

Charles University in Prague
Univerzita Karlova v Praze

Faculty of Arts / Filozofická fakulta

Institute of Art History / Ústav pro dějiny umění

Master Thesis

Laberinto
Study of an Enigma

Bc. Eva Skopalová

Laberinto

Laberinto

Prague 2016

Director of MA thesis: Prof. Lubomír Konečný, Ph.D

Prohlášení:

Prohlašuji, že jsem tuto diplomovou práci vypracovala samostatně a výhradně s použitím citovaných pramenů, literatury a dalších odborných zdrojů.

Declaration:

This thesis is a presentation of my original research work. Whenever contributions of other are involved, every effort is made to indicate this clearly, with due reference to the literature, and acknowledgement of collaborative research and discussions.

Prague, August 15, 2016

[vlastnoruční podpis]

.....

Eva Skopalová

Klíčová slova (česky)

Laberinto, labyrint, Ramon Llull, Andrea Ghisi, karetní hra, emblémy, formule patosu, tarotové karty, řečené Mantegnovy, ikonografie, rytiny, lepty, obraznost 17. století, Matematika, Industrie, Quatro Orbi, Chiromantie, Felicita

Klíčová slova (anglicky):

Laberinto, labyrinth, Ramon Llull, Andrea Ghisi, card game, emblems, pathos formula, the So-Called Tarocchi of Mantegna, iconography, engravings, etchings, 17th century imagery, Mathematics, Industry, Quatro Orbi, Chiromantia, Felicita

Abstrakt (česky)

Laberinto je společenská hra ve formě knihy, jejíž pravidla (matematický systém) vymyslel Andrea Ghisi a její první verze byla vytištěna v roce 1607. Druhá verze hry byla vydána v roce 1616 a obsahovala všechny výjevy tarotových karet, řečených Mantegnových a navíc novou dekádu výjevů navazující na systém Mantegnova tarotu. Další dvě verze hry Laberinto (tiskem 1607 a 1610) neobsahují žádný z výjevů Mantegnova tarotu. Pravidla hry jsou založena na principu matematických kombinací, cílem hry je projít labyrintem a přijít na výjev, na který si spoluhráč zprvu myslel. Ve své práci se zaměřuji především na verzi z roku 1616, mým cílem je popsat opakování původního konceptu tarotů o století a půl později s ohledem na to, jak bylo s Mantegnovým tarotem nakládáno a také, jakým způsobem se jejich původní kosmologický rozměr změnil na profánní společně s tím, jak byla přidána nová dekáda.

Abstract (in English):

Laberinto is a type of book-form game, invented by Andrea Ghisi, and first printed in 1607. A second version was printed in 1616 and includes all the characters of the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna, with the addition of a new series of ten cards (following the logic of composition of the tarocchi). Another two versions of Laberinto (printed in 1607 and 1610) contain none of the Mantegna tarocchi characters. The rules of the game are based on the art of mathematical combinations. The aim of the game is to move through a visual labyrinth and discover which figure the opponent has in mind. The focus of this work will be on the 1616 version; my intention is to describe the problematic of the repetition of the original game concept a century and a half later, examining the conditions under which players used the allegorical field of the so-called Mantegna Tarocchi, and under which the cosmological meaning was secularized and the new series of ten cards added.

A B C D E F G H I J K L M N O P Q
R S T U V X Y Z : A A B B C C.

Tutti sono Dverni.

- *Francesco da Marcolini*

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Preface	8
1	INTRODUCTION.....	9
2	PROLOG: A BRIEF SUMMARY	14
3	THE GAME OF LABERINTO	18
3.1	EDITION OF LABERINTO PRINTED IN 1607	20
3.1.1	<i>Hierarchy, iconography and alphabet of 1607 edition of Laberinto</i>	23
3.2	EDITION OF LABERINTO PRINTED IN 1616	29
3.2.1	<i>Hierarchy and iconography of 1616 edition of Laberinto</i>	32
3.3	PASSATEMPO.....	42
4	THE UNIVERSE OF GAMES, THE UNIVERSE OF IMAGES.....	45
4.1	PLAYER	47
4.2	RELATIONSHIP OF THE IMAGE AND THE GAME	47
4.3	GAME AS IMAGE OF THE WORLD, GAME AS ALLEGORY, GAME AS SIGN	50
5	EPILOG: GAME AS NACHLEBEN.....	56
6	CONCLUSION.....	59
7	BIBLIOGRAPHY	62
8	LIST OF FIGURES	68
9	FIGURES	74
	APPENDIX I – LABERINTO, EDITION 1607 AND 1610	106
	APPENDIX II – LABERINTO, EDITIONS 1616	114
	APPENDIX III – PASSATEMPO, 1620	122
	APPENDIX IV - MAP OF IMAGES: “ <i>BILDERATLAS OF GAMES</i> ”	NP.

Preface

This master thesis represents the culmination of two years of research, during which I had the opportunity to study source material in Venice (Biblioteca Marziana), Rome (Biblioteca Hertziana), London (the Warburg Institute, the British Library, and the British Museum), and Paris (Institut national de l'histoire de l'art and Bibliothèque nationale de France). This thesis is based on my studies of source materials conducted in summer 2014 at the Warburg Institute and follows the BA thesis closely focused on the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna.

The text was also composed during my study visit to the *École des hautes études en sciences sociales* in Paris (2016). I would like to thank to Georges Didi-Huberman for his generous support and encouragement to persist in my approach. His works are for me an inexhaustible source of inspiration and knowledge.

But I must extend my deepest gratitude to Professor Lubomír Konečný, who courageously supported my rather risky hypothesis, and to him I am thankful for showing me the most enigmatic issues in the history of art.

I am aware of the fact that presenting work on the game of *Laberinto* is more or less a pioneering venture; therefore I hope that my work invites new questions and encourages other researchers to investigate. I will greatly appreciate new discoveries, and hope also that I may also be a part of some of them.

1 INTRODUCTION

This work will focus on the Venetian game *Laberinto*, created in the early 17th century. *Laberinto*'s images and lack of text present the contemporary researcher with an enigma. At present, to the best of my knowledge, the book by Andrea Ghisi concerning *Laberinto* and its mathematics rules has not yet been published. My aim is to contextualize the game with the full name *Laberinto dato novamente in luce dal clarissimo signor Andrea Ghisi nobile veneto* [...]. Ghisi dedicated this version of the game to Giovanni Bembo, the 92nd doge of Venice. The game entirely incorporated the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna,¹ but several figures were changed and a series of ten cards was added. The original cosmological meaning of the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna was radically secularized. A lack of material and poor archival sources complicate the study of *Laberinto*.

Mario Praz considered *Laberinto* as a book of emblems which was widely spread in 17th century Italy.² But he did not focus on the game as such, and did not describe meaning of images. This confusion of considering *Laberinto* as *emblemata* was caused by the form of game: a picture book (as books of emblems generally look like). I am interested in iconography re-used in games. If we grant that games exist within a specified time-frame, to re-use iconography is to repeat the same "possible world" with internal diversity. The re-appearance of cosmological iconography with sacred connotations (the so-called Tarocchi of Mantegna) in a secular game (*Laberinto*) is for me the problem of anachronism, common to games. If the purpose of game is to repeat "the same frame of situation"³, I am searching for the reasons why this meaning was repeated in this particular way. My work poses a lot of questions and proposes several answers

¹SKOPALOVÁ, Eva: *Ikonografie tarotových karet, řečených Mantegnových* [The Iconography of Tarot Cards Known as Mantegna Tarot] (BA thesis, Charles University). Prague 2014, 19-33.

² PRAZ, Mario: *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*. Rome 1964, 348

³ This notion of Gottfried Leibniz's in the context of early baroque society is even more striking. By his claim that God created our world as „the best of all possible worlds“, he founded the discourse about possibility and the reality of ontology which I had in mind while writing this work. (LEIBNIZ, Gottfried: *Essais de Théodicée sur la bonté de Dieu, la liberté de l'homme et l'origine du mal*. Paris, 1710.)

which *may* but also *may not* be true. The work of art is *open*⁴ to various ways of interpretation which all may be right.⁵

Andrea Ghisi was the creator of several book-form games based on mathematic rules. The first printing of a game he made was *Il Laberinto del clarissimo signor Andrea Ghisi* [...] in 1607, dedicated to Francesco IV Gonzaga of Mantua. Although the 1607 edition was not based on the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna, several striking connections can be found between the 1607 game and the new series of ten figures in the 1616 edition. Andrea Ghisi titled the 1620 game *Il nobile et piacevole gioco, intitolato Il Passatempo, dato in luce novamente dal Bidello Academico Cospirante* [...]. It was derived from *Laberinto* and had the same rules, but employed different iconography and lacked inscriptions below the figures.

In the following text I will propose an interpretation based on an iconographical comprehension of the world of images at the start of 17th century. Furthermore, my aim is to describe, via the perspective of anachronism⁶, the survival of a late 15th century imagination in the baroque spectacle. There are no hints for answering the question as to why the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna images were re-used in a game dedicated to Giovanni Bembo instead of one dedicated to Francesco Gonzaga.¹

I am composing this text as the second part of my research on the subject of the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna. Although this part could be presented independently, it is impossible to avoid references to my previous work. For this reason I experiment with the formal arrangements of text. Beginning with the chapter “Brief Summary”, I am concluding my findings on the subject of the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna which were the subject of my BA thesis, defended in September 2014, and on which I am building the text that follows. From the perspective of the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna, I describe the game *Laberinto*, its donators, its creators, and its principles or rules. I outline the change of

I
This hesitation springs from the fact that the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna were most likely invented during or following the Council of Mantua in 1459. The Council was aimed at solving the problem of a large influx of non-Christian immigrants following the fall of Constantinople. Also, it is now known that we find the most frequent reuse of figures from the tarocchi of Mantegna in the region known today as Emilia-Romagna, less so in Veneto (e.g. figures in frescoes at Salone dei Mesi in Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara; the faïence decors etc.).

⁴ ECO, Umberto: *L'œuvre ouverte*. Paris 1965, 24.

⁵ WHITE, Hayden: *Historický text jako literární artefakt* [The Historical Text as Literary Artifact]. In: *Tropika diskursu*. Prague 2010, s. 105-128.

⁶ With inspiration from Jean Seznec's *La Survivance des dieux antiques (The Survival of Antiques Gods)*, 1980.

iconographical meanings in the changed images, and the meaning of the new series of ten. After the iconographical and social analysis of game, I place Laberinto into the universe of games. I am closely examining the problematic of games as imaginary world-making. Following that, I explore the universe of games which could be linked with Laberinto, but the crucial connection with the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna remains my primary focus.

For the interconnection of Laberinto and the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna I am using two-leveled footnotes. The first level of footnotes will denote references to literature or developments in the issues discussed and will be located below the text, marked with numbers. The second level of footnotes will refer to the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna and pose new questions or present new discoveries; these will be grouped in the left margin of the page and marked with Roman numerals, for better connection to my previous works⁷. The subject of my thesis is also the labyrinth as such, and for this reason I decided to develop a form that suits this issue. Finally, my aim is to create a “moiré effect”. There is a lack of interpretations of both the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna and Laberinto. In my view, the two are intertwined phenomena although more than a century separates them. As I mentioned, the game Laberinto is an anachronism, which is proper to game itself – repeating the same action with internal diversity. In this thesis I am posing the following question: if this is so, does it mean that in repeating the concepts of a game, we solve the same situations as before? Following that, in “real” life, can we view history as a series of circles in which past events repeat in new guises? This question led me to regard history not as events that were future, are present, and will be past but rather as relationships between events which could be in simultaneous relationships and where the distinctions of past-present-future no longer make sense. In the background of these ideas are the writings of John M. E. McTaggart⁸ and his distinction between the A-theory and B-theory of time.

⁷ SKOPALOVÁ 2014a and SKOPALOVÁ, Eva: The Mantegna Tarocchi and the View of the World in the Northern Italy in the 15th Century. In: *Umění-Art*, no. 6, vol. LXVII, 2014, 502-515.

⁸ **John McTaggart Ellis McTaggart** (1866-1925) was an idealist metaphysician. His alma mater was Trinity College at Cambridge where he taught courses in philosophy. He was an exponent of Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel’s philosophy and to him he devoted his formative books (1896, *Studies in Hegelian Dialectic*, 1901, *Studies in Hegelian Cosmology* and 1910, *A Commentary on*

“It may seem that this can easily be explained. Indeed it has been impossible to state the difficulty without almost giving the explanation, since our language has verb-forms for the past, present, and future, but no form that is common to all three. It is never true, the answer will run, that M [moment] is present, past and future. It *is* present, *will be* past, and *has been* future. Or it is past, and has been future and present, or again is future and will be present and past. The characteristics are only incompatible when they are simultaneous, and there is no contradiction to this in the fact that each term has all of them successively.”⁹

The linear view of history can be connected to the A-theory of time in which trivial causality reigns. On the other hand, in the B-theory of time, causality does not exist, there is no “before – than” but only a simultaneous interaction of both, although the crucial presupposition of the B-theory is the A-theory. Accordingly, I would like to underline that the anachronistic view of history could not exist without linearity, but stands only as a precursor to a more complex interpretation of historical time.

On this basis I would like to give an outline of the scientific approval of what we will call “anachronistic art history”; my aim is to describe this temporal simultaneity in history.¹⁰ The present thesis forms a case study of the further research I plan to do. In this view it could be understood as a methodological experiment, or the denouement of one art history enigma which is here complicated once more. With this in my mind I must emphasize that in these descriptions of “relationships of events across history”, because of the great

Hegel's Logic). His focus was also expanded to include British idealists. The most influential article he wrote was in 1908, *The Unreality of Time*, where he summarized the then-existing notions of the dichotomy of time perception. On the basis of his article he began to think more conceptually about human existence and in 1916 published an essay entitled *Human Immortality and Pre-Existence*, which became the basis for his final two-volume book *The Nature of Existence* (1921-1927). At Trinity College, he was a friend and colleague of Bertrand Russell and Georges Edward Moore; together they were familiarly known as “The Mad Tea-Party of Trinity”. (DICKINSON, Goldsworthy Lowes / WILLIAMS, Basil / KEELING, S. V.: J. McT. E. McTaggart. Cambridge 1931.)

⁹ MCTAGGART, John M. E.: *The Unreality of Time*. In: Ditex, <http://www.ditext.com/mctaggart/time.html>, accessed 22/06/2016.

¹⁰ Here it seems essential to recall the ambiguity of Warburg's term „Nachleben“ which could be translated as *survival* (Georges Didi-Huberman) but also as *after-life* (Uwe Fleckner, David Freedberg). I consider the term to be closer to the notion of survival. In the particular case of the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna, the figures never vanished, and furthermore, we can trace their vanishing and reappearing from the date of their creation to their reoccurrence in the game *Laberinto*, and also later.

number of facts which can be connected in numerous way with the same “objectivity”¹¹, any possible connection is just one among many.

For reasons of simultaneity or revival / after life (*Nachleben*), I attached to my work a map of images which, while not making the same profound statement about human culture as the *Atlas Mnemosyné* composed by Aby Warburg, does describe one possible pattern of the “the fabric of history”. The images with referential symbols within the text are attached in the last part of the thesis. Tables and explicative diagrams are inserted directly into the text.

¹¹WHITE 2010, 105-128

2 PROLOG: A BRIEF SUMMARY

As I have mentioned in the introduction, I must begin with a few brief remarks about what is known about the so-called Tarocchi of Mantegna, for they are the very same assumptions made about the game Laberinto. Even though the so-called Tarocchi of Mantegna were not designed as a game of tarot and were not made by Andrea Mantegna, I have made a hypothesis that the cards were intended as an educative tool. The set exists in two versions, the E-Series and S-series, each with slight differences. The E-series was most probably created after 1459 (Council of Mantua), i.e. in the early 60's; the S-Series was probably created around the year 1475. The latter was engraved twice by two different engravers of different skill levels. The Master of the E-series is comparable to high-quality engravers such as Andrea Mantegna and Antonio del Pollaiuolo; the work was copied by Albrecht Dürer during his journey to Italy¹² and influenced others. On the other hand, the Master of the S-series remains in his predecessor's shadow. Its minor "mistakes" could be interpreted as cabbalistic symbols of caduceus.¹³ However, in my view, they only indicate the lower quality of the work and not a cabbalistic background to the tarocchi (which do not carry occult meanings) and furthermore, this theory is applicable only to the first group. For higher levels of system, the theory is not adaptable. Therefore, the second version of the cycle was most probably made for some intellectual.¹⁴

The complete set of the so-called Tarocchi of Mantegna is sub-divided into five groups of ten prints distinguished by the letters E/S, D, C, B, A (in the S-series the first group of ten bears the letter S instead of E). Each card has its own number which defines its position with regards to the set.

E/S	D	C	B	A
Conditions of Man	Muses and Apollo	Liberal Arts	Virtues and Spirits	Spheres
1 Misero	11 Caliope	21 Gramatica	31 Iliaco	41 Luna
2 Fameio	12 Urania	22 Loica	32 Chronico	42 Mercuria

¹² SAVATIER-SJÖHOLM, Olivia / DUEOS, Blaise: Un Allemand à la cour de Louis XIV. De Dürer à Van Dyck, collection nordique d'Everhard Jabach (cat. exhib.). Paris 2013, 64.

¹³ CHISHTY-MUJAHID, Nadya Q.: An Introduction to Western Esotericism. Essays in the Hidden Meaning of Literature, Groups, and Games. Lewiston 2008, 100-103.

¹⁴ SKOPALOVA 2014a,17.

