



# *El Juego Real de Cupido:* a Spanish board game published in Antwerp, c. 1620

Marjolein Leesberg

The British Library's Department of Maps holds a remarkable print, published by the Antwerp engraver, designer and publisher Pieter de Jode I (1573-1634) (fig. 1 on p. 24).<sup>1</sup> The etching is not a map, as would be expected in view of the cartographic nature of the collection as well as the history of the De Jode family as publishers of maps. Rather, it turns out to be a board game of the Game of Cupid or so-called Game of Snake. Even more unusual is the fact that all inscriptions are in Spanish, including De Jode's Antwerp address. It will be argued here that this Spanish Game of Cupid, issued in Antwerp about 1620, may be one of the first of these games that appeared in print.

Early impressions of board games are extremely rare, since they were not considered 'art' but objects to be pasted on a board and used. As a consequence, these prints are not usually the subject of art historical research and have generally been studied exclusively within

the field of game history. The present article draws upon both disciplines in order to shed new light on this extraordinary, and possibly unique, impression of a board game issued by De Jode.

## Pieter de Jode I as engraver and publisher

Pieter de Jode I was the son of the Antwerp publisher Gerard de Jode (1516/17-1591).<sup>2</sup> After having been trained as an engraver in his father's workshop as well as by Hendrick Goltzius in Haarlem, De Jode worked for a short period as a print designer and engraver for his brother-in-law Hans Jacobs in Amsterdam. In 1595, he left for Italy where he worked in Venice, Siena, and Rome.<sup>3</sup> After his return to Antwerp and the death of both his older brother Cornelis in 1600 and his mother in 1601, De Jode continued the publishing firm in which he also worked as designer and engraver. Most plates of Gerard de Jode's stock, consisting of c. 1200 plates with a major focus on maps,

Notes on pages 41-43





1 Published in Antwerp by Pieter de Jode I, *Game of Cupid*, c. 1620, etching, 377 x 494 mm, London, British Library, © The British Library Board, Maps \* 999.(1.)





biblical history, and ornament prints, were sold after 1601 and Pieter de Jode started a new fund, which would ultimately contain c. 400 plates. Like his father before him, Pieter must have been responsive to changing aesthetic views on the print market, which was influenced also by political, religious, and economic changes in the early-seventeenth-century Netherlands. Whereas Gerard de Jode published prints after renowned Flemish and Italian artists of his day, Pieter de Jode published prints after contemporary Flemish artists such as Peter Paul Rubens (fig. 2), Abraham Janssens, Otto van Veen, and Cornelis de Vos and the Italian artists Giuseppe Cesari, Luca Cambiaso, Paolo Guidotti, and the Carracci. His stay in Italy resulted in a profitable connection with Antonio Tempesta, whose work he published in original prints as well as copies.

For the most part, his own inventions comprised devotional images and saints, although he also designed and published an academic drawing book (1629) (fig. 3). Besides publishing new plates and a limited number of plates from his father's stock, he acquired and reissued some older plates, such as a few engraved by Cornelis Cort and singular plates after Lucas van Leyden, Pieter Bruegel, and Hieronymus Bosch, famous sixteenth-century artists, which still appealed to the public.<sup>4</sup>

In view of the great diversity of his stock, it may come as no surprise that Pieter de Jode would also have published a board game. The artist who etched the plate remains anonymous.

Marjolein Leesberg



2 Pieter de Jode I after Peter Paul Rubens, *The Virgin and Child*, engraving, 349 x 264 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



3 Unknown engraver after Pieter de Jode I, *Title plate of Varie figure academice*, 1629, engraving, 265 x 195 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum

The British Library's catalogue dates the print c. 1670, which means that it would have been published by Pieter de Jode II (1606-c. 1674). There can be little doubt, however, that his father, Pieter de Jode I, issued the etching. Compared with most plates published by his son, the prints published by Pieter de Jode I stand out for the more constant quality in technique and neatness of the inscriptions, as can also be observed in the Game of Cupid. Another feature that speaks for an attribution to the father rather than the son is the dating of the fashion in the central

image. Although care should be taken in dating a print based on fashion, since costumes could be slightly archaic, the dress of the figures at centre can roughly be dated to 1610-'30. Contemporary paintings of elegant companies by artists such as Hieronymus Francken and Sebastiaan Vrancx show similar Flemish dress. The latter was also the designer of a series of European fashions, engraved and published by Pieter de Jode I around 1605-'10, so it can be assumed that De Jode had some fashion awareness (fig. 4).<sup>5</sup>

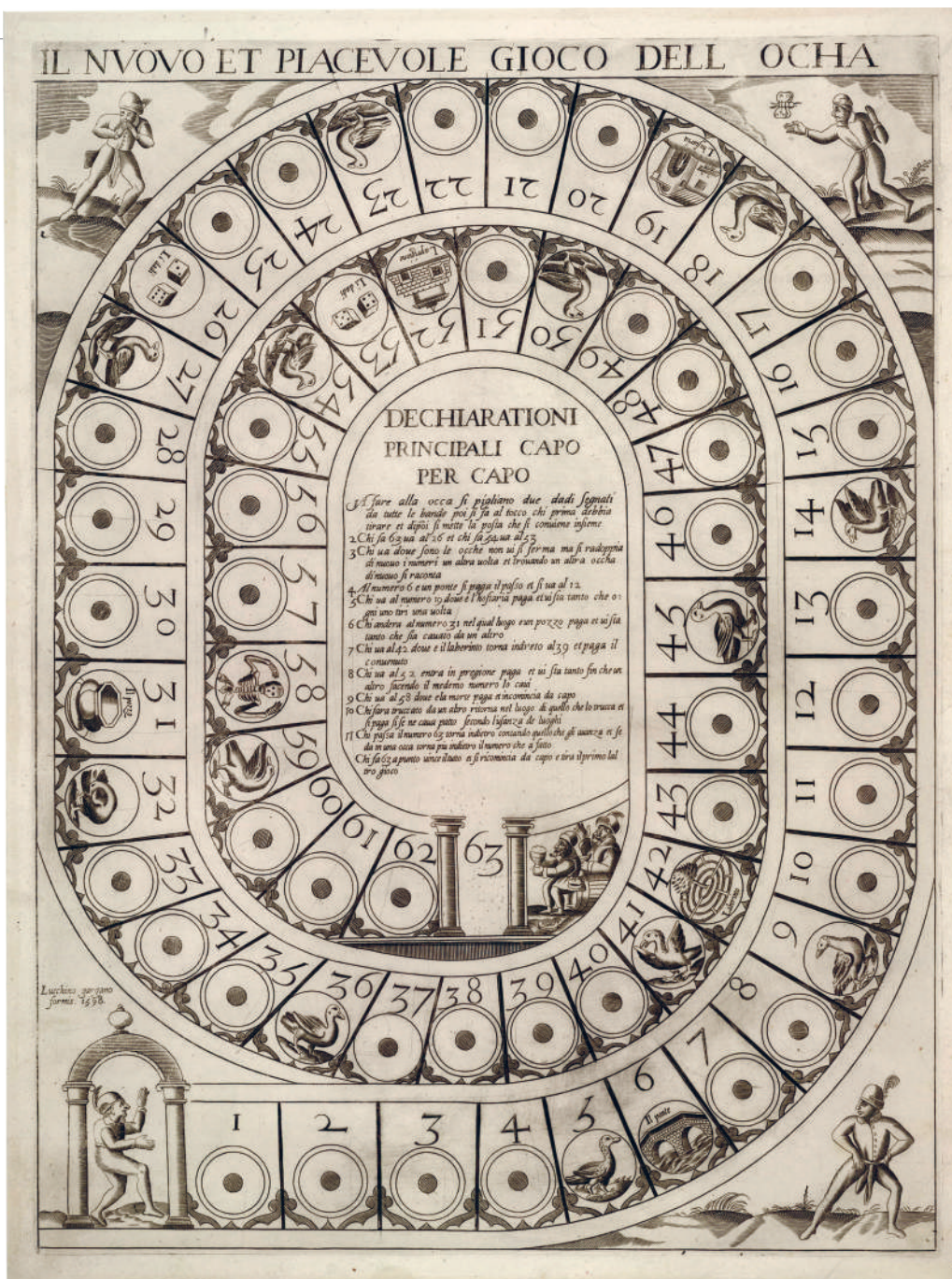
4 Pieter de Jode I after Sebastiaan Vrancx, *Costumes of Belgian Nobility*, c. 1610, engraving, 220 x 115 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum



