

# 't kan Verkeren

by

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The saying, '*t kan verkeren*' was the motto of and created by the writer Gerbrand Ardiaenszoon Bredero (1585-1618). His plays and poems illustrated his life motto; they often began with heavenly love and ended in a brutal fight.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Bredero.

## Abstract

Between 1520 and 1720, the depiction of the board game *Verkeren*, an old-Dutch variant of Backgammon, thrived on Dutch prints and paintings. In this period, two hundred and fifty images appeared, depicting the board game in different settings and context. Over the years, much research has been done on chess, cards and iconography of images in the Golden Age. The meaning of the game *Verkeren* has, however, never been studied. To decipher the contemporary meaning of *Verkeren* in prints and paintings, Panofsky's iconographic method, De Jong's theory, and the method of comparison is applied in order to decipher the contemporary meaning of *Verkeren* in prints and paintings. This thesis dives deeper into the connotation of the board game, which needs to be played with both dice and intellect. The dice with its unpredictable outcome makes the game favourable for gamblers to bet. The gambling was associated with excessive drinking and squandering of money and could result in the neglect of family and/or a visit to a brothel. Therefore, *Verkeren* was seen as a vice and was mainly linked pride and idleness. These vices fitted perfectly in the spirit of the Golden Age, where the new upcoming, wealthy middle class had to determine their norms and values and had to face their pitfalls. The rich youth with their licentious behaviour, like fornicating, drinking, and gambling needed to be kept in line. Whereas authorities tried to control the gambling by regulating *Verkeren*, artists warned their viewers with compositions containing a moralistic and often humorous narrative, in which *Verkeren* served as an example of vice.

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## Introduction

## De Teerling is geworpen

*“Het leven van de menfchen  
Is even als het verkeerfpel. Zoo naer uw wenfchen  
U de teirling niet en dient, en gy dus werpt het geen  
U fchadelyk is, zoo moet gy het geen de fteen  
U weigert door de kunft zien te verbeteren en te rechten,  
Om te zien of gy de verwinning kunt bevechten.”<sup>2</sup>*

As Simon van Leeuwen (1625-1682) wrote, life can indeed be compared with a game of *Verkeren*. This comparison dates to ancient times and is based on the fact that both life and *Verkeren* are subordinate to a precarious destiny. The old-Dutch game of ‘*Verkeren*’, or ‘*Verkeerspel*’, originates from the verb ‘*verkeren*’, which means ‘to change’.<sup>3</sup> According to Tuinman (1659-1728), the game is called *Verkeren* because the dice makes the game unpredictable.<sup>4</sup> The name ‘*Triktrak*’, which is equivalent to *Verkeren*, derives from the French language. In France, the game was called ‘*tric-trac*’ or ‘*tic-tac*’, after the sound of the chips when moving them.<sup>5</sup> Although the game reached its heyday in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, people still play *Verkeren* and all its variants today. The game is designed for two people and is played on a special board inside a small suitcase. Each player has a vast amount of chips, which he or she can move with the numbers of the two thrown dice. The first player who has the chips in the opponent’s compartment wins. Both skill and intelligence are needed to win, but the dice embodies a chance element. According to Van Leeuwen, these factors make the game very interesting for gamblers: *“Het verkeerspel met taarlingen en schijven, voor een geoorloofde zaak gehouden op maeltijden en vrolijke bijeenkomsten gebruykelijk, alhoewel hetselve mede veel misbruykt en niet om vermaak en tijdverdrijf, maar alleen om malkander veel geld af te winnen gespeeld*

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<sup>2</sup> Van Leeuwen 1685, 56.

<sup>3</sup> De Jongh 1976, 109 and 111.

<sup>4</sup> Tuinman 1722, 402: *“Men noemt het dobbelen op ’t verkeerbord verkeeren. ’t Zal zyn omdat dit fpel gefadig verkeert en verandert om de ongewiffe teerlingworpen; behalven dat de menfchen door die dobbelzucht niet zelden verkeert en verdorven worden. De ouden noemen de verkeerborden niet zonder reden verkeertberden, ende verkeerde berders.”*

<sup>5</sup> Jacoby 1970, 40 and 42.

*werd.*"<sup>6</sup> I am just as intrigued by *Triktrak* as Van Leeuwen was. I learned to play the board game as a child and still play it weekly. That is why I noticed the quantity of depictions of *Verkeren* on Netherlandish prints and paintings and I wondered what the meaning of the game could be on those images: Did it solely serve as a reflection of real life, or could it be regarded as a metaphor, for instance for life itself, as Van Leeuwen demonstrates in his verse?

