Titels ist eindeutig dem "Almanach" von 1764 entlehnt, der zweite, mit den "Calculs" und "Chances" sowie den "cas difficiles" scheint hingegen eine eigenständige Übernahme einer englischen Vorlage. Obwohl ohne neuerliche Autopsie von mir nicht eindeutig zu belegen, vermutet Thierry Depaulis ein späteres Druckjahr, nämlich um 1780, und Holland oder Flandern als Druckort.³⁶ Warum man aber Bücher um 15 Jahre hätte älter machen sollen und worauf sich dann "1765" bezieht, ist nicht geklärt.³⁷

Italien

Die vierte bislang bekannte französischsprachige Übersetzung erschien ebenfalls 1765, diesmal in Turin: *Traité du jeu de whist Traduit de l'Anglois d'Edmond Hoyle. A Turin MDCCLXV. Chez les Freres Reycends, & Guibert Libraires au coin de la Ruë Neuve. Avec permission.* Das Imprimatur vom 24. November 1764 könnte diesen Druck tatsächlich älter machen als den im selben Jahr in Den Haag erschienenen, bei dem die Parallele des Titels und die gleiche Zahl der Seiten verblüfft. Gemeint ist der *Traité du jeu de whist, Traduit de l'Anglois d'Edmond Hoyle. Nouvelle édition augmentée. A La Haye, chez Frederic Staatman, Libraire sur le Kalvermarkt, près le Maréchal de Turenne. M. DCC. LXV. Avec Permission.* Was an dieser Edition neu und vermehrt ist, läßt sich im Augenblick nicht beantworten.

Niederlande

Damit ist Hoyle auch in den Niederlanden eingezogen. 1766 und 1776 druckt J. Vandenberghen den Titel in Brüssel, bevor ihn Staatman 1779 (zusammen mit dem *Francion* und dem *Trois-sept*) noch einmal in Den Haag auflegt. Der *Traité...traduit de l'anglois d'Edmond Hoyle* erscheint außerdem 1773 in Liège bei F. J. Desoer (mit *Trois-sept*) und 1776 "augmenté" in Liège bei Bollen

files, der damit auch die Badegäste in Spa "en temps de Saison" versorgte. 1794 gibt ihn Desoeur erneut heraus. Aber schon 1771 wurde in Tournay bei Adrien Serré der *Almanach contenant les loix des jeux de piquet et de whist, pour l'année bissextile 1772* gedruckt.³⁸ Es war jedoch der *Traité* von 1765, sei es der Den Haager oder der Turiner - noch wahrscheinlicher sind die Brüsseler Editionen - den Ghelen 1776 in Wien nachdruckte.

Erst 1790 machten sich die nördlichen Niederlande von der französischen Dominanz frei und übersetzten selbst ihren Hoyle: *Volledig onderwijs in het Whist-Omber- Quadrille- en Piket-Spel. Naar het Engelsch van den Heer Hoyle. Met de nodige toelichtingen voor de nederlandsche speeiers. Te Amsterdam, bij Keijzer, Van der Burgh en Wijnands, Dordrecht, - De Leeuw en Krap, Middelburg, - Keel en Wetter, 's Bosch, - J. en H. Palier. 1790.*

Das Zarenreich

Doch bedienten sich Fürstentümer und Monarchien Europas weiterhin des Französischen, auch beim Kartenspiel. Österreichs Maria Theresia wollte ihre an den französischen König verheiratete Tochter Marie-Antoinette vor dem Pharaospiel warnen und bediente sich dabei der spezifischen französischen Ausprägung des Spielnamens. Man habe, wendet sie ein, auch unter Ludwig XV. gespielt, aber neben anderen "jeux de commerce" nur "le landsknecht, le cavagniol et le visque".³⁹ Das Zarenreich schloß sich dem Trend an und etablierte das Whist. Möglicherweise diente der Berner Druck von 1761, jedenfalls aber eine französische Vorlage, die sich auf die englische Ausgabe von 1750 bezieht, als Vorlage für eine russische - gekürzte - Übersetzung durch A. M. Saltykov. Sie erschien 1769, im Todesjahr Hoyles, in Sankt Petersburg in der Naukschen Druckerei der Akademie der Wissenschaften: *Sokrashchennoye opisaniye, vybrannoy iz sochineniya g. Goylya o igre, nazyvayemoy vist, obnarodovannoye v Anglii v 1750 godu, perevedennoye s anglitskogo yazyka na frantsuzskoy, a s frantsuzskago na rossiyskoy [...]*.⁴⁰ Eine weitere russische Übersetzung, diesmal aus dem Englischen und nach der 13. Auflage, erschien 1791 in ebenfalls St. Petersburg, bei I. K. Shnor. Der Titel lautet in Übersetzung ungefähr folgendermaßen: "Der neueste Kartenspieler, oder kurzer Traktat über das Whistspiel (...) In Englisch verfaßt durch den bekannten Englischen Whistspieler und -lehrer für edle Herren Mr. Edmond Hoyle (...)." ⁴¹