### The Game of the Goose and the development of the printed board game

The Game of Cupid developed from the Game of the Goose, one of the most popular board games to this day. Both were games of chance and pursuit, played with two dice, on a track of sixty-three spaces with icons symbolizing advantages and hazards, a metaphor of the fortunes and fates during the path of life. By no means were they intended to be children's games, as they were played with monetary stakes and fines. Although the Game of the Goose seems to have been played for centuries before, the earliest printed versions date from late-sixteenth-century Italy (fig. 5).<sup>6</sup> A contemporary source, much quoted among historians of the game, claims that it was invented in Florence and pleased Francesco de' Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany, who went so far as to present an exemplar, probably a precious painted or inlay version, to Philip II of





5 Published in Rome by Lucchino Gargano, *Game of the Goose*, 1598, engraving, 507 x 378 mm, London, British Museum, © Trustees of the British Museum



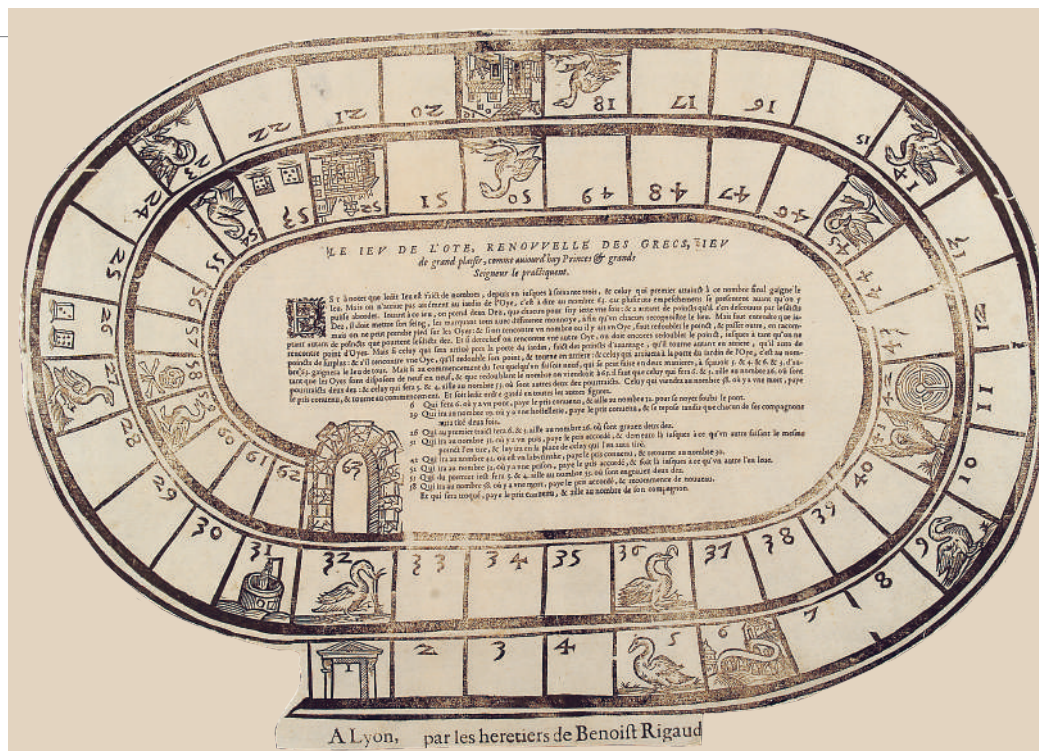


Spain, around 1576-'80.<sup>7</sup> In 1585, Philip II's court jester, Gonzalo de Liaño, complained in a letter to Francesco de' Medici about the debts he had incurred due to a new game, called Game of the Goose, which was played in Tuscany and had been brought to Spain by the Medicean agent Luigi Dovara.<sup>8</sup> According to Carrera, the publication of the Game of the Goose in Spain inspired the invention of several closely related games such as the *Filosofía Cortesana*. A unique impression in the British Museum proves that the *Filosofía Cortesana* indeed existed as a copper engraving, published with a royal privilege in 1588 in Naples by Mario Cartaro.<sup>9</sup> The inventor, Alonso de Barros, wrote an extensive description of the game, which was of a philosophical and didactic nature on fate and fortune of ambitious men at court.<sup>10</sup> The lay-out of the game was clearly inspired by Italian impressions of the Game of the Goose such as an anonymous, possibly Venetian print of c. 1580-'85, the earliest impression of the Game of the Goose known to date.<sup>11</sup> A Bolognese manuscript, written about 1585 by the scholar Ulisse Aldovrandi (1522-1605), contains the first known description of the game and its rules, including variants on the latter as played in Bologna. In 1595, the rules of the game were given in a Venetian song, 'Il gioco dell'Occa', by Giovanni Croce.<sup>12</sup> The almost simultaneous appearance of printed board games and its rules seems to indicate a wider knowledge of the game.

The Italian prints often have the title 'new

Game of the Goose' [*novo gioco de loca*], apparently to distinguish them from an older version. In England 'the newe and most pleasant game of the Goose' was entered in the Stationer's Register on 16 June 1597 by John Wolfe, who had learned the trade of print publisher in Florence.<sup>13</sup> However, no impressions of this game have been traced, only late-seventeenth-century English games of the goose in print are known. Nor is an impression known of a *jeu de l'oye*, mentioned in the inventory of the Parisian publisher Jean II de Gourmont (1535-1598).<sup>14</sup> The earliest preserved French impression appeared c. 1600 in Lyon, in woodcut, published by the heirs of Benoît Rigaud (fig. 6).<sup>15</sup> It differs from the Italian ones in lay-out, being of landscape format. The title, printed with the rules in the central field, gives a puzzling clue to the history of the game: 'Game of the Goose, renewed from the Greek' [*Le Jeu de l'Oye, renouvelé des Grecs*]. Later French games keep referring to this undocumented Greek origin. The subtitle, 'Game of much joy, as today it is practised by Princes and noble Lords' [*Jeu de grand plaisir, comme aujourdhuy Princes & grands Seigneur le practiquent*], distinguishes this rather crude woodcut version from the elaborate ones, on marble or of inlaid wood and silver, played by royals and nobles. Obviously, the cheaper printed versions were meant to reach a much wider clientele. Despite, or maybe just because of the popularity of the game, only a few of these prints have been preserved. Most impressions will have been used up.