3 Artixan	13 Terpsicore	23 Retorica	33 Cosmico	43 Venus
4 Merchante	14 Erato	24 Geometria	34 Temperancia	44 Sol
5 Zintilomo	15 Polimnia	25 Aritmetricha	35 Prudencia	45 Marte
6 Chavalier	16 Talia	26 Musicha	36 Forteza	46 Jupiter
7 Doxe	17 Melpomene	27 Poesia	37 Justicia	47 Saturno
8 Re	18 Euterpe	28 Filosofia	38 Charita	48 Octava Spera
9 Imperator	19 Clio	29 Astrologia	39 Speranza	49 Primo Mobile
10 Papa	20 Apollon	30 Theologia	40 Fede	50 Prima Causa

The set of cards was most probably the collaborative idea of Nicolas of Cusa, cardinal Bessarion, and pope Pius II, emerging at the Council of Mantua in 1459, with the intention of being used as an educative tool. They wanted to solve the problem of the great number non-Christian immigrants following the fall of Constantinople. As an argument for this hypothesis I present two factors: firstly, the set of cards is printed on fine paper which would not likely have been used for playing cards (as mentioned by Émile Galichon¹⁵); and secondly, the engravings were preserved not only as separate sheets of paper, but also as a book.¹⁶ This second argument brings me to the idea of their use: the complete set was meant to be read. It could be read hierarchically or with its internal combinatory rules.¹⁷

The hierarchical order of tarocchi is based on the notion of spheres that end at the divine sphere, where God dwells. The Medieval universe had only one end in God, and this view carried on until the Enlightenment, when it was altered because of new findings in the field of astrophysics. For these reasons the hierarchical structure of the cards is still consistent within the mediaeval model of

¹⁵ GALICHON, Émile: Recueil d'estampes du XV^e siècle: Improprement apelle Giuoco di Tarocchi. In: Gazette des Beaux-Arts 9, 1861, 143-144.

¹⁶ E-Series: 1) the complete set on separates sheets of paper are in Cleveland, Florence (Uffizi and Biblioteca Nazionale), London, Naples, Paris (Bibliothèque nationale de France), Pavia, Rome and Vienna. 2) The complete set in book form is in Naples and in Paris (BnF). Those which are reposed in Chantilly and Florence are missing plates. 3) Impresses printed in coloured ink: London, Naples, Paris, Pavia and Vienna. 4) Many exemplars with painted or gilded impressions have survived; in Cobourg there is a hand-coloured set. S-Series: 1) the complete set on separates sheets of paper is in Chatsworth, Paris, and Vienna. 2) Almost complete are those in Dresden and London. 3) None in book form are known. (ZUCKER, Mark J. (ed.): The Illustrated Bartsch, vol. 24, part 3. New York 2000, 6.)

¹⁷ I have proposed the link to the "art" of Ramon Llull. Nicolas of Cusa had all his work in his library and also wrote his thesis on the subject (see chapter The Game Laberinto). SKOPALOVÁ 2014a, 19-20.

the universe as devised by St. Thomas Aquinas¹⁸, though entwined with neo-platonic ideas. The structure of the individual levels is the same as the one adopted by Marsilio Ficino.¹⁹ The implicit cosmological structure is a late medieval view of the universe, influenced by a very popular commentary on Cicero's dream of Scipio written by Macrobius (*Commentarii in somnium Scipionis*, 4th century).

The afterlife of the so-called Tarocchi of Mantegna has been rather rich. They were copied by Johannes Landerspelder^{II} and by Amico Aspertini^{III} and were used as illustrations for Ludovico Lazzarelli's *De gentiliū deorum imaginibus* (1471) [I-XXVIII²⁰].^{IV} From these "reprints" it is quite obvious that they were part of several semantic frames. Furthermore, they have served as a model for other realizations (as a graphic works usually do). The most striking examples are representations of the figures on faïence plates. There is a lack of studies on this topic and also the collections of faïence with these themes have not yet been mapped. A pioneering article by Romolo Magnani²¹ described a few motifs from the so-called tarocchi. But in discussion with Magnani, the examples he presented are only formally inspired by cards; few could be directly linked with them. The three main locations of faïence with so-called tarocchi images are Ferrara, Mantua, and Venice. Most of them are on tri-colored ceramic which is characteristic in the region of Ferrara and I suppose the reason why we find the greatest influence of the Mantegna tarocchi there is because of the Master of the E-series, whom I connect with the Ferrarese school.²² As far as I know, there is only one known piece attributed to Venetian production [XXIX].^V On the other hand, on the aforementioned plate is a depiction of Caliope, one of the nine Muses, so I cannot avoid the idea that the plate is a part of larger series.

¹⁸ BROCKHAUS, Heinrich: Ein edles Gedulspiel: Die Leitung der Welt oder die Himmesleiter. Die sog. Tarocks Mantegnas vom Jahre 1459-1460. In: OLSCHKI, Leo S. (ed.) *Miscelanea di Storia dell'Arte in onore di Igino Benvenuto Supino*. Florence, 1933, 397-416.

¹⁹ POCHAT, Göt: Luca Signorelli's "Pan" and the so-called "Tarocchi di Mantegna", *Konsthistorisktidsskrift* XXVI (1967), 92-105.

²⁰ Images XXV-XXVII are not from the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna cycle (and the frontispiece [I] as well), they have its source in other imagery, but important are some connections with frescoes in Palazzo Schifanoia.

²¹ MAGNANI, Romolo: I simboli dei tarocchi nella ceramica graffita ferrarese. In: *CeramicAntica* 2, 2001, 36-47.

²² SKOPALOVÁ 2014a, 15-16.

II
Newly engraved copy with inscriptions below each cliché. The prints are on separate sheets of paper.

III
Sketches of D-Series (Muses), part of *Wolfegg Codex – London 1 and London 2* (1530-1540).

IV
Lazzarelli wrote his poem as a doctoral thesis to close his *studia humanitatis*. He was impressed by pagan mythology and worked on its assimilation into Christianity. At the very beginning he mentions the transition of game into more complex study:

*Quos iuvat obscenis
lucrari munera ludis,
sacrilegi, cupidas hinc
remove manu! / Neu
fedate sacras cupido
certamine formas, / neu
tactu impuro
commaculate deas! /
Sunt ludorum aliae
speties, sunt mille
figurae, / sunt genera
reprobis mille reperta
modis.**

He indicates that the "game" which served as a model for the illustration of his thesis was a noble one, with not merely a ludic character. This reinforces the hypothesis that it was an educative game.

*LAZZARELLI, Ludovico: *De gentiliū deorum imaginibus*. Claudia CORFIATI (ed.). Rome 2006, II 4, 3-8.

V
Soup plate 20, 5 cm in diameter (standardized size after the description by →

Although Italian faïence is disconnected from the central ideas of the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna, these ceramics preserved the motifs still alive in the imagination of Italian society. It would likely be possible to create a successive line of examples which leads to the end of the 16th century and the start of the 17th. That is the reason why the game Laberinto could employ images over a century older.

→Ciprian Picolpasso), with yellow a border. The back side remained white and bears an inscription identifying the plate with Master Domenico's workshop. Today, the plate is a part of the Florentine Museo nazionale del Bargello's collection, where it first arrived as a gift from Gloria Middeldorf in 1999.

3 THE GAME LABERINTO

The game *Laberinto* exists in two different versions (1607 and 1616). Several examples of *Laberinto* have survived to the present day, seemingly different games bound together by the rules of play they share. The second edition is the most striking example of the survival of imagery from the so-called Mantegna in *Laberinto* – not only because it reuses all the properties of the original tarocchi (images and combinations), but because it continues with the same logic and repeats the same game universe within new socio-political circumstances, creating a moment of anachronism as the game is played.

The creator of the *Laberinto* games, Andrea Ghisi, was a passionate mathematician. There is no evidence that Ghisi was the engraver of the images, as several versions of the game have radically different styles but are signed by Ghisi. He was a brilliant mathematician who solved a very complicated problem in geometry with connection to numbers (art of combination).²³ He was most probably a member of the Venetian family Ghisi (who came to Italy in the early 13th century, during the Crusades²⁴), sometimes the family name is spelled Chigi, Ghysi, or Ghigi. Even though he dedicated his work to the Prince of Mantua, and that version of the game later re-appeared in England (see below), he probably never left Venice. All his books were printed in Venice by a popular printing house. Unfortunately, due the lack of archival materials, is not possible at this time to precisely recount his relationship to the other members of the Ghisi family. However, we can with certainty number the following individuals among members of this famous family: Andrea Ghisi (ca. 1207-1266/77) lord of Tinos and Mykonos; Adamo, Diana and Giorgio Ghisi, engravers from Mantua²⁵ (their family name was changed to Giovanni in the 16th century); and finally, Theodore Ghisi (?-1601), the court painter for the archduke Charles II in Graz²⁶. The Ghisi family was widely dispersed across Northern Italy, but there is a no description of

²³ RICCARDI, Pietro: *Biblioteca matematica italiana dalla origine dalla stampa ai primi anni del secolo XIX*. Modena 1870, 596-597.

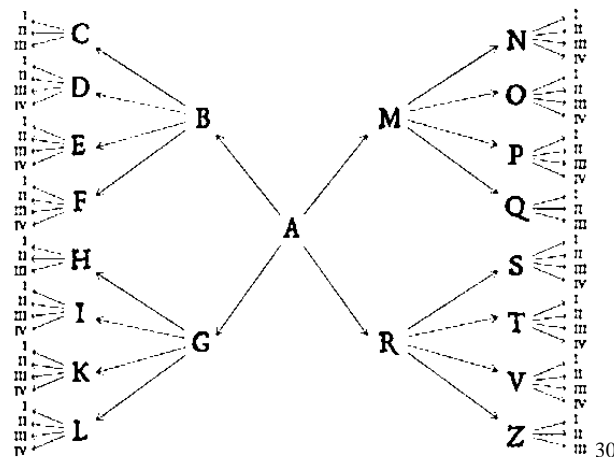
²⁴ LOENERTZ, Raymond Joseph: *Les Ghisi. Dynastes vénitiens dans l'archipel, 1207-1390*. Florence 1975, 21.

²⁵ BARTSCH, Adam: *Le Peintre graveur*, 15th vol. Wien 1813, 371.

²⁶ NOVA, Magdalena: *Vypálení Mantovy v roce 1630*. [The Burn of Mantua in 1630.] In: *Ibidem: Cultural Transfer*. Prague, 2014, 101-106.

familial relations after the 15th century.²⁷ The special case of Andrea Ghisi is VI further complicated by the fact that the two versions (three with the English translations) of the game are the only works he created (as far as we know).²⁸ Later scholars who mention Ghisi do not specify his background or filial ties (and quickly already disappeared).

The system of the game is based on mathematical combinations^{VI}, the whole book (edition 1616) is composed of 1260 images. When lying open, sixty images divide the book into quarters. Every two pages are assigned their own letter of the Italian alphabet, which allows for the playing the game. The “passive” player chooses one image upon first opening the book and tells the second player which quadrant his figure is situated in; The second player determines the first figure from the relevant quadrant and finds the page with same letter, e.g. if the first figure of the third quadrant is *Industria*, page “I” should be listed. This procedure is repeated several times until the second player is finally “driven” to the intended figure. The composition is slowly developed, like roots or a rhizome, interwoven in a moiré texture (see diagram below).²⁹



The game is powered on the basis of codes, comparable to primitive computers. On the first two pages (A), where the player chooses the figure, there

²⁷ LOENERTZ 1975.

²⁸ RICCARDI 1870, 596-597.

²⁹ The rules are described by Andrea Ghisi himself in the preface of the book. A whole system with explication is described by ANTONIONO, Mariano Tomatis: *The Map of Andrea Ghisi's Laberinto*. Turin 2011. <http://www.marianotomatis.it/libri/The%20Map%20of%20Laberinto.pdf>, accessed October 26th, 2015.

³⁰ Ibidem.

An important role is played here by Ramon Llull's art of combinations. Llull's system of thinking proceeded along very clearly demarcated, neatly defined, and organised levels. In the course of his treatise *Art brevis*, Llull eventually provides a table, *Tabula ad artis brevis*, illustrating his thought. Vertically, it has ten columns, A to K. These letters primarily serve a descriptive function, so the individual concepts can be worked with further. Ramon Llull created a universal system that he claimed could be communicated from one language to another, and thanks to the use of Alphabetical order of letters, would be intelligible even to the illiterate. Even the scenes in the individual engravings are easy to understand as they 'communicate' through images. Llull's combinatory art is premised on the necessity that all universes created be possible. It is essential to accept the premise that whatever combination we create has the potential to occur, with the proviso, however that two elements from the same genus cannot be combined. In practice, this means that only one card from each of the sequences A, B, C, D, and E, can be used to create potential constellations of reality with the cards, which will differ according to their numbers. There can be no constellation in which more than one card from any one sequence figures, so that, for instance, a combination of AADDD is unthinkable.

is a kind of crossroad which leads in four direction (four quarters), and these quarters are also crossroads moving of fin four direction, but with a change – these lead to the end, or more precisely, to the point of departure, which the second player is trying to find. Each image thus occupies a unique position within the whole and has its own “path” in the form of a code which can be discovered through hints given in indices of the quadrants. In the case of the version of *Laberinto* made in 1607, the codes are as follows (see table below).³¹

Chiromanzia ABC ¹	Eletante AGH ¹	Vela AMN ¹	Omicidio ARS ¹
Lumaca ABC ²	Leone AGH ²	Fortezza AMN ²	Nenia ARS ²
Ingegnere ABC ³	Ippogrifo AGH ³	Malinconia AMN ³	Rinaldo ARS ³
Donnola ABD ¹	Icaro AGI ¹	Honore AMN ⁴	Caronte ARS ⁴
Industriosità ABD ²	Forno AGI ²	Cerbero AMO ¹	Furto ART ¹
Este ABD ³	Disgrazia AGI ³	Orto AMO ²	Gemelli ART ²
Giunone ABD ⁴	Gondola AGI ⁴	Ebreo AMO ³	Temperanza ART ³
Bullo ABE ¹	Girasole AGK ¹	Fartalla AMO ⁴	Giglio ART ⁴
Fato ABE ²	Granchio AGK ²	Bradamante AMP ¹	Ira ARV ¹
Edificio ABE ³	Kairo AGK ³	Dicembre AMP ²	Fienile ARV ²
Tamburo ABE ⁴	Drago AGK ⁴	Picca AMP ³	Eliade ARV ³
Fontana ABF ¹	Pavone AGL ¹	Dante AMP ⁴	Vergine ARV ⁴
Salamandra ABF ²	Gallo AGL ²	Destino AMQ ¹	Calamità ARZ ¹
Fragilità ABF ³	Facchino AGL ³	Esercito AMQ ²	Diamante ARZ ²
Nembrot ABF ⁴	Colombo AGL ⁴	Quaglia AMQ ³	Zugno ARZ ³ ³²

For these reasons, it is extremely important to understand the names of the figures, because they create the code. All the letters of the Italian alphabet must be present, and in precise proportions, or the game cannot be played. The rules are visible in the iconography of the 1616 edition, which includes the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna. The codes differ only marginally, in order to adapt to the actual composition of the different games, but the central idea can be found in every game based on Ghisi’s rules of combination.

³¹ The codes were decoded by an unknown scholar and today form part of the 1607 edition conserved at the British Library. Therefore, I suppose, Mariano Tomatis Antoniono used this edition as the source for describing the codes in his book, unfortunately he does not cite the source. (ANTONIONO 2011.)

³² Ibidem.

3.1 EDITION OF LABERINTO PRINTED IN 1607

Il laberinto del signor Andrea Ghisi : nel quale si contiene una bellissima & VII artificiosa tessitura di 2260 figure, che apredolo 3 volte, con facilità si può saper, present in the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna, the development of music and mathematic in later centuries was coupled with the notion of "opera". *qual figura si sia immaginata ... ; al ... Franc. Gonzaga ... di Mantova* is the full name of the 1607 edition; printed by Francesco Rampazzeto³³, on paper bearing no watermark (or at least in the case of the set I examined at the British Library). This version was dedicated to Francesco IV Gonzaga, the duke of Mantua (1586 – 1612). He was on the throne for only 10 months (died of smallpox); his death was followed by the battles for Monteferrat succession and the political situation became more complicated. The 1607 version was reprinted in England in 1610 with the same text, dedicating the game to Francesco Gonzaga. The English version was printed by Thomas Purfoot³⁴, also on paper with no watermark. Purfoot most probably traded with Rampazzetto and bought (or stolen) from him the copyright for *Laberinto*, which he reprinted owing to its success in Italy. No other versions of the game are known elsewhere in Great Britain or Europe.

The Gonzaga family were the great Maecenas of art in Mantua. They built the collection of the *Celesta galeria*; they were also patrons of music. In the early 17th century they promoted Monteverdi's operas as *Orpheo* and *Arianna*. Moreover, his *Ballo delle ingrate* was played at the end of the wedding festivities celebrating the marriage of the hereditary Crown Prince Francesco Gonzaga to Margherita of Savoy in 1608.³⁵ 16th and 17th century music was heir to the discourse about the music of the spheres. Music as a form of the development of mathematics was

³³**Francesco Rampazzeto** (¾ 16th century – ¼ 17th century), minor publisher based in Venice. (BRUNI, Roberto L. / EVANS, D. Wyn: *Italian Seventeenth Century Books. Indexes of Authors titles, dates, printers and publishers alphabetically and by place, based on the Libreria Vinciana's Autori Italiani del'600*. Exter, 1984, 190.)

³⁴**Thomas Purfoot, jr.** (ca. 1584 - before 1640) was a London-based printer active 1591-1640. He became a master printer in 1591 and was in partnership with his father (Thomas Purfoot senior) until his death in 1615. Thomas Purfoot was one of the twenty master printers appointed to the Star Chamber decree of 1638. After his death his copyrights were assigned to Richard Lewty. (MCKERROW, R. B. (ed.): *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and Foreign Printers of English Books, 1557-1640*. London, 1910, 221-222.) Most probably he had business relations with Venetian printers, and Francesco Rampazzetto was almost certainly one of them. A reprint of *Laberinto* after Purfoot's death never appeared. Furthermore, it is possible that the acquisition of the *Laberinto* copyright was arranged by Thomas Purfoot senior, but that is only speculation.

