

Distinctive Features of German 'Goose' Games

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1. Scope and aims of the paper

This paper is concerned with the history, from the late 16th C up to the beginning of the 20th C, of German single-track race games of the 'roll-and-move' type, i.e. those played with dice and having no choice of move. The Game of the Goose (*Gänsespiel*) is the main prototype, followed by derivative and variant games, more or less closely allied to the original. These are all properly categorised as *Laufspiele*, (Race Games, literally 'Running' games) though they are often referred to loosely as "Goose Games", as in the title of this paper.

The aim of the paper is to show how over time these German race games have developed distinctive features as compared with those of other European countries: for example, the German games show very significant variation in track length and rules.

The analysis is founded on a data base of 83 different games, as described below. This enables a breakdown of the different production techniques and the places and publishers involved. The dual-language games of the Alsace-Lorraine area are not included in this analysis.

The games are then separated into classes and their structure discussed, focussing particularly on the rules, so giving some insight into how the various kinds of game have interacted during their historical development.

2. Literature

There is not yet an authoritative publication devoted solely to German games of this sort, comparable to the work by D'Allemagne [1950] for the French *jeux de l'oie*: instead, work on the German games is scattered through the literature. An excellent review of the early history of German games is given by Manfred Zollinger [2003] in his BGS paper on the rules of two hitherto unknown Goose games. Also useful are the articles supporting the relevant catalogues of the German museums cited below, and the general overview given by Heiner Vogel [1981].

3. The Image Database

The printed games included in this study are drawn from the following collections and catalogues:

[AS] Author's collection, available on the web site maintained by Dr Luigi Ciompi at <http://www.giochidelloca.it/ricerca.php> References to games on the web site are specified as the game code number.

[BNMM] Bavarian National Museum, Munich, in *Spiele*, Georg Himmelheber, Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1972; Museum catalogue; references are to the catalogue number.

[BCR] Biblioteca Classense Ravenna, in *Giochi a Stampa in Europa*, Donatino Domini, Longo Editore, Ravenna, 1985; Library catalogue; references are to the catalogue number.

[BM] British Museum: the Charlotte Schreiber collection of board games, accessed via http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/search_the_collection_database.aspx References are to the registration number.

[GNMN] German National Museum, Nuremberg, in *Spiel, Spiele, Kinderspiel*, Leonie von Wilckens ed., exhibition catalogue 1986; references are to the catalogue number or (where specified) to the figure number.

[MDVB] Museum für Deutsche Volkskunde, Berlin, in *Wer spielt mit? - Gesellschaftsspiele auf Bilderbogen*, Theodor Kohlmann, exhibition catalogue, 1978; references are to the catalogue number or (where specified) to the figure number.

[HV] Heiner Vogel, *Bilderbogen und Würfelspiel*, Edition Leipzig, Leipzig, 1981; references are to the figure number.

In the current paper, these sources are abbreviated as shown above in square brackets. From them, a data base of 83 different printed games has been compiled. There is no claim that this data base contains all relevant German games. However, it is thought to be sufficiently representative that broad conclusions can safely be drawn from it. An indication of this is that 10 of the relevant games found in the above sources are duplicated. Not included in the data base, but referred to in the paper, are a number of the oldest games on wood or carved in stone.

4. Techniques and Places of Origin

From the database of 83 different printed games, the following statistics have been obtained.

The most frequent production technique for the earlier games is printing from copper plates, whether etched (18 games) or engraved (8 games). Woodcut (5 games) is comparatively infrequently used: one of these games uses woodcut for the track but a copper engraving for the central decorative element. The later games largely use lithography, whether in monochrome (35 games, most of which are coloured by the printer, sometimes by *pochoir* and stencil, sometimes by hand) or, towards the end of the 19th C, employ the new technique of colour lithography (8 games). The crossover between copper plate and lithography is not sharp but from about 1825 lithography begins to take over. For 9 games, the production technique is not certain.

For the older games, Nuremberg (24 games) is by far the most important publishing place, just as Neuruppin (24 games) is for the later games. Other places contribute as follows: Berlin 7 games, Halle 3 games, Dresden, Leipzig, Magdeburg and Regensburg 2 games each; 8 different places contribute one game each. The places of publication of 9 games are not known.

The distribution of publishers reflects the importance of Nuremberg and of Neuruppin. The main Nuremberg publishers are G N Renner (active 1826-1837 and as G N Renner & Co to 1868; 6 games), Friedrich Campe (active between about 1813 and 1837; 4 games), Johann Raab (active from about 1780; 4 games) and J G Klinger (born 1764, died about 1809, when his widow took over until 1831, when Johann Paul Dreykorn took over the business; after 1852, Carl Abel joined

the firm and it became Abel-Klinger; 2 games). In Neuruppin, the publishers are Oehmigke & Riemschneider (15 games; active from 1831 onwards) and Gustav Kühn (b 1794 d 1868 His father started the business at the end of the 18th C; and Gustav followed him from 1822; 9 games). The Berlin publishers Winckelmann und Söhne (active from the early 19th C) contribute 3 games and the Magdeburg publishers Robrahn & Co (active 1830 to about 1850) contribute 2 games, as does Andreas Geyer of Regensburg (two late 18th C educational games). No less than 30 different publishers contribute a single game each, while the publishers of 6 games are unknown. One may infer that the production of printed race games was something that many publishers undertook as a side-line to their main activities.

Further statistics obtained from the database are summarised in chart form in figure 7 at the end of this paper.