Despite the quantity and frequency of *Triktrak* in Netherlandish prints and paintings between 1520 and 1720, research on the subject is rare, obsolete, and incomplete. Although countless studies have been carried out on chess, cards, and the Dutch culture during Golden Age, few studies have focused on the *Verkeerspel* in particular. De Jongh has done some research on the matter. In the catalogue *Tot Lering en Vermaak*, published in 1976, he devoted one chapter to the *Verkeerspel* in paintings and prints.<sup>7</sup> However, the focus of his book is on the meaning of Dutch genre paintings in the seventeenth century and not on the significance of *Verkeren* in particular. Furthermore, De Jongh only discusses seven images that depict the game, whereas the two hundred and fifty prints and paintings that I have found were not looked into. Recently, Kolfin studied the subject in *The young gentry at play: Northern Netherlandish scenes of merry companies 1610-1645*. Like De Jongh, Kolfin did not study *Verkeren* on prints and paintings as a whole. As the title indicates, the author mainly concentrates on merry companies during a time period of 35 years. In addition, both authors did not research the intended public, whereas this thesis does look into the contemporary public. Therefore, the meaning of the *Verkeerspel* remains an unexamined niche in the jungle of numerous studies of games and the Dutch Golden Age. By filling this gap, a better understanding is given on how contemporary viewers ascribed a certain meaning to the use of the board game on images. This study also sheds light on the popularity of gambling and on the way leisure time was spent in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

To underline the increase of *Verkeren* on Netherlandish images, I have searched in catalogues, museums, auction houses, RKD Netherlands Institute for

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<sup>6</sup> Van Leeuwen 1685, 281. Translation by author: The *Verkeerspel* with its dice and chips, is often played at dinner parties and merry gatherings, the game is also often misused, not only as entertainment or as pastime, but to trick money from each other.

<sup>7</sup> De Jongh, 1976, 109-111.

Art History and the World Wide Web. This resulted in a detection of forty-seven prints and two hundred and three paintings with a depiction of *Triktrak*. After two hundred years, around 1720, the depiction of the *Verkeerspel* decreased. As a result, the game only appeared occasionally in images throughout the remaining years of the eighteenth century, but never in the same numbers as during its heyday. The enormous difference between the quantity of paintings and prints can be explained by the fact that prints are very fragile and easy breakable, this in contrast to the stronger material of paintings.

Several questions came up during the formation of this corpus: Who were the spectators and how would they relate to the subject on the image? Van Leeuwen compares *Triktrak* to life, which indicates that both are equal. Hereby suggests Van Leeuwen that the game is a symbol for life, which makes me wonder whether the depiction of *Verkeren* in images could also contain symbolism and if so, to what extent? And does this meaning change throughout the years? Above all, how would a contemporary viewer interpret the essence of *Verkeren* on prints and paintings between 1520 and 1720 in the Low Countries?

To study the significance of *Triktrak* in prints and images, the method of iconography and iconology is applied. The founding father, Erwin Panofsky, stated in 1939 that “iconography is that branch of the history of art which concerns itself with the subject matter or meaning of works of art (...)”.<sup>8</sup> Panofsky divides his iconographic analysis into three steps. The first, the *primary, or natural, subject matter*, is solely descriptive, whereas the second step, *secondary, or conventional, subject matter*, deals with the personification or identification of the (hidden) narrative by means of classification of the displayed objects. Third, with the *intrinsic meaning or content*, Panofsky focuses on the subconscious choices the artist made regarding motifs, tradition, subjects, forms and techniques.<sup>9</sup>

Initially scholars were very sceptical about this method of visual interpretation, but from the 1960s and 1970s onwards, iconology and iconography were further defined and approved as a critical and analytical

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<sup>8</sup> Panofsky 1939, 3.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid, 5-7.

method. However, over the past two decades, the two approaches have received heavy criticism. Some scholars, such as De Jongh propose a different understanding of the interaction between realism and symbolism. Others, like Hecht, deny the iconographic theory altogether.<sup>10</sup>

In 1995, De Jongh stated that the point of departure for research of art in the Golden Age should be the assumption that almost every seventeenth-century work of art contains more than just visual pleasure. Objects or motives on images serve a dual function. At first sight, one sees an everyday object, while at the same time the object expresses a certain idea, moral, intention, humour or situation. The contemporary viewer was trained in uncovering this 'hidden' narrative, asserts De Jongh.<sup>11</sup> However, he does not clarify the identity of contemporary viewers and how their social background relates to the image's (hidden) message. This information is essential, because it explains the artist's intention with his piece.