³⁵ Several printed versions of Monteverdi's Operas were dedicated to Francesco IV Gonzaga.

part of the humanistic sciences.^{VII} For this reason it seems to me a logical VIII
consequence that Francesco IV Gonzaga was an admirer of mathematics.

“In all human actions, the passage from one extreme to another was ever
difficult and dangerous, and therefore for recovery of wearynesse procured by
labour and exercise either of mind or body, which of necessity men must doe, was
sport invented, which is no other thing but the *Exercise of Idleness* [a part of the
English title of the game].”³⁶ In his dedication to Francesco IV Gonzaga, Ghisi
mentions the necessity of rest for the health of the body and soul, claiming that
sport was invented for this reason. But for a harmonious life, it is also necessary
to relax mentally, and for such a purpose, Ghisi created *Laberinto*. Its techniques
facilitate profound relaxation. We may understand the music of the époque in the
same way - an active relaxation meant to train the soul, as sport trains the body.^{VIII}

I consider the 1607 version of *Laberinto* as having an iconographical
composition that accords to the rhizomatic structure of an encyclopaedia. I deduce
that along with the alphabetical order (which makes it possible to play the game)
there is a “cosmological hierarchy”. I call it cosmological because of the
descriptive character of the chosen figures. In the following passages, I will try to
show that the iconography is based on the view of the world as a mosaic.

The Italian and English versions are both based on xylographic matrices but
they are not the same. The English version includes the Italian transcriptions as
well as English transcriptions (incorrect in several cases³⁷). By examining the
figure of the elephant, we may determine that the 1610 English version seems to
be close to the 1616 Italian version, which includes the so-called tarocchi of
Mantegna. But the issue of authorship is more complicated and will be examined
later in the context of all the versions.

The same mental training
can be found in the so-
called tarocchi of
Mantegna. Frances Yates
described this mental
training as “the art of
memory”^{*} and that is the
same concept as the aim
of *Laberinto*. In the
context of the art of
memory, the cards
provide a description of
the world (in the
hierarchical element of
the cards) in the same
way that *ars memorativa*
enables a rhetorician to
deliver a speech
repeatedly with equal
perfection. There may be
internal differences, but
the whole remains
consistent. Consequently,
in *Laberinto* there are
numerous way to move
through, but only one
destination. Undoubtedly
this was thanks to Lull’s
system of universal
combinations. It is
essential to accept the
premise that whatever
combination we create
has the potential to occur,
with the proviso,
however, that two
elements from the same
genus cannot be
combined. This
mathematic “rule” of the
so-called tarocchi of
Mantegna I consider
crucial; also, it connects
the tarocchi to *Laberinto*,
which was based on a
mathematic path through
the labyrinth of the
world.

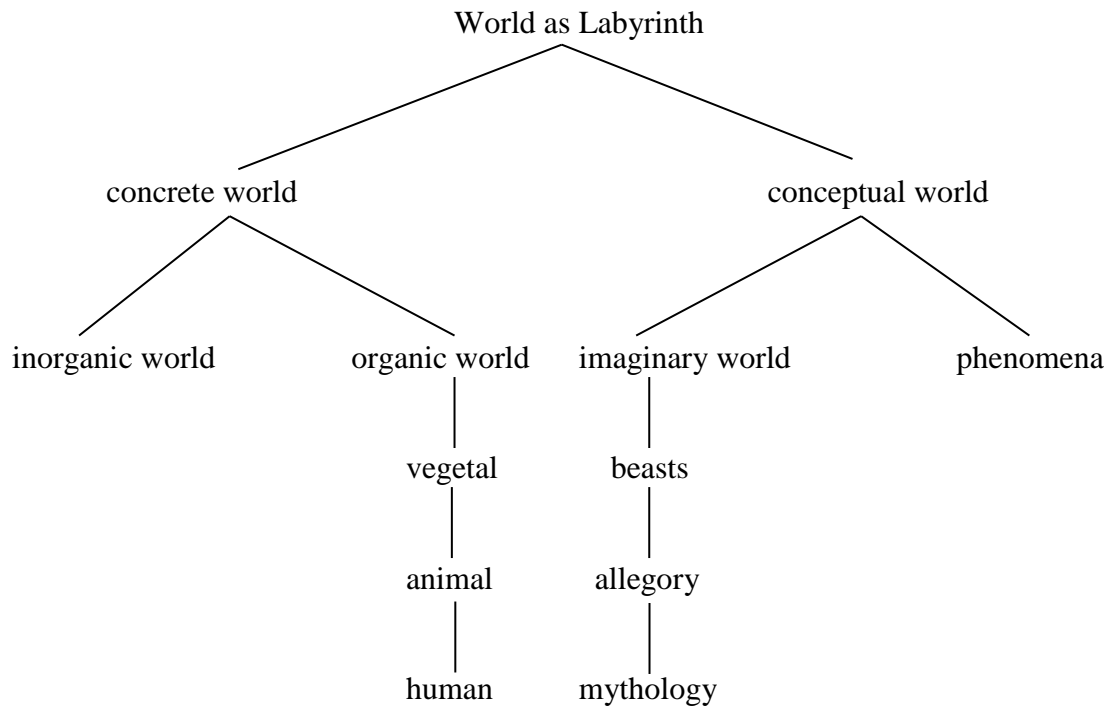
* YATES, Frances: *The Art of memory*. London 1966.

³⁶ GHISI, Andrea: *Wits Laberynth, or, the Exercise of Idleness*. London 1610, np.

³⁷ (e.g. *Girasole* is translated as *Marigold* in the English version). On first sight, we may judge these errors as exposing a lack of skill, but there is a more prosaic explanation: owing to the fact that to play the game, all the letters of Italian alphabet must be present, and thus the Italian expressions are all preserved, we may assume that the English translations were of little importance.

3.1.1 Hierarchy, iconography and alphabet of 1607 edition of *Laberinto*

This edition of *Laberinto* has no systematic structure; I distinguished the rhizomatic system:



I understand *Laberinto* as a kind of encyclopaedia (see chapter 4.3 Game as Image of the World, Game as Allegory, Game as Sign) which from the medieval rhizomatic structure grew more conceptual. By “rhizomatic”, I mean the developed medieval model of a “tree with branches” structure. In fact, my model corresponds with the Aristotelian distinction re-conceptualized by Porphyry³⁸ in his *Eisagoge*. There he describes the very first idea of a vocabulary based on rhizomatic divisions as the relations of hyponym (a word of more specific meaning than a general) to hypernym (a word with a broad meaning constituting a category) powered by difference.³⁹ In this case “the conceptual” means the non-substantial in Porphyry’s logic. In the concrete world I put every real object or creature in the book, while in the conceptual world, on the other hand, I collect

³⁸ **Porphyry** (ca. 234-305) was a neo-platonic philosopher. He edited and published *Enneads*, a collection of works by his teacher Plotinos. *Eisagoge* (Isagoge), written in 268-270, is an introduction to logic and philosophy (more precisely to Aristotle’s *Categories*). The Latin version served as a textbook throughout the Middle Ages. (BARNES, Jonathan: *Porphyry Introduction*. Oxford, 2003, ix-xxiv.)

³⁹ ECO, Umberto: *Od stromu k labyrintu*. [From the Tree to the Labyrinth]. Prague 2012, 13.

every product of human imagination and culture. But the categories are transitive – the concrete could be seen as conceptual and vice versa.

The concrete world is divided into the inorganic and the organic. In the inorganic I include *Diamante, Tamburo, Picho, Fontana, Forno, Vella* and *Gondola, Fenil, Edificio, Orto*. The organic world is larger, therefore I distinguished the following subcategories: vegetal, animal, and human. In the vegetal there are only *Girasole* and *Giglio*. The animal world is more complex, as there are emblematic birds and very symbolic creatures, as well as insects of all sizes: *Lumacha, Granzo, Farfalla, Panone, Quagia, Colombo, Donnola, Leone* and *Elefante*. In the human world, or perhaps more suitably, the human conditions, I include: *Ebreo, Dante, Bradamante, Rinaldo, Essercito, Fachino, Gemeli, Nena, and Bullo*. The group could also contain *Nembrot* and *Vergine*, but these are transitive with the allegories that I put onto the category of the imaginary world.

The other branch of the rhizomatic structure is made up of the conceptual world. I subdivided the whole group symmetrically into two parts: the imaginary world and phenomena. In the imaginary world I created three subcategories: mythology, allegory, and beast. In the first subcategory I collected mythological figures: *Icharo, Eliade, Cheronte* and *Cerbero*.⁴⁰ The group of allegories is the

⁴⁰ I have tried to find the sense behind the groups several times. It seemed logical to begin with the category of mythologies, because it has been the most studied. Unfortunately, I have not devised any likely hypothesis. Those I present in this footnote are my experiments. The mythologies seems to have been randomly chosen from Ovid's *Metamorphosis*. The stories of Icarus, Charon, and Cerberus are commonly known, only *Eliade* could be unfamiliar. It is an Italian version (but conserved also in English (!)) of the Heliades, the daughters of Helios and Clymene the Oceanid. They witnessed their brother Phaëthon's fall after attempting to drive his father's sun chariot. Accidentally, they are metamorphosing onto poplar trees. "Four times the moon had joined her crescent horns to form her bright disc. They by habit, since use creates habit, devoted themselves to mourning. Then Phaethusa, the eldest sister, when she tried to throw herself to the ground, complained that her ankles had stiffened, and when radiant Lampetia tried to come near her she was suddenly rooted to the spot. A third sister attempting to tear at her hair pulled out leaves. One cried out in pain that her legs were sheathed in wood, another that her arms had become long branches. While they wondered at this, bark closed round their thighs and by degrees over their waists, breasts, shoulders, and hands, and all that was left free were their mouths calling for their mother. What can their mother do but go here and there as the impulse takes her, pressing her lips to theirs where she can? It is no good. She tries to pull the bark from their bodies and break off new branches with her hands, but drops of blood are left behind like wounds. 'Stop, mother, please' cries out whichever one she hurts, 'Please stop: It is my body in the tree you are tearing. Now, farewell.' and the bark closed over her with her last words. Their tears still flow, and hardened by the sun, fall as amber from the virgin branches, to be taken by the bright river and sent onwards to adorn Roman brides." (OVID: *Metamorphosis*, book II, 344-366.) Hypothetically,

largest and contains *Ira*, *Fortezza*, *Teperanza*, *Fragilita*, *Calamita*, *Malincolia*, *Chiromancia*, *Industria*, *Insegnero*, and *Zugno*. Eventually I also added *Honore*, *Disgratia*, *Fatto*, *Decembrio*, *Giunone*, and *Vergine* which seem to fit the logic of the group. The final subcategory of beasts develops from the mythological figures, although they are not directly connected: *Salamandra*, *Draco*, *Ipogriffo*. Into phenomena I collected several themes: locations (*Kairo*, *Este*), and two of the more serious sins (*Furto*, *Omicidio*).

The iconography of game has no other distinctive structure, except several opposite pairs or groups of three, but I have not enough evidence to proof them, so I only speculate. Even though I would be able to distinguish the pairs, they do not make any sense as a whole. I suppose that there are some figures which was chosen carefully for its symbolic value (see below), but there are those, which was added to fill the alphabetical order of game. It is extremely important to represent every letter of Italian alphabet to play the game (in this version except letter A):

A	B	C	D	E
	Bradamante	Calamita	Dante	Ebreo
	Bullo	Cerbero	Destino	Edificio
		Cheronte	Diamante	Elefante
		Chiromancia	Dicembrio	Eliade
		Colombo	Disgratia	Essercito
			Donnola	Este
			Drago	

if I could devise a connecting link between these mythologies, I would point to these verses from book X of *Metamorphosis*: “There was a hill, and, on the hill, a wide area of level ground, turned with fresh blades of grass: shade was absent there: but when the poet, born of the god, sounded the strings of his lyre, shade gathered there. Jupiter’s Chaonian oak-tree came; and Phaëthon’s sisters, the Heliades, the poplars; the durmast oak with its deep foliage; the soft lime-tree; the beach; the virgin sweet-bay, laurel; the hazel, frail; the ash-tree, used for spears; the sweeping silver-fir: holm-oak, heavy with acorns; pleasant plane-tree; the many-coloured maple; with the river-haunting willow; lotus, water-lover; boxwood ever-verdant; the slender tamarisk; the myrtle, with, over and under its leaves, the two shades of green; and the blue-berried wild-bay, laurustinus. You came, also, twining ivy, together with shooting vines; the vine-supporting elms; the flowering ‘manna’ ash; the spruce; the strawberry tree, weighed down with its red fruit; the pliant palms, the winner’s prize; and you, the shaggy-topped pine tree, armed with needles, sacred to Cybele, mother of the gods, since Attis exchanged his human form for you, and hardened in your trunk.” (OVID: *Metamorphosis*, book X, 86-105.) They follow Orpheus and Euridice’s descent into the underworld, where are Charon and Cerberus. The figure of Icarus does not fit well into my hypothesis; it could be an error, or a conscious change of the figure because of the alphabet (Icarus instead of Phaëthon, because of the similarity of the myth). But this kind of “mistake” seems hardly possible, because of the popularity of mythology at the time; hence it remains enigmatic for the time being.

F Fachino Farfala Fatto Fenil Fontana Forno Fortezza Fragilita Furto	G Galiodindi Gemeli Giglio Girasole Giunone Gondola Granzo	H Honor	I Icharo Industria Insegnero Ipogriffo Ira	K Kairo
L Leone Lumacha	M Malinconia	N Nembrot Nena	O Omicidio Orto	P Panone Picho
Q Quagia	R Rinaldo	S Salamandra	T Tamburo Teperanza	V Vella Vergine
Z Zugno				

As I previously suggested, there are several figures which could create couples or groups of three. It seems logical to put together *Kairo* and *Este*: *Kairo* as the principal city of the Islamic world, with had business contacts with Venice. *Este* does not mean orient or east as it appears on first sight; I consider it as referring to the house of Este (*Casa d'Este*), the Italian princely dynasty primarily based in Ferrara.^{IX}

The other pairs cannot be so clearly argued. For these reasons, I refrain from describing the possible pairs, because there are many of them. Furthermore, it is possible that this was also the purpose of game-that by going through the labyrinth, players could find new connection between the symbols and create a kind of *emblemata*. This characteristic is shared with the game “Gioco del Biribissi”, imported from Spain, which became very popular in the 17th century. It was a lottery game somewhere between bingo and roulette.⁴¹ The game has the same “random” iconography as the 1607 version of *Laberinto* and the game *Passatempo*.

^{IX} For the iconography of this pair it is necessary to recall that the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna were created to educate the influx of non-Christian immigrants to Northern Italy following the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The *tarocchi* were very popular at the court of Este and served as a model for other works of art (murals and ceramics). It is very likely that this relationship of the court d'Este to the Middle East is presented here as a pair.

⁴¹HUYN, P. N.: *La Theorie des jeux de hasard, ou, Analyse du krabs, du passe-dix, de la roulette, du trente & quarante, du pharaon du biribi & du lotto*. Paris 1788, 43-45.

The encyclopaedic character of the pictures defines only the meaning of the images; unfortunately I did not find other reasons why certain concrete allegories were chosen while the other figures seem to be a mixture of randomness and serendipity. In the mythology group, for example, we find the fall of Icarus, Charon with Cerberos, and others which could be connected to the figure of Dante Alighieri who in his *La Divina Commedia* described ascension and a journey through the underworld.

The game as a whole was very likely inspired by other games and their iconography, popular at the time. The game *Ingeniose sorti composte per Francesco da Forti intitulate Giardino di Pensieri* (published in Venice, 1550) is in its rules and book-concept similar to *Laberinto* (see chapter 4 The Universe of Games, the Universe of Images), but genre of Sorti was created for a single player or a reader. The player chooses a question from a list and in order to find the answer he uses cards that orient him towards the answer. The game functions as a kind of labyrinth leading to a treasure. Above each list of answers are great philosophers of Antiquity known in the renaissance. But the questions themselves are more important than the answers. They are assembled into several groups with allegories serving as the icons of whole groups: *Fatto* [XXX], *Fama*, *Vittoria*, *Vanita*, *Destino*, *Honore*, *Disgratia* [XXXII], *Odio*, *Industra*, *Fraude* [XXXI], *Sapere*, *Consiglio*, *Calamita*, *Verita*, *Occasione*, and thirty-four other figures. “Sorti” contains several allegories which appear in either the 1607 or 1616 versions of *Laberinto*.

In the 1607 version I see the direct influence of Sorti in the allegories *Fato*, *Disgratia*, *Industria*, and *Furto*; several others are close, with minor changes: *Destino*, *Honore* and *Calamita*. Behind these pictures are allegorical “*topoi*” famously described by Cesare Ripa⁴², but regrettably his explications fit only on a few of them.

⁴² The connection to Ripa is mostly a convention; Ripa himself used the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna as a source for his allegories. The game *Laberinto* has no distinct source of iconography (a special case is the 1616 version which I will address later). Although *Laberinto* is a spectacular combination of randomness and intention, Ripa’s explications are only parallels or “neighbours in the imagination of the époque”.