5. Classification of German Race Games

It is convenient to use the helpful classification of German Race Games (*Laufspiele*) made by Kohlmann [1978] but with the addition of a specific class to include educational games, as follows:

- Goose games – *Gänsepiele* – having geese as the symbol of good fortune
- Monkey games - *Affenspiele* - having monkeys as the symbol of good fortune
- Journey Games, e.g. *Post- und Reisespiele*
- Racetrack games, e.g. *Wettrennspele*
- Other non-educational race games
- Educational games

Kohlmann introduces further classes of games but these do not relate to the single-track race games under discussion here.

The term *Bilderbogen* as used by Kohlmann requires some clarification: literally, it means 'picture sheets'. 'Popular prints' is the usual English equivalent, though the alternative term 'broadsides' is also sometimes used in reference to sheets printed on one side only in a format normally larger than used for book production, though this term would include text-only productions as well as picture sheets. Another term in use is 'catchpenny prints', in reference to the cheap price for which these prints were sold, often by itinerant chapmen; the Dutch term '*centsprenten*' has a similar force. '*Imagerie populaire*' is the nearest French term.

However, these terms cannot properly be applied to all the German printed games. In England, popular prints containing images were indeed cheaply produced and sold, the medium for the images frequently being woodcut and the production crude. In France, printed board games tended to be differentiated by their place of production: the provincial publishers used the traditional woodcut method at least up to the end of the 18th C, this being suitable for medium formats, whereas the up-market Paris publishers (themselves producers of maps or fine art prints) used large-format copper plates, often with the finest engraving and etching, selling at correspondingly high prices. In contrast, the earlier German games of the period under discussion were, as noted above, mostly produced by engraving or etching on copper, a method

which is normally associated with a high quality of print production. Indeed, some of the games are very finely engraved, some being carefully hand coloured (as opposed to rough stencil colouring) and some being presented in carefully-made sleeves: all aspects that indicate a high selling price, not characteristic of a 'popular print'. By the mid-19th C, there was an export trade in these games, based mainly but not solely on the Nuremberg production, as evidenced by the multi-language versions of the rules, whether printed on the game sheet or separately. What is however true of the German games in general is that the paper format was that normally associated with the 'broadside', a vertical format of roughly 350 x 300 mm being typical; larger horizontal formats were much less prevalent. In France, on the other hand, the copper plate games were normally significantly larger, perhaps 450 x 600 mm, and of horizontal format, with larger formats by no means unknown.

Kohlmann [1978] discusses carefully the distinction between *Bilderbogen* and the '*graphischer Spieltafel*', (i.e. the game board as Graphic Art), commenting that the distinction is more easily made when the printed sheet is of large format. However, he notes that several of the small format games in his catalogue are not really classifiable as *Bilderbogen*, because their presentation is significantly more refined than would be expected in that class of material.

As the use of lithography developed from the first quarter of the 19th C, Germany began to produce printed board games very cheaply, as did other countries, and these can indeed be termed 'popular prints', especially those from Neuruppin, with which the term *Bilderbogen* is frequently associated.

6. The *Jeux de l'Oie* in France

Before beginning an examination of variation in German Goose games, it is useful to note the remarkable lack of variation of their French equivalents, the *Jeux de l'Oie*. The earliest surviving such game dates from 1598, published in Lyons by the successors of Benoist Rigaud [Depaulis 1997]. This game of the Goose has the following well-known features:

- Use of double dice on an anticlockwise spiral track
- Track length 63 cells
- Goose spaces double the throw in the direction of travel
- Geese are spaced 9 cells apart in each of two series,
- Special rules to deal with the initial throw of 9 to avoid an immediate win by moving to designated 'dice' spaces
- Traditional hazards on fixed spaces – bridge, inn, well, labyrinth, prison, death

Games with these features are found throughout Europe [Seville 1999] and may be termed 'classic' Goose games, even though they may differ in minor particulars, notably in the number of spaces to go back after landing on the Labyrinth. The main reference work for French Goose games [D'Allemagne 1950] lists about 70 *Jeux de l'Oie* in which geese are the symbol of good fortune dating before the early 20th C: all are 'classic' Goose games with track length of 63. The stability of the French *Jeu de l'Oie* is remarkable: it continues to this day, spanning a period of over 400 years.

7. The *Gänsepiele* in Germany

By contrast with their French counterparts, German games having geese as the symbol of good fortune may exhibit one or more of the following non-classic features:

- The track length may differ from 63
- They may use single dice for shorter tracks
- The track may run clockwise
- The effect of the goose spaces may depend on the direction in which the goose image faces
- The rules for the initial throw may be strange
- There is often an extra 'drink!' hazard towards the end of the track.

(a) *Gänsepiele* of the 16th/17th C

Although it does not employ the goose as symbol of good fortune, a game carved on stone by Michael Holzbecher for the Archduke Karl in 1598 is significant. This, *Das khurtzweilige Fortuna-Spill*, (The Entertaining Game of Fortune, now in the Landesmuseum Johanneum in Graz) is in fact a classic Goose game except for the replacement of the geese by the symbol of Fortune. An interesting point is that it is decorated with words and music of drinking songs, suggesting that this was not a game for children [Zollinger 2003].

A somewhat later game, in wood, dating to the first half of the 17th C is now in the German National Museum Nuremberg [GNMN fig. 32]. It is a classic goose game: interestingly, *all* of the geese face backwards along the anticlockwise track, showing that in this early game at least the direction of the goose images was not relevant to play, though it became so later, as discussed below.

Another goose game dated as being from the middle of the 17th C is remarkable for another aspect. This is in the Bavarian National Museum [BNMM 372] and is entirely of the classic form. However, the track is decorated with an animal alphabet, presumably indicating that the game was intended for children as well as for adults. If so (and assuming that the museum's rough dating is reliable), it would represent an extremely early use of pictures for teaching, comparable indeed with the use in early editions of the *Orbis Pictus* of Comenius (originally published in Latin and German in 1658, in Nuremberg) as well as being a significantly early example of use by young children of a printed board game. At this period in France, for example, printed board games with an educational flavour were designed for the 'cadet' class of young aristocrats, well beyond the early reading stage.