6 Published in Lyon by the heirs of Benoît Rigaud, *Game of the Goose*, c. 1600, woodcut, 330 x 476 mm, Wolfenbüttel, Herzog August Bibliothek: IH 624

The Game of the Goose soon reached the German courts as well. The Augsburg merchant, diplomat, and art agent Philipp Hainhofer (1578-1647), who had studied law in Siena and Padua, mentioned in his diary that 'the true Game of the Goose [...] as copper engraving, in Italy among the students [...] was most common'.<sup>16</sup> In his capacity of art agent he composed several curiosity or art cabinets, in which he included the game, e.g. in the cabinet of 1617 for Duke Philipp II of Pomerania in Stettin, a silver in ebony inlay,<sup>17</sup> in a table of c. 1628 for Magdalene Sybille of Prussia, Electress of Saxony in Dresden,<sup>18</sup> and in the cabinet, presented in 1632 by the city of Augsburg to King Gustav Adolph of Sweden.<sup>19</sup> The latter two games are printed impressions, pasted onto a marble

board and hand-painted, both of landscape format and especially the Swedish one is inspired by Italian boards. Otherwise, all three have one specific feature: the addition of a drinking cup on space 61, not found in any of its European predecessors. Although this hazard seems to have its origin in the German cultural realm, it is not mentioned in the rules of the Game of the Goose, as written in 1616 by Duke August of Braunschweig-Lüneburg, who was also provided with this game board by Hainhofer.<sup>20</sup>

The board game was known about 1600 in the Dutch Republic. In 1602-'03 the famous jurist and prodigy Hugo de Groot (1583-1645) wrote a number of playful epigrams on household objects, the *Instrumentum Domesticum*, which







H O E M E N   S P E E L E N   S A L

11 Die met sin wurg oor de d'j heyt, moet weder: so reet te rugge,  
als t'voor de d'j lete en vate dan noch op een. Gans sin moet hy noch  
soo veel getal te rugge tellen als hy oogen geworpen heeft.

12 Die effen op d'j: worgt inde Poort wiet het. Al, en die finale weder  
d' Eerle nit volgende spel, en dan jact het weer: met de sin om.

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were published in the collection of his early poetry. One of these distychs is a moralizing poem on 'The Game of the Goose: Be it by various lot, nevertheless we are bound for the same goal, and death dashes all our wishes: who said it is just a game?'.<sup>21</sup> In 1619, when he was arrested and imprisoned in Loevestein Castle, an inventory was made of Hugo de Groot's goods. No Game of the Goose, however, is mentioned among the confiscated goods nor among the items his wife was allowed to take with her.<sup>22</sup>

By 1624, the game must have been well known in Amsterdam as it was mentioned by Jan Jansz. Starter in his *Steeckboecxken*, in which he described a game he invented for the 'young at heart' as an alternative for 'cards, checkers, game of the goose [*gansbort*], and others'.<sup>23</sup> The first known Dutch impression in print of the Game of the Goose was published in Amsterdam by Claes Jansz. Visscher, and has been dated to 1625-'40 (fig. 7). In the lower margin the title and rules are engraved. Similar to the Italian and English boards it is called 'the new and pleasant game of the goose' [*Het nieuw en vermaeckelyck ghanse-spel*]. The origin of the design of the game is unknown but it is more elaborate and inventive than any of its predecessors. The track is set against a landscape background with amorous couples in each corner and an elegant company, drinking and making music, at centre. In the background of each scene a smaller couple alludes to the five senses.<sup>24</sup>

The landscape format and clockwise spiraling

track, as opposed to the classic Italian anti-clockwise versions, follows the German impression of the Game of the Goose, known from the table of Magdalene Sybille of Prussia in Dresden. Another similarity between this board and Visscher's is the addition of the drinking cup on space 61, which can also be seen in a printed German Game of the Goose with the same lay-out in landscape format and clockwise spiraling track, published in Cologne by Martin Fritz about 1650.<sup>25</sup> Strangely, this hazard is not explained in Visscher's rules whereas the German game does describe it: 'when someone arrives at 61 where the glass stands [he] has to make a toast' [*wan aber einer auf 61 kompt da daß glaß stehet muß ein trunck thun*]. Claes Jansz. Visscher must have based his Game of the Goose on a German example rather than the Italian or French ones. However, his is the only Dutch game with the drinking cup; in later versions it is absent while it continued to appear in German ones.

The earliest Game of the Goose that we know of from the Southern Netherlands seems to be a woodcut made and published in Antwerp by Jan Christoffel Jegher (1618-1666), about 1650, although it has only survived in a reprint of c. 1713-'17. Except for the title and landscape format it has little in common with Visscher's engraving; the lay-out is based on the classic Italian board.<sup>26</sup> A woodcut copy in reverse was published by Philippus Jacobus Brepols as late as c. 1834-'36.<sup>27</sup> Whereas Visscher's board, judging by its refinement and central scene, aimed at a





market of upper class merchants and aristocrats, the central scene in Jeghers's woodcut refers to an inn or even a brothel, with two men playing backgammon while being distracted by women and robbed from their purses. Jeghers made a second, somewhat cruder woodcut of the game in standing format, which apparently aimed at an even larger market. The woodblock ended up in Amsterdam, where it was still being reprinted in the mid-eighteenth century and later even copied, about 1770.<sup>28</sup>

Both Claes Jansz. Visscher and Jan Jeghers published another board game that had originated in Italy and became popular in the Netherlands, the Game of the Owl or 'plucking the owl' [*Pela il Chiù*].<sup>29</sup> This game does not have a spiraling track with sixty-three spaces but four oval or circular tracks, two with images of three dice, two with allegorical images.

### The Game of Cupid by Pieter de Jode

Pieter de Jode's Game of Cupid, or 'the royal game of cupid, otherwise called the pastime of love', clearly had its origin in the Game of the Goose. However, no Italian version is known. There did exist an Italian game called 'the new and pleasant game of the garden of love [*Il novo et piacevol gioco del giardin d'amore*]', which was published c. 1590 in Rome by Giovanni Antonio de Paoli (fig. 8).<sup>30</sup> Although both games have a garden of love at centre, the Italian one is based on the Game of the Owl, with two oval tracks of

twenty-two spaces, the inner ones with two dice each, the outer ones with images of virtues and vices.

