

The Tarock of the Skat Inventors

Part III. Whither Tarock Hombre?

The *Berliner Spielalmanach* series and a Copyright Case in Berlin, early 19th Century

In part I of this article series (*The Playing Card [TPC]* vol. 44 no. 2) we saw that the game of Grosstarock took its interest from the ultimo feature, the high score for winning the very last trick with a particular card (trump I, Pagat, or a king, or, in the case of the *Taschenbuch der Freude und der ernsteren Unterhaltung*, even with trump II). In part II (*TPC* vol. 44 no. 3) it became clear that in the later part of the 18th and the early 19th century, at least in Southern German states (including Austria) it was Tarock Hombre which was the most popular tarot game and was most likely the game played by the inventors of the Skat game, which is essentially the Tarock Hombre mode of play adapted to the “game basics” of the folk game Schafkopf.

Apparently, however, Tarock Hombre was entirely forgotten when the researchers of the history of Skat started to make their investigations in the second half of the 19th century, so that a very thorough study like *Das Skatspiel* by Margot Dietrich and Detlef Hoffmann a century later was completely unaware of it.

How could a once popular game become so forgotten? In order to investigate this question I looked through the various issues of game rule manuals many of which are now easily accessible via the internet.¹ It turns out that this not only gives a possible answer, but also throws some light on the alleged “two traditions” of Grosstarock rules in German game books of the 19th century about which Michael Dummett and John McLeod write in the *History of Games Played with the Tarot Pack* (*History* for short). In addition we find a copyright case in the early 19th century, and we meet a rather illustrious person, the author of not only game rules but also popular books on “sexual life in its entirety”, public medical advisor Dr. Christian Gottfried Flittner.

1. Books

Dummett/McLeod, in the *History* noted that the *Spiel-Almanach* of 1797 edited by Julius Cäsar in Berlin is the first text *exclusively* devoted to Tarock Hombre (see part II). This must now be corrected: the book *Das Taroc l'hombre, eines der feinsten*

¹ In particular Worldcat and Google Books.

Kartenspiele, (which was mentioned in part II, section 4 “Tarock Hombre books”) is from 1795 (not 1796 as I wrote), printed in Nuremberg by J. C. Monath and J. F. Kussler, and now available via Google Books. As the title indicates it deals exclusively with Tarock Hombre. The text is identical with that of *Der beliebte Weltmensch*, Vienna 1795 (see Dummett/McLeod, *History*, vol. I, p. 126).

Cäsar’s *Almanach* was printed by Oehmigke the Younger in 1797 and again 1798. The next *Almanachs* then appeared without a noted publisher as *Neuer Almanach*, *Neuester Spielalmanach* and *Neuer Spielalmanach* in the years 1799, 1800, and 1801 respectively. In 1803 Oehmigke jun. started the printing again: as *Berliner Almanach* in 1804, and 1805;² 1807, 1808, and 1809 the title changed to *Neuester Almanach*. Then a break occurs: in 1810 there is a new printer, Hayn; Cäsar is still listed as the author (or editor); but the work is “improved and enlarged with new games” by G. W. v. Abenstein. The title is now back to just *Spielalmanach*. It appears again in 1813 and 1815. After that there is a pause of 5 years and in 1820 only Abenstein is responsible for the “second thoroughly improved and enlarged” edition, titled *Neuer Spielalmanach*. There is another printing, “with minor corrections” of this in 1830, and Abenstein hopes the series has reached its completion.

But there is another series of game books from Berlin during this time, entitled *Talisman des Glücks* (talisman of joy/luck/happiness/fortune) whose editor is given as C. G. F. von Düben and which appears 1816, 1819, and there is a final one in 1831. Abenstein’s *Almanach* of 1820 contains several newly written rules