These early German games show none of the 'non-classic' features listed above. However, a game by Martin Fritz published in Köln about the middle of the 17th C [GNMN 68] is based on the clockwise spiral and also introduces a drinking cup on space 61, indicating that the unfortunate player who landed there, and who thus had almost reached the winning space, had instead to buy drinks for the company. This game also has unusual rules for the initial throw, even though the 'dice' spaces are conventionally placed: that at 26 is reached not only by the usual throw of

6,3 but also by the throw of 2,3; while that on 53 is reached not only by the usual 5,4 but also by the throw of 1,3. Whereas the rule for these usual throws prevents an immediate win by hopping from goose to goose on multiples of 9, there is no comparable justification for the additional pathways. They do, though, add to the excitement by increasing the chance of a quick win.

The *Gänsepiel* in the volume of prints, *Das Zeit kurtzende Lust- und Spiel-Hauss*, of c. 1690 [GNMN 9] likewise has the clockwise track and the 'drink' hazard on space 61, whereas that by A Schmidt [c. 1687, BCR 8] has an anticlockwise track but the same 'drink' hazard.

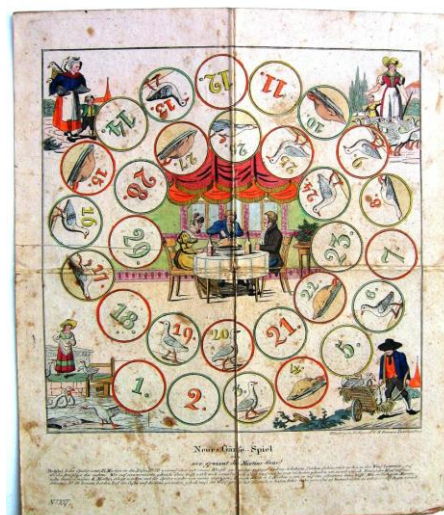
We may conclude that, though they initially conformed to the classic type, by the end of the 17th C, German *Gänsespiele* were beginning to vary from it, especially in regard to the introduction of the 'drink' hazard. It should be noted that this hazard is unknown in French and English Goose games and is hardly known in Italian examples.

(b) *Gänsespiele* of the 18th & 19th C

By the next century, variability was on the increase. For example, a 63 space *Gänsepiel* by Johann Trautner published in Nürnberg in 1788 [BNMN 373] has an immediate win for an initial throw totalling 9 while a throw of 3 and 2 leads to space 26 but 5 and 1 leads to space 53. Presumably these rules were to add still further excitement to the game, by allowing an immediate win on 9 but still keeping the traditional dice spaces as functioning entities.

A *Gänsepiel* by Trummer of Nuremberg c. 1820 [AS 1636] is still more variant: the track is of only 60 cells; the effect of geese depends on the direction they face; there is arbitrary placement of geese and hazards; and illogical treatment of the initial throw. Another, by G N Renner of Nuremberg [c. 1830, AS 1357, BNMM 37, MDVB 1 – see Figure 1(a)], has an even shorter track of only 30 spaces and is played with a single die. Again, the effect of the geese is directional.

Figure 1: 30-space games by G N Renner of Nuremberg, c. 1830: (a) *Gänsepiel* (b) *Affenspiel* (Author's collection).



Even where the classic 63-space track was retained, considerable variability often applied. For example, a ‘Neues verbessertes *Gänse-Spiel*’ (New Improved Goose Game) by F Campe of Nuremberg, c. 1830 [AS 1359] has a standard rule for the initial throw, but the geese are directional and, though many of the hazards are traditional, a deer replaces the usual bridge on space 6.

We may conclude that, by the mid-19th C, what Manfred Zollinger has called the ‘flexible corset’ of the classic Goose game had ceased to have much relevance for the German *Gänsespiele*.

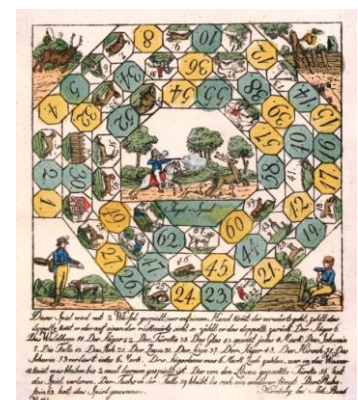
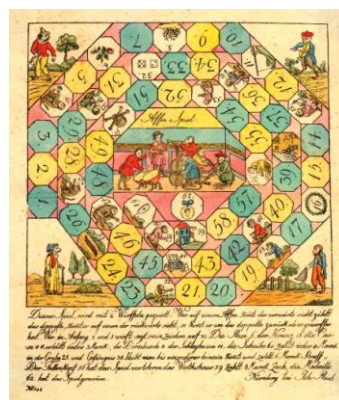
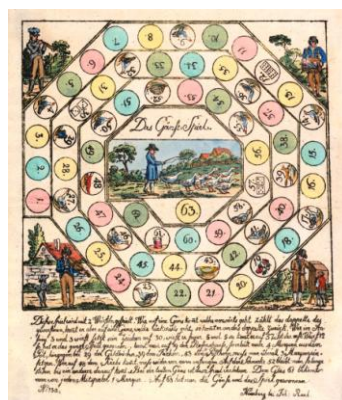
8. German *Affenspiele*

Race games having monkeys as the symbol of fortune in place of the goose developed in Germany during the second half of the 18th C. The early years of that century had seen the appearance in France of the *singerie* as a distinct genre in art, where the image of the playful monkey had instant appeal, whereas in previous centuries the monkey was seen as an allegory representing the foolishness of mankind. [Cutler 2012] The *Affenspiele* were evidently derived directly from the Goose game, as is demonstrated by the existence of pairs of games of closely similar format and design: see, for example, the juxtaposed images of an *Affenspiel* by Johann Peter Wolfs Erben from 1780 and a *Gänsespiel* by Johann Trautner of 1788, in the Nuremberg catalogue [GNMN 69 and 70, also AS 308 and BNMM 373].