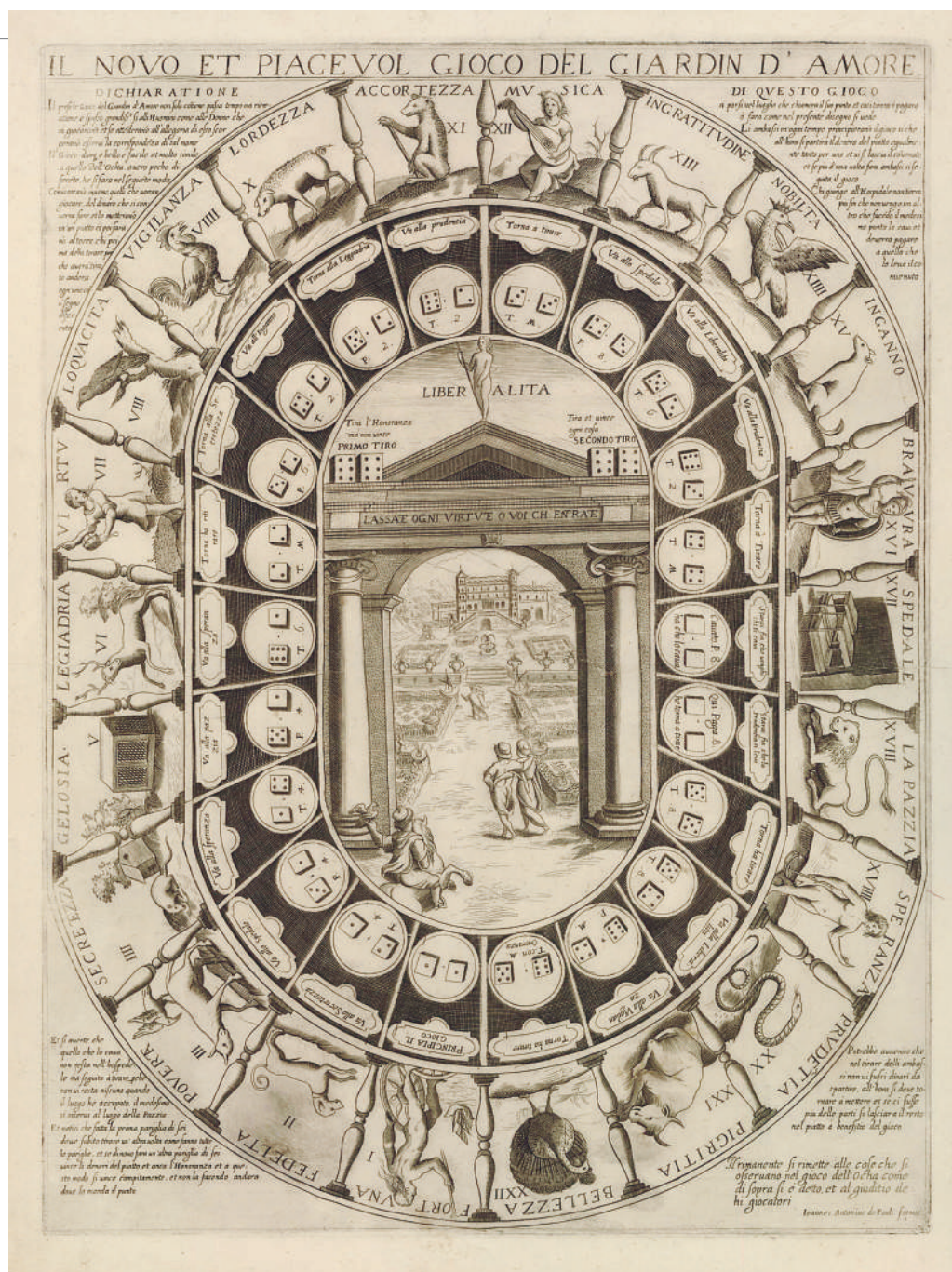
The Game of Cupid was more likely of Spanish origin and may have been among the games Carrera meant by the invention of 'other games slightly different from the first one', i.e. the Game of the Goose, which included the *Filosofia Cortesana*.<sup>31</sup> The adjective 'royal' and the crowned snake may refer to a royal environment in which the game was invented. However, referring to a royal connection could also have been a marketing tool of the publisher.

A comparison of the Game of Cupid with the Game of the Goose shows a number of similarities but also some distinct deviations. The spiral shape of the Game of the Goose was transformed into that of a coiled snake. This feature is explained on De Jode's print at lower left, above the 'Rules': 'It is to be noted that this game is represented in the shape of a snake, because Love guised as a snake sneaks into the heart of those who posses it, and poisons them with its venim, and for several other attractive reasons, which the lack of space on this piece of paper does not allow to explain here.' No other board game is known to have such an explanation of the symbolic nature of its design.

Similar to the Game of the Goose, the Game of Cupid has sixty-three circular spaces. In the latter, cupids replace the geese in spaces with regular intervals. Whereas the geese appear in every fifth and fourth space – numbering







8 Published in Rome by  
Giovanni Antonio de Paoli,  
*Game of the Garden of Love*,  
c. 1590, engraving,  
465 x 349 mm, London,  
British Museum, © Trustees  
of the British Museum





thirteen in total – the nine cupids occupy every seventh circle. These numbers correspond with the so-called climacterics, the critical years in a person's life, marking turning points, with  $9 \times 7 = 63$  being the 'grand climacteric'. This last number was already referred to as such in Aldovrandi's rules of the Game of the Goose, where the winner arrives at the central 'garden of the geese [*viridarium anserum*] through seven times nine numbers, which make the climacteric year' [*per septem nouenarios numeros, qui faciunt annum climatericum*].<sup>32</sup>

The Games of the Goose often have the rules printed at centre or, as in Visscher's and Jegher's games, in margin. However, the numerological significance of the game is never mentioned, possibly because it was apparent to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century minds. Pieter de Jode's Game of Cupid, however, starts with an explanation of the philosophy of the numbers used, at top left: 'This game is composed of the number 7 multiplied nine times, of which the product gives 63 because Love is pleased by this number, being very perfect'. This is followed by the explanation of the game, which, like the Game of the Goose, is played with at least two persons, although 'the more persons play, the more fun is had and the more recreative this game is, and also the more profitable', since it was played with a monetary stake, set before starting, as is also explained. Similar to the older game, one cannot halt on a space with a goose or, in this case, cupid, and has to advance the

number thrown until a space without a cupid is reached. The combination of the numbers on the two dice could determine an advantage as one could proceed to the space with an image of the dice. The Game of Cupid has three such fortunate combinations, in which the number thrown makes up 7; the combination 1 and 6 goes to space 16, 5 and 2 to space 25, 4 and 3 to space 43. This is more straightforward than the Game of the Goose, in which the combination 3 and 6 goes to space 26, and 5 and 4 to space 53.

As a metaphor of the course of life, both games have several hazards that can be encountered. Though basically the same, they occur on different spaces and there are some differences in the icons and their meaning as well. The rules on both games explain the icons.

In the Game of Cupid the bridge of love, '*la puente del Amor*', means one has to pay a tribute to Cupid and can advance to space 12 to rest in the depicted chair. In the Game of the Goose one has to pay toll to cross the bridge; with the toll paid twice one can also move forward to space 12 which, however, has no icon.

The throne of love in space 18 in the Game of Cupid has the same function as the inn in space 19 of the Game of the Goose; one has to pay a fine and skip a turn. The same applies for the banquet in space 38 of the Game of Cupid and the prison in space 52 of the Game of the Goose.

The well or fountain in spaces 30 and 31 are identical; a fine is to be paid and one is only released when another player arrives on the same





space or else one stays there until the end of the game. The Game of Cupid has an additional icon in space 54, the forest, which has the same rule.

The labyrinths in spaces 42 and 46 are similar, although the hazard is more severe in the Game of Cupid; a prize is to be paid and one has to return to space 39 and 23 respectively, which means a setback of just 3 over 23 spaces.

Obviously, the skeleton or tomb on spaces 58 and 59 in both games mean death; a fine and start over. The rules for overtaking another player are the same as well.

As compared with the Game of the Goose, the Game of Cupid has one additional, advantageous rule, which is explained at bottom right: 'The number 7 is favourable and privileged in this game, so the one who throws it, and reaches the throne, the well, the banquet, the labyrinth, the forest, or the tomb, shall pay nothing, shall not stay there nor go back, but shall only double his number until he is in a safe space ...'

The winner of the Game of Cupid arrives at the central image, the garden of love, which is number 63. This victory has a different meaning than that of most Games of the Goose, which either have an image at centre, or the rules. The winning space 63, the last one of the track, usually depicts a gateway or a door. Referring to the 'grand climacteric', the age of 63, man was supposed to have little to fear, once having passed this age.<sup>33</sup> In Visscher's print, however, number 63 also is the central image.

### Pieter de Jode I and the Spanish market of prints

Netherlandish prints and printmakers were highly valued in Spain throughout the sixteenth century; loads of prints left Bruges and Antwerp for the Iberian peninsula and from there even to the South Americas.<sup>34</sup> Philip II's interest in print-making played a major part in this popularity. His print collection at the Escorial contains many prints by Antwerp publishers, among them Gerard de Jode's *Thesaurus*.<sup>35</sup> During Philip II's reign several Flemish engravers immigrated to Spain, famous for their technical skills which were hard to find among the few local printmakers.<sup>36</sup> The Flemish engraver and pupil of Gerard de Jode Pierre Perret, who worked for Philip II from 1595, was even credited with the introduction of engraving to Spain.<sup>37</sup>

The Game of Cupid, with De Jode's address in Spanish, could be another print meant to send to Spain, but it could also have been made for the community of the Spanish nobility surrounding Albert and Isabella, or both.