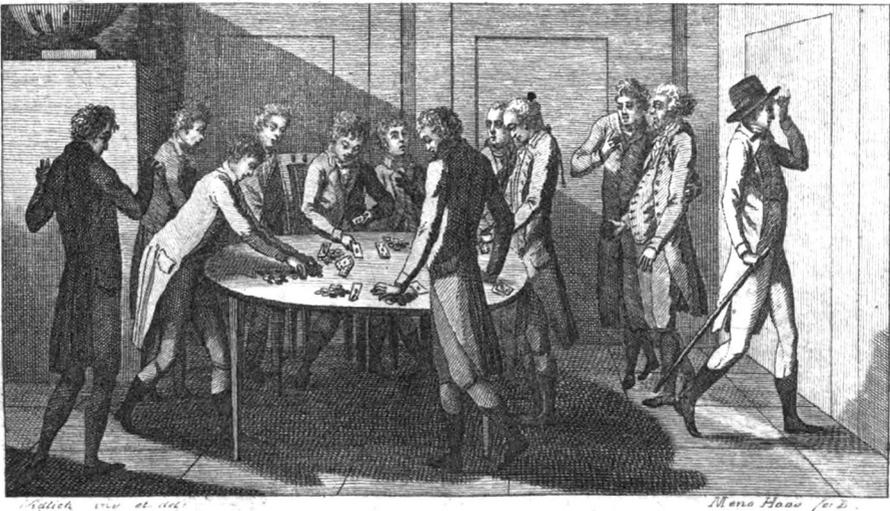


Fig. 1: Copper engraving from *Talisman des Glücks*, 1816

² The edition @ Google Books of 1804 gives no editor’s name, I have not seen the other editions.

compared to the *Almanach* of 1810. The text of the *Talisman*, on the other hand, remains identical to the *Almanach* of 1810 (save for printing errors).

It may be of interest to collectors that the *Talisman* of 1816 was accompanied by “the twelve face cards, after the drawings of the excellent Runge who passed away too early, engraved in wood by Prof. Gubitz, [...]” (p. XX). The later *Talismans* do not contain the woodcuts.³

Why is the *Almanach* printed in two versions after 1815 under different titles by different editors/authors?

2. The “*Vorrede*” of the 1820 edition of the *Spielalmanach*

The solution may be found in the “*Vorrede*” (preface) of Abenstein’s 1820 *Almanach*. It is a diatribe against the *Talisman*, “*ein verkappter Nebenbuhler*” (a rival in disguise) whom he accuses for illegally stealing the 1810 version! Abenstein identifies “von Düben” with *Ober-Medicinal-Accessor* (chief public medical advisor) Dr. Flittner.

Abenstein explains: In 1809 the last copies of the *Almanach* were sold out so the editor went to Oehmigke to ask if he would print a new edition or allow him to go to another publisher. “The circumstances forced Oehmigke to do the latter”. The editor went to Hayn and published the new edition “with eight additional games” while Oehmigke was still “*unbeschränkter Inhaber seiner Handlungen*” (unrestricted owner of his actions). Later, Oehmigke agreed with his creditors to put his business under the administration of *Neue Societäts-Buchhandlung*, directed by Flittner who was one of the creditors. In 1812 Flittner “came up with the idea” to sue Hayn and reclaim the publishing right to the *Almanach*, but withdrew his claim immediately when confronted with the “*wohlerworbenen Verlagsrecht*” (well-acquired publishing right) of Hayn. “*Aber was er auf legalem Wege nicht erreichen konnte, versuchte er im Dunklen zu erreichen*” (But what Flittner was unable to achieve legally he attempted in the dark) and published his *Talisman* in 1816 posing as a “von Düben”, the place of his birth. When Abenstein wrote his diatribe there was apparently another court case underway, which, he hopes, will soon be settled.

So who are the belligerents, Abenstein and Flittner? And who is the mysterious “Julius Cäsar”, the author of the *Almanach* until 1810? — A third person or is it a pseudonym of one of the two, Abenstein or Flittner?

³ On Runge’s cards see John Berry and Thierry Depaulis, “Philipp Otto Runge’s first playing-card”, *TPC* vol. 28 no. 1 (1999) pp. 50–56, or

Klaus-Jürgen Schultz, Frieder Büchler: *Hamburger Spielkarten. Studien zur Spielkarte* Nr. 16, Hamburg/Au 2016, Cat.-Nos. 4/5, p. 20 - 24.

The cards are shown on the back page of this number. This is a re-edition from 1924.

Scans courtesy of Klaus-Jürgen Schultz.