A further example of parallels between the *Affenspiel* and the *Gänsespiel* is shown by the production by G N Renner not only of the 30-space single-dice *Gänsespiel* mentioned above but also of a similar *Affenspiel* [AS 964, GNMN 74, MDVB 15], albeit with some differences in the rules – see figure 1.

Johann Raab offered games not only with the Goose [BM 1893,0331.83] and the Monkey [BM 1893,0331.81] but also with Hunting Dogs [BM 1893,0331.84], as shown in figure 2

Figure 2: Suite of 63-space games by Johann Raab of Nuremberg, c. 1820, with the favourable spaces denoted respectively by geese, monkeys and hunting dogs. All three have the ‘forward or back’ goose-directional rule (© the Trustees of the British Museum).



These are of special interest because all three have printed rules that make the goose-directional rule explicit, whereas in the Netherlands, for example, the standard rule is non-directional but the other form can be adopted by oral agreement as a 'local' rule.

Later, though, the *Affenspiel* became a genre in its own right, independent of the *Gänsespiel*, as, for example, a version with 100 spaces [MDVB 21] by Gustav Kühn, Neu Ruppin, c. 1905.

The *Affenspiel* seems to have been a German re-invention. A unique example of a much earlier Italian monkey game, *Il novo bello et piacevole gioco della scimia*, published by Altiero Gatti in 1588, is in the British Museum [BM 1869,0410.2461.*]. However, this remarkable 63-space game does not appear to have had any direct descendants. The earliest French example cited by D'Allemagne [1950, p 205] is by Gangel of Metz and dates from the mid 19th C, while the only known English example, Edward Wallis's *New Game of the Monkey* [AS 1018], is dateable by the imprint as between 1812 and 1847. Both are 63-space games, demonstrating their derivation from the Goose game.

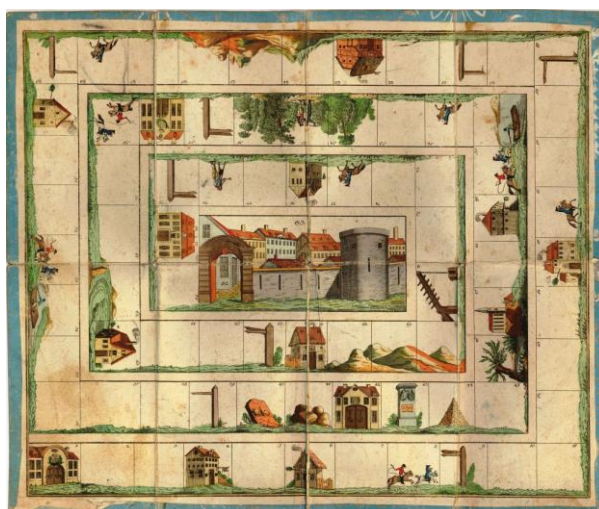
9. Journey Games

Games representing a journey became popular in Germany during the late 18th C. It should be noted that not all games with the word 'journey' in their title are in fact race games: for example, the *Stationen Spiel auf der Reise dieses Lebens in Bildern* published by Trautner in the early 18th C [BM 1893,0331.78] is a two-dice put-and-take game of the kind characterised by Thierry Depaulis as 'loteries du salon' [1987]. However, this is very much an exception. During the 19th C, the journey games developed in many guises and indeed their popularity in Germany grew to rival or even to exceed that of the Goose game.

(a) *Post- und Reisespiele*

The earliest of these games are the *Post- und Reisespiel* (Post and Journey Games) which represented a journey taken by stage coach or on horseback. A late 18th C example [BM1893,1015.15] is shown in figure 3.

Figure 3: *Post- und Reisespiel* publisher unknown, 1790 (© the Trustees of the British Museum).



Although the rules are not preserved with the British Museum copy of the game, they are outlined in the *Oeconomische Encyclopädie* [Krünitz 1833, p720], which also states that this game is one of the oldest of its kind and can serve as a model for others. It is played with double dice and tokens to identify each player: suggestions are to use a decorated wood token or a

small wooden figure, or a chess piece, or something similar. Initially, each player pays 12 counters to the pool. The suggested counters are small coins (*pfennige, groschen*) or nuts etc, indicating that this was essentially a family game, rather than for serious gambling.

The rectangular track has 83 spaces, starting with a gate, and the winning space (a walled city) must be reached exactly: unlike in Goose, overthrows are not counted in reverse. There are a number of inns, on spaces 4, 6 etc, where the rule is that the player must pay 4 counters to the pool. There are also a number of spaces showing a courier on horseback: at space 8, 16, 28, etc in an irregular series. These double the throw forward, just as in Goose. There are also numerous finger-posts, pointing backwards. These are either single or double, meaning the player must move back one or two spaces respectively. Then there are particular hazards, not all of which are fully detailed in the summary rules. For example, landing on a mountain means paying 3 counters; landing on the ferry (space 51) means paying 8 counters but then moving on a further 17 spaces. Anyone landing on the boundary pillar (space 43) receives 12 counters from the pool, while landing on the church means paying 3 tokens into "God's box". An initial throw of 1,2 on the double dice lets the player move at once to space 40, marked by the appropriate dice.