The Spanish Infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia, daughter of Philip II, king of Spain, governed the southern Netherlands with her husband, Albert Archduke of Austria, until her death in 1633. Since the signing of the Twelve Years' Truce in Antwerp in 1609, which brought peace to the Low Countries, life at the Spanish court in Brussels became more leisurely. Under Isabella and Albert art flourished, and in 1609 they appointed Rubens as their court painter.<sup>38</sup>



9 Pieter de Jode I, *Notre Dame de Hau*, 1603, engraving, 387 x 281 mm, Wolfegg, Fürstlich zu Waldburg-Wolfegg'sche Kunstsammlungen

Pieter de Jode had dealings with the Spanish rulers as well. Shortly after the start of his publishing firm, he dedicated a devotional print of the Virgin of Halle, *Notre Dame de Hau*, to the pious Albert and Isabella. He presented two exemplars to the Governors, applying for a ten year privilege on the plate, which was granted to him for five years on 17 April 1603 (fig. 9).<sup>39</sup> He also engraved and published a number of portraits of important courtiers, such as a full length portrait of Albert, one of Ambrogio Spinola, general in the Spanish army, and one of Emanuel Sueyro, chamberlain of Philip III, after Rubens.<sup>40</sup> Probably at the occasion of their wedding in 1615, De Jode published two portraits of the young Spanish king Philip III and his bride Elisabeth de Bourbon.<sup>41</sup> The same oval frame was used in a portrait he published in 1623, of Charles de Longueval, general and ambassador of Albert and Isabella.<sup>42</sup> Between 1612 and 1616 De Jode designed and published a portrait of the Spanish Father Francisco Jerónimo Simón (1578-1612), surrounded by ten scenes from his life; he had the plate engraved by Egbert van Panderen. The print was dedicated by the Carmelite priest Hieronymus Gratianus, translator of Spanish religious works, to Felipe de Cardona, Marquess of Guadalest, ambassador in Brussels of Albert and Isabella (fig. 10).<sup>43</sup>

Pieter de Jode even seems to have worked directly for the Spanish market. He published two devotional prints of major Spanish places of pilgrimage; an engraving for the Spanish order of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mercy, of Barcelona,



whose founder Peter Nolasco was canonized in 1628,<sup>44</sup> and one of the Virgin of Guadalupe, the famous statue of the 'Black Madonna' in the monastery Santa Maria de Guadalupe in Extremadura.<sup>45</sup> In 1630 he engraved a portrait of Don Lorenzo vander Hamen y León, a Spanish humanist, son of a nobleman from Brussels. The portrait was based on a painting by Lorenzo's brother Juan, court painter in Madrid.<sup>46</sup> For the Flemish-Portuguese publisher Paulo Craesbeeck Pieter de Jode engraved a portrait of Francisco Guillieme Casmach, a Portuguese astrologer. The portrait was an epitaph and posthumously added to books written by Casmach and published by Craesbeeck. The engraving has been attributed to Pieter de Jode II but was definitely engraved by Pieter de Jode I, who also designed the frame.<sup>47</sup> The errors in the name, spelled as 'Camsaoh', suggest that De Jode was unfamiliar with the sitter, whose portrait must have been sent to him as a drawing.

### The popularity of the Game of Cupid

De Jode's Game of Cupid seems to have had a contemporaneous counterpart in France. This woodcut, with an exact translation of the rules into French was published by the widow Charles Petit, of the rue Montorgueil in Paris, about 1640 (fig. 11).<sup>48</sup> The central scene of the 'Jeu Royal de Cupidon' is signed with three monograms, which could be associated with Jean Leclerc IV (1566-1622). It is possible that the woodcut, which does



10 Egbert van Panderen after Pieter de Jode I, *Father Francisco Jerónimo Simón*, 1612-'16, engraving, 309 x 233 mm, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

show some wormholes, was previously published by Leclerc, who is known to have copied many Flemish prints.<sup>49</sup> When De Jode's print predates the French one, this means that it must have been published before 1622. The only difference between the two boards are the small landscapes depicted in the spaces, which are empty in the Spanish game except for space 4. In De Jode's game the same castle in a landscape as in the





38





French one appears in this space. This is puzzling since all other icons in De Jode's game have meaning whereas the castle does not. However, it is unlikely that De Jode copied the French game because the central image shows Flemish fashion and definitely not French, as argued above. Therefore, a French origin seems to be improbable but there can have been another, earlier example which both publishers used.<sup>50</sup> It is even possible that De Jode published the board with Flemish or French texts although no such game is known.

The Game of Cupid became popular in the Northern Netherlands as well, where it fitted perfectly in the popular pastime of the urban upper class youth, with love poems, music, dance and games, as represented in the many illustrated songbooks. It is widely agreed that this genre started in 1602 with Michiel Vlack's *Den nieuwen Lust-hof*, soon followed by titles such as 't *Vermaeck der Jeucht* (1612 and 1617), *Cupido's Lusthof ende der Amoureuse Bomgaert* (1613) and Crispijn de Passe's *Nieuwen ieucht spiegel* [1617].<sup>51</sup> De Jode's Game of Cupid was copied between 1625-40 by Claes Jansz. Visscher in Amsterdam (fig. 12).<sup>52</sup> The title was changed into 'The new game of snake, otherwise called the royal pastime of Cupid'. The rules only give the basics; no mention is made of the numerological significance nor of the additional favourable throwing of the number 7. The icons are all identical although Visscher left out the meaningless castle of space 4. He slightly changed the appearance of the snake by leaving out the twist behind its head

and by moving the curled tail from the centre to upper right, making the image more symmetric. The biggest change is in the central image.

Where Pieter de Jode showed a garden of love with elegant couples, Visscher depicted a dancing peasant couple with a matching Cupid, who is making music with some crude kitchen tools. In the accompanying rules this garden is called 'the peasant garden of Cupid' [*den boertigen Hoff van Cupido*]; besides literally referring to the depicted peasants, the word *boertig* also had the connotation of farcical or ludicrous. Visscher herewith aimed at a market of the Dutch upper class, where this connotation was in vogue. Visscher also doubtless referred to popular songbooks such as G.A. Bredero's *Boertigh, Amoreus, en Aendachtigh Groot Lied-boeck*, first published in Amsterdam in 1622, which addressed the same audience.<sup>53</sup> In a later, close copy of Visscher's print the central image is replaced with an elegant couple, playing the game seated at a table, although in the rules the *boertigen Hoff* remained.<sup>54</sup> Visscher's Game of Snake was copied and reissued several times until the mid-nineteenth century, all with the peasant dance at centre.<sup>55</sup>