While I could so far find nothing about Abenstein or Cäsar, it turns out that there is a dissertation devoted to Flittner: *Christian Gottfried Flittner: das populäre Werk eines Arztes und Apothekers der Goethezeit im Geiste der Aufklärung*, by Hilmar Spiske.⁴

3. Medicinal-Accessor Dr. C. G. Flittner

C. G. Flittner was indeed born 1770 in Düben, then Saxony, later Prussia. He was a physician and a pharmacist, and part of the “Berlin Enlightenment” which was initiated by Frederick the Great. He is mostly known as the author of popular books on sex morals and related matters such as medical issues, hygiene and cosmetics. Flittner’s various works on these topics appeared around and after 1800 at Oehmigke’s.⁵ Some were reprinted by Flittner’s printing business, *Flittner’sche Buchhandlung*, after 1815 also under the pseudonym von Düben. Flittner eventually collected his writings under the heading *Gynaeologie [sic!] oder das Geschlechtsleben in seinem ganzen Umfange* (Gyneology or sexual life in its entirety)⁶, the reprinted collection of 1843 has 16 parts in 8 volumes. Flittner’s writings about the “*Geschlechtsleben*” are somewhat ambiguous: “Under the pretension of moral education he serves rather juicy historical and ethnological details” (Spiske, p. 16).

Flittner was apparently a wealthy man: he ran the well regarded pharmacy *Zum König Salomon* in Berlin, owned several bookstores, not only in Berlin, and in 1805 acquired the bath “*Friedrich-Gesundbrunnen*” which he renamed to “*Louisenbad*” after the popular Prussian queen⁷. Flittner died in Berlin 1827, aged 58.

4. Flittner’s pseudonyms, Abenstein, and Julius Cäsar⁸

The only thing Spiske has to say about Flittner’s game book activities is that other than his writings on medical and moral issues he “published rather ephemeral writings, calendars and illustrated yearbooks, as well as instructions for various ‘card, chess, billard, and skittle games’” (p. 9).

Flittner frequently used pseudonyms, *Das gelehrte Deutschland* (Lindner, p. 165) lists, among others, “Dr. C. G. F. v. Düben”, “Adf. Jul. Thdr. Fielding”, “C. G. v. Longin”, said to be based on the authors own research. In a footnote the

⁴ In the following I take the information about Flittner from this work, unless otherwise stated.

⁵ That a pharmacist and physician would publish with Oehmigke jun. is not accidental. The house was most famous for its *Berlinisches Jahrbuch der Pharmazie* (see Schmidt, *Deutsche Buchdrucker*, “Oehmigke, Familie”).

⁶ “Gynaeology” is Flittner’s term, presumably to differentiate his much broader topics from the narrower defined medical subject of gynaecology (with “c”).

⁷ Today the area is again “*Gesundbrunnen*” but there is no bath anymore. Flittner sold the bath already in 1820.

⁸ Information and conclusions of this section profited greatly from an email exchange with Thierry Depaulis in April 2015.

author remarks that it is probable that Flittner did hide under other pseudonyms, like “G. W. v. Abenstein” and “F. Faber”, to cite only those that appear on game books.⁹

Indeed, we find the following author/editor names on game books published by Oehmigke: Fielding, typically for books on chess; Longin, typically on Hombre and its variants; and there is a D. A. Faber in 1798 and 1807 (on Tarock and other games).

There are other author names of Oehmigke’s game books which are not listed by *Das gelehrte Deutschland* as Flittner’s pseudonyms: Theodor Engelmann (books on Boston and other games); C. G. Sahr (author of the *Almanach* of 1805), by C. G. Flittner there is a book on Whist of 1807. We note that Julius Cäsar, the author of most of the *Almanachs* at Oehmigke’s does not appear in the pseudonym list of Flittner, neither in *Das gelehrte Deutschland*, nor in later pseudonym lexicons I am aware of.

Later, from 1819 on, the Flittner’sche Buchhandlung would print games books like Ad. Jul. Theod. Filding’s *Anleitung das Schachspiel gründlich zu erlernen* (essentially: Filding on chess), or *Das l’Hombre-spiel nach dem Englischen des C. G. von Longin* (Hombre from the English of C. G. von Longin) both authored by von Düben, as well as the Whist book which reappears 1820. So, apparently Flittner reused his earlier pseudonyms as part of the book titles when printing under his own name. Unfortunately, other names like Faber, Engelmann, Cäsar do not reappear in this form, but also no books on Tarock or the game of Boston (“Filding on chess”, on the other hand, appeared almost annually after 1819). So from this we cannot be sure which of the other names are pseudonyms, and of whom.

The point of all this is that the game rules which started to be printed in 1795 were sometimes updated and frequently republished in a variety of compilations, the big one being the *Almanach*, edited by Julius Cäsar when the publisher was Oehmigke, but as the *Talisman* by Flittner, and by Abenstein when published by Hayn.