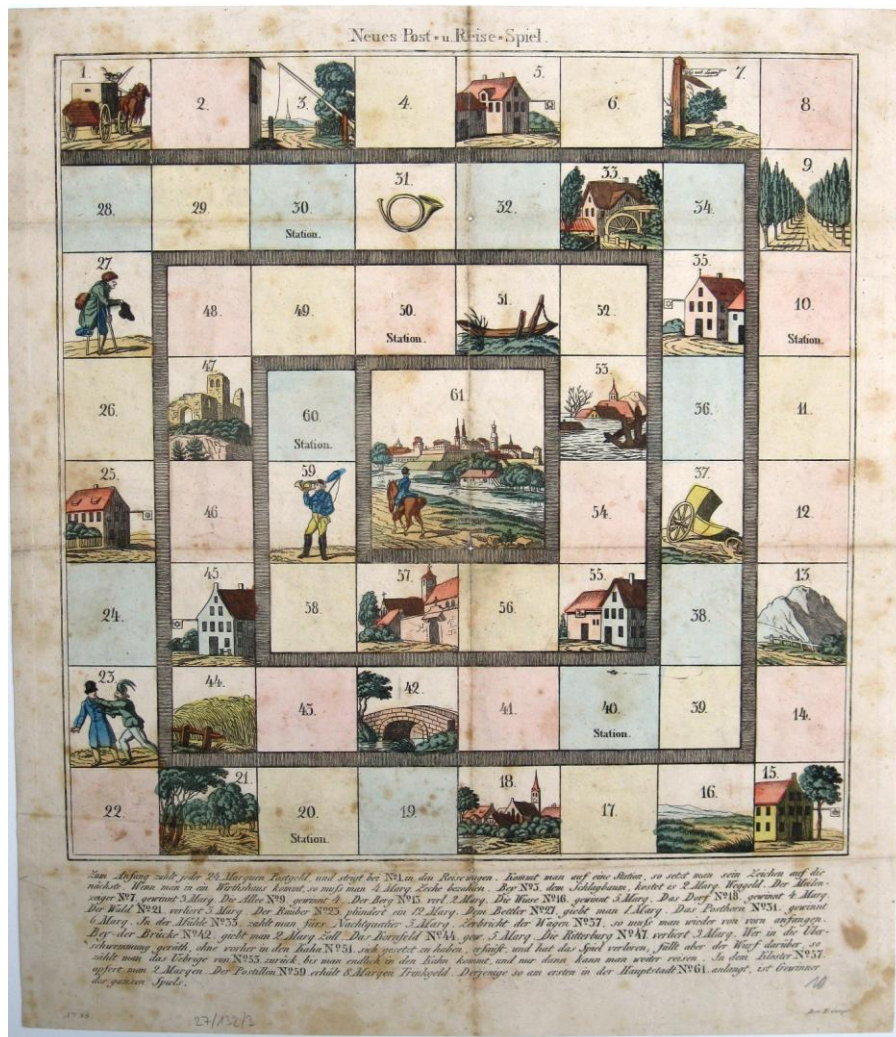
The similarities with Goose are quite striking, particularly the Goose-doubling rule for the courier spaces and the provision of a dice space for a particular initial throw. This strongly suggests that the *Post- und Reisespiel* was derived from its older counterpart. However, as the game developed, greater variety was introduced.

The games in this genre have the following characteristics:

- The track length varies from game to game
- A rectangular spiral is usual
- There are special playing spaces, characterised by images typical of a journey of the time, e.g. gates, inns, post houses, churches, ferries, couriers and guides - but these are not uniform from game to game
- The goose-doubling rule may be absent, though there may be another linked series of favourable spaces.

For example, consider the *Neues Post- und Reise Spiel* by F. Campe of Nuremberg, dating from about 1820 and shown in figure 4 [AS 1635]. This does not have a Goose-doubling rule: instead, there is a Station on every tenth space, the rule being that if a player lands on one, he or she advances to the next. However, this characteristic of a series of spaces with a consistent rule for each is not shared by all these games: for example, the *Kleine Post- und Reisespiel* dated to 1790 [VB 38] has no such series: instead, each space has its own distinctive instruction.

Figure 4: *Neues Post- und Reise Spiel* by F. Campe of Nuremberg, dating from about 1820 (Author's collection).



These games, though they may well initially have been inspired by Goose, form a genre largely independent of Goose rules, except in the broadest sense of being a unicursal race game. Some of the hazards introduced are original and ingenious: for example, the Campe game has a water hazard at space 53 which acts as a barrier. If the player lands on this space without having first visited the 'boat' at space 51, he or she loses the game. If instead the player overthrows space 53, without having first visited the boat space, then the overthrown points must be reckoned backwards: this must be repeated until the player succeeds in visiting the boat space, after which he or she can proceed without being affected by the water hazard.

It seems likely that these games were developed to provide greater interest and novelty than the traditional Goose Game, with the added possibility of making them closer to contemporary reality.

(b) Journey Games derived from the *Post- und Reisespiel*

The quest for novelty resulted in numerous variations based on the *Post- und Reisespiel*. The means of transport was continually updated: the Express Coach of the 18th C was replaced in the 19th by the Railway and Steamship [Carl Hoffmann, Stuttgart: AS 1355]. Likewise, the traditional destination of a German city might be replaced with something farther afield. The *Neues Seereisen Spiel* (New Sea Journey game) of G. N Renner [c. 1820, BM 1893,0331.140] ends at 'The Desired Land', visiting such exotic places as Patagonia on the way. More attainable in reality was the German Frisian Island destination shown in the same publisher's *Norderneyer Game*, or Journey to the Seaside [c. 1840, BNMM 383], while pursuit of the exotic was encouraged in the Journey to the Pyramids [c. 1840, unknown publisher, BNMM 384]. The journey to America was

also featured [Gustav Kühn 1870, MDVB 30], while those popular cartoon figures Schultz and Muller of the satirical weekly *Kladderadatsch* embarked on a journey to Africa in January 1880 [MDVB 34].