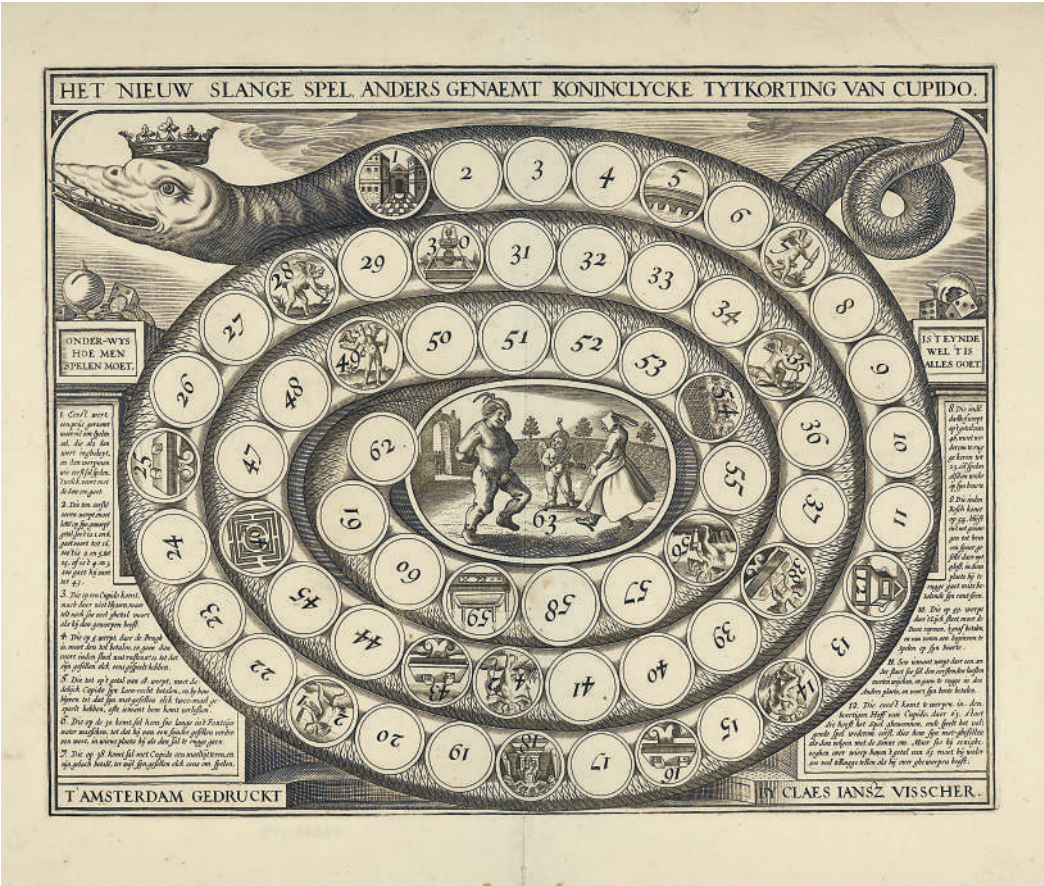
From the late-seventeenth century the Game of Snake was equally succesful in England, in a copy of Visscher's board. Around 1800 an engraving of 'The Royal Pastime of Cupid or Entertaining Game of the Snake' was published in Glasgow by James Lumsden, in which the central image was replaced with a cupid in a garden, in

the rules called ‘the delightful Garden of Cupid’.<sup>56</sup> The game still appeared about 1850, in a copy of the latter.<sup>57</sup>

In other countries the Game of Cupid seems not to have caught on. Pieter de Jode’s Spanish version is the only Game of Cupid known to have been published in the Southern Netherlands.

One would expect a Flemish version of the game, possibly made by Jan Jeghers who, like Visscher in Amsterdam, published both the Game of the Goose and the Game of the Owl. But no such print has turned up, and thus Pieter de Jode’s ‘El Juego Real de Cupido’ is the only Flemish Game of Cupid known to date.

12 Published in Amsterdam by Claes Jansz. Visscher, *Game of Snake*, c. 1625-’40, engraving, 345 x 438 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum







# Notes

Marjolein Leesberg (1962) studied art history at the Rijksuniversiteit Utrecht. She graduated in 1985 on 'Karel van Mander as a painter' with prof.dr. E.K.J. Reznicek, published in *Simiolus* 22 (1993-1994). Further research on Karel van Mander as designer for prints resulted in publication in the *New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish-series* (1999). She has been working as compiler and editor for the Hollstein-series since, specialized in late 16th-century Dutch and Flemish printmaking. Projects: De Gheyn family (2000), Philips Galle (2001), Wierix family (2003-2004), Collaert Dynasty (2005-2006), Johannes Stradanus (2008), Hendrick Goltzius (2012). Current research on the Antwerp De Jode family will be published in 2016.

This article is based on my research of four generations of the De Jode family (publishers, designers and engravers), to be published in *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings and Woodcuts 1450-1700*, hereafter referred to as NHD. These volumes will revise the incomplete entries on the printmaking of the De Jode family in *Hollstein's Dutch and Flemish etchings, engravings, and woodcuts, c. 1450-1700*, hereafter referred to as Holl. A most helpful tool was the website [www.giochidelloca.it](http://www.giochidelloca.it), hosted by Luigi Ciompi and Adrian Seville with an extensive bibliography and illustrated database.

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1 London, British Library, Cartographic Items Maps \* 999.(1.).

2 On the De Jode family see P. van der Coelen in *De Gruyter Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, vol. 78 (2013), pp. 115-119; Holl. IX (1953), pp. 199-220; M. Leesberg and H. Leeflang (ed.), NHD *The De Jode Dynasty [forthcoming 2016]*.

3 Recent publication on Pieter de Jode's stay in Italy: J. Gabarelli, 'Paper on silk: a new print by Pieter de Jode after Antonio Tempesta, published by Giacomo Lauro and adorned by Angelo Rocca', *Delineavit et Sculpsit* 37 (2014), pp. 12-21.

4 For these prints see Holl. IX (1953) (P. de Jode I), pp. 203-209 and NHD *The De Jode Dynasty* [forthcoming]. See on the subject of reissuing earlier plates: E.H. Wouk, 'Maarten Peeters, publisher at the Sign of the Golden Fountain', *Delineavit et Sculpsit* 38 (2015), pp. 2-49.

5 G. Koning and E. Verhaak, *New for now: the origin of fashion magazines*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Rijksmuseum) 2015, pp. 10-15, cat.nos. 5-6.

6 See for a comprehensive overview of the subject: M. Zollinger, 'Zwei unbekannte Regeln zum Gänsepiel: Ulisse Aldrovrandi und Herzog August II. von Braunschweig-Lüneburg', *Board Game Studies* 6 (2003), pp. 61-86, esp. pp. 63-68; A. Seville, *The Royal Game of the Goose. 400 Years of Printed Board Games*, exh. cat. New York (The Grolier Club) 2016 [forthcoming].

7 P. Carrera, *Il Gioco degli Scacchi*, Militello (Giovanni de' Rossi) 1617, p. 25: '... come è noto essere avvenuto al ritrovamento del gioco dell'Oca ne' tempi de' nostri padri, perchè questo gioco essendosi ritrovato in Firenze, e piacendo sommamente parve à Francesco di Medici gra[n] Duca di Toscana di mandarlo alla Maestà del Re Filippo II. in Ispagna, ove pubblicato diè materia à buoni ingegni di ritrovarne altri poco differenti dal primo, fra' quali vi è il gioco detto la Filosofia Corteggiana ritrovato da Alonso di Barros spagnuolo.'

8 V. Infantes, '<Una pintura que se contiene en un pliego grande>. El tablero de la *Filosofía cortesana* de Alonso de Barros: una Oca emblemática entre España e Italia (1587 y 1588)', *Imago. Revista de Emblemática y Cultura Visual* 2 (2010), pp. 134-135.