So what about Abenstein being Flittner as *Das gelehrte Deutschland* suspects?¹⁰ I think this is extremely unlikely. Firstly, it would be strange if Flittner published two sets of different rules at two publishing houses, his own unchanged from 1810 as *Talisman* and another set of changes at Hayn. The *Talisman* of 1819

⁹ I assume that later pseudonym lexicons like Emil Weller’s *Index pseudonymorum* (Leipzig 1856: Falcke & Rössler, p. 1) took their identifications from *Das gelehrte Deutschland*. The lexicons typically do not give their sources. The same holds for the pseudonym list of the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek, Leipzig (@ online). The mere assumption that Abenstein may be a pseudonym of Flittner hardened into a fact by copying and overinterpretation...

¹⁰ Thierry Depaulis gave this identification in his beautiful Whist counter article, see *TPC* vol. 39 (2011) no. 4 p. 202.

contains the remark that it is the “*zweite rechtmässige Original-Ausgabe*” (second lawful original edition) which suggests that there was indeed a court case going on, as Abenstein writes. Furthermore, Abenstein’s *Almanach* of 1830 has a revised preface with a much milder tone against the “*Nebenbuhler*”. Indeed, Flittner had died three years before. The publisher of the *Talisman* of 1831 is *Sander’sche Buchhandlung*, calling it “*dritte rechtmässige Original-Ausgabe*” (third lawful original edition).

So we now have at least two persons (not including Oehmigke and Hayn), Abenstein and Flittner. — But what about Julius Cäsar? Was he the editor of the *Almanach* at Oehmigke’s who went to Hayn? It is suspicious that the title does not name him; or is the story made up by Abenstein to disguise the fact that the main author of all the game rules published by Oehmigke is Flittner who in this case used Julius Cäsar as his pseudonym?¹¹ The odd “C. G. Sahr” of 1805 is an obvious pun of Flittner on Cäsar — but on himself or another person?

I think we cannot be sure about this given the available data. But it is well possible that Flittner, being a prolific writer, was indeed the author of the majority of the rules in the *Almanach* and thought of ways to retain the right to print them at his own publishing house after the acquisition of Oehmigke’s.¹² On the other hand, if Abenstein is right in that there was an “original editor” who was not Flittner, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that this must be the mysterious Julius Cäsar.

5. Whither Tarock Hombre...

What concerns us about the whole story is that Cäsar’s and then Abenstein’s *Almanachs* constitute a single series of game books. Being an unchanged reprint of the 1810 version the *Talisman* is a “dead” side branch in the sense that it never changes. Thus, interesting in our Tarock context is Cäsar’s pre-1816 *Almanach* and Abenstein’s edition of 1820 (the text of 1830 is essentially unchanged).

¹¹ Michael Dummett already assumed that Julius Cäsar was a pseudonym (*Game of Tarot*, p. 235). But not based on research about the editors, publishers etc. He thought it would be ridiculous as a real name. — Not necessarily! According to Wikipedia, Cäsar was a latinisation of the not uncommon German family name Kaiser (Keiser, Keyser, etc.), popular during the Renaissance and the Humanist era. It is well possible that educated families with that name would give their sons the not uncommon name Julius. Indeed, at the time of writing, January 2017, there is a Cajus Julius Caesar (!), born 1951 who currently serves as a member of the German federal parliament. There seems to be a tradition to give “Cajus” to the first born sons in this family (German Wikipedia entry on him).

¹² This is the preferred interpretation of Thierry Depaulis. Flittner may also be the inventor of the game Alliance which first appears in the 1810 *Almanach* (p. 237) as a “newly invented game” and whose name David Parlett took to classify “alliance games” (*Penguin Book of Card Games*, p. 65, the rules he gives are from a much later game book which lacks some important details).

That Cäsar's 1797 *Almanach* contained only Tarock Hombre is probably not significant as an indicator for the games popularity in Berlin. There is Faber on *Tarok*, *Tarok en deux* and *Tarok l'hombre* already in 1795, and the *Almanach* of 1798 contains all these games. The omission of the other variants is probably more an editorial oversight, Cäsar's *Almanachs* sometimes contain games in one printing but not the next but the descriptions then reappear again later, sometimes rewritten. Cäsar's Tarock descriptions remain essentially unchanged throughout.