Dänemark

Deutschland, das offenbar kaum französischem Tetxteinfluß unterlag⁴², diente Hoyles Whist als Zwischenstation auf dem Weg nach Dänemark. 1786 wurde in Kopenhagen das *Neue Königliche L'Hombre* als das *Nije og fulstændig Dansk Spille=Bog* samt den Whistregeln übersetzt und herausgebracht (Paa Fabers og Nitschkes Forlag og findes tilkiöbs i den Mum[m]iske Boghandling paa Börsen N° 5).⁴³ Deutlicher wird der Transfer beim ersten und einzigen dänischen Einzeldruck aus dem Jahr 1794: *Whist=Spilleren, eller en kort, men tydelig og fulstændig, Anviisning til ret at lære Whist=Spillet. Af det Tydske. Kiøbenhavn 1794. Trykt paa L. Reistrups Forlag, og sælges i hans Boghandling paa Østergade No. 31, heftet for x Skilling.* Auch wenn der Name Hoyle nicht genannt wird, stand er auch hier Pate.

Noch einmal Italien

Obwohl mit Turin bereits die Türe nach Italien offen gestanden hätte, ignorierte die übrige Apenninenhalbinsel, beziehungsweise seine Buchdrucker und Verleger, das Kartenspiel, während es im übrigen Europa bereits Furore machte. Dennoch bleibt Hoyle auch hier kein Unbekannter. 1768 erschien zum erstenmal in Florenz in Übersetzung sein Text über das – Schach!⁴⁴ Sein Whist ließ bis 1821 auf sich warten, als in Mailand bei Manini e Rivolta *Il giuoco del whist tradotto dall'inglese* gedruckt wurde. 1823 kam Hoyle in Florenz über die Abkürzung namens Bob Short zu Ehren.⁴⁵

In kulturhistorischer Hinsicht erscheint die kulturelle Hegemonie Frankreichs nicht mehr unangefochten. Es zeichnet sich ein großer Umschwung ab: Die englische "Mode" ergreift das Kartenspiel. Das dominierende Frankreich tritt seine Vorbildrolle zumindest auf einem Teilgebiet der Spielgewohnheiten gegen den sonst noch herrschenden Trend Englands, bei Frankreich Kulturanleihen zu machen,⁴⁶ allmählich an England ab. Hoyle war einer der Pioniere, ein Vertreter der wachsenden ökonomischen Potenz und schließlichen Dominanz Britanniens, einer, der seine triumphale Grand Tour mit nachhaltigem Einfluß unternahm.

Jede Grand Tour endete normalerweise mit der Rückkehr der an Wissen und Kenntnissen bereicherten Reisenden. Doch Hoyles Whist zog aus, um in der Fremde zu bleiben. Es bereicherte Übersetzer, Schriftsteller, Buchdruck und Buchhandel, und nicht zuletzt die Spielpalette der Welt. Die Upper class der europäischen Kartenspielgesellschaft gab sich zufrieden, spätestens bis ein neuer Reisender namens Bridge⁴⁷ ankam.

Notes

^{1*} Nach der unerwarteten Beendigung des Projekts meiner Bibliographie der Spieltexte bis 1800 konnte dieser Artikel durch die konstruktive Mithilfe von Sammlern, Bibliothekaren und nicht zuletzt Mitgliedern der IPCS zustande kommen. Ihrer Hilfe verdankt sich diese Rekonstruktion eines Teils der ursprünglich geplanten Bibliographie, deren bis dahin gesammelte Ergebnisse ich meinem ehemaligen Arbeitgeber abzuliefern hatte. Mögen die Gesten der Freundschaft und des Geistes im Dienste der Wissenschaft stets über den Blindheiten der eitlen Ignoranz stehen! R. Southey: *Letters from England*, by Don Manuel Alvarez Espriella (2d ed., 1808), III, 77f., zit. nach PAULSON, Ronald: *Popular and polite art in the age of Hogarth and Fielding*. Notre Dame, Indiana 1979 (= *Ward-Phillips lectures in English language and literature*; 10), 85.

² Vgl. Paulson, *Popular and polite art*, 94.

³ 1750 erschien "The seventh edition" des "Compleat Gamester", 1754 die achte, auf der John Seymour als Autor und Charles Johnson als Bearbeiter genannt werden. Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des Whist siehe DEPAULIS, Thierry: *Histoire du bridge*, Paris 1997, sowie von demselben, und sei es auch nur wegen des großartigen Titels: *Let's whist again*, in: *Jeux & Stratégie* 52 (1988) 42-45.