(c) Journey Games derived from Goose

There are also journey games that, unlike those described above, are clearly based on Goose games. They have the characteristic goose-doubling rule and a conventional non-rectangular spiral, though they do not share the numerology. Games based on the story of Robison Crusoe are a case in point. An example is the beautiful game by Scholtz of Mainz shown in figure 5 [c. 1850, AS 1361]: this has rules printed in German, French, Italian and Dutch, showing the growing internationalisation of Germany's printed output during the 19th C.

Figure 5: Robinson Game by Scholtz of Mainz, c. 1850 (Author's collection). The goose-doubling spaces are those showing the hero, Robinson Crusoe.



10. Racetrack games (*Wettrennspiele*)

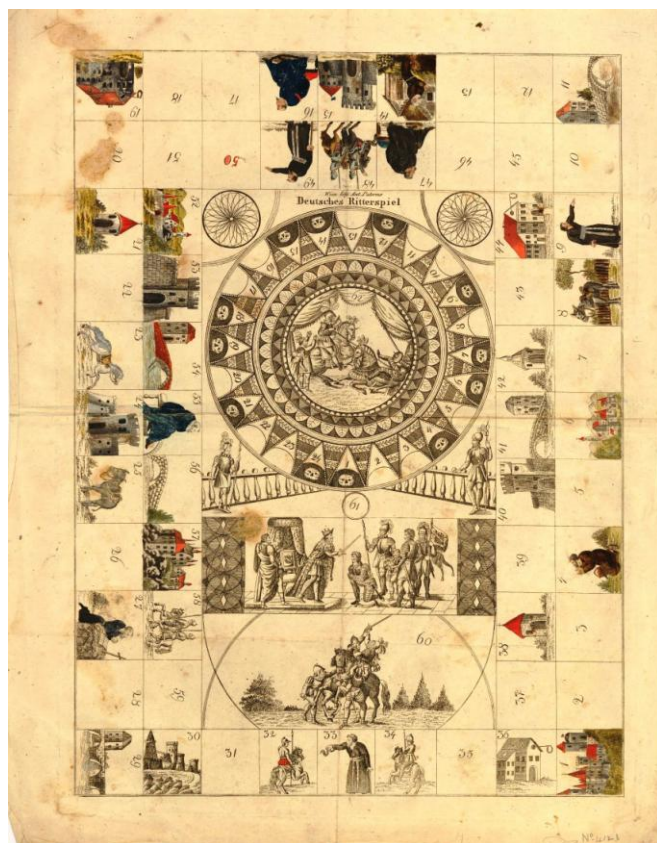
Games in this category seek to emulate a racetrack. An early example is a horse-racing game dating from 1837 [MDVB 35] with a track of only 58 spaces. On fourteen of the spaces, racehorses are represented and on these there is a 'no stopping' rule, the player moving ahead one space. This game could readily be derived from the German 'Journey' games, with adaptation of the track shape and modification of the hazards. The same is true of *Das englische Pferderennen*, another early 19th C example, this by G N Renner of Nuremberg [British Museum 1893,0331.85], where the circular track terminates in a short finishing straight, with a total of 48 spaces. These games are distinctively German in style.

However, horse racing games of a different and more international style are also found in Germany, as for example the late 19th C game in the Spielzeugmuseum, Nuremberg [accessed on www.europeana.eu inventory number 1982.1410]. This has an oval track of 100 spaces, mostly undifferentiated, which can be used with fences and other steeplechase hazards or in their absence can be used for a 'flat' race, which is 'less interesting but soon over'. Very similar games of this kind are known in 19th C England and France, those of continental origin sometimes referring to 'English' in their titles, suggesting that this form of this game may indeed be of English origin, as L'Hôte suggests [1994]. In the later part of the 19th C, the range of themes of the race event was widened to include bicycle racing and later motor-car racing. However, all these games constitute a recognisable genre, not related to Goose Games or indeed to Post and Journey games.

11. Other non-educational Race Games

This category encompasses games with a wide range of themes and a wide variety of rules. A remarkable example in the British Museum [BM 1893,0331.137] is the *Deutsches Ritterspiel* (Game of the German Knights) shown in figure 6. This was published in Vienna by the German printmaker Antonio Paterno. The track has 62 spaces, with the winning space preceded by a ring of 24 triangular spaces, of which half include a representation of a death's head. The rules are not present but the supposition must be that the ring represented an extra 'ordeal' for the knight on his way to the winning space, which shows him as victorious in the joust. A second example of such a game, but with a rectangular array of death's heads, is also in the British Museum [BM 1893,0331.103]. Both these games are dated to the 18th C by the Museum. However, Thierry Depaulis [private communication] notes that Paterno was active well into the 19th C; he suggests a date early in that century on stylistic grounds, while noting that a *Ritterspiel* is mentioned late in the 18th C [Gutsmuths 1796].

Figure 6: *Deutsches Ritterspiel* by Antonio Paterno, Vienna, early 19th C. (© the Trustees of the British Museum).



Some of the German thematic games derive clearly from classical Goose games: an example is the 63-space game based on *Der Freischutz*, published by Martin Engelbrecht in 1825 [BNMM 376]. Others adopt the goose-directional rule, for example, the 30-space Military Game by J G Klinger, Nuremberg [AS 1360]. However, by the end of the 19th century, German race games are most notable for their variety, rather than for their traceable descent from earlier forms.