In the introduction of his book *Questions of Meaning*, which was published in 2000, De Jongh writes that he explored several areas besides iconography to bring the underlying premise to light, such as visual tradition, emblems, writings and prints with subscription. Furthermore, he states that certain objects contain a double entendre; they are everyday objects but also serve as a moral, idea, intention, joke or situation. Thus, these objects function as themselves, but also represent a metaphor: "the principle is almost always applied in details, small patches of obfuscation in a large area of undisguised configuration (...)"<sup>12</sup>

Other scholars, like Hecht, refuse to accept iconography and iconology. In his article '*Dutch Seventeenth-Century Genre Painting: A Reassessment of Some Current Hypotheses*', he argues that there are no contemporary sources that provide information about this visual language.<sup>13</sup> In 2004, he stated that art had to attract a variety of customers and therefore the subjects, and most importantly the meanings of art, differed strongly.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Harbison 2005, 381.

<sup>11</sup> De Jongh 1995, 10, 16 and 18.

<sup>12</sup> De Jongh 2000, 10 and 16.

<sup>13</sup> Hecht 1992, 85.

<sup>14</sup> Hecht 2004, 22 and 29.

In the same year, De Jongh responded that there are no contemporary sources because seventeenth-century writers were mostly concerned with the genre of history painting; seventeenth-century information about genre paintings fills up just a few pages. Hecht's criticism on the variety of customers was also discussed by De Jongh: "those who reason like this underestimate what the average person in the seventeenth century was able to stomach in the way of moral precepts. That capacity must have been quite considerable."<sup>15</sup> This is underlined by Kuijpers who studied the illiteracy in the Low Countries. She estimates that in 1585 in Amsterdam, 54,4 percent of the men and 32,4 percent of the women could read and write. In 1700, these percentages had increased to 74 percent of the men and 53 percent of the women.<sup>16</sup> Although sources are scarce, copies of paintings that are described as '*slecht*' probably found their way in the households of the lower classes.<sup>17</sup> Several contemporary sources mention that art was not solely shown in houses of the wealthy, but also in ordinary houses.<sup>18</sup> In his dissertation *Een geselschap jonge luyden*, Kolfin states that the urban middleclass, approximately thirty-five percent of the population at the time, possessed images on a large scale. This middleclass consisted of great variety of customers who were interested to buy paintings.<sup>19</sup>

De Jongh's nuanced approach to study different areas related to the image, in order to find the double function of objects, generates good results. Therefore, besides the iconographical and iconological method, De Jongh's approach is also applied in this research, with the emphasis on prints with subscription. Whereby De Jongh does not address the contemporary viewer, this research, however, contributes to the theoretical framework of the present-day iconography with a brief description of the intended public. During the assembly of the corpus, ten emblems were found. These emblems are the most important source of information for this research, as the texts on prints clarify the meaning, moral, or metaphor of the image. Therefore these emblems are analysed and discussed first. The other prints are categorised and will not be examined one by one, but

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<sup>15</sup> De Jongh 2000, 18 and 15.

<sup>16</sup> Kuijpers 1997, 507.

<sup>17</sup> Kolfin 2002, 148.

<sup>18</sup> Prak 2003, 238. Boers 2012, 9 and 12.

<sup>19</sup> Kolfin 2002, 148.

parallels and resemblances with the emblems will be drawn. These results can be compared with other images with the same subject, providing an indication of the contemporary interpretation of the painting and therefore the emblems are the starting point of this thesis.<sup>20</sup> As the art historian Mira Friedman perfectly summarises: “The hidden meanings in secular genre paintings were discovered mainly through analogy between paintings and popular prints dealing with the same subjects, and popular and well-known rhymes by contemporary poets. Those rhymes or inscriptions that appear occasionally on engravings or next to the prints in various emblem books of the period were especially important.”<sup>21</sup>

Seeing that emblem books contain a mostly pedagogic character, other primary sources that suggest and imply certain interpretations of the game, have been consulted as well. Therefore, the relationship between art and contemporary literature and lecture serves as this thesis’ methodological framework. To study the textuality of genre paintings with the help of prints, the following contemporary sources are thoroughly examined: (emblem) books, pamphlets, poetry, songs and ordinances. As support for these contemporary sources, secondary literature, like books and articles are consulted as well. All of this information will help to discover the intended public, whence the meaning of *Verkeren* can be revealed.