⁴ Zit. nach JOURNEAUX, Isabelle: *Le jeu à travers les romanciers français et anglais du XVIIIe siècle*. In: *Revue d'histoire et contemporaine*, 40-1 (janvier-mars 1993) 49-85, hier 69 und 59.

⁵ Haywood, Eliza: *The Invisible Spy*. By Exploralibus. London: T. Gardner 1755, I, 25, zit. nach Journeaux, 58.

⁶ MARTIN: *Nouveau traité du veritable quadrille*, traduit en anglois sur l'original fran,ois [...] A new treatise upon real quadrille [...] London: printed for G. Burnet, 1764.

⁷ Paulson, *Popular and polite art*, 96 und 102.

⁸ Bob Short (d.i. Robert Withy): *Hoyle abridged*, Part II., London 1793: „To the Public“.

⁹ Hoyle's Games Improved wurden 1796 von William Spotswood in Boston, in Philadelphia von

H. und P. Rice (sowie J. Rice in Baltimore) und in New York bzw. Richmond von William Prichard bzw. Prichard and Davidson gedruckt und / oder verlegt. – Ein General Scott hatte 1792 in London *The Beauties of Hoyle and Paine* veröffentlicht. 1796 erschienen auf Barbados Scotts *The rules of whist: being a compendium of easy rules, necessary to be known by every whist player: with maxims, by General Scott. Fourth edition.* Barbados: printed by Matthew Carbery, and sold by him at his office, Bridge-Town. M,DCC,LXLVI.

- ¹⁰ Es existiert allerdings noch eine zehnte Auflage des Whist-Traktats, die 1755 bei Osborne und Reeve erschien! Die neunte Auflage erschien unter einem anderen Titel und als Sammelwerk mit anderen Spielregeln, aber ebenfalls bei Thomas Osborne und W. Reeve: *The Accurate Gamester's Companion: Containing infallible rules for playing the game of Whist to perfection in all its branches. Treated in an easy manner, and illustrated with variety of cases. Also the laws of the game, calculations relative to it, &c. The ninth edition improv'd. To which are added, the games of Quadrille, Piquet, Chess and Back-Gammon, fully explain'd. Likewise a dictionary for Whist, and an artificial memory. The whole founded on the experience of Edmond Hoyle, Gent.* London: Printed for Tho. Osborne: And sold by W. Reeve, at Shakespeare's-Head, near Serjeant's-Inn-Gate, in Fleet-Street. 1748. Zu diesem Druck schreibt Frederic Jessel: "It would appear that Osborne sold his remainder to W. Reeve, who issued it as a ninth edition. It contains certain misprints which are also in early copies of the eighth, but not all, so Osborne may have continued to sell a corrected edition himself." (Jessel, 801) Siehe dazu die Anmerkung in der folgenden Fußnote. – W. Reeve besorgte zusammen mit anderen 1753 auch die *Humours of whist*.
- ¹¹ Wie die gesamte Editionsgeschichte der Hoyleschen Texte ist auch diese Edition ein problematischer Fall, denn Thomas Osborne datierte auch eine "eighth edition" des "Short treatise on the game of Whist" mit 1750. Osborne und Reeve datierten dann 1755 konsequenterweise auch eine "tenth edition" des Whist-Traktats. Die "eleventh" erhält dann (richtigerweise) den Sammeltitel "Mr. Hoyle's Games of" (zu dieser siehe unten).
- ¹² Ich danke Richard R. Ramer, Old and Rare Books, New York, für seine freundliche Hilfe und die Zurverfügungstellung von Kopien!
- ¹³ *Breve tratado do jogo do Whist, que conte'm as leis do jogo, e algumas regras, pelas quaes se podé conseguir o jogá-lo bem. Addicionado com duas calculaçoes: huma sobre as postas em qualquer ponto do jogo; e outra para dar a conhecer ao parceiro huma, e mais certas cartas. Traduzido da lingua Ingleza na Portugueza por Luiz de Vasconcellos Botelho.* LISBOA, Na Officina de Joseph da Silva Nazareth. Anno de 1768. Com as licenças necessarias. (Lisboa, Biblioteca Nacional; früher auch in der British Library)
- ¹⁴ *Breve tratado do jogo do Whist. Novamente correcto, e emendado nesta ultima impressaõ.* Lisboa, Na Officina de Jozé da Silva Nazareth. Anno M.DCC.LXXXIV. Com licença da Real meza Censoria. (Lisboa, B.N.; Las Vegas UNLV)
- ¹⁵ So erschien beispielsweise erst 1806 eine *Academia dos jogos* (Lisboa, na impressão Regia) (SILVA, Innocencio Francisco da: *Diccionario bibliographico portuguez*, VIII/1 suppl., Lisboa 1867; VAN DER LINDE, Antonius: *Geschichte und Litteratur des Schachspiels*, II, Berlin 1874, 58)
- ¹⁶ Vgl. Paul BAIROCH, *Victoires et déboires. Histoire économique et sociale du monde du XVIIe siècle à nos jours*, I, Paris 1997, 521f.
- ¹⁷ *Entremez da assemblea do Isque.* Lisboa, na officina de A. Rodrigues Galhardo, 1770. Das Stück wird Leonardo José Pimenta e Antas zugeschrieben, dem António Jacinto de Arújo in seiner "Arte de Escripta" bescheinigt, "único em Portugal em carácter de letra francesa" gewesen zu sein (zit. nach: Portugal - *Dicionário histórico*, Internetversion). – Das Stück wurde 1784 neu aufgelegt. Auf diesen zweiten Druck, auf Grund dessen ich den ersten "entdeckte", machte mich Pedro Lisboa aufmerksam, dessen Mitteilung ich auch das Zitat entnommen habe.
- ¹⁸ Nach den Angaben einiger Bibliothekskataloge. Exemplare in den Bibliotheken von Göttingen, Leipzig, Rudolstadt, Stuttgart, Brno und Oslo.
- ¹⁹ Der genannte Druck von 1768 ist vermutlich identisch mit "Des Herrn Hoyle Anweisung zum Whistspiele", die der Wiener Buchhändler Trattner unter dem Erscheinungsort Gotha anbot (Trattner, *Catalogus* 1770).
- ²⁰ Das Werk wurde 1769 in Nürnberg von Johann Eberhard Zeh neu aufgelegt.
- ²¹ Die darin enthaltenen Spielregeln sind allerdings deutlich von der "Kunst" von 1756 inspiriert.