It is Abenstein who rewrites the Tarock entry entirely for the 1820 edition. And, significantly, he throws *Tarok l'hombre* out!¹³ There remains the odd note that in Tarock Hombre the cards are dealt at once, while at Grosstarock they are dealt in fives. But the game itself is no longer explained. It seems that Abenstein did not find experts for that game anymore. In the preface of 1830 Abenstein notes that "special effort and care" was given to the "most important and common games," which were "l'Hombre, Whist, Boston, and Chess." So in Berlin the players had gone back to "old standards", and even Grosstarock was no longer in the top rank of popular games.

We saw in part II that in 1789 Tarock Hombre was played in the capital of the state of *Kurhannover* but not in its "provincial cities", and Grosstarock not at all. On the other hand, Wildt and Breiger, the fellow students played Grosstarock around 1792 in Göttingen. Technically, Göttingen was also a "provincial city" of *Kurhannover*. But it is located far south and was then separated from the Northern part by a stretch of the Duchy of Brunswik. If Tarock Hombre had been a major game in Göttingen around 1800 then Wildt would likely have mentioned it in some way. The Hamburg- later Lüneburg-based *Neue Königliche L'Hombre* always had only a very short entry on Tarock Hombre.¹⁴

In Denmark Grosstarock was apparently introduced only in 1780.¹⁵ Although some later Danish game books report rules for Tarock Hombre,¹⁶ neither Bendtz in 1840, nor the *Vejledning i Tarok* printed by Elmenhoff in Randers around the

¹³ Other games are changed in other versions. For example the Boston entry is changed at least in the 1804 version but not earlier than 1800 and then remains fundamentally unchanged and is the same in Cäsar's and Abenstein's *Almanachs*.

¹⁴ Several editions of this series of game books can now be found via Google Books. There is another printer story here, by the way. Although the location changes it seems that the series was always published by the Herold family business after around 1750. On this family see "Herold, Familie" in: Schmidt, *Deutsche Buchdrucker*. The general lesson is that publishers/printers are an important piece of information and should not be dropped/ignored(?), especially with game books which so often appear anonymously.

¹⁵ Møller, *Two Centuries*.

¹⁶ S. A. Jorgensen, *Nyeste Dansk Spillebog* (Copenhagen 1829: Schubothe); Sp. M. Basta, *Avisning till ad spille L'Hombre, Boston, Whist og Tarok* (Copenhagen 1846: Klein).

Both @ Google Books.

same time show signs that other games with the tarot deck than Grosstarock had ever been played in Denmark. There are not enough sources by now to be sure, but the impression is that the enthusiasm for Tarock Hombre in the Saxonian petty states was not much shared in more Northwestern areas or Berlin.

In Weimar most of the Tarock Hombre players we have met were no longer alive by 1820 (only Goethe and Lotte, who were not enthusiastic card players; and Knebel). No book specifically devoted to the game appeared after 1815, as far as I know.

It does not look as if the Tarock Hombre wave reached Central Germany much before 1770. The game must have seen a steep rise to become one of the major intellectual games around 1800. But as quickly as it had entered the minds of the players it apparently disappeared after the Napoleonic wars

... and Grosstarock

As to Grosstarock, the *History* (p. 70) identifies two “traditions” of game book presentations after 1850, the “tradition of 4.2” going back to the 1800 *Almanach* by Cäsar (but the one of 1799 is identical), and the “tradition of 4.3” going back to Abenstein’s 1820 *Almanach*. The fact that these two form a single publication series is not reported (and the *Talisman* series not mentioned at all). The term “tradition” is perhaps somewhat misleading, since the Berlin *Almanachs* represent a tradition on their own by way of being a single publication series handed over from one of its editors to another (whether in a friendly way, or not). The *History* (p. 71) already doubts that there were actual distinct traditions of play.

The truth may be more like this: Those later game book authors who were aware of Abenstein’s revision (1820 or 1830) would base their accounts on that, particularly if they had seen the preface of 1820 which must have warned them about the *Talisman*. On the other hand Cäsar’s books (up to the edition of 1815) saw much more printings: There are eleven from 1799 to 1815, plus the three of the *Talisman*, a total of 14 against just two (Abenstein 1820 and 1830).¹⁷ So the likelihood that later writers came across Cäsar’s works was probably much higher than of Abenstein’s.¹⁸

Thus, the entire German Grosstarock literature of the later 19th century is based on a single series of game books that appeared in Berlin earlier that century. The two “traditions” are the mirror image on the one hand of the particular printing history of that series, a history which includes a veritable legal dispute about copyright issues in the early 19th century. On the other hand they represent the

¹⁷ There is also the *Neuestes Spielbuch* by Mössle in Vienna. It apparently reprinted some edition of *Das Neue Königliche l’Hombre* in 1795, but changed for Cäsar’s *Almanach* for the editions of 1805, 1810, and an undated one.