To generate the most complete answer, emblems are discussed extendedly, after which the other categorised prints will pass the revue. The second chapter solely focuses on the paintings, their intended public and connection to the emblems. The meaning, essence and interpretation of the *Verkeerspel* will be explained in the conclusion and it will become clear what role *Triktrak* played in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century prints and paintings in the Low Countries.

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<sup>20</sup> Coelen 2015, 23.

<sup>21</sup> Friedman 1996, 125.

## Chapter 1      Buiten spel blijven

To determine the meaning of *Verkeren* on images in the sixteenth and seventeenth century in the Low Countries, it is necessary to understand the visual tradition, to identify the intended public and their relation to the depicted scene. Then, the method and theories of Panofsky and De Jongh will be applied, as well as the comparison with the emblems and the role of *Triktrak* and its place in the image will be discussed.

To examine the way *Triktrak* is depicted, the corpus of prints is divided into two sections: images of the *Verkeerspel* with an emblematic context and pictures of the game in a narrative context. The first part focuses on the emblematic context, the accompanied texts provide essential information in order to understand the game's meaning and is subdivided into two groups: emblems and allegory. Seeing that the emblems with their clarifying texts are an essential source of information, an extensive analysis will be given that can be used as comparison with other images containing the same subject. The second part of this chapter takes a closer look at the narrative context of *Verkeren* and is subdivided into merry company, tavern scenes, brothel scenes and other. The categories are arranged according to their importance in relation to the *Verkeerspel*. Each category clarifies the quantity of images that it contains and reviews the ones containing texts and rhymes before diving deeper into the description of the general meaning. The complete list of the corpus can be found in appendix I.

These forty-seven Netherlandish prints and paintings evolved from the European tradition of the *Verkeerspel*. This visual tradition started in the Roman Empire between the third and second century BC and shows a boy and a girl in a Roman tunic playing *Triktrak* engraved on a bronze mirror.<sup>22</sup> Similar compositions, in which a man and a woman are playing the game, appeared in books and manuscripts during the Middle Ages. The *Carmina Burana* (ca. 1230), the *Great Heidel Book of Songs* (ca. 1300-1340) and the *Book of Hours of Reims* (ca. 1450-1475) are just three of several various examples. It is important to

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<sup>22</sup> British Museum, mirror, 3rdC BC-2ndC BC.

establish that these books belonged to the aristocracies or clergy; only those two classes could read at that time. Therefore, the meaning of the images in the Books of Hours and other manuscripts are related to its readers. Their appearances reflect in the images; rich clothes, servants and in the possession of leisure to play board games instead of work. Hence, depicting the *Verkeerspel* in a Book of Hours implies that the game was part of the courtly activities. The function of *Triktrak* seems to be similar to chess in the context of courtship and leisure of the upper classes, although negative connotations about the game were also known. The *Carmina Burana* mentions the game in the 'dice and drinking' verses of the manuscript. Several songs warn players that gambling can lead to poverty, theft, cheating, fights and greed; for example, "*Ludite securi quibus es est semper in archa*" (you can play freely, if you have enough money in your chest), and "*Sperne lucrum versat mentes insana cupido*" (do not play to win. Unhealthy greediness spoils the spirit).<sup>23</sup> But overall, *Verkeren* was part of the pastime of the high classes and thus associated with lifestyle of the nobility.

The turning point came during the second half of the fifteenth century; the intended public of the written word stretched to rich merchants and artisans in the expanding cities. German artists had a great influence on Netherlandish images.<sup>24</sup> A perfect example is *Das Narrenschiff* (1494) by Sebastian Brant (1458-1521). The book describes different variants of folly, including gambling and the *Verkeerbord*, which serves as a metaphor for immoral behaviour and as a bad example for children. Instead of a reflection of courtly activities in the Middle Ages, the game now functioned as an anti-image for good behaviour. The hunger for this moralistic and satirical book was enormous amongst the European urban elite, because this satirical book was not only translated into Latin, French and English, but in 1500 also into Dutch.<sup>25</sup> This way of *ridendo dicere verum* (saying the truth with laughter) proved to be very popular throughout the years.<sup>26</sup>

Prints were the medium par excellence for a wide spread of information, since images could be understood by a wider range of people than texts, and stood often at the beginning of an iconographic innovation. Therefore,

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<sup>23</sup> Couwenberg 2011, 273-275. *Carmina Burana* 1230, 213.