- ²² OETTINGER, Eduard Maria: Contingent zur Literatur der Spielkarten und Kartenspiele. In: *Serapeum. Zeitschrift für Bibliothekswissenschaft, Handschriftenkunde und ältere Litteratur*, 13 (1852) 193-203. Herold und Wahlstab besorgten 1798 die "vierzehnte, verbesserte und vermehrte" und 1808 die fünfzehnte Auflage von "Das neue königliche L'Hombre", die ebenfalls die Whistregeln enthalten.
- ²³ 1795: früher Staatsbibliothek Berlin; 1797: Leinfelden-Echterdingen; 1798: ERSCH, Johann Samuel: Allgemeines Repertorium der Literatur. Drittes Quinquennium für die Jahre 1796 bis 1800, Weimar 1807; 1799: Annonce in Allgemeiner Literatur-Zeitung 1799; 1800: "dritte, stark vermehrte Auflage" nach Katalog Antiquariat Gilhofer. Eine fünfte Auflage erschien 1807, eine neunte 1824.
- ²⁴ Mit Whist vielleicht schon 1795 unter dem Titel Neuestes Allgemein-nützlich Spielbuch.
- ²⁵ Ich konnte nicht überprüfen, ob und welche Regeln (deutsch? / französisch?) im *Calendrier des plaisirs* (La Haye 1756) enthalten sind. Ein freundlicher Hinweis der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Göttingen erwähnt das Whist ...
- ²⁶ Ein Exemplar (das einzige bekannte?) besitzt die Library of Congress in Washington.
- ²⁷ DEPAULIS, Thierry: *Les loix du jeu. Bibliographie de la littérature technique des jeux de cartes en français avant 1800. Suivie d'un supplément couvrant les années 1800-1850*, Paris 1994, 7.
- ²⁸ Sie wurde für Thomas Osborne, James Hodges und Richard Baldwin gedruckt. Die Bodleian Library datiert 1757. Als allerfrühestes Druckjahr käme 1755 in Frage, als spätestes 1758, das Jahr, in dem James Hodges seine Tätigkeit als Buchhändler beendete (Mellot / Queval). James Hodges hatte übrigens 1739 die sechste Auflage des "Compleat Gamester" mit-, 1750 die siebente und 1754 die achte alleine herausgegeben.
- ²⁹ Das Werk wird in *Le jeu de trois-sept* (Bruxelles 1765) erwähnt, woraus sich die Datierung vor 1765 ergibt (Depaulis, Loix).
- ³⁰ In *L'homme aux quarante écus* (1768) schreibt Voltaire: "Mes voisins et mes voisines jouent, après diner, un jeu anglais, que j'ai beaucoup de peine à prononcer car on l'appelle whisk." Zit. nach Depaulis, *Histoire du bridge*, 58. Aber Henry Fielding bestätigt 1743 (*The Life of M. Jonathan Wild the Great*) den englischen Gebrauch von Whisk: "Whisk and swabbers was the game then in the chief vogue." Zit. nach *Journeaux, Le jeux*, 69. Die alte Form Whisk findet sich in einem Text von 1621, Whist zuerst 1663 (siehe Depaulis, *Histoire du Bridge*, 47f.) Whisk wird auch später (1670), beispielsweise in der englischen Übersetzung des Losbuchs von Vulson de la Colombière, *The Court of Curiositie*, genannt.
- ³¹ GRAND-CARTERET, John: *Les almanachs français (1600-1895)*, Paris 1896, 378.
- ³² Noch 1781 erschien der *Traité* noch in Paris "chez les Libraires associés" mit Anti-Whist (Francion), Tressette und Schach.
- ³³ Ediert von L. P. Bachaumont in: *Mémoires secrets pour servir à l'histoire de la république des lettres en France*, III, 1780, S. 226 (datiert 11. September 1767). (Information Thierry Depaulis)
- ³⁴ Vermutliche Autorschaft nach CONLON, Pierre M.: *Le Siècle des Lumières. Bibliographie chronologique*. Conlon nennt als Quelle Bachaumont (siehe vorhergehende Anm.). - "Francion" spielt natürlich auf den weit verbreiteten, oftmals edierten und übersetzten Erfolgs-"Anti"-Roman "Histoire comique de Francion" (erstmalig 1623) von Charles Sorel an.
- ³⁵ Der Text erscheint in der Folge nur zusammen mit seinem englischen "Gegner": 1779 fügte es F. Staatman in La Haye/Den Haag seinem bereits 1765 gedruckten Whist-Traktat an - und re-etablierte die Schreibweise "Whist"; 1781 gaben die "Libraires associés" in Paris dasselbe (erweitert um Tressette und Schach) heraus. 1797 kam dann auch "Le nouveau joueur parfait", eine gigantomanische Spielregelsammlung in seinem vierten Teil mit "Francion" heraus. Das erste Spiel des ersten Teils ist übrigens "Du Jeu de Whist, avec divers Calculs pour en connoître les Chances Anglaises, & ses Loix", und "Ed. H.", einer der beiden am Schluß des Titels genannten "Joueurs expérimentés", wird demnach wohl füglich Edmond Hoyle sein.
- ³⁶ Schriftlicher Hinweis Thierry Depaulis. Exemplare liegen in Berlin, Halle und in der UB Amsterdam. Möglicherweise identisch mit dem Exemplar "Traité abrégé du jeu de Whist" der BL London 7915. aaa.15 (missing), das laut Katalog der BL vielleicht in Wien gedruckt wurde.
- ³⁷ Theoretisch käme 1765 als Erscheinungsjahr eines "Almanach" in Frage. Doch Musier fils und Fournier verwendeten "Whisk" und kein "abrégé"! Daß die Niederlande (oder Deutschland!?)