The iconographical sense of the game is based on the encyclopaedic character of a labyrinth. As a parallel I present *Dialogo nel quale si ragiona del modo di accrescere & conservar la memoria* by Ludovico Dolce⁴³, published in Venice in 1562 (in fact, it is the Italian version of Johannes Host von Romberch⁴⁴ work). Dolce expounds on how to memorize the alphabet using similarities between pictures and letters, or the vocal similarity of words and objects [LXVIII]. The alphabet around the year 1600 was of great interest, and used as a mechanism for thinking.^X Another example of this obsession with the alphabet is the 1595 printing of Dante Alighieri's *La divina commedia ridotta a miglior lezione dagli Accademici della Crusca* (published by Domenico Manzani in Florence). There, the composition of Dante's *La Divina Commedia* is assembled according to alphabetical order. Each chapter begins with an initial that includes the emblem of the chapter [XXXIII-XXXV]. Today, we would say that these initials create a "hypertext" because they open a chapter of Dante's poem and at the same time they bear their own text with inter-textual qualities. The first verses of *Inferno* describe where the poet was and what he saw as a horrifying place. The Initial begins with "A" and the inscription "Per te spera saldare ogni suo vizio", meaning "for you hopefully pay off all vice" a quote from Petrarca's poem that says hope is stronger than vice. These inter-textual practices were cultivated at the Florentine Accademia della Crusca, founded in 1583, with focus on linguistic studies and literature (most known for creating vocabularies).⁴⁵ As Frances Yates has pointed out, an academy signifies an institution which is devoted to some kind of research and the development of an art. In this may lay the missing piece of the historical puzzle, the question as to why the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna re-appeared in the game *Laberinto*. The neo-platonic ideas of Marsilio Ficino were present in the tarocchi and were very influential on the Italian academies of the 16th and 17th centuries (which were closely connected to English academies⁴⁶). Therefore, is very likely that these ideas later compelled Andrea Ghisi to use the figures in his game, and in the 1607 edition as well, because of the predilection of

⁴³ **Ludovico Dolce** (1508/10 – 1568) was an Italian theorist of painting based in Venice. His most famous book was *L'Arentino o Dialogo della Pittura* (1557).

⁴⁴ **Johannes Host von Romberch** (ca. 1480 – 1532) German theorist and scientist. After his studies at the University of Bologna he entered the Dominican order. Dolce based his *Dialogo* on Romberch's book *Congestorium artificiosae memoriae*, published in 1533.

⁴⁵ YATES, Frances: *Renaissance and Reform: The Italian Academies*. London 1983, 18.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, 20.

academy members for games. “Strange parlour games were played in some of these club academies. For example, in Apaisti of Florence they played in the early eighteenth century a game called *Sibilla* or *Sibillione*.”⁴⁷ Yates does not recount the properties of these performative games, but they appears to be very close in their objective to Sorti.

Although these parallels do not explain the *meaning* of the 1607 game, it is evident that presented phenomena have the same will to combinations and a passion for alphabetical codes; the presented images were at least starting points leading to more complex ideas. Leopoldo Cicognara also added to the subject of the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna and Laberinto their shared proximity to the frescoes in the Scrovegni Chapel painted by Giotto (finished 1305) where we can find allegories of the vices (Stultitia, Inconstantia, Ira, Iniustitia, Infidelitas, Invidia, Desperatio) and virtues (Prudentia, Fortitudo, Temperantia, Iustitia, Fides, Caritas, Spes).⁴⁸ Padua, and the entire Veneto region, is very rich in complex image systems. The same phenomena that we observe in the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna and Laberinto, I found in complex images (I am not afraid to call them “hyperimages”) such as the fresco in Palazzo della Ragione (ca. 1420-1425) in Padua [L-LIX]. There are zodiac symbols mixed with scenes of daily life and allegories. Unfortunately, we cannot be sure of their meaning, because of missing texts. On the other hand, by a stroke of luck, Aby Warburg solved the same problem in the Palazzo Schifanoia in Ferrara by pointing to a text by Abū Maʿshar.⁴⁹ I regard the frescoes to be very close to Laberinto, and I would venture to suggest that by finding the clue to the meaning of the frescoes, we might also find the meaning (or derived meaning) of the 1607 edition of Laberinto. Both share the same encyclopaedic character and I believe that the source of the images might be there (by the diagram I mentioned before).

3.2 EDITION OF LABERINTO PRINTED IN 1616

Laberinto Dato Novamente In Lvce Dal Clarissimo Signor Andrea Ghisi Nobile Veneto :Nel Qvale Si Vede M. CC. LX. Figvre, quali sono tutte pronte al

⁴⁷Ibidem, 24.

⁴⁸CICOGNARA, Leopoldo: *Memoriae spelatti alla storia della calcografia*. Prato, 1831, 173.

⁴⁹WARBURG, Aby M.: *Italian Art and International Astrology in the Palazzo Schifanoia, Ferrara (1912)*. In: *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity*. London 1999, 732-757.

seruitio con la sua obedienda, & corrispondenza, che parlano l'vna all'altra; Et Con La Terza Volta Infallibilmente, si soprà la Figura imaginata, con il secreto di esso, da esserdonato ; ... Con vna Tauola di veder con vna lettera di vn Z. che le narra, & parla à 500. mille & più modi, come in quella, che nel principio del Libro è scolpita... [...] is the title of the second version of Laberinto, printed by Evangelista Deuchino⁵⁰ on paper with a specific watermark [XXXVI].⁵¹

This version is as complicated as the previous. A copy or perhaps another version of all the figures of Laberinto is conserved at the British Museum, as single etchings instead of book-form. These are not cuts from a book, but rather copies. Information provided by the British Museum's on-line collection catalogue ascribes authorship to Andrea Ghisi and dates them between 1610-1616, but I consider (due to the stylistic differences of all the versions of the game⁵²) that they were not made by Ghisi, and certainly must have been created after the year 1616 (the possibility that the etchings in the British Museum served as a model for a book-form game is not very likely). They were purchased from Messrs Grandi in 1898.⁵³ My hypothesis is that the etchings served as model for an English (?) edition of the 1616 version of Laberinto. The copyright for the

⁵⁰**Evangelista Deuchino** (ca. 1593 – ca. 1631) was born in Trevisto, where he first started publishing. After 1605 he began a career in Venice, where he published the books of at least nineteen authors. His publishing house was, in comparison to other houses in Venice, of average size, but larger than previous houses where Ghisi had published the first version of Laberinto. (BRUNI/ EVANS 1984, 151.)

⁵¹ I am still searching for the books in libraries and personal collections, but from my first findings it seems that most versions from 1616 were preserved (IRIS Consortium, Kunsthistorisches Institut in Florenz, Max-Planck-Institut Bibliothek, Università di Pisa – Biblioteca di Lingue e Letterature Moderne 1 (CIPE), Universitätsbibliothek Heidelberg, Utrecht University Library, University of Oxford, Harvard University, Yale University Library, Mirgan Library & Museum, Newberry Library, Herzog August Bibliothek Wolfenbüttel, Universitätsbibliothek Braunschweig, New York Public Library, Bibliothèque Mazarine, Bibliothèque nationale de France, University of Glasgow, British Library, National Art Library, London, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana).



⁵²

⁵³ I am very thankful to Mrs. Sarah Volwes, assistant keeper at the department of prints and drawings at the British Museum for this information.

figures was probably bought or stolen, but the new version was never printed. I XI
 base this hypothesis on the fact that the figures in the British Museum are
 etchings, instead of xylographs used for books.

I would like to stress that if that is so, game had been created with same “historical movement” in its background as the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna.

The second printed edition of *Laberinto* was dedicated to Giovanni Bembo (1543(?)-1618), the 92nd doge of Venice [XXXVII].⁵⁴ By historical accident he also, like Francesco IV Gonzaga, held the throne for only a few months. Bembo became the Venetian doge at a very old age (he was 72 at the time). For this reason he stayed in office for only two years (1615/16 – 1618). At the age of 28, in 1571, he participated in the battle of Lepanto.⁵⁵ Most likely, this was the greatest battle he had ever fought in. The battle of Lepanto was an acrimonious moment of dispute between the Holy League and the Ottoman Empire. The republic of Venice played a highly ambiguous role – the city was part of the Italian states, but on the other hand it kept commercial contacts with Ottoman states. Upon close inspection of the iconography on several of the images of *Laberinto*, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the game reflects the conflict between Christianity and Islam.

The dedication to Giovanni Bembo, and his personal experience at the battle of Lepanto, I consider crucial for understanding the iconography of the game.^{XI} Ghisi already evoked the parallel between war and game by quoting Horace in the dedication to Bembo: “Heu nimis longo satiate ludo”⁵⁶. To play with an army has the same implications as playing with the imagination.

⁵⁴ MOMMSEN, Theodor (ed.): *Autobiographie des Venezianers. Giovanni Bembo* (1536). Berlin 1861, 4-6.

⁵⁵ DISDEFANO, Giovanni: *Enciclopedia storica di Venezia*. Venezia 2011, 120-121.

⁵⁶ “Quem vocet divum populus ruenti/ imperi rebus ? Prece quafatigent/ virgines sanctae minus auditem/ carmina Vestam ?/ Cui dabit partis scelus expiandi/ Iuppiter ? Tandem venias precamus,/ nube candentis umeros amictus,/ augur Apollo,/ sive tu mavis, Erycina ridens,/ quam Iocus circumvolat et Cupido,/ sive neglectum genus et nepotes/ respicis, auctor,/ **heu nimis longo satiate ludo**,/ quem iuvat clamor galeaeque leves,/ acer et Mauri peditis cruentum/ voltus in hostem,/ sive mutata iuventem figura ales in terris imitaris, almae/ filius Maiae, patiens vocari/ Caesaris ultor.” HORACE, Quintus Flaccus: *Odes*, book I, II. In: *The Latin Library*, <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/horace/carm1.shtml>, accessed on July 8th, 2016. “Whom will Jupiter assign to/ expiate our sins? We pray you,/ come, cloud veiling your bright shoulders,/ far-sighted Apollo:/ or laughing Venus Erycina,/ if you will, whom Cupid circles,/ or you, if you see your children/ neglected, Leader,**you sated from the long campaign**,/ who love the war-shouts and the helmets,/ and the Moor’s cruel face among his blood-stained enemies.” HORACE, Quintus Flaccus: *Odes*, book I, II. In: *Poetry in Translation*, http://www.poetryintranslation.com/PITBR/Latin/HoraceOdesBkI.htm#anchor_Toc39402008, accessed on July 8th, 2016

The labyrinth of the game opens with a square bearing the inscription “ZVANE BEMBO DOSE PER MERITI”, like a mathematical labyrinth with “Z” in the centre and the rest of the phrase growing around it like some mathematic-geometric ornament [LX]. This square reflects the joy of playing with the alphabet, words, and numbers, which permeates the game.

Most of the figures of the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna were re-used, and a few replaced, probably to adhere to the rule that the game must contain all the letters of the Italian alphabet. On the other hand, the iconography of the replacement figures was conceptually very similar to the originals-almost all of them can be found in Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia*, which is the likeliest source. Ripa was inspired by the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna in his descriptions of allegories; it was only logical to search for new figures there. On the other hand, two figures, *Chiromantia* and *Qatro Orbi*, have nothing in common with Ripa’s descriptions. Thus, the theory does not work in all cases. There was also a new series added, not inspired by Ripa’s allegories, but rather by Bembo’s personal experiences. I have arranged the figures into the following table (like the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna) and designated the new and replacement figures in bold:

Misero	Felicità	Gramatica	Iliaco	Luna	Roma
Famiglio	Urania	Logica	Cronico	Mercurio	Kairo
Ategiario	Chiromantia	Retorica	Industria	Venere	Galia
Mercante	Erato	Geometria	Temperancia	Sol	Nave
Zintilomo	Polimnia	Matematica	Prudencia	Marte	Elefante
Cavalier	Talia	Musica	Forteza	Iupiter	Hidra
Dose	Melpomene	Poesia	Iusticia	Saturno	Dio d’Amor
Re	Euterpe	Filosofia	Carita	Otava Spera	Baco
Imperator	Clo	Astrologia	Speranza	Primo Mobile	Adamo Eva
Papa	Apollo	Theologia	Fede	Quatro Orbi	Zane in banco

3.1.1 *Hierarchy, iconography of 1616 edition of Laberinto*

The replacement figures were most probably not motivated by any deeper concept than alphabetical order and the proportions of numbers. Originally there was *Aritmetricha* instead of *Matematica*, *Caliope* instead of *Felicità*, *Terpsichore*

instead of *Chiromantia*, *Industria* replaced *Cosmico*, and *Quattro Orbi* replaced *Prima Causa*.

I consider the allegory of *Felicita* as ancillary. Cesare Ripa describes the depiction of *Felicita* as *Felicita publica*, with the caduceus, horn of plenty, fruits, and flowers adorning a throne.⁵⁷ The historical events of the battle of Lepanto underpinning *Laberinto* explain the switch from *Felicita aeterna* to *Felicita publica*. But I found nothing as exemplary as the following allegories.

The special cases are the allegories of *Matematica*, *Chiromantia*, and *Industria*. *Matematica* replaced *Aritmeticha* and followed Ripa's description – a young woman with a child (or genius) who holds a table where *Matematica* designs several geometric figures. Also, she now holds a sphere with a ring composed of the twelve signs of zodiac in her left hand. While in Ripa's illustration from the volume published in 1613, *Matematica* has Platonic solids on her dress hem, in *Laberinto* a pyramid serves as a reminder of them.⁵⁸ The answer to why *Matematica* replaced *Aritmeticha*^{XII} is simple – the liberal arts were understood as scholastic disciplines and had to be refined by allegories of Astrology, Theology, and Philosophy in the composition of the Mantegna tarocchi. One century later it was no longer possible to present *Artes Liberales* as a complex system describing the sciences (and in Ripa's descriptions we can also find the allegory of Arithmetic as part of *Artes Liberales*, which is entirely dismantled in *Laberinto*). Due to technological and scientific progress, *Laberinto* represented emancipated allegories of the Sciences.

To understand the figure *Industria*, it is necessary to examine the depiction from the perspective of the technological progress that led to the replacement of the depiction of *Cosmico* with the new image. The principle of space in the Mantegna tarocchi system was followed by the principles of time (*Cronico*) and light (*Iliaco*). It is hard to judge whether the concept of space seemed unimportant to the creator of the game; but it is possible that from the three linked principles he chose to omit this one. Space was for the players of the game, quite obvious – it

XII
The position of the allegory of Arithmetic in the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna is central. It stands in the middle of game. It is also a very problematic figure, because in the E-series it has different properties than in the S-series. In the E-series it is depicted with a gesture of counting money (or other small objects), but in the later S-series we find a table with mathematical codes, long considered (by error) to be a date of set.* But comparing the tarocchi with *Laberinto*, one may assume that the S-series served as a model for the further development of this allegory, which transitioned into the allegory of *Mathematica* which has a table as habitual propriety.

*SKOPALOVÁ 2014a, 28.

⁵⁷ RIPA, Cesare: *Iconologia, ovvero Descrittione Dell'imagini Universali cavate dall'Antichità et da altri luoghi, Parte Seconda*. Siena 1613, 235-236.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, 23-25.

was the Christian world. What was more complex was the allegory of industry. There is no doubt that the iconography of the figure follows Cesare Ripa's description.⁵⁹

The allegory of *Chiromantia* seems to me very problematic, because of the "occult" connotation it has today. This allegory was also present in the previous edition. In both versions it seems emblematic of the game itself, because of its sense of knowing what is not obvious. Chiromancy was a technique for understanding corporal diseases of the hand (with connections to astrology as medieval medicine; also from this art was derived the renaissance discussion of the four corporal humours). The medieval macrocosm of the universe was inseparable from the microcosm of the body [XXXVIII]. Later, the macrocosm was also seen as mirrored in the human hand [XXXIX].⁶⁰ To cure also meant to know which planet affects which particular part of body, or in other words, to know how to find a path through the labyrinth of the universe.

The hand was seen as an open book to be read. These were the motivations behind John Bulwer's book *Chirologia, or, The naturall language of the hand: composed of the speaking motions, and discoursing gestures thereof: whereunto is added, Chironomia, or The art of manual rhetoricke, consisting of the naturall expressions, digested by art in the hand ...: with types, or chyrograms, a longwish'd for illustration of this argument* (1644). In the preface he describes the transition from divination to the art of gestures: "[...] in so much as filled with the benevolent influence and illustration of a prophetic rapture, you turned *Chiromancer*, divining by the lines of *life* and *prosperity*, which appeared faire unto you in the first draught; that the *Hand* would beem braced and kissed by the more intelligent part of the world, and in time travell and learne to speak (as doth naturally) so literally all Languages."⁶¹ He considers hands to be a universal language. He also points out the universal numerical system of hand gestures [XXXX], known in Venice a century earlier [XXXXI] (used in economic dealings

⁵⁹ Ibidem, 369.

⁶⁰ Aby M. Warburg observed this in table B of his *Atlas Mnemosyné* [LXX].

⁶¹ BULWER, John: *Chirologia, or, The naturall language of the hand: composed of the speaking motions, and discoursing gestures thereof: whereunto is added, Chironomia, or The art of manual rhetoricke, consisting of the naturall expressions, digested by art in the hand ...: with types, or chyrograms, a longwish'd for illustration of this argument*. London 1644, np.

with the Middle East⁶²). But in the figure of *Chiromantia*, there seems to be a hidden ambiguity. On the one hand, it denotes a universal language, which Laberinto definitely is; on the other hand, it alludes to the older art of divination. Because of the rules of play, the game could be regarded as divination by the uneducated, though the game is ultimately powered by mathematics.

The last altered figure is *Quattro Orbi*, which in 17th century Italian meant “four blind men” or “four beggars”⁶³ (from the Latin *orbō*, *~āre*, *~ātum*, to deprive by death, to desolate, transferred into Italian with same meaning⁶⁴). The composition of this picture is most striking, because it echoes the composition of the death of Orpheus. Aby M. Warburg used 15th century depiction of the *Death of Orpheus* (now conserved in Kunsthalle in Hamburg) as a depiction of a Dionysian frenzy. “The next missile was a stone, that, thrown through the air, was itself overpowered by the harmony of voice and lyre, and fell at his feet, as though it was begging forgiveness for its mad audacity. But in fact the mindless attack mounted without restraint and mad fury ruled. All their missiles would have been frustrated by his song, but the huge clamor of the Bercyntian flutes of broken horn, the drums, and the breast-beating and howls of the Bacchantes, drowned the sound of the lyre. Then, finally, the stones grew red, with the blood of the poet, to whom they were deaf.”⁶⁵ In Warburg’s view the engraving depicts a pathos formula, an emotive formula of tension between the Apollonian and Dionysian principles.⁶⁶ While studying the “formula” for orphic death at the Warburg Institute’s Iconographic Database I found that it is possible to view the clichés in which Bacchantes were replaced by furious men. Warburg, in an essay about the death of Orpheus, introduced the notion of the pathos formula, which I find

⁶² BELLINGERI, Giampietro / SAKIP, Sabanci Müzesi / ÖLÇER, Nazan: *Venezia e Istanbul in epoca Ottomana* (cat. of exhib.). Milano 2009.