<sup>24</sup> Silver 2006, 108.

<sup>25</sup> McKellar 2002

<sup>26</sup> Bleyerveld 2000, 251.

revolutions in the art of paintings mostly began in prints, as did the visual tradition of *Verkeren*. The roots of the so-called genre scenes in which the board game mostly appeared, can be found in prints, but they continued in paintings.<sup>27</sup>

With the development of an urban culture, the media focus shifted from the aristocracy to the population in the upcoming cities, although some prints with Latin texts and mythological compositions still addressed the upper class, as is visible in the category emblems and allegory (see paragraph 1.1 and 1.2).<sup>28</sup> Urbanisation led to a quest of norms and values suitable for the new upcoming urban elite, a class that quickly earned money and gained power through trade. This middle class was intellectual, they had knowledge of the Dutch language and (inter)national politics. The differences between the *vieux riches* and the *nouveaux riches* was their background/ancestry, but their interests corresponded, as reflects in the category merry company, a genre both classes could relate to.

The growth of the city's inhabitants also resulted in a clear distinction between peasants and the urban population. Art historian Silver states that "social distinction and hierarchy lay at the foundations of all peasant depictions, marking most peasant representations in art as objects of social distance, even if peasants could sometimes be inverted from their usual notion of inferiority to be made into paragons, a rural kind of 'noble savage'."<sup>29</sup> When a figure is being fooled in the image, as is often evident in tavern and brothel scenes, the print serves as amusement for the middle and upper classes.<sup>30</sup> The naivety, lack of intelligence and suffering of the character in the print enables the viewer to feel superior and therefore to laugh at the dumbness of the figure.<sup>31</sup> This social distinction is also applied on several prints.

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<sup>27</sup> Van Der Coelen 2015, preface.

<sup>28</sup> Veldman 2001, 54.

<sup>29</sup> Silver 2006, 108.

<sup>30</sup> Van Der Coelen 1998, 19-21.

<sup>31</sup> Moxey 1989, 52 and 53.

## Emblematic context

### 1.1 Emblems

Seeing the importance of this category and the differences between the images, discussing one representative emblem is unachievable. Therefore, an extensive analysis will be given of the emblems and their corresponding texts.

The emblem was a popular literary genre between the sixteenth and seventeenth century. The functions of these books ranged from educational or reproachful to entertaining and instructive. The aim of the authors was to spread visions, ideas or lessons to their readers through text and image.<sup>32</sup> These emblems were created for the educated classes, which is shown in the language of the ten found emblems.<sup>33</sup> All subscriptions contain sentences of the Latin language, often accompanied with a Dutch, German and/or French text or translation.

In 1569, at the beginning of the Eighty Years' War between the Low Countries and Spain, Joris Hoefnagel wrote and illustrated the emblem book *Patientia*. The book is a reflection of political events and support for the forbearance of misfortunes and consequences of war, of which the most were yet to come.<sup>34</sup> Plate XVIII, *Patientich Verkeerder* shows two men in an interior playing on a *Verkeerbord* (Fig. 1). A man stretches towards a burning fireplace, while the other man bends over the board, which is situated on a table in the middle of the room. A painting of Saint George and the dragon hangs on the wall; a cage with bird is situated on the left side. A Dutch rhyme is written under the image.<sup>35</sup> The *Verkeerbord* on the table symbolises the war, whereby the two men represent its contestants. Although the game is in full swing, the loser and winner are already known, according to the rhyme.<sup>36</sup> *Den Verlieser* is angry, mainly at the dice because he has lost, whilst *den Winder* argues that patience (*lanckmoedicheijt*) is

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<sup>32</sup> Luijten 1996, 4 and 5.

<sup>33</sup> Porteman 1993/1994, 218 and 219.

<sup>34</sup> Schöffner, 1976, 17.

<sup>35</sup> Hoefnagel 1569, plate XVIII.

<sup>36</sup> "Wat een verdrach, en wat paciencie / Wat vremd' inuentie, ist spel van verkeeren / Cost ick dat nijet, ick en soudt nijet leeren / Ick wensch' den steen, die quaij pestilencie. / Lanckmoedicheijt, woort hier zeer ghepresen / Tspel is ghemaect, om tsmenschen verblijden / Dus campioen, wilt u toch wat mijden. / Verkeeren doet leeren, patientick wesen."

praised and “*verkeeren doet leeren, patientich wesen*”, (chances will teach you how to be patient). However, victory was not yet achieved, therefore the Low Countries felt as trapped up as a bird in a locked cage.<sup>37</sup> To clarify the nature of the conflict between the opponents (Catholic Spain against Protestant Low Countries), Hoefnagel depicted an image of Saint George killing the dragon. According to Christianity, the dragon symbolises paganism, and by killing this animal, the people who were under influence of the dragon could be converted to the Christian faith by Saint George.<sup>38</sup> Nevertheless, in this matter the story is used as a metaphor for the religious war between the Protestants and the Catholics, whereby the dragon represents Philip II of Spain and Saint George symbolises the Netherlandish burghers and William of Orange. Overall, this political emblem represents life in a troubled world, life during warfare.