als Herkunftsland in Frage kommen, ist hingegen leichter möglich, zumal diese Ausgabe nur in öffentlichen Bibliotheken in Amsterdam und Halle nachzuweisen sind – nicht aber in französischen. Auf daß der freundschaftliche Streit der Gelehrten weitergehe und zu fruchtbaren Ergebnissen führe!

- ³⁸ Ein Exemplar in der Bibliothèque Royale von Bruxelles. Das Titelblatt fehlt. Informationen der BR Bruxelles nach Emile DESMAZIÈRES, *Bibliographie tounaisienne: recherches sur la vie et les travaux des imprimeurs et des libraires de Tournai* (Tournai 1882), 1359.
- ³⁹ Brief Maria Theresias an Marie-Antoinette, Wien 5.Nov.1777, in: ARNETH, Alfred Ritter von (Hrsg.): *Maria Theresia und Maria Antoinette. Ihr Briefwechsel*. 2. verm. Aufl., Leipzig-Paris-Wien 1866, 223. Daß Cavagnol und Lansquenet keine “jeux de commerce” sind, sei beiläufig angemerkt.
- ⁴⁰ Transkription nach Alexander LOBASHEV, der (zusammen mit J. McLeod) eine Bibliographie zur russischen Kartenspielliteratur erstellt hat (Ekaterinburg 2001). Ich danke Alexej Lobashev für die Erlaubnis, seine Ergebnisse zu benützen. – Exemplare befinden sich in der Russischen Nationalbibliothek von St. Petersburg, der Russischen Staatsbibliothek Moskau, der Wissenschaftlichen Bibliothek der Moskauer Staatsuniversität, der Öffentlichen Historischen Bibliothek Russlands (Moskau), der Bibliothek der Russischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (St. Petersburg), sowie in der Library of Congress in Washington (siehe NUC). Die Übersetzung lautet ungefähr so: “Eine gekürzte Beschreibung ausgewählt aus dem Werk des Herrn Hoyle über das Whist genannte Spiel, veröffentlicht in England 1750, übersetzt aus dem Englischen ins Französische und aus dem Französischen ins Russische.” Die Auflage betrug 300 Stück.
- ⁴¹ Lobashev, *Bibliographie. Noveyshiy kartochnyi igrok ili kratkoye sochineniye o igre vist, soderzhashcheye zakony sey igry*. Exemplare in der Russischen Staatsbibliothek (Moskau) und der Russischen Nationalbibliothek (St. Petersburg). Die dreizehnte, von Hoyle selbst signierte Auflage als Vorlage für die Übersetzung wird im Titel genannt. Die von A. Lobashev genannte Vorlage einer dreizehnten Auflage London 1752 ist mir nicht nachweisbar. Mir ist nur eine in Dublin gedruckte dreizehnte Auflage bekannt. Eine dreizehnte Londoner Auflage von Mr. Hoyle’s Games of Whist, Quadrille, Piquet [...] (für Osborne, Woodfall und Baldwin) ist undatiert. Der National Union Catalogue nimmt 1763 als Druckjahr an. – Ebenfalls 1791 erschien eine Kartenspielregelsammlung (zwei von vier angekündigten Bänden), die aus dem Französischen übersetzt wurde und um Kartenspiele, die in Rußland gespielt wurden, vermehrt war. Das Werk ist ebenfalls bei Lobashev genannt.