⁶³ Often mistakenly translated as “four worlds”, but that is a translation of the Latin phrase, not Italian. Whole game has inscriptions and foreword in vernacular Italian language of the very beginning of 17th century. This false translation drove Nadya Chishti-Mujahid (American University of Cairo) to incorrect link to cabbalistic tradition, which could be in background of the so-called tarocchi, but is it strongly hypothetical or even slightly impossible to be also in some deep layer of Laberinto. (CHISHTY-MUJAHID, Nadya: *Some Theories Concerning Ghisi’s Laberinto*. In: *Tarot Studies*, <http://newsletter.tarotstudies.org/2011/05/concerning-ghisi%E2%80%99s-laberinto/>, accessed on July 10th, 2016.)

⁶⁴ ZINGARELLI, Nikola: *Vocabolario della lingua italiana*. Roma 1998, 1221.

⁶⁵ OVID, *Metamorphoses*, book XI, I-LXVI.

⁶⁶ WARBURG, Aby M.: *Dürer and the Italian Antiquity*. In: *Ibidem: The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity*. London 1999, 553-558.

appropriate for the present scene even though we face Bacchanantes and not XIII Orpheus.^{XIII} The scheme was common in the depictions of martyrs (St. Sebastian [XXXXIII]) and other scenes of deadly anxiety [XXXXII-XXXXVIII].

The figure *Quattro Orbi* opens up a new decade (in the system of Laberinto), therefore my guess is that it could be an ironic allusion to Matthew 15:14: "Leave them; they are blind guides. If the blind lead the blind, both will fall into a pit", commenting on the conflict between the Holy League and the Ottoman Empire, and Venice's position within the conflict. In order to endorse the consequences of this insight, I must add that *Quattro Orbi* replaced the crucial and complexly cosmological figure *Prima Causa*, signifying the definitive loss of sacral meaning; the new suit of ten cards which follows is grounded in the human world rather than metaphysics.

In the beginning of the 17th century, it was becoming apparent that the universe does not end at the sphere of God (as was assumed in the Middle Ages), and furthermore, that Earth is not at the centre of the universe. The Copernican Revolution was not yet over (Nicolaus Copernic published his *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium* in 1543, and it was followed by Tycho Brahe's observations in the second half of the 16th century, completed by Johannes Kepler, who opposed the geocentric model in favour of the heliocentric, and proved this to be true), but in contrast was not possible to investigate to the old model. The so-called tarocchi of Mantegna was built on the medieval view of the universe, combined with the aristotelianism and neo-platonism of the late 15th century (as described by Dante in his *Divine Comedy*). As one might presume, the notion of the end of the cosmos collapsed and it was no longer possible to maintain the cosmological view. For these reasons, I believe it was easy for Andrea Ghisi to replace the key depiction of the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna with a secularised and ironic concept of the "blind leading the blind", which was commentary on the confusion of the époque.

The most conspicuous change made to the concept of the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna was the new series of ten cards. I consider the choice to be closely related to Giovanni Bembo's life, by which I mean his contribution to the battle of Lepanto. This international conflict had a great impact on the social life

Even though I know that it has no importance in this case, but I want to mention that the engraving which Warburg thought about in the essay was the most probably the work of the Master of E-series.* At this place I can only speculate if it has some importance or not, but if the second version of Laberinto has E-series of the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna as its model, it could be also possible that creator was aware of the Death of Orpheus engraving.

*LEVENSON, Jay A.:
Master of the Tarocchi.
In: LEVENSON, Jay A. /
OBERHUBER, Konrad,
SHEEHAN, Jacquelyn L.:
Early Italian Engravings
from the National Gallery
of Art. Washington 1973,
100.

of the époque as well as on the life of the doge.^{XIV} With this in mind, I would venture to say that if the tarocchi of Mantegna ever had a cosmological meaning, which I believe it did, *Laberinto* completely dispensed with it. However, *Laberinto* incorporated the tarocchi and the new group of ten cards was added: *Adamo Eva, Baco, Dio d'Amor, Zane in Banco, Nave, Galia, Hidra, Elefante, Roma, and Kairo*. The new series has its own logic: a dialectic opposition between the Christian and Islamic worlds. The opposing pairs in the new series reflect the opposition of the two religions: the Church and the Mosque, but I would like to emphasize that the point of view is Christian, and Islam is only imagined.⁶⁷

XIV The ideological conflicts of the époque seem to me reflected in the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna, and reasonably connect to the new series as anachronism.

The battle of Lepanto became a symbolic form. The beginnings of this symbolic / pathos formula are present in *Laberinto*, but are also found in the art of our century (Cy Twombly, *Lepanto* (12 panels), 2001). The battles had its echoes in the United Kingdom as well.⁶⁸ The immense power of the battle across the centuries is also remarkably evident in a poem written by Gilbert Keith Chesterton in 1911, called *Lepanto*. The work was “admired” and served as motivation for soldiers during World War I.⁶⁹ While the poem is not a historical document of the period, it describes the pregnant historical moment:

“The last knight of Europe takes weapons from the wall,
The last and lingering troubadour to whom the bird has sung,
That once went singing southward when all the world was young,
In that enormous silence, tiny and unafraid,
Comes up along a winding road the noise of the Crusade.”⁷⁰

In the following passage I present Plato’s relationship between war and game, from his final and longest dialogue *Laws*: “I say that a man must be serious with the serious, God alone is worthy of supreme seriousness, but man is made God’s playing, and that is the best part of him. Therefore every man and woman

⁶⁷ The concept of imagination is very important for the game. At the level of the imaginary path through the labyrinth, the imagination of the world is not accessible (the heavenly spheres, the Middle East etc.). I consider the term ‘imagination’ to be crucial for the last part of this paper: game as *Nachleben*. Only thanks to imagination could the concepts survive.

⁶⁸ BERGERON, David M.: “Are We Turned Turks?”: English Pageants and the Stuart Court. In: *Comparative Drama*, vol. 44, no. 3, 2010, 255-275.

⁶⁹ BLAMIRE, Harry: *A Guide to Twentieth Century Literature in English*. London 1983, 51.

⁷⁰ CHESTERTON, Gilbert Keith: *Lepanto*, 1911 (published 1915). In: Wikisource, [https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Lepanto_\(Chesterton\)](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Lepanto_(Chesterton)), accessed on July 7th, 2016.

should live life accordingly, and play the noblest games and be of another mind from what they are present. [...] For they deem war a serious thing, though in war there is neither play nor culture worthy the name, which are the things *we* deem most serious. Hence all must live in peace as well as they possibly can. What, then, is the right way of living? Life must be lived as play, playing certain games, making sacrifices, singing and dancing, and then a man will be able to propitiate the gods, and defend himself against his enemies, and win in the contest.”⁷¹ The reason why the game reflects events that happened forty-five years prior to its creation is the necessity of distance. The battle slowly became a symbol which could be part of game (see chapter 4 The Universe of Games, the Universe of Images). Therefore, what follows are several element of that symbolic.

The figures *Rome* and *Cairo* could not be explained with an unambiguous meaning, but only symbolically as the capitals of the Christian world on one side and the Islamic (Muslim) world on the other. It is the development of the pair I described from the 1607 *Laberinto* edition, in which *Kairo* opposes *Este*. Here, I examine the change as another political network. The connection of Venice to Rome is more logical than to Ferrara (House of d’Este). Furthermore, Venice was in that time a part of the Holy League with Rome as the capital city. These cities are also geographical opposites: Rome happens to be on the line passing through the Apennine Peninsula and ending at the Nile river delta, the precise place where Cairo lays.

But the position of Venice was even more complicated. If I am interpreting the figures correctly, the city of Venice stands in the middle, between the Ottoman Empire and the Holy League. Venetians were part of the League but acted independently, and in 1572 negotiated a separate peace with the Ottomans in order to re-establish trade relations.⁷² They had access to the Muslim world, but regarded it only from the Christian perspective, essentially *seeing* them as “bad Christians”.

⁷¹ PLATO: *Laws*, book VII, 796. (Quoted by HUIZINGA, Johan: *Homo Ludens. A Study of the Play-Element in culture*. London 1980, 180-19.)

⁷² BERGERON 2010, 257.

Examining the battle ships in the figures, they are even visibly opposites: the ship *Galia* is an old roman galley which was used in the Mediterranean until the early 19th century; *Nave* is a word derived from the Latin *navis*, meaning battleship or ship in a more general sense. The Ottoman Empire in the era of the Lepanto battle used ships inspired by typical roman galleys, thus the two images are in the game differed only in name [XXXXIX].

The new group of ten in *Laberinto* follows the same internal logic as the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna. The hierarchical order is ranked from less abstract terms to more conceptual ones. The intermediate is the pair *Elefante* and *Hidra*, two animals with rich Middle Ages iconography. An elephant figure was often a depiction of a triumphal processions, but the triumph of man is only associated with the triumph of an elephant. In medieval imagery, the elephant was often victorious over a serpent or a basilisk. This relationship was interpreted theologically as the hostility between Christ and the Devil.⁷³ Church Fathers and medieval encyclopaedists, such as Isidore of Seville, appreciated the elephant's strength, wisdom and chastity. "Elephant (*elephantus*) was admired by the Greeks for its robust body, because of its mountainous appearance (in Greek mountain is λόφος. In India the elephant is called *barro* because of its voice, and the sound it makes is *barritus* (toot) while its tusks are called *ebur* (ivory). [...] This animal genus has a place in war. Persians and Indians built wooden towers on top of their elephants, from which they fought as if fortified. They also have great memory. They form herds, they can salute by moving their body, they are afraid of mice, and they copulate from behind. When they give birth, their offspring are sent away to the waters and isles, because of dragons, which are their greatest enemy, dying as they do in dragon's loops."⁷⁴ The tower on his back defines the role of

⁷³ ROYT, Jan / ŠEDINOVÁ, Hana: *Slovník symbolů. Kosmos, příroda a člověk v křesťanské ikonografii.* [Dictionary of Symbols. The Cosmos, Nature, and Man in Christian Iconography.] Prague, 1998, 157-158.

⁷⁴ "Elephantum Graeci a magnitudine corporis vocatum putant, quod formam montis praeferat: Graece enim mons λόφος dicitur. Apud Indos autem a voce barro vocatur; unde et vox eius barritus et dentes ebur. Rostrum autem proboscida dicitur, quoniam illo pabulum ori admovet. Et est angui similis, vallo munitus eburno. (...) Nam hoc genus animantis in rebus bellicis aptum est. In eis enim Persae et Indii ligneis turribus conlocatis tamquam de muro iaculis dimicant. Intellectu autem et memoria multa vigent. Gregatim incedunt; motu, quo valent, salutant; murem fugiunt, aversi coeunt. Quando autem parturiunt, in aquis vel insulis dimittunt fetus propter dracones, quia inimici sunt et ab eis implicati necantur." ISIDORE OF SEVILLE: *Etymologiae*, XII, 2: 14-16. Prague, 2004, 74-77.

the elephant in *Laberinto*,⁷⁵ as he was thought to be the carrier of an Episcopal chair.⁷⁶

In emblematic the elephant is often paired with a hydra or a drake, creatures connected with snakes that are the elephant's natural enemies. The Hydra is a beast with multiple snake heads. Hercules met with it in combat, and trying to cut its head, found that two more grew instead. Jacob Typot⁷⁷ described this characteristic in *Symbola varia diversorum principum* (1603) as a symbol of *Vi et Religione*: "For the people there is nothing better than government by force and religion. By virtue of evil, and the despisers of God, religion, the good is in office a long time. [...] The principle of care needs to be observed in the kingdom of the religious life. For these things are wavering in and move to and fro, and never quit blossoming, and now the threat of the destruction of the good, does not hesitate and I happened to be, because of the ruin of state."⁷⁸ In this sense *Hidra*,

⁷⁵Nadya Chishty-Mujahid incorrectly interprets *Laberinto* as a form of the ancient Indian game Chaturanga. She built her theory on the figure of *Elefante*, which has same roots in the chess figure of the knight. She links Ghisi's game with Falkener's description of Chaturanga (FAULKENER, Edward: *Games Ancient and Oriental and How to Play Them*. London 1892), because of the 23 by 23 grid formed by the figures. But the rules she imagines to be proper to *Laberinto* are entirely out of concept, and furthermore misinterpret the game whose rules are distinctively described by Ghisi himself in the preface of the book. I have no idea how she developed her idea because, Chishty-Mujahid must have studied the 1616 version of *Laberinto* in book-form, because of the images she discusses in her text. (CHISHTY-MUJAHID 2011.) But, on the other hand, a grain of truth can be found in her argument, because of the figure *Elefante*'s similarity to a medieval chess figure which had the same form in the 18th century, used to demonstrate the disputes between Europeans and Indians. (WILKINSON, Charles K. (ed.): *Chess: East and West, Past and Present*. New York 1968.)



British and Hindu chess, late 18th century, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Reproduction from: WILKINSON 1968, np.)

⁷⁶ ROYT / ŠEDINOVÁ 1998, 158.

⁷⁷ **Jacob Typot** (1540-1601), also known as Jacobus Typotius, was a Flemish humanist at the court of Emperor Rudolph II. He is known for creating a book of emblems entitled *Symbola divina et humana*, first published in Prague in 1601, with engravings by Aegidius Sadeler.

⁷⁸ "Nam nulla re melius quam vi & religione regitur populus. Vi mali, ac Deorum contemptores, religione, boni in officio retinentur. (...) Principes itaque necessario religionem in regno servari

can be interpreted as a necessary tool of the Church; however, in *Laberinto*, the Church is in fact represented by an elephant and the hydra stands for the Mosque. The hydra was also associated with crocodiles (hydras of the Nile). In Christian symbolism, it was a personification of hell, and was situated at hell's doors.⁷⁹ As mentioned, *Laberinto* follows the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna in set C, the group containing the Liberal arts: *Astrology*, *Philosophy*, and *Theology* - the site of the abstract connection between the physical and non-physical spheres. Hydra and the elephant stand as "primitive" expressions of two religions and they open the field for the more complicated concepts to follow.

XV
That is probably also the case with the etching of the Death of Orpheus linked with authorship of the Master of the E-series. But on the other hand, the figures of the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna seem to be derived from the S-series, as they share the same composition with the S-series which are different in E-series (e.g. figure of *Astrologia*).

The opposing pair that follows is characteristic of the "pre-history" of religion as comprehended by Venetian society at the beginning of the 17th century. On one side is *Dio d'Amor* (God Amor), on the other, *Baco* (Bacchus). Amor was a pagan god of love, later associated with the concept of Platonic Love as described by Marsilio Ficino.⁸⁰ Ficino's conception of Love follows the tradition of conceiving of the universe as a series of spheres; Love helps the soul reach the sphere where the God dwells.⁸¹ His concept of reaching the highest sphere is dynamic – the soul ascends with Love, but it also recedes: "No one should doubt that we ourselves and all things around us could, by the way made by heavens, lay ruled by celestial things. For these lower things made by heavens, are ruled continually by them and were designed up there for celestial things primarily."⁸² The engraver of the tarocchi of Mantegna is also associated with the *Fountain of Love*^{XV}.⁸³ In addition to *Laberinto*, if the iconography of a secular game may have its source in the tarocchi, it is possible to think about the survival of the concept of Platonic Love by way of such a game.

curent: Haec enim si nutet & vacillet, necque floreat, iam bonis exitium minere, ac status ruinam praefortibus esse non dubitent." TYPOT, Jacob: *Symbola varia diversorum principum*, tomus tertius. Prague 1603, 110.

⁷⁹CHARBONNEAU-LASSAY, Louis: *Le Bestiaire du Christ*. Milan 1940, 762.

⁸⁰This was a topic of great interest in renaissance society and is also related to the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna. The Master of the E-series engraved the "Fountain of Love", which describes these ideas. I would like to emphasize the importance of Ficino's thoughts for Nicolaus Cusanus and the concept of the tarocchi. Further, if the concept of Love was important, it should also be seen as an important topic in *Laberinto*, but in a transformed sense (from the perspective of the pathos formula).

⁸¹KRISTELLER, Paul: *Osm filosofů italské renesance* [Eight Philosophers of the Italian Renaissance]. Prague 2007, 49.

⁸²FICINO, Marsilio: *Three Books on Life*. Tempe 1998, 250-251.

⁸³SKOPALOVÁ 2014a, 15.

Bacchus, on the other hand, is associated with the lowest possible spheres. In Greek myth, Bacchus was the god of wine, and the rituals celebrating him were accompanied by orgies called “Bacchanalia”. As pointed out by Aby Warburg, the Dionysian (or Bacchant) aspect of the Classical age was the counterpart to the Apollonian, sublime principle. In my reading of the cards, this distinction is present there, with Christian society identified with the Apollonian principle, and the Mosque with the Dionysian. Furthermore, the concept of the Apollonian (as comprehended by Warburg) was further enhanced by Ficino’s idea of Platonic Love, making ancient religion adaptable to Christianity.

The last pair of the new group of ten in *Laberinto* is *Adamo Eva* and *Zane in Banco*. Both cards follow its predecessors and describe the culture as ironically as they can. *Adamo Eva* describes the fall of Man, the first sin in history (according to the Bible); the second card must be examined from that perspective. *Zane in Banco* presents a scene on a platform, with three so-called fools. The first one is telling some falsity about the third to the second. Consequently, the third unsheathes his sword, threatening the second. From a mundane view, it is a depiction of a general disruption in society. It appears that Venetians could not easily find the counterpart to the Christian original sin in Islamic society. It is evident that the game could not escape the symbolic concepts internal to its own culture in its comprehension of Islam.