9 London, British Museum, inv. no. 1869,0410.2463.-+. The collecting of these prints started only in the 19th-century albeit more from a historical than an artistic interest in games, e.g. the collection of Lady Charlotte Schreiber, donated to the British Museum in 1893 (A. Seville, 'Collecting the 'ephemera of ephemera' relating to printed board games', *The Ephemerist* 161 (2013), pp. 11-17; Naomi Lebens is preparing a PhD thesis on this collection and the subject *Prints in Play*; London, Courtauld Institute of Art), or the modest collection of Ferdinand de Rothschild at Waddesdon Manor, United Kingdom (P. Plock and A. Seville, 'La Collection Rothschild de jeux de l'oie et de parcours à Waddesdon Manor',

*Proceedings of the XIIIth Board Game Studies Colloquium, Paris, 14-17 April 2010*, Paris 2012, pp. 433-444).

10 A. de Barros, *Filosofía Cortesana*, Madrid 1587 and Naples 1588; F. Collar de Cáceres, 'El tablero italiano de la Filosofía cortesana de Alonso de Barros (1588); la carrera de un hombre de corte', *Anuario del Departamento de Historia y Teoría del Arte* 21 (2009), pp. 81-104. It must be noted that several authors, including Collar de Cáceres (*ibidem*, p. 85), mention the fact that the Game of the Goose is not yet described among the one hundred games in Innocenzio Ringhieri's *Cento Giuochi Liberali* of 1551 nor in Girolamo Bargagli's *Dialogo de' Giuochi* of 1572, which would corroborate a dating of the invention of the game after 1572. However, these 'games' did not concern board games or games of chance but rather literary parlour games related to Boccaccio's *Decamerone* (see: G.W. McClure, *Parlour Games and the Public Life of Women in Renaissance Italy*, Toronto 2013). Cesare Rao's *Invettive, orationi, et discorsi* of 1587 does mention a number of games although not the Game of the Goose in particular; his 'Invettiva Vigesima. Contra i Giocatori' is an invective against all games of fortune, played with cards or dice (Zollinger 2003 [note 6], p. 66).

11 Milan, Civica Raccolta delle Stampe Bertarelli; Collar de Cáceres 2009 (note 10), p. 87, fig. 6; Infantes 2010 (note 8), p. 133, fig. 6.

12 Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria,



## Notes

Ms. Aldrovandi 21, Miscellanea vol. II, *De Ludis tum publicis, tum priuatis methodus*, pp. 25-30; Zollinger 2003 (note 6), pp. 70-73 and Annex I. On Giovanni Croce's song: M. Zollinger and Th. Depaulis, 'Zwischen Allegorie und Realismus. Die Thematisierung des Spiels in der Musik', *Homo ludens* x (2000), p. 64.

13 E. Arber, *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640, London 1875-94*, vol. III, p. 21; first signaled in: H.R.J. Murray, *A history of board games other than chess*, Oxford 1952; Seville 2016 (note 6), pp. 55-57, no. 23.

14 Th. Depaulis, 'Sur la piste du jeu de l'oie', *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique, Historique et Artistique Le Vieux Papier* 345 (1997), p. 565; M. Préaud et al., *Dictionnaire des éditeurs d'estampes à Paris sous l'Ancien Régime*, Paris 1987, pp. 143-144.

15 Wolfenbüttel, *Herzog August Bibliothek*, inv. no. IH 624; W. Harms, *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, vol. III: *Die Sammlung der Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel*, Tübingen 1989, pp. 462-463, no. III, 237.

16 'Philipp Hainhofers Reise-Tagebuch', *Baltische Studien* 2, vol. II, Stettin 1834, p. 49: 'das rechte Ganßspiel, [...] als wie es in Kupfergestochen, und in Italien unter den Studenten, [...] gar gemein ist'; Zollinger 2003 (note 6), pp. 62, 68.

17 The cabinet itself was lost in World War II but most of the contents were preserved and are now in the Kunstgewerbemuseum der Staatlichen

Museen zu Berlin. The Game of the Goose is of a diamond shaped lay-out not found in any printed game; B. Mundt, *Der Pommersche Kunstschränk des Augsburger Unternehmers Philipp Hainhofer für den gelehrten Herzog Philipp II. von Pommern*, Munich 2009, pp. 238-239, no. P 773.

18 Dresden, Kunstgewerbemuseum, inv. no. 47714: <http://skd-online-collection.skd.museum/de/contents/showArtist?id=306719>; K.-P. Arnold (ed.), *Kunsth Handwerk der Gotik und Renaissance 13. bis 17. Jahrhundert*, exh. cat. Dresden (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Museum für Kunsthandwerk Schloss Pillnitz) 1981, cat. no. 28. See on the Game of the Goose: R.W. Brednich, 'Das Gänse-spiel. Neues zu einem Klassiker der europäischen Spielkultur', in: H. Alzheimer et al. (eds.), *Bilder-Sachen-Mentalitäten. Arbeitsfelder historischer Kulturwissenschaften*. Wolfgang Brückner zum 80. Geburtstag, Regensburg 2010, pp. 343-344, fig. 2.

19 Uppsala, Museum Gustavianum: <http://www.konstsamlingarna.uu.se/utställningar/augsburgska-konstskäpet>; H.-O. Boström, *Det underbara skäpet: Philipp Hainhofer och Gustav II Adolfs konstsåp*, Uppsala 2001. According to Mundt 2009 (note 17), p. 239, this game is an engraving.

20 Zollinger 2003 (note 6), p. 73 and pp. 78-80, Annex II.

21 Hugo de Groot [Grotius], *Poemata*, Leiden (A. Clouck) 1617 [1616], no. 28: 'Ludus anseris leu des Oyes | Sorte quidem varia, metam tamen imus ad unam, | Votaque mors rumpit: quis

putet esse iocum?'; A. Eyffinger (ed.), *The poetry of Hugo Grotius. Original poetry 1602-1603*, Assen/Maastricht/Wolfeboro 1988, pp. 595, 633, no. 28; A. Eyffinger, 'Huis, tuin en keuken. Het Instrumentum Domesticum van Hugo de Groot (1583-1645)', *Herme-neus* 5 (1983), pp. 322-337. Grotius's epigram was translated into German by Martin Opitz (1597-1639), *Florilegium*, 1640, pp. 38-39 and *Deutsche Poemata* 2, 1641, p. 502; Harms 1989 (note 15), p. 462.

22 G. Moll, 'De confiscatie der goederen van Hugo de Groot', *Oud-Holland* 20 (1902), pp. 83-112.

23 J.J. Starter, 'Uit het 'Steeckboecken' ofte 't vermaeck der jeughdelijcker herten, om daerdoor te weten Der Herten secreten', Amsterdam, May 1624, in: J. van Vloten, *J.J. Starters Friesche Lusthof*, Utrecht 1864, pp. 524-526.

24 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1893-A-18144; Holl. XXXVIII (1991) (published by C.J. Visscher), 300; P.J. Buijnsters and L. Buijnsters-Smets, *Papertoys: speelprenten en papieren speelgoed in Nederland (1640-1920)*, Zwolle 2005, pp. 90-105; J. van der Waals, *Prenten in de Gouden Eeuw van kunst tot kastpapier*, exh. cat. Rotterdam (Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen) 2006, p. 41, cat. no. 35; E. Kolfin, 'Amsterdam, stad van prenten. Amsterdamse prent-uitgevers in de 17de eeuw', in: E. Kolfin and J. van der Veen (eds.), *Gedrukt tot Amsterdam. Amsterdamse prentmakers en -uitgevers in de gouden eeuw*, exh. cat. Amsterdam (Museum Het Rembrandthuis) 2011, p. 50, fig. 38.