- ⁴² Zu erwähnen ist ein undatiertes, vielleicht in Halle entstandener Druck, ein Auszug aus Hoyles “Traité” in XXV Artikeln auf [13] Seiten mit dem Titel *Loix du jeu de Whist*. Er ist in einer speziellen Kursivschrift gedruckt und mutet wie ein Privatdruck an (um 1770?). Das einzige bekannte Exemplar liegt in Halle.
- ⁴³ Eine zweite Auflage erschien 1802.
- ⁴⁴ *Il giuoco delli scacchi con alcune regole, ed osservazioni per ben giuocarlo del Signore [H]oyle Inglese Tradotto nel nostro Idiomo e dedicata al merito impareggiabile del Signore Dudley Digges Caval. Inglese Ufiziale di Marina al servizio di Sua Maesta’ Britannica. In Firenze MDCCCLXVIII. Per Gio. Batista Stecchi, e Anton-Giuseppe Pagani. Con Licenza de’ Superiori.* (Exemplar der KB Den Haag) – Weitere Auflagen ab 1803.
- ⁴⁵ LENSÌ, Alfredo: *Bibliografia italiana di giochi di carte*. (1892) Premessa e saggio di integrazione di Giampaolo DOSSENA e Dino SILVESTRONI. Ravenna 1985, Nr. 61 (für 1821), Nr. 75 (für 1823). Die Übersetzung von Bob Short ist allerdings bereits die “Seconda edizione”! Eine dritte erschien 1832 (Lensi, Nr. 76), die erste konnte noch nicht lokalisiert werden.
- ⁴⁶ Fernand BRAUDEL: *Aufbruch zur Weltwirtschaft*, München 1986 (Paris 1979), 70. Daß der Trend von Frankreich nach England weiterhin vorhanden ist, zeigt beispielsweise der 1764 in London erschienene zweisprachige Quadrille-Traktat *Nouveau traité du véritable Quadrille, traduit en anglois sur l’original françois de Mons. Martin, maître d’académie [!] de jeu à Paris*. [...] London: Printed for G. Burnet [...] M.DCC.LXIV.
- ⁴⁷ Depaulis, *Histoire du bridge*.



NEW ISSUES



Roma Dal Negro

“The most striking views of Roma” by Dal Negro. This pack of 52 cards, 2 jokers and 1 title card belongs to the “Cities of Art” collection. I’m however disappointed that only 17 colour photographs by Cesare Gerolimetto are present. The web site www.dalnegro.com was under reconstruction beginning of 2005 so I cannot see their latest catalogue and therefore I do not know what are the other cities. Like most packs of cards for tourism, it has been bought in the relevant city. It may be difficult to get it elsewhere and it has not to be confused with the older one by ItalCards. (Reviewed by Christian De Ryck)



Franklin France Cartes

Franklin is a young turtle from children books by Paulette Bourgeois and Brenda Clark adapted to cartoon movies by Nelvana. This pack, produced in China and edited by France Cartes, has 52 cards only. No joker but a leaflet with six original rules for young children like “les 13 cartes” (the 13 cards) or “le jeu des amis” (the game of friends). English indices are used and pip cards have drawings with grey colour (the same for all of them). This pack is sold for about EUR 4 in department stores and supermarkets. I have seen an other pack from the same editor, still with 52 cards: ‘Ninja turtle’ and ‘Marvel Super-heroes’ (Reviewed by Christian De Ryck)