12. Educational race games

A few of the small format games are overtly educational, an early 18th C example being the 100-space spiral game, *Die Anfangsgründe der Rechenkunst: ein Spiel für die Jugend*, by Georg Dein of Nuremberg, for teaching the basics of arithmetic to the young. [BM 1876,0510.649]

However, the large format educational games which were invented in pre-Revolution France from the mid-17th C, based on the subjects of the curriculum of aristocratic youth, are not typical of Germany during the corresponding period. That is not to say that examples are never found, though on analysis some of these may turn out to be German-language adaptations of French models. A case in point is *Das Kriegs-Spiel*, [The Game of War, BM 1896,0501.1337] published by Pieter Schenk (Peter Schencken b. 1660 d. 1718/19) in Amsterdam, shortly after the original *Jeu de la Guerre* invented by the French engineer Gilles de la Boissière was published in Paris by Jean Mariette in 1697; a companion game on defensive fortification [BM 1896,0501.1338] was similarly published.

Another example is the *Chronologische Spiel Tafel* [Chronological Game Board, GNMN 77] published by Andreas Geyer in Regensburg in 1719, which is explicit in saying that it is translated from the French into German: that game gives the events of 'universal' history. However, the

same publisher in the following year brought out a similar game [GMNM 78] to teach the history of the Roman/German Kings, something not directly taken from the French.

Kohlmann [1978] mentions some later examples. The copper engraving *Das menschliche Leben* brought out by the map-publisher Simon Schropp & Co. of Berlin in 1790 is particularly interesting, since it is a version of the *New Game of Human Life* published by Wallis and Newbery in London in the same year. These games both derive ultimately from the *Jeu de la Vie Humaine* published by Crépy in Paris in 1775. All three have an 84-space track representing the seven ages of man, with goose-doubling rules on the 'age' spaces. It is not known whether Schropp derived their version from the French original or from the English re-working.

Kohlmann also mentions a number of 19th C German educational games, for by this time a few German publishers were beginning to emulate their counterparts in France and England by offering such material. He notes that an advertisement in the *Vossischer Zeitung* for 19 December 1816 offers a game depicting Napoleon Bonaparte's life from Moscow to St. Helena, costing 20 *groschen* coloured, 10 *groschen* black and white. Other publishers advertised through this medium. However, the scale of the activity was not such as to rival that of France, where the many variants of the *jeu de l'oie* had been adopted with enthusiasm by the fashionable bourgeoisie, or even that of England, where an earnestness for education through play was driving sales of games by such renowned publishers as the Dartons [Shefrin 2009].

13. The Carrington-Bolton Collection of Printed Board Games

The conclusion from these studies is that by the end of the 19th C, German race games were highly variable, having largely abandoned their classic models. It is possible to test this conclusion by examining a collection of race games of that period made in about 1890 by J. Carrington Bolton. This collection is now at the Penn Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, though it is not available to view. A listing of all 144 games, without images but giving their main characteristics, may be retrieved at <http://www.giochidelloca.it/storia/culin.pdf> [Culin 1895].

Of these games, the following 29 are of German origin, not including games from Alsace and those of unknown production:

8	Goose games
2	Monkey games
17	Journey games
2	Other Race games

When the track length of these games is examined, it is striking that, of these games, only one has the classical track length of 63: just 3% of the total. The popularity of Journey games relative to Goose is also evident.

By contrast, of the 37 French games in the collection, no fewer than 31 (84% of the total) have the classical track length of 63. There are 27 Italian games in the collection: here, the comparison is complicated by the fact that in the late 19th C the traditional 63 space Goose game was extended to 90 spaces, this corresponding to the number of balls in the highly popular Italian State Lottery, so that 90 became a 'lucky' number. However, even where this was done, the option remained of finishing the game at 63. Reckoning these extended games with the 63-space versions gives a total of 20 Italian games (74% of the total). These differences between countries in the proportions of games with classical track length are highly significant statistically

and help to confirm the conclusion that German games had abandoned the classical Goose model to a much greater extent than had these other countries.

14. Conclusions on German Race Games

Figure 7 (at the end of this paper) summarises in chart form the statistics derived from the data base.

The broad features of German race games may be summarised as follows. The earliest Goose games follow the 'classic' model, as found in the earliest Italian and French examples. However, significant differences from this model begin to appear from about 1650. These include variations in the track length and in the detailed rules, including introduction of a 'drink' hazard, almost entirely specific to German games. The variations are such that by about 1850 the classic model is largely forgotten, though games having geese as the favourable spaces continue to the end of the 19th C and beyond.

German games having the Monkey as favourable symbol appear to be a German introduction deriving from Goose games in the 18th C, pre-dating French and English versions; though a single late-16th C Italian example exists, it is not thought to have been a model for the German games. These games are examples of a general enthusiasm for showing monkeys in human guise, performing amusing activities. As such, the invention is mainly graphic, rather than necessarily involving changes to the rules or structure of the parent game.

By contrast, the Post and Journey games show significant inventiveness in regard to rules and structure, though the earliest game discussed here, a late 18th C example which may indeed be a prototype, is recognisably derived from Goose. With few exceptions, the games that followed discarded any specific links with Goose, though they kept the overall structure of a unicursal race game. They embodied imagery that made them both more up-to-date and closer to reality than Goose, with its symbolism of a human life, could ever be. As these games developed, the means of transport represented was updated and journeys and their destination became more exotic, representing the new possibilities of world exploration and travel that the 19th C began to offer. These new games appealed to a wide market and their popularity came to exceed that of the parent game.

Inventiveness was also shown in the many variant games that were developed in Germany on different themes, contributing to a rich and diverse mix. Most of these represented genuinely new ideas, not taken from those of other countries. However, up-market educational games appear to be an exception to this. Such games are relatively rare in Germany and, of those that are known to exist, several are clearly identifiable as deriving from French sources, with greater or lesser adaptation.