Although the composition and iconography of the 1616 edition of *Laberinto* (compared to the 1607 edition) remains in the shadows of history, I believe that the current understanding of its circumstances and sources is close to the proper meaning that the game had at the time of its invention. The new set of ten cards must have been interwoven with the life of Giovanni Bembo, as the 1607 edition was with the life of Francesco IV Gonzaga. The games were created for them as more or less personal gifts, corresponding with their personalities.

3.3 PASSATEMPO

Il nobile et piacevole Gioco intitolato il Passatempo, dato in luce novamente dal Bidello Academico Cospiante (A. Ghisi,) ... con la di chia ratione

di detto gioco is a game created in 1620, printed by Alessandro da'Vecchi⁸⁴, in Venice. It is a variation on the 1607 edition of *Laberinto* (or the 1607 edition of *Laberinto* is a variation on *Passatempo*, because the latter was originally printed in 1603, but was a commercial failure⁸⁵), but in a vulgarised version. There are no inscriptions below the images, which were partially derived from the 1607 *Laberinto*, but also enlarged for the new figures. The lack of inscriptions points to the creator's assurance that Italian players would know the proper names (essential for a game based on the alphabet).

Passatempo opens with the figure of Samian Sibyl^{XVI} (composed as two parts of one allegory): *Sibilia* with an open book (as if saying to the player than although the words are invisible, they are painted) and on the last page, *Samia* [LXI, LXII]. These allegories underline the transition from science to pseudo-science, in other words, from science to magic. I consider this observation crucial for understanding the *Nachleben* as a motive for the "evolution" of culture (see chapter 5 Epilog: Game as *Nachleben*). The prophetess introduces the game with the statement that all will be done, the player's rationality could not solve. The origins of the game are as an educational tool (the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna); it eventually became a show of skill, and the art of mathematics, as well as a reflection of the interaction of the old sacred and the new secular (*Laberinto*, 1607 but mainly 1616 edition), finally to be simplified into the entirely secular game known as *Passatempo*.

That the intended audience were ordinary people is evident in the game's accessibility to the illiterate, namely its pictorial character.⁸⁶ The most complicated figure is perhaps that of the phoenix and the helmet of Hermes. The

Another important echo of the concept of the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna: according to Pausanias, Samian Sibyl made the following prophecy:
 "Ye Macedonians, boasting of your Argive kings,/ To you the reign of a Philip will be both good and evil./ The first will make you kings over cities and peoples;/ The younger will lose all the honor,/ Defeated by men from west and east."*
 Going back to the 1616 version of *Laberinto*, the conflict between the west and east may here be present as the allegory of Samian Sibyl.

*PAUSANIAS: Phocis, book 7, 8.9. In: Classical texts, <http://www.theoi.com/Text/Pausanias7A.html>, accessed on July 20th, 2016.

⁸⁴ Alessandro da'Vecchi (ca. last quarter 16th century – first quarter 17th century), was Venetian publisher of average size printing house. He stopped his business before 1630. (BRUNI / EVANS 1984, 206.)

⁸⁵On his website, Mariano Tomatis refers to the edition of *Passatempo* printed in Verona in 1603. This seems to be very first exemplar of a book-game of that kind. From his description, the game seems to be very close to the edition discussed here, only more simplified (he mentions for instance that the names of the columns which are included in the edition discussed here, are not present in the 1603 edition). For its extreme rarity (only one exemplar remains, conserved at the Biblioteca Queriana in Brescia, Italy), I think that this edition was not popular after the 1620 reprint and the introduction of the game to the high aristocracy. (ANTONIONO, Mariano Tomatis: Mindreading books. In: <http://www.marianotomatis.it/magicbooks/pannelli/14.jpg>, accessed on July 8th, 2016.)

⁸⁶MARZO MAGNO, Alessandro: Bound in Venice. The Serene Republic and the Dawn of the Book. Roma, 2013, np.

truly complex allegories were abandoned. Two which were conserved from the 1616 edition are *Gallia* and *Nave*, but these do not present a challenge to the player's imagination. For these reasons it is apparent the game had more than one specified audience.

4 THE UNIVERSE OF GAMES, THE UNIVERSE OF IMAGES

Laberinto is a platform for stepping outside of common reality into a higher order.⁸⁷ This means repeating a reality which was or had been possible at that time. In this sense, Laberinto is closer to *play* than to *game* as such. Game is a performance of reality in some possible way.^{XVII} The 17th century was a century of games. “[...] it is more than a rhetorical comparison to view culture *sub specie ludi*. The thought is not at all new. There was a time when it was generally accepted, though in a limited sense quite different from the one intended here: in the 17th century, the age of world theatre. Drama, in a glittering succession of figures ranging from Shakespeare and Calderon to Racine, then dominated the literature of the West. [...] On closer examination this fashionable comparison of life to a stage proves to be little more than an echo of the Neo-Platonism that was then in vogue, with a markedly moralistic accent. It was a variation on the ancient theme of the vanity of all things. The fact that play and culture are actually interwoven with one another was neither observed nor expressed, whereas for us the whole point is to show that genuine, pure play is one of the main bases of civilization.”⁸⁸ Thus, Huizinga points out the inseparable relationship of play to culture. Play, albeit observable in all kinds of creatures, is inseparable from habits, traditions, myths, and the imagination of a whole culture. In it dwells the unconsciousness of the social mind, a space in which we repeat actions without reflecting on why we are acting the way we do. By playing, we repeat the important events which we share and which remain present in the culture.

XVII
This is a very important point that Laberinto has in common with the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna. I see a “historical shift” internally, because the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna were designed as a tool to describe every possible setup of reality which could be produced. In this sense, the tarocchi could be regarded as a kind of game, which is designed not to relax the player but to perform possibilities and reveal them. Laberinto, on the other hand, was designed for relaxation, but at the same time, it reveals the arrangement of society. The common performative element and its range I consider as one of facet of the pathos formula proper to games, which over time lost their meaning, leaving behind only *act* or *gesture*.

Aby Warburg thinks about games analogically. He wrote several fragments concerning games, because of his general interest in them (particularly after a lecture by de Groos, *Man’s Games* (Spiele den Menschen) in 1899). Games are firstly “movement without chains” and secondly, we are fully aware of this liberty.⁸⁹ In game we are aware of ourselves by this reflexive movement. But it is an action outside of daily life, emphasized Warburg to Caillois, and the game is “accumulating inside the present tension”.⁹⁰ That means that by way of repetition

⁸⁷ HUIZINGA, Johan: *Homo Ludens. A Study of the Play-Element in culture*. London 1980, 13.

⁸⁸ *Ibidem*, 5.

⁸⁹ WARBURG, Aby: *Fragments sur l’expression*. Paris 2015, 242.

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, 242.

we draw the present moment out from the past. These notes Warburg included into his *Fragmente zur Ausdruckskunde* which is fundamental for his conception of *Nachleben*; unfortunately, his notes are neither in a coherent structure nor complete phrases, but this general aspect of game as a form of survival is present.

In this sense, game is close to ritual, which, “by representing a certain desired cosmic event, compels the gods to effect in reality.”⁹¹ In the case of game we may go so far as to say, as Huizinga reflects, that playing a game means real identification with the subject of play (in the sense in which Ernst Hans Gombrich writes about a *hobby horse*⁹²). Games are formulas which we fill with meanings that are lost over time as new ideas find their way in. I observe in that the same phenomenon that happens with images. This topic will be further developed later (see chapter 5 Epilog: Game as *Nachleben*).

Ritual reflects some reality (the socially constructed reality, the construction of which is unconscious), and for comprehension we must be part of that community or know it as well as possible. The same applies to game. “To understand the *game*, it is necessary to know the *world*, and to understand the *world as game*, it is necessary to have profound access to the *intuition of the world*.”⁹³ Here we are reminded of the indivisibility of game and culture, the shared symbols of ritual and art. From the point of view of an anthropologist, it is hard to avoid the assertion that the visual arts as a complex system of symbols of a culture are on the same continuum as games. In this we also glimpse the quasi-sacred and quasi-profane character of games: they were considered treasures and pieces of art (for instance, chess, which was part of a cathedral’s treasury) and were also tools of evil (a game as a gamble).⁹⁴ Games are quasi-ludic and quasi-symbolic derivatives of culture.

⁹¹ HUIZINGA 1980,, 15.

⁹² GOMBRICH, Ernst Hans: *Meditation on a Hobby Horse and Other Essays on the Theory of Art*. London 1963, 1-11.

⁹³ “Pour comprendre le jeu, il nous faut connaître le *monde*, et pour comprendre le *monde comme jeu*, il nous faut accéder à une *intuition du monde* bien plus profonde.” FINK, Eugen: *Le Jeu comme symbole du monde*. Paris 1966, 63.

⁹⁴ PASTOUREAU, Michel: *Une histoire symbolique du Moyen Âge occidental*. Paris 2004, 304-329.

4.1 PLAYER

Laberinto was dedicated to those who had time to play,⁹⁵ meaning the aristocracy. Francesco IV Gonzaga and Giovanni Bembo were the highest aristocracy in the city^{XVIII}, those whom mathematical rules would impress, but furthermore, as Ghisi wrote in the dedication, to whom the game would also offer rest for the mind as sport does for the body. Games produce nothing and in game we lose nothing (with the exception of hazard or lottery games). They create possible worlds which are independent of the real one. The intended demographic of the game also defines the universe of images and how it could be understood. The later version of Laberinto, called Passatempo, seems to have spread to the wider public, because of the lack of inscriptions which develop Laberinto's allegories (an unusual luxury for the illiterate) and also the greatly limited concepts of the chosen images. Laberinto was dedicated to the high aristocracy; the only problem is its diffusion as a book-form game. I suppose that other players were from the circle around the designer or the designer was part of the highly educated class.

XVIII
The important question seems to be the topic of whom the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna were addressed to. Obviously, as I have mentioned, they were used to educate non-Christians, but those were only their origins, by the time it flourished, several versions existed*. In the proper sense, the S-series is a copy, and was probably made for some highly educated humanist in Florence.** If there was a change of audience, is it present in Laberinto?

* SKOPALOVÁ 2014a, 47-48.
** Ibidem, 17.

The 1616 edition of Laberinto poses the problem of anachronism, if we accept the premise that the game is connected to one historical moment. The player situates himself at the time of play into a space interwoven with a real event. In 1616 this “time lapsus” is even more complicated in that it re-uses almost the entire set of the so-called tarocchi. Thus, the player is simultaneously situated at the time of the battle of Lepanto and into the circumstances in Northern Italy following the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The game and its figures are at once quasi-innovated and quasi-obsolete.

4.2 RELATIONSHIP OF THE ICONOGRAPHY AND THE GAME

“[P]lay is a voluntary activity or occupation executed within certain fixed limits of time and place, according to rules freely accepted but absolutely binding, having its aim in itself and accompanied by a feeling of tension, joy and the consciousness that it is ‘different’ from ‘ordinary life’ . Thus defined, the concept seemed capable of embracing everything we call ‘play’ in animals, children and

⁹⁵ CAILLOIS, Rogier: *Les jeux et les hommes*. Paris 2009, 24.

grown-ups: games of strength and skill, inventing games, guessing games, games of chance, exhibitions and performances of all kinds. We ventured to call the category 'play' one of the most fundamental in life.⁹⁶

Games are mirrors to society, as Huizinga pointed out; games and society are inseparably interwoven. They are also the memory of a society, storing those things we are not able to forget or those we wish not to. Games create a world separate from the real one, but are played to actualise the moment (even centuries ago) as it is happening. In game, we create nothing and lose nothing.⁹⁷ We "create" unreal world dependant on the real one, but there we cannot, literally, die. Robert Caillos called such games 'Mimicry': "All play presupposes the temporary acceptance, if not of an illusion (indeed this last word means nothing less than beginning a game: *in-lusio*^{XIX}), then at least of a closed, conventional, and, in certain respects, imaginary universe. Play can consist not only of deploying actions or submitting to one's fate in an imaginary milieu, but of becoming an illusory character oneself, and of so behaving. One is thus confronted with a diverse series of manifestations, the common element of which is that the subject makes believe or makes others believe that he is someone other than himself. He forgets, disguises, or temporarily sheds his personality in order to feign another. I prefer to designate these phenomena by the term mimicry, the English word for mimetism, notably of insects, so that the fundamental, elementary, and quasi-organic nature of the impulse that stimulates it can be stressed."⁹⁸ But, on the other hand, game mustn't be the same at each turn. It is imperative in game that play proceeds differently each time. If not, the players would be bored. "The constant and unpredictable renewal of situation is necessary, in the way in which is produced each attack or each response in fencing

XIX
This point of view could, in another light, enrich the discussion of whether the so-called tarocchi were or were not a game. If they served as an educative tool to illustrate the possibilities of Christian reality, they worked with illusion of some kind. In this way I consider that the tarocchi were played. And this element was further developed in *Laberinto* which has a ludic character as we understand it today.

⁹⁶ HUIZINGA 1980, 28.

⁹⁷ CAILLOIS, Rogier: *Les jeux et les hommes*. Paris, 2009, 35.

⁹⁸ "Tout jeu suppose l'acceptation temporaire, sinon d'une illusion (encore que ce dernier mot ne signifie pas autre chose qu'entrée en jeu : *in-lusio*), du mois d'un univers clos, conventionnel et, à certains égards, fictif. Le jeu peut consister, non pas à deployer une activité ou à subir un destin dans un milieu imaginaire, mais à devenir soi-même un personnage illusoire et à se conduire en conséquence. On se trouve alors en face d'une série variée de manifestations qui ont pour caractère commun de reposer sur le fait que le sujet joue à croire aux autres qu'il est un autre que lui-même. Il oublie, déguise, dépouille passagèrement sa personnalité pour en feindre une autre. Je choisis de désigner ces manifestations par le terme *mimicry*, qui nomme en anglais le mimétisme, notamment des insectes, afin de souligner la nature fondamentale et élémentaire, quasi organique, de l'impulsion qui les suscite." CAILLOIS 2009, 61.

or in football in exchange of ball or same in tennis or during the chess play each time the players move the figures.”⁹⁹

Iconography refers to the symbols of a world or the representations of that world in images. To understand these visual languages based on convention we need to participate in the world or know the world intimately in order to be able to understand. We need to know the rules much like in a game. For anyone wanting to participate in an unfamiliar game, it is extremely difficult to understand without playing. Even the simplest game, such as hide and seek, is hard to understand when described in its complexity verbally. On the other hand, once a game is played, we need not consciously concern ourselves with rules, as they become self-evident. In this I see a parallel to iconography. When we try to describe images, it is difficult to understand what they communicate, but once we view, we understand.

There are also games which participate in real life. These are games which I call “astrological-lottery books”, studied by Aby Warburg, though he unfortunately never wrote a line about them. He collected them for their quasi-ludic and quasi-divinatory or quasi-cosmological character. One of them, I have already mentioned in the discussion about the 1607 edition of *Laberinto*. Sigismondo Fanti composed the game *Fortuna* in 1526; and on its frontispiece, engraved by an anonymous Venetian engraver (with the initials I.M. or T.M), is a depiction of the allegory of Time as Atlas, with the world on his back (an allusion on Ovid’s poem). Behind the figure is a “walled city”, probably Rome, because of the Pantheon visible inside. The game is dedicated to pope Clement VII, and it is he who sits atop the sphere. Robert Eisler considers this “game” as having predicted *sacco di Roma*.¹⁰⁰ Its frontispiece stresses the indivisibility of game and real life.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ „Il faut un renouvellement constant et imprévisible de la situation, comme il s’en produit à chaque attaque ou à chaque riposte en escrime ou au football, à chaque échange de balle au tennis, ou encore aux échecs chaque fois qu’un des adversaires déplace une pièce.“ CAILLOIS 2009, 39.

¹⁰⁰ EISLER, Robert: The Frontispiece to Sigismondo Fanti’s *Triumpho di Fortuna*. In: *Journal of the Warburg-Courtauld Institute*, no. 10, 1947, 155-159.

¹⁰¹ Nowadays we know this phenomenon as the massive pathos formula in form of tarot cards designated for divination.

These astrological-lottery book games (*Sortes Apostolorum*, *Sortes Prophetarum*, *Sorte Lorenzo Spiriti* etc.) are connected with the dice or cards that power them. There are questions and on several “crossroads” the dice or cards help the player find a way to the final destination where the answer is. In the case of *Laberinto*, the only property is the knowledge of where to go at the crossroads – but the principle is quite similar. They are composed of multiple images, which Felix Thürleumann calls “hyperimages”.¹⁰² The simplest hyperimage is a composed altar (a central image and two lateral wings with image on each side). By that time in Northern Italy, this will to simultaneity, that is, depicting multiple scenes at the same place and time, had appeared in Trecento and in the spread of fresco painting – mainly due to Giotto. I have already mentioned the frescoes in the Palazzo della Ragione, where I observed the shift of images from designations of the sacred to the profane. We are habituated to think of hyper-images as belonging to the sacred sphere. Chapels and Altars are composed of biblical scenes; let’s say *Biblia Pauperum*. But the transition from religious education to education about the real world is near. In these terms, the fresco decoration in Palazzo Schifanoia and Palazzo della Ragione, the most enigmatic fresco paintings, are labyrinths of the world. In book culture, the labyrinth of the world was easier to develop, because of the mathematics that came into “play”.

4.3 GAME AS IMAGE OF THE WORLD, GAME AS ALLEGORY, GAME AS SIGN

The generations of encyclopaedists from the Middle Age to the late 19th century (and I would venture to say, till the present day), were preoccupied with the imperative to describe the world as a whole. In the Middle Age, the common structure derived from Aristotle’s *Categories*, developed into the form of roots, which later became rhizomatic (or tree branches according to Umberto Eco) was complicated by the notion of the labyrinth-model, made possible by the *ars* of Ramon Llull.