Invisible cards

Two cards are shown here: the jack of hearts and the 10 of spades. Part of the card is transparent. That’s why they are called invisible cards. Two different packs of cards exist with this name. They are both with 52 waterproof PVC cards and 2 jokers. The cards have English indices and the back is alike with coloured circles. They are both sold in frosted PVC plastic case. The first one is copyrighted by Pieter Woudt and edited by Kikkerland Design Inc. (www.kikkerland.com). Pieter Woudt worked for MTV as a senior designer



and now runs the 212 Big Bolt design firm in New York. The design of the card is here very modern and the figures may be difficult to recognise without the card indices. It can be found in shops dedicated to new and fancy objects. Try also web shops like <http://www.iwantoneofthose.com/INVSET.htm>. This one has customer comments. Pieter Woudt has also designed the "Crazy cards" which add radiant lines to make funny moiré patterns. The second pack is an anonymous copy but with a more traditional design. It is a little more difficult to find. The price is about EUR 10 each. *(Reviewed by Christian De Ryck)*



Mam'Goudig



Mam'Goudig was created in 1995 by Jean-Paul David. She was first represented on postcards and stickers as a strong symbol of modern Brittany. That's why this old woman with character acts in a very modern way but still wears the typical French Breton clothes with the *Bigouden* hat. In 2002, the dog (here the jack) appeared in a cartoon book. This pack of playing cards (52 + 2 jokers) is edited by Jos le Doare (<http://www.editions-jos.com>). I may complain that the pictures are not as humorous as those in the postcards. However, the design is appealing and Breton spellings are added to the French indices. This pack is sold for about EUR 10 throughout Brittany (France). In 2005, it will be possible to order this pack from <http://www.mamgoudig.com>. More family games from the same author are expected in the following years. *(Reviewed by Christian De Ryck)*

Musolari *Naipes de mus*

This pack of 40 cards has been designed last year by Ana Maria Vicente Cuesta and José Maria Trigueros Lorenzo for the game of mus. A description of this Basque game is available in www.pagat.com. The Ontario Basque Club web page gives more details on Basque terminology. It is originally played with a standard Spanish pack of cards but here kings and threes have the same value. The twos are played like aces. The authors have then simplified the pack with 8 aces and 8 kings. The suits have no significance: all



cards of same value are identical. For example, the illustration of the fours depicts four people playing mus. The price was EUR 6 last year. It is possible to contact the authors and editors at +34 636 417 920 or to write to Apartado de correos 6.129, 47080 Valladolid. (Reviewed by Christian De Ryck)

Tarot of Murat Carta Mundi

Murat is a small medieval city in Cantal (Auvergne, France). An artist and an historian have just recently released a new tarot deck, using French indices and with beautiful representations of craftsmen. The trump shown here depicts the blacksmith. It is possible to view most of the cards in <http://www.artiste-ouvrier.com> or in the House of Auvergne, (maison de l'Auvergne, 194 bis rue de Rivoli, Paris). This pack has 78 cards, 2 presentation cards and a box. It is printed by Carta Mundi and cost about EUR 20 (price can be reduced to EUR 10 if bought by quantity of ten or more). Postage is EUR 2.60 in Europe and 3.10 abroad. It is possible to get an order form in <http://www.lapanse.com> or <http://www.parispochoirs.com> (Reviewed by Christian De Ryck)



Mahabharata Tarot

The Mahabharata tarot is a partner to the Ramayana 78 card tarot. In order to economise, the cards are thinner, and these are square cornered. On the back there is the image of Our Auspicious Elephant-headed God, Ganesh. It is said that Ganesh has written the full Mahabharata, as narrated by Vedavyasa, without any stoppage. The suit symbols are Wands, Coins, Pentacles, and Swords but these could have been changed to Hindu suit symbols as Quoits, Mace, Swords, Shankh etc. which could have been more appropriate. Also, some pictures depicting scenes of Mahabharata, at least on the 22 Major Arcana Cards, could have been excellent to coincide with the name! More or so, many cards look copied from



the western tarots- the Suit Symbols, mainly! There are two extra cards. One is for Ramayana set: showing Rama, Sita and the Ape God Hanuman, and on the extra Card in Mahabharata set, the card shows Lord Krishna (Eighth incarnation of Vishnu God) as the Charioteer on the Chariot and inside is Arjun, the Hero of Mahabharata. Incidentally, Mahabharata is the longest epic in the world. (Reviewed by Kishor Gordhandas)



Mughal-E-Azam

The two pictures show Backs as Actor Dilip Kumar in the original Film of 1960 of MUGHAL-E-AZAM, as Salim (or Akbar the great's son), and the actress