¹⁸ For example Swedish *Lykans talisman* directly takes up the title of the *Talisman*. (Part 5 is @ Google Books, and contains the game of Wira which does not appear in the German *Talisman*, or, indeed, any German game book.)

care with which the books were edited: those who based the rules on the *Almanach* of 1820 were apparently more careful than those of the “tradition of 4.2”.

That Abenstein threw out Tarock Hombre but not Grosstarock suggests that the later game survived much longer in Central and Northern Germany, and indeed in Denmark until today.

It is likely that the rise of Skat eventually led to the decline of Tarock in Germany. In Altenburg by 1820 Scat was already the major card game, soon to spread to the rest of the Prussia-dominated Central and Northern parts of Germany (much less to the South, Bavaria, Wurttemberg, and Baden). Like Tarock it is a highly intellectual game, but it also became the “national game” after the *Reichsgründung*. If we look at the map for the location of Danish Tarock clubs they all seem to be located in the North of the country. There seems to be none in what was formerly the Northern part of the Duchy of Schleswig. Schleswig and Holstein eventually became the Prussian province of Schleswig-Holstein in 1866. The Northern part went back to Denmark after WWI in 1920. But after fifty years, Tarok was apparently forgotten there, too: In what is now called Southern Jutland they play Skat.¹⁹

In Vienna the situation was rather different. While Abenstein, in Berlin, removed Tarock Hombre when he revised the *Almanach's* account on Tarock, the *Neuestes allgemeines Spielbuch* published by Haas in 1829 (@ Google Books) made the opposite move: Grosstarock and Tarock for two are missing, Tarock Hombre is the only 78 card game. (*History*, p. 126 fn. 1). To this were added the 54 deck games Tapp Tarock, Königrufen, and Strohmandeln, and 42 card Tapp Tarock, which would eventually eclipse the 78 card game.²⁰ Tarock Hombre in Austria died out in the late 20th century, the last place where it was played was the Stubaital.²¹

6. Conclusion

Given the great influence of the various *Almanach* editions on the card game rules literature of the 19th century in Germany, much of that literature goes back to the book dealer, pharmacist, medical advisor and author of popular books about “sexual life in its entirety”, Dr. C. G. Flittner.

As to the relation of Skat and Tarock, Paul Hammer (via L. v. Alvensleben, “Schaafkopf”, *Encyclopädie der Spiele*, Leipzig 1853: Wigand) says “Schaafkopf” is “a

¹⁹ See “Skat,” Danish rules @ McLeod’s *Card Game Rules*.

²⁰ And that all this is still not the full story is demonstrated by the game reported to John McLeod in September 2016 by Guntram Komerell. This is a variant of Tarock Quadrille (i.e. Königrufen, but with 78 cards and the Fool played as an Excuse) played as a Komerell family game but going back to a game played by students at Café Komerell in Tübingen around 1890.

²¹ See part II of this article series and John McLeod and Remigius Geiser, “Stubai Valley Droogn and Dobbm – Two living fossils of the Austrian card game landscape”, *TPC* vol. 27 no. 6 (1999).

game which, despite its vulgar name, is widespread among the lower classes in many areas, particularly Northern Germany" (p. 465). One may assume that the game spread southward and reached the Saxonian petty states well before 1800. According to Michael Dummett and John McLeod Tarock Hombre originated in Lombardy and travelled northward via Austria. In the Saxonian petty states it reached its zenith at the same time Schafkopf was established there. What was needed was a group of devoted players who could see the potential of the folk game through their experience with their preferred game. Whether they invented Skat or just discovered it, the American Skat expert and author of many books on the game, Elizabeth Wager-Smith, was quite right when she compared the situation with the origin of "scientific" Whist:

"Early in the 1800's, there was a card club in Altenburg, devoted to the playing of a game imported from Italy, called tarok (or taroc). It was composed of gentlemen of culture, of whom Friedrich Hempel was one. The game of Schafkopf was discovered by Hempel under similar circumstances to those in which Hoyle and Folkestone found the embryo of modern whist. Perceiving its possibilities, Hempel introduced it to his fellow members of the Tarok Club, and began revising it. [...] As Hempel and his friends continued to improve the game, it proved so fascinating that the game of Tarok was abandoned and the new one reigned in its place."²²

* * *

It is a pity that we do not know whom Wilhelm Weibel of Zeitz commissioned to write rules and advice of the *Taschenbuch der Freude und der ernsteren Unterhaltung* a few years earlier. It certainly was a "gentleman of culture". – Or, indeed, a lady of culture, since women were avid players, too.