Crispijn de Passe’s print (1564-1637) depicts a tavern with a masquerade and a couple playing *Triktrak* (1599) (Fig. 2). The caption states that the licentious figures wear the mask of Bacchus, and that they tempt fate by throwing the dice.<sup>39</sup> Their disguises and masks refer to trickery and the night, which embraces deceit. Deceit is often pictured as a figure with a human face and a deformed, animal-like body.<sup>40</sup> The verse is titled, ‘loose harlots with naughty rogues / who desire disguising and deceiving’, in English translation. It is a warning to those who visit prostitutes and squander their money, but those who live in honesty, will live in joy.<sup>41</sup> The *Verkeerbord* in this print symbolises the tempting of fate and is therefore linked to licentious behaviour.

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<sup>37</sup> Tanis 1993, 18.

<sup>38</sup> Hall 1993, 167.

<sup>39</sup> “*Personas gerimus fictas: habituque recepto. Non nostro, faciem bachica larua tegit. Aptā vagabundis est ista licentia. Sortem Tentamus, quid sic alea muta feret.*” Translation by Veldman 2001, 144: We wear masks, and the mask of Bacchus conceals our face. With an appearance that is not ours. That is the debauchery of vagabonds, We tempt Fate, that which the mute dice will bring us thus.

<sup>40</sup> Veldman 2001, 232 and 39.

<sup>41</sup> Anonymous 1617, 148. “*Loose Hoeren met Stoute Boeven / ‘tMommen en Tuysschen wel behoeven. Ick en weet niet vvat lust de Mensch zoo overvint, Dat hy syn aensicht (na Godes Beelt gheschapien, Mismaect met Mom-ghetuych: vvat ghenoecht kan hy rapen, In sulcken leelickheyt? dan dat hy is ghesint Onbekent, eenich Dier dat hy ter onneer mint, Te maken tot een Hoer, oft yet sulcx te betrapen. Sulcx is der Sonden strick, sulck is des Duyvels Wapen, Waer met hy't Werelts Volck in de Verdoemnis bint. De valsche Tuysschery voecht haer oock hier beneven, Die verliest tvvist en strijt altijt op 'teynde baert. O! Ionckheyt siet doch aen vvaer toe ghy vvort ghedreven: Schout sulcken overdaet, u Ghelt tot nutheyt spaert, Laet varen 'tMomghesicht, u selfs niet en misaert Zoo meucht ghy over al eerlijck in vreuchde leven.*”

Antoine Sucquet (1574-1627) created *den Wech des Levens* (1622), in which a path leads to the heavens above, while distractions and sins are lurking on the way (Fig. 3). The text is titled *Strijt eenen goede ftrijt / op dat ghy eenen goede krijghs-man Chriffti mooght wefen*.<sup>42</sup> It describes all the wiles of the devil, during your lifetime; while walking the path of life. The text refers to the *Triktrakbord* that lays on the floor, accompanied by cards, a racket and ball and a cup, as all sorts of *ijdelheyt* (vanity), one of the main vices.

In 1627, Jacob Matham (1571-1631) designed four plates about the consequences of alcohol. On two of these plates is a *Verkeerbord* depicted. The first emblem shows a couple playing *Verkeren* with a penis-shaped bag on the table (Fig. 4). A servant in the back presents a large glass that seems to be full. According to Kolfin, the *Verkeerspel* in this emblem symbolises sloth, one of the seven vices.<sup>43</sup> However, the presence of the oddly shaped bag and the fact that a couple is playing the game, suggests that *Triktrak* could also represent a love game, whereby the viewer is warned for alcohol because it could desire lust, also a deadly sin.

Matham's other emblem depicts a fight between two men who are drinking and were playing games, while a woman tries to part the aggressive figures (Fig. 5). In the background, two other men are being murdered. The verse explains that excessive drinking causes aggression and in combination of a competitive urge, it can lead to wrath, again one of the vices.