Madhubala (now no more) as Salim's lover- and the King shows Akbar himself- Aces show The lover's mood in embrace of Salim and his lover Anarkali (They never got married). Jokers show the words of the picture Mughal-e-Azam, lengthwise along the longer sides of the cards. Queens show JODHABAI, Akbar's Hindu Wife and Jacks look average. But all the Aces have different embracing pictures of The Royal Lovers. Twin packs with different backs as mentioned above



come in a nice Red colour Tin Box with a picture of a nice scene. Originally the film was in black and white (in 1960), but recently, last year (2004) the full picture has been revived in colour and to coincide with this a double pack of cards has been manufactured, of which I came to know very late. If some more had been spent on these cards, a little better design could have been made, at least with the court cards. As it is, the court card designs are repeated for each suit.. Coupled with the nice tin box, I am sure an excellent result could have been achieved. Anyway, it is nice to see that here in India playing cards are being manufactured on some unusual or interesting occasion. The cards are hard to come by because they were intended as gifts at the premiere of the film but would be of interest to all who take movies as their collecting theme. *(Reviewed by Kishor Gordhandas)*

Finnair Animals

This pack issued by the airline Finnair in 2004 shows animal photos in narrow



vertical frames. The back shows on white, the airline's logo and name in blue at each end on white background with the logo and name in pale blue. There are 52 different pictures of animals and birds in small frames and with large indices.

(Reviewed by Kishor Gordhandas)



K. FRANK JENSEN

Tarot Reviews - continued from page 149

Housewives Tarot - A Domestic Divination Kit

It is a relief when a quite different and unusual tarot deck shows up in the endless flood of self-important tarot products. "The Housewives Tarot - A Domestic Divination Kit" is such a deck. The package alone is promising, looking like the packing for a typical household product of the 1940's or 50's. It could be a pack of tea or coffee, a special soap product or even a pack of margarine. The relatively big box (140x90x70 millimetre) is made of heavy cardboard and covered with a check patterned paper carrying the necessary information about the product along with a portrait of the happy housewife, who holds a card in her hand. One text on the box says: "Within this Box lie the Secrets of Domestic Empowerment".

So what is that secret? Opening up the box, the happy housewife will find that the inside reveals a filing box with file cards and index cards, held in a tilted position. The index cards keep the tarot majors from the minors and an instruction book is also stored behind one. The frames around the cards are coloured differently for each suit and the suit marks are dinnerware (pentacles), martini glasses (cups), mops/brooms (wands). The swords are edged or pointed instruments, like pairs of scissors or knives. All cards have collage art based upon advertising illustrations as they were used in ladies weekly magazines in mid-20th century. Now these illustrations all appear very funny but in those days, it was the way household products were promoted and sold. One can wonder if nowadays advertising style will appear just as ridiculous in 50 years? In a way, it does already now.

Anyway, the nostalgic art is quite entertaining, and as the box states, "Shuffle the deck to create the recipe of your future". The 96 pages booklet tells how to do that. The description of each of the cards is just as funny as the rest of this household



product. This is not the first time we have seen a tarot deck disguised as a box of recipe cards. US Games System's "Epicurean Tarot" was a box of recipe cards to use for your cooking. How much more could that deck have been appreciated, had it been illustrated in this way, instead of the manufacturer's endless use of inferior Waite-Smith remakes. Luckily, "The Housewives Tarot - A Domestic Divination Kit" is a much more interesting product and, amazingly, it costs less than \$15. -. The creators are Paul Kepple and Jude Buffum and the publisher is Quirk Books, Pennsylvania (www.quirkbooks.com). Distribution in USA is by Chronicle Books.

Medieval Cat Tarot

Animals acting in human ways seem to have been a popular theme in art and literature throughout history. "Fontaine's Fables" are just one example, which also gave inspiration to more than one card deck. The cat is apparently the most popular animal in this regard and the number of tarot- and playing card decks with cat motives are legion and, as such, themes for specialized collections. An early pack from USGames Systems Inc. (1985) is Karen Kuykendall's "Tarot of the Cat People" which took place in science fiction scenery. Stuart R. Kaplan has now, 20 years later, felt that the time was appropriate for publishing another tarot deck with cat motives. The artist of "Medieval Cat Tarot" is Lawrence Teng, who also, together with Gina M. Pace is the author of the superficial text in the accompanying booklet A few sentences in the booklet and an extra card make an attempt to justify the theme by referring to the occult role cats periodically had.

"Medieval" in the title indicates that the scenery takes place in medieval settings. It does, sort of. I would rather say that the scenery is rather neutral but that the cats are dressed in costumes inspired by cloths worn in the Middle Ages. The art is competent but a bit dull. The cats and their face expressions look all quite alike as if the artist had only one model. In real life cats and their facial expressions are a lot



more different than this deck gives the impression of. Good quality cardboard and nice printing etc. I notice with pleasure that the publisher has recognized that white borders around the image are not a necessity. Medieval Cat Tarot. Lawrence Teng with Gina M. Pace. 78+2 cards. Cardboard box. Booklet 47 pages. USGames Systems Inc. 2004. ISBN 1-57281-476-4. Available from all major sources including Amazon and www.tarotgarden.com