German race games form a complex field of study. Given the ephemeral nature of printed paper sheets, the habitual absence of dating and the not infrequent absence of other printing information, it would be unrealistic to claim that the present work is in any sense definitive. It does however indicate some interesting influences and time-lines, based particularly on close examination of the rules, that can usefully be borne in mind when attempting to construct a cultural history of this form of leisure activity.

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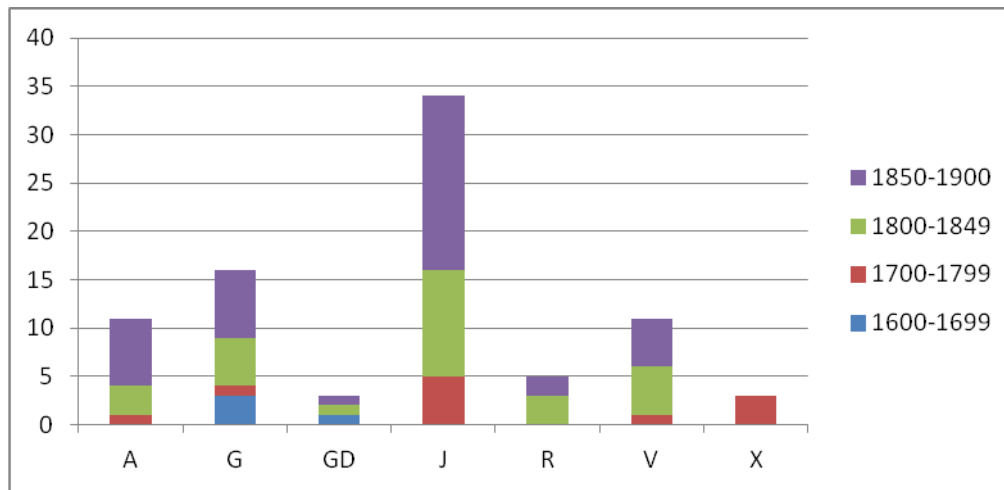


Figure 7a: Numbers of games of different types classified by time periods

A	Affenspiel	R	racetrack games
G	Gaensespiel	V	various games
GD	other goose- doubling games	X	educational games
J	journey games		

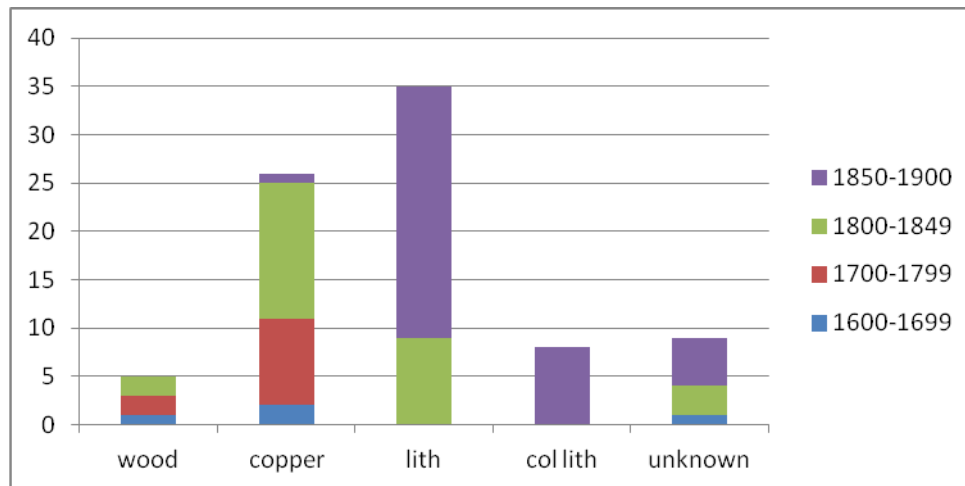


Figure 7b: Numbers of games with different printing processes classified by time periods

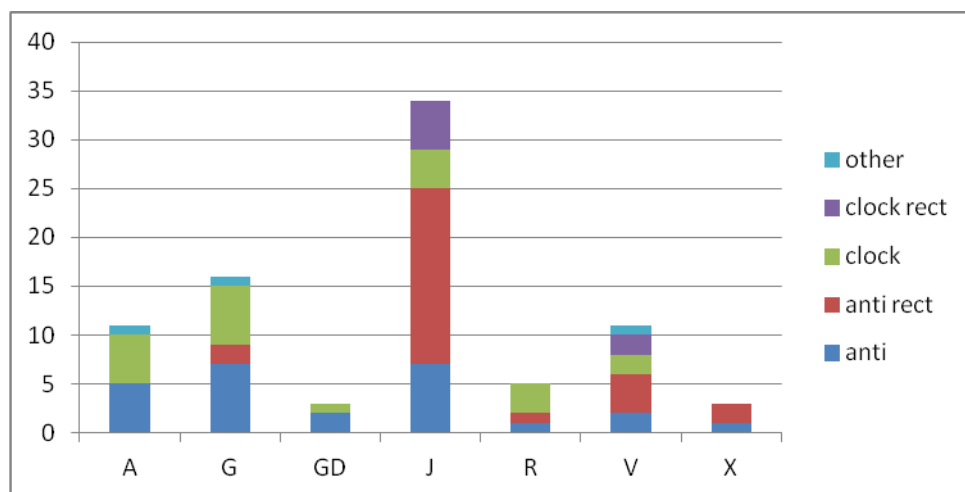


Figure 7c: Numbers of games of different types classified by track geometry anticlockwise or clockwise, rectangular or normal spiral