Eco points out those trees (*arbor*) of Llull’s system do not signify to classification of the reality but rather to classification of knowledge.¹⁰³ Toward

¹⁰² THÜRLEUMANN, Felix: *Mehr als ein Bild. Für eine Kunstgeschichte des hyperimage*. Berlin 2013, 7.

¹⁰³ ECO Prague 2012, 39-40.

this model goes the renaissance encyclopaedia. “In this labyrinth, which is no more the logical structure but the rhetorical tangle of terms and issues collected in *loci, invenire* has no more the sense *to find* something, what we had know for long time and is deposed on the right place, and then we could use it in argumentation, but furthermore to discover something or reveal the relationship between two or more issues, which was for long time hidden.”¹⁰⁴

The labyrinth was understood as nature itself. The aim was to try and reveal its hidden secrets, locked in codes. “Islamic-Spanish culture was the source for the later concept of cipher; the Arabic word *sifr* means *zero*, as in: ‘he’s only a cipher.’ In late medieval France and Italy, there was a fashion for ‘emblems’ or ‘devices,’ hieroglyphic images capable of representing a concept without using words.”¹⁰⁵ The labyrinth and its secrets need a key in order to be read as a “Book of Nature”. “To read a Book of Nature means to experience it, to experiment with it, even at the risk of destroying old certainties. He [referring to Roger Bacon] envisioned a bridge between symbols, the “alphabet of nature,” and things themselves.”¹⁰⁶

In this account Galile Galilei pointed out: “Philosophy is written in this grand book, the universe, which stands continually open to our gaze. But the book cannot be understood unless one first learns to comprehend the language in which it is composed. It is written in the language of mathematics, and its characters are triangles, circles, and other geometric figures without which it is humanly impossible to understand a single word of it; without these, one wanders about in a dark labyrinth.”^{107, XX}

But the greatest step was made by Gottfried Wilhelm Leibniz¹⁰⁸ and his term “monade”: “which is just a simple substance. By calling it ‘simple’ I mean

XX
The concept of the Book of Nature could be applied to the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna as well as to the Labyrinth. In this sense, the labyrinth is a great atlas of the world which one may read. To go through the labyrinth is to image the atlas, to frame and to re-reframe. “Imagination accepts multiples and renews itself constantly in order to detect within new “intimate relationships and secrets”, and new “correspondences and analogies” which in themselves are inexhaustible as are all *relations of thinking* within a unique assemblage, in all possible temporal manifestations.” (“L’imagination accepte le multiple et le reconduit sans cesse pour y déceler de nouveaux ‘rapports intimes et secrets’, de nouvelles ‘correspondances et analogies’ qui seront elles-mêmes inépuisables comme est inépuisable tout *pensée des relations* qu’un montage inédit, à chaque fois, sera susceptible de manifester.”)*

*DIDI-HUBERMAN, Georges: *Atlas ou Le Gai savoir inquiet*. Paris 2011, 14.

¹⁰⁴ Ibidem, 43.

¹⁰⁵ PEISC, Peter: *Labyrinth. A Search of Hidden Meaning of Science*. London 2000, 60.

¹⁰⁶ Ibidem, 71.

¹⁰⁷ Ibidem, 82.

¹⁰⁸ Leibniz had a passion for games. He also intended to create an Academy of games. He reflects on games and their signification in his essay *Drôle de Pensée, touchant une nouvelle sorte de représentations* (1675). He states that games are necessary to daily life. “The presentations could, for example, be a magic lantern (one could begin with that), as well as flights, artificial meteorites, all kinds of optical marvels, a representation of the heaven and the stars. Comets. A globe like that of Gottdorf or Jena; fireworks, fountains, vessels of strange shapes, mandrakes and other rare plants. Extraordinary and rare animals. The Royal manège. Mythical animals. The royal horse race

that it has no parts, though it can be a part of something composite. [...] monads are the true atoms of Nature—the elements out of which everything is made. [...] Within a monad there's nothing to re-arrange, and there is no conceivable internal motion in it that could be started, steered, sped up, or slowed down, as can happen in a composite thing that has parts that can change in relation to one another."¹⁰⁹ According to Leibniz, the encyclopaedia is open, and reveals in steps other levels of nature,¹¹⁰ or, the encyclopaedia behaves as a *monade*. The *monade* is characteristically baroque; Gilles Deleuze describes its folds as inherently baroque. The *monade* creates a labyrinth of the type in which every point (term, subject, or whenever else), can be connected to every other. Understandably, there have to be folds between the connections. These connections are not variations of truth on the subject, but rather the revelations of truth to the subject. Deleuze consider this as real sake of baroque fold.¹¹¹

During the Baroque, the world-as-labyrinth was a monad, in Leibniz's terms. The monad could evolve or diminish. Each monad is composed of smaller

automaton. Prizes. Recreations of acts of war [...] Extraordinary concerts. Rare musical instruments. Talking trumpets. Hunt. Lusters and imitation jewels. The presentation could at any time be combined with a number of tales or comedies. Theater of nature and art. Fighting, swimming. Extraordinary tigh trope dancers. Salto mortale. Demonstration of how a child can lift a heavy weight with a single thread. Anatomical theatre. Medicinal herb garden. Later also a laboratory. Because in addition to the public presentations there will be special ones, like those of small calculating machines and others, paintings, medals, libraries. [...]” (“Les representations seroient par exemple des Lanternes Magiques ; (on pourroit commencer par là) des vols, des meteores contrefaites, toutes sortes de merveilles optiques ; une representation du ciel et des astres. Cometes. Globe comme de Gottorp ou Jena ; feux d'artifices, jets d'eau, vaisseaux d'etrange forme ; Mandragores et autres plantes rares. Animaux extraordinaires et rares. Cercle Royal. Figures d'animaux. Machine Royale de course de chevaux artificiels. Prix pour tirer. Representations des actions de guerre. [...] Concerts extraordinaires. Instrumens rares de Musique. Trompettes parlantes. Chasse. Lustres, et pierreries contrefaites. La Representation pourroit tousjours estre meslée de quelque histoire ou comedie. Theatre de la nature et de l'art. Luter. Nager. Danseur de cordes extraordinaires. Sauts perilleux. Faire voir, qu'un enfant leve un grand poids avec un fil. Theatre Anatomique. Jardin des simples. Laboratoire, suivront. Car, outre les representations publiques, il y aura des particulieres, comme des petites machines denombres, et autres, tableaux, medailles, bibliotheque. [...]”) (LEIBNIZ, Gottfried Wilhelm: *Drôle de Pensée, touchant une nouvelle sorte de représentations*. In: <http://www.abedit.com/EROSTEGUI/leibnitz.html>, accessed on July 16th, 2016.)

¹⁰⁹ “ [...] monade, dont nous parlerons ici, n'est autre chose, qu'une substance simple, qui entre dans les composés; *simple*, c'est-à-dire, sans parties. [...] Et ces Monades sont les véritables Atomes de la Nature, et en un mot les Élement des choses. [...] Monade puisse être altérée ou chargée dans son intérieur par quelque autre créature, puisqu'on n'y saurait rien transposer ni concevoir en elle aucune mouvement interne, qui puisse être excité, dirigé, augmenté ou diminué là-dedans, comme cela se peut dans les composés, où il y a du changement entre les parties.” LEIBNIZ, Gottfried Wilhelm: *Principles de la Nature et de la Grâce, Monadologie*. Paris 1996, 243-244.

¹¹⁰ ECO 2012, 52.

¹¹¹ DELEUZE, Gilles: *Záhyb, Leibniz a baroko*. [The Fold: Leibniz and Baroque]. Prague 2014, 36.

particles. The monad is a labyrinth. John Amos Comenius,¹¹² although he never visited Italy, made remarkable references to Italian authors in his writings and an Italian sense for hyperimages is present in his work in same as Leibniz's notion of the world as monade. He opens his *Labyrinth of the World and Paradise of the Heart* by giving some advice to the reader: "My guides, the guides of everyone who gropes about in the world, are indeed two: presumptuousness of mind, which examines everything, and inveterate custom, which gives a shade of truth to all deceits of the world. If you follow after them with reason, you will perceive, as I did, the miserable confusion of our race. If it should seem otherwise, know that on your nose are the eyeglasses of general deception through which you see everything upside down."¹¹³ We are pilgrims travelling through the labyrinth of the world, and in the same way we could travel through images.

With more or less same intentions, Herman Hugo¹¹⁴ wrote his *Pia desideria* (1624), the most popular book of religions emblems in the 17th century. In one emblem, he describes the labyrinth of life's journey. This kind of meandering journey is close to the journey through the game Laberinto:

In what a maze of Errour do I tray,
Where various paths confound my doubtful way!
This, to the *right*; *That* to the *left-hand* lies:
Here, *Vales* descend; *there* swelling *Mountains* rise:
This has an *easie*, *That* a *rugged* way;
The treachery *This* *conceals*, *That* does *betray*.
But *Whither* these so different courses go,
Their wandering paths forbid, till tryed, to know.
Meander's stream a streighter motions steers,
Tho' with himself the wanderer interferes.
Not the fictitious *Labyrinth* of old
Did it more dubious paths its guests in fold;
Here greater difficulties stay my feet,
And on each road I thwarting dangers meet.
Nor I the different windings only fear,
(In which the Artist's did most appear:)

¹¹² **John Amos Comenius** (1592-1670), widely acknowledged as one of the prime representatives of European pedagogy. He was also bishop of the Unity of Brethern, became a refugee during the persecution of Protestant by the Habsburg Counter-Reformation. He wrote in Czech and Latin, his most famous works being the *Orbis Pictus* (1658), *Didactica Magna* (1633-1638), *Labyrinth of the World and Paradise of the Heart* (1631). (LOCHMAN, Jan Milič: Preface. In: COMENIUS, John Amos: *Labyrinth of the World and Paradise of the Heart*. Prague 2008, 5-9.)

¹¹³ COMENIUS, John Amos: *Labyrinth of the World and Paradise of the Heart*. Prague 2008, 55.

¹¹⁴ **Herman Hugo** (1588-1629) a Jesuit priest, writer and military chaplain.

But, more to heghten and increase my dread,
Darkness involves each doubtful step I tread.
No friendly tracks my wandring foot-steps guide,
Nor other feet th'undrodden ground have tried.
And, tho', left on some fatal Rock I run,
Yet dare I not through Night and danger stay,
there arrest my cautious steps, and stop my way.
Like a strange Traveller by the Sun for look,
In whose lone path no neighbouring Swains reside,
No friendly Star appears to be his guide,
No sign or track by humane foot-steps worn,
But solitary all, and all forlorn.
He knows not but each blind-fold step he treads
To some wild Desert or River leads:
Then calls aloud, and his hoarse voice does strain,
In hope of answer from some neighbouring Swain;
While nought but cheating Eccho calls again. [...] ¹¹⁵

These poetic descriptions of labyrinth are not far from the very conclusion of the 1607 edition of *Laberinto* celebrating Ghisi's art and the pilgrimage. "*Hor qual à voi Ghisi può gloria darsi/ dell interno dell'huom voglie, e desire/ Insegnando à scopire in queste carte;/ Lo dicano quei c'hanno poesia, & arte [...] O peregrin che i vagli lumi giri/ Nelle grand'opre di natura, e d'arte/ Volgiti in questa parte/ se vuo i veder d'humanoingegno proue/ Mirauigliose, e noue/ chi sia che un Laberinto [...] L'alta quntunque saggia, e dotamente,/ Et à ditarlo pio piano, e distino;/ Ecco d'un alto Ghisi il chiaro ingegno [...] Cresca à se gloria, e narauiglia al mondo.*"¹¹⁶ These verses written by monogramist "G. L." are echoing the contemporary literature.

This same attitude to the world as a labyrinth is expressed in a sonnet by Estêvão Rodrigues de Castro¹¹⁷, inspired by Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata*.^{118, 119} The literary examples that one could mention are numerous, but

¹¹⁵ HUGO, Herman: *Pia desideria or, Divine Addresses*. London 1690, 83-84.

¹¹⁶ GHISI, Andrea: *Laberinto*. Venice 1607, np.

¹¹⁷ **Estêvão Rodrigues de Castro** (1559-1638) Portugese poet, doctor, and philosopher, who spent part of his life in Florence and Pisa. (MANUPPELLA, Gianto: *Rodrigues de Castro, 1559-1638. ObrasPoéticas: empotuges, castelhano, latim, italiano*. Lisbon 1967.)

¹¹⁸ ANTONIONO 2011, 9

they all share the same view of the world as an inexhaustible source of symbols which can be perceived in many ways. The labyrinth is a sign of the world as such, specific in the elements it possesses.

¹¹⁹ Vive il cor moi tra silenzio et speme,
In quello spento, et pur di questa spiato,
Un bel viso, ch'insé mantien depinto,
O l'infiamma o l'aggiacia, o l'alza o'l prence.
Hor rinato, hor condotto all'hore estreme,
Forte, intrepido, audace et non mai vinto,
In mezzo del horror d'un laberinto
Brama assai, troppo spera et nulla teme.

MANUPPELLA 1967, 598.

Tacendo, amando, nella acerba doglia,
Senza rimedio chieder, più s'impaccia,
Non dolente, non stanco e non pentito.
O sia ragione o sia destino o voglia,
Commien che del suo stato si confaccia,
O non visto, o mal noto, o mal gratito.

5 EPILOG. GAME AS *NACHLEBEN*

After the fall of Constantinople, new genres of games arrived to Europe, mainly *jeux de la société* (social games), or games as society.¹²⁰ But the new structures were for at first adapted to the older cosmological model (the case of the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna). By the development of new models, games did not abandon the previous, but built upon it.

A typical example is *Jeu de l'univers* (1661), made by Estienne Vouillemont [LXX]. This board game (belonging to the French group of games called *jeux de l'oie*) has the form of a spiral and the goal is be the first to reach the centre. The spiral has several points which depict levels of the universe, from the lowest to highest, ending at the *kingdom of heaven (ciel empirée)*. At the edge of the spiral we find an inscription describing the levels: elements, planets, northern constellations, zodiac signs, southern constellations and the three principal figures: first movement, crystal heaven, and kingdom of heaven. It is modelled after the Ptolemaic system, combined with the partially medieval celestial spheres. Even though the game has an “up to date” astronomical system, the essential idea is older: to move through the spheres and reach the highest one. The notion of moving through spheres was very well known, from Macrobius's *Comentary on the Dream of Scipio* and Marsilio Ficino's *Theologia Platonica de immortalitate animae*.

Jeux de l'oie re-appeared around 1600 (it was Greek in origin) and became one of the most popular board games in Europe.¹²¹ By that time, the linear structure [LXVII] came to possess the types of paths we find in labyrinths (meanders and dead ends). Games in their very structure developed systems of how to store the concepts present in human culture. In forms which evolve slowly (the contemporary player could easily play a *jeu de l'oie* because of their similarity to today's board games [LXIX]), the concepts react to actual events (the coronation of Napoleon etc.), but remain “in game” till the concept has become somehow understandable to a society. When a game is too old to be played, its

¹²⁰ NECHTINE, Ève: *Jeux de princes. Jeux de vilains*. Paris 2009, 39.

¹²¹ ALLEMAGNE, Henri-René de: *Le Noble Jeu de l'oie en France, de 1640 à 1950*. Paris 1950, 26-27.

form is filled with new meanings or simply with new figures. Hypothetically, I can hardly imagine that contemporary games have Cold War iconography, but the “concept” is actualized in the contemporary war against terrorism (frequent in video games). Nevertheless, on some deep level, we find in these contemporary video games the basic idea of games with naval battle themes.

In repeating an idea or a concept on and on, we “forget” the original meaning, and out of a need to justify our gestures, and the images we have or make, we create new meanings. Also, in these terms, the meaning lives its own life and could originate in the sacred sphere (or in the sphere of fine arts) and migrate into the secular. I consider this to be the case with games: sacred rituals and sacred meanings “came down” into the secular sphere. The first intentions were forgotten but latently survived in the background.¹²²

Aby Warburg observed the migrations to games several times. He used the image of a golf player in the last plate of his *Atlas Mnemosyné*. Table 23a, where he put *Libro delle Sorti* (1482) by Lorenzo Spirito, was followed by a table with planetary filiations, as the concept above the games. Further, in table 32, he used a chess board, and the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna and the *tarot de Marseille* in tables 50-51. The interests of an époque are stored in games, which may survive (as in the case of *Laberinto*), or may disappear and remain only as pure form, a gesture whose meaning has migrated into a new form or has become lost. Games as I observed them in the *Atlas Mnemosyné* archive a complex cosmology before it vanishes entirely or transforms into something new. I consider the game *Sorti* as having disappeared or migrated into lottery games that include both prediction and game. The so-called tarocchi of Mantegna archived a vaguely actualized form of medieval cosmology which in its transformation to *Laberinto* became secularised and disappeared. The *Tarot de Marseilles* is very interesting because of its survival into the present day: designed as a perfect mirror to feudal society, it disappeared down into the lowest layers of society where it survived until around

¹²² The cosmological character of game which vanished entirely and remained symbolically in movement and gesture, as general is a football, game admired by Medici family. (BREDEKAMP, Horst: *Florentiner Fußball*. Berlin 2011, 65-85.)

the year 1800 and was transformed into an occult tool for divination or oracle.¹²³ Today, we can still read in the cards the hierarchy of medieval society, but ordinary players (generally not interested in history and cultural sciences) do not think about images, as the gesture has been emptied. A player in the Middle Age knew well what the pictures signified (because the cards were played by feudals), but though today the cards no longer describe society, but are empty forms (or are filled with new ideological values), they have survived. This symptom of historicity as anachronism I see in almost every game (even in new, derivative games).