If it was a gentleman, perhaps he was a member of some "card club" in the area. Whether there was any such club in Zeitz I don't know. Bromme's at Altenburg would have been just a few walking hours away....

7. Acknowledgements

This article profited greatly from the discussion under the serie's title in the IPCS forum, a very nice email discussion with Thierry Depaulis, especially on the *Berliner Almanach* case, John McLeod's kindness to look through the text and turn it closer to idiomatic English, and all of them and Peter Endebrock to help to identify typos and bigger mistakes.

I should perhaps also thank Roland Gööck who offered a description of "Grosstarock" in his *Freude am Kartenspiel* (Gütersloh 1973: Bertelsmann). – While not a very reliable one, the mysterious game with unavailable cards is advertised as a "science on its own", a qualification which somehow lingered on in my memory and made me want to do something about the topic.

²² Wager-Smith, Elizabeth, *Skat: Principles and Illustrative Games* (Philadelphia and London 1910: J. B. Lippincott @ Winnipeg Skat Club).

8. Bibliography for part III

Originally I planned to include a bibliography of the various *Almanachs* and other games books published by Oehmigke, Hayn, Flittner, etc. in Berlin for the relevant time span (1790 to 1835) but unfortunately there are just too many items listed in the library catalogues and it is unclear which are just duplicates since the libraries often confuse authors or give alleged actual authors rather than pseudonyms (i.e. often Abenstein is identified with Flittner).

Dummett, Michael, *The Game of Tarot: From Ferrara to Salt Lake City* (London 1980: Duckworth).

Dummett, Michael and John McLeod, *A History of Card Games Played with the Tarot Pack* (Lewinston/New York 2004: Edwin Mellen Press).

Lindner, J. W. S. (ed.), *Das gelehrte Deutschland*, vol. 22 (Lemgo 1832: Meyersche Hofbuchhandlung @ Google Books).

McLeod, John, *Card Game Rules* @ Pagat.com.

Møller, Hans J., *Two Centuries of Danish Tarok Rules* (2011 @ Pagat.com).

Schmidt, Rudolf (ed.), *Deutsche Buchhändler. Deutsche Buchdrucker* (Berlin and Eberswalde 1908 @ Zeno.org).

Spiske, Hilmar, Christian Gottfried Flittner: das populäre Werk eines Arztes und Apothekers der Goethezeit im Geiste der Aufklärung (Dissertation, Ludwig Maximilian University, Munich 1965).

Webel, Wilhelm (publ.), *Taschenbuch der Freude und der ernstern Unterhaltung: Enthaltend viele sinnreiche Gesellschaftsspiele, Anweisung zu den verschiedenen Arten des Taroc, Taroc-Hombre, L'Hombre, Whist; wie auch zu dem neuen, empfehlungswerthen Spiele Amüsette und dem königlichen Schach.* (Zeitz c. 1801 @ Google Books).

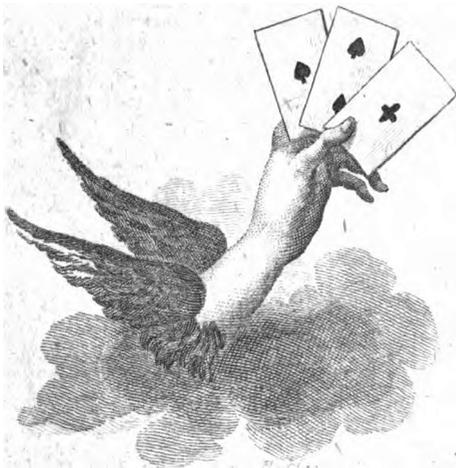


Fig. 2: From the title page of *Talisman des Glücks*, 1816: A winged hand with the Hombre Matadors, Spades is Trump!