25 Nuremberg, Germanisches Nationalmuseum, inv. no. HB 16877 (Kapsel 1258); L. Wilckens (ed.), *Spiel, Spiele, Kinderspiel*, exh. cat. Nuremberg (Germanisches Nationalmuseum) 1985, cat. no. 68, fig. 51; Zollinger 2003 (note 6), p. 69; A. Seville, 'Distinctive Features of German 'Goose' Games', *Proceedings of Board Game Studies* 2012 (Munich) [[http://www.giochidelloca.it/storia/BGS\\_2012.pdf](http://www.giochidelloca.it/storia/BGS_2012.pdf)].

26 Antwerp, Volkskundemuseum (library), pasted in the album 'Het Boeck Paperye', inv. no. E 11; H. IX (J.C. Jegher), 491; P. Vansummeren, 'Het ganzebord van J.C. Jegher in het Volkskundemuseum', *Cultureel Jaarboek Stad Antwerpen* IX (1991), pp. 57-60; Buijnsters 2005 (note 24), p. 90.

27 Buijnsters 2005 (note 24), p. 99.

28 *Ibidem*, p. 90. It was also copied in England, at least in Glasgow by James Lumsden & Son, c. 1800-20; S. O'Connell, *The Popular Print in England*, London 1999, pp. 37-39: impression in London, British Museum, inv. no. 1893,0331.131.

29 Buijnsters 2005 (note 24), p. 105; both dated to c. 1640. See on an early Italian Game of the Owl, engraving and etching by Ambrogio Brambilla, published by Giovanni Battista Panzera, Parma, 1589: M. Bury, *The Print in Italy 1550-1620*, London 2001, pp. 152-153, cat. no. 103; Th. Depaulis, 'Trois jeux imprimés de début du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle par la veuve Petit à Paris', *Arbeitskreis Bild Druck Papier. Tagungsband Épinal* 2011, vol. 16, Münster/New York 2012, pp. 42-45.





30 London, British Museum, inv. no. 1869,0410.2467.+ . It still featured in Giovanni Giacomo de' Rossi's catalogue of 1690, together with five other games, including the Games of the Goose and of the Owl; *Indice delle stampe intagliate in rame, al bulino, & all' acqua forte. Esistenti nella stamperia di Gio. Giacomo de Rossi alla Pace*, Rome 1689-90, p. 121.

31 See note 7.

32 Zollinger 2003 (note 6), pp. 72-73 [on numerology in Game of the Goose], p. 78 [Aldovrandi transcript]; Seville 2016 (note 6), pp. 17-18.

33 Eyffinger 1988 (note 21), p. 633.

34 In South America many Flemish prints were copied in painting, among them Pieter de Jode's large *Genealogical Tree of the Franciscans*, which can be found in Ecuador, Mexico and Peru; PESSCA, *Project on the Engraved Sources of Spanish Colonial Art*, no. 1915A: <http://colonialart.org>.

35 M. McDonald, 'The Print Collection of Philip II at the Escorial', *Print Quarterly* 15 (1998), pp. 15-35.

36 E. Lafuente Ferrari, *Sobre la historia del grabado Español*, Bilbao 1989, pp. 16-18, 24-26; J. Blas *et al.*, *Grabadores extranjeros en la Corte española del Barroco*, Madrid 2011, pp. 15-22.

37 M. McDonald, 'Pedro Perret and Pedro de Villafraña. Printmakers to the Spanish Hapsburgs', *Melbourne Art Journal* 4 (2000), pp. 37-51; Blas *et al.* 2011 (note 36), pp. 61-63, 89.

38 W. Thomas and L. Duerloo (eds.), *Albert & Isabella, 1598-1621. Essays*, Turnhout 1998.

39 Holl. IX (1953) (P. de Jode I), 94; M. Soenen, *Inventaire analytique des documents relatifs à l'impression et au commerce des livres (1546-1702)*, Brussels 1983, p. 21.

40 Holl. IX (1953) (P. de Jode I), 261, 262; Albert not mentioned in Hollstein, impression in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, inv. no. PORT\_00046279\_01 ([www.portraitindex.de](http://www.portraitindex.de)).

41 Not mentioned in Hollstein, impressions a.o. in Braunschweig, Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum, inv. no. P. de Jode I AB 3.45-46.

42 Not mentioned in Hollstein, impression a.o. in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, inv. no. PORT\_00097933\_01.

43 Not mentioned in Hollstein, impression a.o. in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, inv. no. PORT\_00014711\_01. De Jode may have copied the features of the Blessed from the portrait engraving by Cornelis Galle I after Peter Paul Rubens, used in: J. Woverius, *Vita B. Simonis Valentini Sacerdotis*, Antwerp (widow and sons J. Moretus I) 1614.

44 M. Trens, *Maria. Iconografía de la Virgen en el Arte Español*, Madrid 1947, fig. 204. Not mentioned in Hollstein, impression a.o. in Vienna, Albertina, inv. no. HB 88, fol. 15, no. 25.

45 Not mentioned in Hollstein, impression a.o. in Brussels, Konin-

klijke Bibliotheek van België, Prentenkabinet, inv. no. S 1 19582 4°.

46 Not mentioned in Hollstein, impression in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, coll. Carderera, inv. no. IH/9577.

47 Holl. IX (1953) (P. de Jode II), 57. I thank Hans van de Venne for his help in identifying the sitter.

48 Collection Adrian Seville; Depaulis 2012 (note 29), pp. 46-48, fig. 2. The widow Charles Petit also published two other games, a Game of the Owl and a Game of War, both now in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, Est., RES AA4 Veuve Petit/boîte format 4; Depaulis 2012 (note 29); Seville 2016 (note 6), pp. 36-37, no. 10.

49 *Ibidem*, pp. 47, 50.

50 Depaulis, who was unaware of De Jode's print, already suggested a Dutch or Flemish origin of the French woodcut: 'On peut même se demander si le jeu de Cupidon de la veuve Petit n'a pas une origine hollandaise ou flamande.'; *ibidem*, p. 48. And: 'Il [Jean Leclerc IV] pourrait avoir copié -avant 1622- un *Slange spel* produit à Anvers'; *ibidem*, p. 50.

51 I.M. Veldman, *Profit and pleasure. Print Books by Crispijn de Passe*, Rotterdam 2001, p. 54, p. 122, note 11; N. Veldhorst, *Zingend door het leven: het Nederlandse liedboek in de Gouden Eeuw*, Amsterdam 2009.

52 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. RP-P-OB-77.369; F. Muller, *De Nederlandsche*

*geschiedenis in platen. Beredeneerde beschrijving van Nederlandsche historieplaten, zinneprenten en historische kaarten*, Amsterdam 1882, vol. IV, p. 172, no. 1545E, dated c. 1625; Holl. xxxviii (1991) (published by C.J. Visscher), 301; Buijnsters 2005 (note 24), p. 109, dated c. 1640. Together with two versions of the Game of the Goose and the Game of the Owl, the Game of Snake [*Slange Spel*] still featured in the stocklist of his grandson Nicolaes Visscher II, c. 1680, p. 9: 'Ganse-spel in de dwarste. Ditto in de hooghte. Slange-spel. Uylen-spel.'; Van der Waals 2006 (note 24), Appendix 5, p. 222.

53 G. Stuiveling *et al.* (eds.), *G.A. Bredero, Groot lied-boeck*, vol. 1, Culemborg 1975.

54 Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Rijksprentenkabinet, inv. no. RP-P-OB-76.954; Holl. xxxviii (1991) (published by C.J. Visscher), 301 copy b; Van der Waals 2006 (note 24), p. 41, cat. no. 36, erroneously attributed to Crispijn de Passe the Younger.

55 Buijnsters 2005 (note 24), pp. 109-10.

56 Collection Adrian Seville; Depaulis 2012 (note 29), p. 48, fig. 11.

57 London, Victoria and Albert Museum, inv. no. E.1747-1954; published in London by R.H. Laurie.