¹²³ Antoine Court de Gébelin, considered the father of occult tarot, ascribes Egypt origins to the tarot in his *Monde primitif analysé et comparé avec le monde moderne considéré dans son génie allégorique et dans allégories auxquelles conduisit ce génie*. However, it was a wig-maker named Alette who first began predicting the future with tarot cards. Calling himself Etteilla (an inverted version of his name) he created his own tarot cards with Egyptian iconography. Following him, the story of the tarot is well known, the major figures being Aleister Crowley and Edward Waite. (FARLEY, Helen: *A Cultural History of Tarot: From Entertainment to Esotericism*. London 2009.)

6 CONCLUSION

My work was focused on Andrea Ghisi's enigmatic books, made in several versions with different iconography. The 1607 and 1610 versions were dedicated to Francesco IV Gonzaga and had the same iconography, which I believe originated in the encyclopedic character of describing the world, common to all games. They also capture the alphabetic "madness" of the era (around the year 1600).

The 1616 version of *Laberinto*, dedicated to Giovanni Bembo, the 92nd doge of Venice, incorporated all the figures of the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna. The so-called Mantegna Tarocchi is the name given to a set of fifty early Renaissance engravings that originated around the year 1465 in northern Italy. Two different artists created both versions of the complete set ten years apart, and these are referred to separately as the E-series and the S-series. The Mantegna Tarocchi consists of five sets of ten cards hierarchically divided into groups, beginning with the last letter and ending with the first letter, A. The cards are very clearly sectioned by letters that identify each group of ten cards, and by sequential numbers, which define their position within the set. Each card has its own unique number, while its letter assigns it to a group.

If the tarocchi of Mantegna ever had any cosmological meaning, as I believe it did, *Laberinto* dispensed with it entirely. However, *Laberinto* incorporated the tarocchi and added a group of ten cards: *Adamo Eva, Baco, Dio d'Amor, Zane in Banco, Nave, Galia, Hidra, Elefante, Roma* and *Kairo*. Several other cards were changed: *Matematica* replaced *Aritmetricha*, *Cosmico - Industria, Prima causa* replaced *Quattro Orbi*, and *Chiromantia* and *Felicita* took the places of some of the Muses.

Andrea Ghisi dedicated the game to Giovanni Bembo, the 92nd doge of Venice who at age 28, in the year 1571, participated in the battle of Lepanto. A closer examination of the iconography of the new set of ten cards makes it difficult to avoid the conclusion that the game reflects the conflict between Christianity and Islam. This interpretation is supported by some of the changed figures, above all *Quattro Orbi* ("Four blind men / beggars") which also reflects

the lost of sacred meaning and an opening towards everyday life. The 1616 edition of *Laberinto* poses the problem of anachronism, if we accept the premise that the game is connected to one specific historical moment. The player at the time of play situates himself in a real event. In the 1616 edition, this “time lapsus” is further complicated by the game’s re-use of almost the entire set of the so-called tarocchi, the player is simultaneously situated at the time of the battle of Lepanto and in the circumstances in Northern Italy following the fall of Constantinople in 1453. The game and its figures are both quasi-innovated and quasi-obsolete.

Ghisi also created the game *Passatempo* (versions printed in 1603 and 1620), designated for the lower classes, evident in its simplified iconography though the game shares its rules with *Laberinto*. These rules are aimed at “scientific divination”, as Ghisi explains in the Introduction to the 1607 and 1616 editions of *Laberinto*, stating that a man’s thoughts can be discovered in *Laberinto* using mathematical rules linked to letters of the Italian alphabet, inscribed in the corners of a book-form game.

To understand the iconography and the meaning of the game, I have evoked Huizinga’s reflections on the indivisible relationship of play and life, in which the social unconscious or collective social memory is stored. In other words, I see Warburg’s principle of *Nachleben* present in the medium of game. Games are a mirror to society, as Huizinga pointed out; games and society are interwoven in an inseparable relationship. They are also the memory of society, storing that which we are not able to forget or that which we wish not to. Games create a world separate from the real one, but they are played to actualise the moment (even centuries ago) as it is happening. In game, we create nothing and lost nothing. We “create” unreal worlds dependant on the real one, worlds in which we cannot, literally, die.

To repeat an idea or concept on and on after we have “forgotten” the original meaning, and out of a need to justify the gestures and images that remain, we create new meanings. Also, in these terms, meaning lives its own life and could originate in the sacred sphere (or in sphere of fine arts) and migrate into the secular. I consider this to be the case with games: sacred rituals and sacred

meanings “coming down” into the secular sphere. The original intentions may have been forgotten but latently survive in the background of game. Aby Warburg observed the migrations to games several times. According to Warburg, the change of iconography could be regarded as the formula of pathos. Although in the 1616 edition of *Laberinto*, the changed images support the new group of ten, they are also products of the initial or original idea stemming from the game’s predecessor, the so-called tarocchi of Mantegna. The game *Laberinto* transferred the tarocchi game into secular culture, but the cosmological meaning latently survived.

7 BIBLIOGRAPHY

ALLEMAGNE 1950 — ALLEMAGNE, Henri-René de: *Le Noble Jeu de l'oie en France, de 1640 à 1950*. Paris 1950

ANTONIONO 2011 — ANTONIONO, Mariano Tomatis: *The Map of Andrea Ghisi's Laberinto*. Turin 2011. <http://www.marianotomatis.it/libri/The%20Map%20of%20Laberinto.pdf>, accessed October 26th, 2010

ANTONIONO 2016 — ANTONIONO, Mariano Tomatis: Mindreading books. In: <http://www.marianotomatis.it/magicbooks/pannelli/14.jpg>, accessed on July 8th, 2016

BARNES 2003 — BARNES, Jonathan: *Porphyry Introduction*. Oxford 2003

BARTSCH 1813 — BARTSCH, Adam: *Le Peintre graveur*, 15th vol. Wien 1813

BELLINGERI / SAKIP / ÖLÇER 2009 — BELLINGERI, Giampietro, SAKIP, Sabanci Müzesi, ÖLÇER, Nazan: *Venezia e Istanbul in epoca Ottomana* (cat. of exhib.). Milano 2009

BERGERON 2010 — BERGERON, David M.: "Are We Turned Turks?": English Pageants and the Stuart Court. In: *Comparative Drama*, vol. 44, no. 3, 2010, 255-275

BLAMIRE 1983 — BLAMIRE, Harry: *A Guide to Twentieth Century Literature in English*. London 1983

BREDEKAMP 2011 — BREDEKAMP, Horst: *Florentiner Fußball*. Berlin 2011

BROCKHAUS 1933 — BROCKHAUS, Heinrich: Ein edles Gedulspiel: Die Leitung der Welt oder die Himmesleiter. Die sog. Tarocks Mantegnas vom Jahre 1459-1460. In: OLSCHKI, Leo S. (ed.) *Miscelanea di Storia dell'Arte in onore di Iginio Benvenuto Supino*. Florence, 1933, 397-416

BRUNI 1984 — BRUNI, Roberto L., EVANS, D. Wyn: *Italian Seventeenth Century Books. Indexes of Authors titles, dates, printers and publishers alphabetically and by place, based on the Liberia Vinciana's Autori Italiani del'600*. Exter 1984

BULWER 1644 — BULWER, John: *Chirologia, or, The naturall language of the hand: composed of the speaking motions, and discoursing gestures thereof: whereunto is added, Chironomia,*

or The art of manual rhetoricke, consisting of the naturall expressions, digested by art in the hand ...: with types, or chyrograms, a longwish'd for illustration of this argument. London 1644

CAILLOIS 2009 — CAILLOIS, Rogier: Les jeux et les hommes. Paris 2009

CICOGNARA 1831 — CICOGNARA, Leopoldo: Memoriae spelatti alla storia della calcografia. Prato 1831

COMENIUS — COMENIUS, John Amos: Labyrinth of the World and Paradise of the Heart. Prague 2008

DELEUZE 2014 — DELEUZE, Gilles: Záhyb, Leibniz a baroko.[The Fold: Leibniz and Baroque]. Prague 2014

DICKINSON / WILLIAMS / KEELING 1931 — DICKINSON, Goldsworthy Lowes, WILLIAMS, Basil, KEELING, S. V: J. McT. E. McTaggart. Cambridge 1931

DIDI-HUBERMAN 2011 — DIDI-HUBERMAN, Georges: Atlas ou Le Gai savoir inquiet. Paris 2011

DISDEFANO 2011 — DISDEFANO, Giovanni: Enciclopedia storica di Venezia. Venice 2011

ECO 1965 — ECO, Umberto: L'œuvre ouverte. Paris 1965

ECO 2012 — ECO, Umberto: Od stromu k labyrintu. [From the Tree to the Labyrinth] Prague 2012

EISLER 1947 — EISLER, Robert: The Frontispiece to Sigismondo Fanti's Triompho di Fortuna. In: Journal of the Warburg-Courtauld Institute, no. 10, 1947, 155-159

FARLEY 2009 — FARLEY, Helen: A Cultural History of Tarot: From Entertainment to Esotericism. London 2009

FAULKENER 1892 — FAULKENER, Edward: Games Ancient and Oriental and How to Play Them. London 1892

FICINO 1998 — FICINO, Marsilio: Three Books on Life. Tempe 1998

FINK 1966 — FINK, Eugen: *Le Jeu comme symbole du monde*. Paris 1966

GALICHON 1861 — GALICHON, Émile: *Recueil d'estampes du XV^e siècle: Improprement apelle Giuoco di Tarocchi*. In: *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 9, 1861, 143-147

GHISI 1607 — GHISI, Andrea: *Laberinto*. Venice 1607

GHISI 1610 — GHISI, Andrea: *Wits Laberynth, or, the Exercise of Idlennesse*. London 1610

GOMBRICH 1963 — GOMBRICH, Ernst Hans: *Meditation on a Hobby Horse and Other Essays on the Theory of Art*. London 1963

HORACE 2016 — HORACE, Quintus Flaccus: *Odes, book I, II*. In: *The Latin Library*, <http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/horace/carm1.shtml>, accessed on July 8th, 2016

HUGO 1690 — HUGO, Herman: *Pia desideria or, Divine Addresses*. London 1690

HUIZINGA 1980 — HUIZINGA, Johan: *Homo Ludens. A Study of the Play-Element in culture*. London 1980

HUYN 1788 — HUYN, P. N.: *La Theorie des jeux de hasard, ou, Analyse du krabs, du passe-dix, de la roulette, du trente & quarante, du pharaon du biribi & du lotto*. Paris 1788

CHARBONNEAU-LASSAY 1940 — CHARBONNEAU-LASSAY, Louis: *Le Bestiaire du Christ*. Milano 1940

CHESTERTON 1911 — CHESTERTON, Gilbert Keith: *Lepanto, 1911 (published 1915)*. In: *Wikisource*, [https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Lepanto_\(Chesterton\)](https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/Lepanto_(Chesterton)), accessed on July 7th, 2016

CHISHTY-MUJAHID 2008 — CHISHTY-MUJAHID, Nadya Q.: *An Introduction to Western Esotericism. Essays in the Hidden Meaning of Literature, Groups, and Games*. Lewiston 2008

CHISTY-MUJAHID 2011 — CHISHTY-MUJAHID, Nadya: *Some Theories Concerning Ghisi's Laberinto*. In: *Tarot Studies*, <http://newsletter.tarotstudies.org/2011/05/concerning-ghisi%E2%80%99s-laberinto/>, accessed on July 10th, 2016

ISIDORE OF SEVILLE 2004 — ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, *Etymologiae*, XII, 2: 14-16. Prague 2004

KRISTELLER 2007 — KRISTELLER, Paul: Osm filosofů italské renesance. [Eight Philosophers of the Italian Renaissance]. Prague 2007

LAZZARELLI 2006 — LAZZARELLI, Ludovico: De gentilium deorum imaginibus. Claudia CORFIATI (ed.). Rome 2006

LEIBNIZ 1710 — LEIBNIZ, Gottfried: Essais de Théodicée sur la bonté de Dieu, la liberté de l'homme et l'origine du mal. Paris 1710

LEIBNIZ 1996 — LEIBNIZ, Gottfried Wilhelm: Principes de la Nature et de la Grâce, Monadologie. Paris 1996

LEIBNIZ 2016 — LEIBNIZ, Gottfried Wilhelm: Drôle de Pensée, touchant une nouvelle sorte de représentations. In: <http://www.abedit.com/EROSTEGUI/liebnitz.html>, accessed on July 16th, 2016

LEVENSON / OBERHUBER / SHEEHAN 1973 — LEVENSON, Jay A.: Master of the Tarocchi. In: LEVENSON, Jay A., OBERHUBER, Konrad, SHEEHAN, Jacquelyn L.: Early Italian Engravings from the National Gallery of Art. Washington 1973

LOENERTZ 1975 — LOENERTZ, Raymond Joseph: Les Ghisi. Dynastes vénitiens dans l'archipel, 1207-1390. Florence 1975

LOCHMAN 2008 — LOCHMAN, Jan Milič: Preface. In: COMENIUS, John Amos: Labyrinth of the World and Paradise of the Heart. Prague 2008

MAGNANI 2001 — MAGNANI, Romolo: I symboli dei tarocchi nella ceramica graffita ferrarese. In: *CeramicAntica* 2, 2001, 36-47

MANUPPELLA 1967 — MANUPPELLA, Gianto: Rodrigues de Castro, 1559-1638. Obras Poéticas: emportuges, castelhano, latim, italiano. Lisbon 1967

MARZO MAGNO 2013 — MARZO MAGNO, Alessandro: Bound in Venice. The Serene Republic and the Dawn of the Book. Roma 2013

MCKERROW 1910 — MCKERROW, R. B. (ed.): A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and Foreign Printers of English Books, 1557-1640. London 1910

MCTAGGART 2016 — MCTAGGART, John M. E.: The Unreality of Time. In: Ditex, <http://www.ditext.com/mctaggart/time.html>, accessed June 22th, 2016

MOMMSEN 1861 — MOMMSEN, Theodor (ed.): *Autobiographie des Venezianers. Giovanni Bembo (1536)*. Berlin 1861

NECHTINE 2009 — NECHTINE, Ève: *Jeux de princes. Jeux de vilains*. Paris 2009

NOVÁ 2014 — NOVÁ, Magdalena: *Vypálení Mantovy v roce 1630*. [Burn of Mantua in 1630]. In: *Ibidem: Cultural Transfer*. Prague 2014, 101-106

OVID 2000 — OVID, *Metamorphoses*. In: <http://ovid.lib.virginia.edu/trans/Ovhome.htm>, accessed on June 20th, 2016

PASTOUREAU 2004 — PASTOUREAU, Michel: *Une histoire symbolique du Moyen Âge occidental*. Paris 2004

PAUSANIAS 2016 — PAUSANIAS: Phocis, book 7, 8.9. In: *Classical texts*, <http://www.theoi.com/Text/Pausanias7A.html>, accessed on July 20th, 2016

PEISC 2000 — PEISC, Peter: *Labyrinth. A Search of Hidden Meaning of Science*. London, 2000

POCHAT 1967 — POUCHAT, Götz: Luca Signorelli's "Pan" and the so-called "Tarocchi di Mantegna", *Konsthistorisktidskrift XXVI* (1967), 92-105

PRAZ 1964 — PRAZ, Mario: *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery*. Rome 1964

RICCARDI 1870 — RICCARDI, Pietro: *Bibliotheca mathematica italiana dalla origine dalla stampa ai primi anni del secolo XIX*. Modena 1870

RIPA 1613 — RIPA, Cesare: *Iconologia, ovvero Descrittione Dell'imagini Universali cavate dall'Antichità et da altri luoghi, Parte Seconda*. Siena 1613

ROYT / ŠEDINOVÁ 1998 — ROYT, Jan / ŠEDINOVÁ, Hana: *Slovník symbolů. Kosmos, příroda a člověk v křesťanské ikonografii*. Prague, 1998

SAVATIER-SJÖHOLM / DUEOS 2013 — SAVATIER-SJÖHOLM, Olivia / DUEOS, Blaise: Un Allemand à la cour de Louis XIV. De Dürer à Van Dyck, collection nordique d'Everhard Jabach (cat. exhib.). Paris, 2013

SKOPALOVÁ 2014a — SKOPALOVÁ, Eva: Ikonografie tarotových karet, řečených Mantegnových [The Iconography of Tarot Cards Known as Mantegna Tarot] (BA thesis, Charles University). Prague, 2014

SKOPALOVÁ 2014b — SKOPALOVÁ, Eva: The Mantegna Tarocchi and the View of the World in the Northern Italy in the 15th Century. In: *Umění-Art*, no. 6, vol. LXVII, 2014, 502-515

THÜRLÉNMANN 2013 — THÜRLÉNMANN, Felix: Mehr als ein Bild. Für eine Kunstgeschichte des hyperimage. Berlin 2013

TYPOT 1603 — TYPOT, Jacob: *Symbola varia diversorum principum, tomus tertius*. Prague 1603

WARBURG 1999 — WARBURG, Aby M.: *The Renewal of Pagan Antiquity*. London 1999

WARBURG 2015 — WARBURG, Aby: *Fragments sur l'expression*. Paris 2015

WHITE 2010 — WHITE, Hayden: Historický text jako literární artefakt. [Historical Text as Literary Artifact]. In: *Tropika diskursu*, Prague 2010, s. 105-128

WILKINSON 1968 — WILKINSON, Charles K. (ed.): *Chess: East and West, Past and Present*. New York 1968

YATES 1966 — YATES, Frances: *The Art of memory*. London 1966

YATES 1983 — YATES, Frances: *Renaissance and Reform: The Italian Academies*. London, 1983

ZAPPELLA 1997 — ZAPPELLA, Giuseppina: *Iconografia rinascimentale italiana*, vol. 1. Rome 1997

ZINGARELLI 1998 — ZINGARELLI, Nikola: *Vocabolario della lingua italiana*. Rome 1998

ZUCKER 2000 — ZUCKER, Mark J. (ed.): *The Illustrated Bartsch*, vol. 24, part 3. New York 2000