In 1633, Jan van de Velde II (1593-1641) and Samuel Ampzing (1590-1632), the latter being responsible for the verses, created an emblem book containing seventeen plates. Plate eight, *The Mirror of Vanity* shows an older, richly dressed man holding his spectacles while leaning over a *Triktrakbord* (Fig. 6). The text in the margin reads that everything is drunk, eaten and lost and the depicted man is '*afgesmeerd*'. Hence, the gambling game is placed in the same line as excessive drinking and gluttony, another sin.

In the *Christeliicken waersegher* (1603), Johannes David (1545-1613) depicted a mother who is pleating and a little boy that holds a rosary and a racket. They are surrounded by several games, like ice skates, stilts, cards and

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<sup>42</sup> Translation by the author: Fight a good battle / so that you are a good Christian warrior.

<sup>43</sup> Kolfin 2005, 51 and 52.

*Verkeerbord* (Fig. 7). The subscription states: “*Wat doen die moeders op, die haer kinders bederven? Sy spinnen strick en strop, daer sy aan sullen sterven.*”<sup>44</sup> The text clarifies how mothers should raise their children; if they love them too much, they would suffocate, if they give their children too much freedom, they will waste their youthful years by squandering money, drinking, cursing, stealing, fighting or unchaste behaviour, then their fate will be doomed and they will be hanged.<sup>45</sup>

A similar message is written in a Dutch version of Sebastian Brant’s *Ship of Fools* (1610). On one of the plates, a fool hands over a *Verkeerbord* to a mother of two children (Fig. 8). The verse states: “*Hier fietmen Sotten onwijffelijck leven, die quat exempel haren Kinderen gheven.*”<sup>46</sup> The emblem is an anti-image, a warning of how not to behave.

In 1617, Crispijn de Passe created another emblem with a similar composition as the one in 1599 (Fig. 2), but with a different message: “The fool watches and grins to see you young students, Giving kiss after kiss to your chosen one. The fool says that the game pleases him, which is why he watches from a distance” (Fig. 9).<sup>47</sup> In the commentary is written that dice, wine and women will trick you into bad behaviour and can ruin a scholar’s character.<sup>48</sup>

*Het spel der liefde is gevaarlyk* is the title of Willem den Elger’s (1677-1703) emblem that appeared in *Zinne-beelden der liefde* (1703). The image shows a cupid and a woman playing *Verkeren* (Fig. 10). The poem addresses the reader as gullible and warns that the game of love is full of dangers.<sup>49</sup> A bit further in the text, it is written that love is like a carrot, sweet and tasty, but its fruits are bitter and nasty. This is depicted as a woman who plays *Verkeren* with

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<sup>44</sup> Translation by the author: What are the mothers doing, who spoil their children? They are weaving the snare and strop, on which they will die.

<sup>45</sup> Luijten 1996, 69.

<sup>46</sup> Translation by author: Here you see how fools live, who give bad examples tot heir children.

<sup>47</sup> Veldman 2001, 164. “*Arrit stultus, cernens studiosa Juuentus, Oscula dilectea vos repetita dare. Der Narre sagt, Das ihm behagt, Das spiel, so er. Hie schawt von fer.*”

<sup>48</sup> Veldman 2001, 164. “*Corrumpunt mores, alea, Vina, Venus.*”

<sup>49</sup> Den Elger 1703, 323. “*Onnoz’le, durft gy met de Liefde 't speelen waagen, En ziet gy niet hoe vol gevaar het voor u steekt? Gy zyt het kwynt indien gy uwe banden breekt: Laat af, nog eens, laat af, gy zult het u beklaagen. Het spel der min word vaak van vreugde in druk verkeert, En zelde zonder schade en na berou geleert.*”

the personifications of love; she needs to secure her winnings, as well as being modest in love.<sup>50</sup>

With the increase of wealth, norms and values became more and more important. The young adolescents needed to learn etiquette and the way they were supposed to behave. Though emblem books were very helpful in this regard, other pedagogic books were also used to push adolescents in the right direction. Jacob Cats (1577-1660), for example, (also known as *Vadertje Cats*, because of his moralistic and instructive poems) wrote in 1658 how young women should behave: *“Nog moet ons jonge vrouw geen dobbel fpelen leeren, En quiften haren dagh met tuyffchen of verkeeren, Al wat den teerling raecht is voor hare jeught, Geen wettigh tijt-verdrijf, geen toegelaten vreught: Ten pafst geen jonge vrou, en min bedaeghde wijven, Te rollen met de fteen, te klappen met de fchijven, Te wagen in het bert een ongewiffe kans, En met een ftout gebaer te woelen by de mans.”*<sup>51</sup> Cats indicates that a young woman should not play with dice, because she will ruin her day, and it can lead to lust or intimacy with the other sex, which was not desirable at the time.

These ten emblems with their explaining texts provide essential information for this research. Although the compositions differ from another, the narratives and morals of the images often show overlap and contain a mostly negative connotation of *Triktrak*. The next paragraphs will illustrate if this is also applicable to the rest of the prints.

## 1.2 Allegory

In art, an allegory is a metaphor that is turned into an illustration to express certain ideas, values, concepts, or virtues and vices. Therefore, the subjects can be very divergent, something that is also noticeable in the twelve allegories with

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<sup>50</sup> Den Elger 1703, 325. *“De Liefd' een Wortel heeft die soet is en vermaeck'lyk, Waer vande Vruchten syn heel bitter en onsmack'lyck. Dit word alles zeer wel in dit Zinne-beeld verthoont door het Vrouwtje 't geen met de Liefde op 't Verkeer-bort speelt; want gelyk men in dit spel zyn banden moet tragten te be-waaren en niet te breeken; moet ook een Juffer zig in de Liefde zoo veel het mogelyk is, ingetogen houden.”*

<sup>51</sup> Cats 1658, 139. Translation by author: A young lady should not be playing dice and waste her day with dice or *Verkeren*. The dice is touching her youth since the game is no legitimate leisure. It does not suit a girl or a woman to throw the dice, play with the chips and take a chance; and with a nasty gesture touching a man's genitals.

a depiction of *Triktrak*. Five of the twelve topics are traceable to the emblems: The Prodigal Son by Cornelis Anthonisz. (1535-1545) corresponds with the tavern scene by Crispijn de Passe, as both show excessive drinking in a tavern (Figs. 11 and 2). A landscape with Father Time and the personifications of *Socordia* and *Negligentia* by Crispijn de Passe (1589-1611) shows different ways to waste time, which is also shown in Jacob Matham's emblem about sloth (Figs. 12 and 4). The Allegory of Vanity (1595) by Jacques de Gheyn (1565-1629), is comparable with Jan van de Velde's II emblem of vanity (Figs. 13 and 6). The Choleric Temperament (1620-1630), by Crispijn de Passe, where the viewer is warned for aggression caused by losing and drinking, is retrievable in Matham's second discussed plate about wrath (Figs. 14 and 5). And Monkeys in a Tavern (1720) by Leonard Schenk (1696-1767) is comparable with De Passe's tavern scene (Figs. 15 and 2).

As is shown, the narrative and meaning of the allegories are comparable with emblems. These similarities between the images in the two categories, do not only demonstrate that emblems are indeed suitable as to compare, but it also indicates that the *Verkeerspel*, in both emblems and allegories refers to a negative significance.

The remaining seven prints of this category need some extra attention. All these images show personification of countries, with the *Verkeerspel* in the middle of the print. I have chosen to highlight these prints separately, because the place of the game and the meaning differ from the other prints in this category. Both (religious) war and other crises dominated the years between 1520 and 1720 in the Low Countries. Therefore, it is not surprising that these subjects were discussed in prints. It is remarkable, however, that the *Verkeerspel* appears on six of these print, which all have a very similar outline. On the images are several men situated around a *Verkeerbord*. These figures represent different European countries that are in conflict with each other. The accompanied text clarifies these personifications and the battles between them. The *Triktrakbord* symbolises the wars and battles, and therefore is placed in the centre of the image. This is similar to Hoefnagel's emblem in 1569, where the game has the same significance (Fig. 1). Since the outlines of the compositions are similar, I

have chosen to discuss the newest print, to show that the resemblance of *Triktrak* did not change throughout the years.

The latest print dates from 1709 and is designed by Pieter Nolpe (1613-1652). He created the image between 1623 and 1652 and it was several times re-used after his death. The print depicts four gentlemen situated around a *Verkeerbord*, of whom two are in the heat of the moment (Fig. 16). These men are numbered with the letters A and B and the clarifying rhyme explains that both men are the personifications of the duke of *Malbourg* and the *Beyervorft* (duke of Bavaria), the only one without a hat.<sup>52</sup> The other two men are observing the game; one is sitting in a relaxed posture and smokes a pipe (the duke of *Ouwerkerk*), while the other man (the duke of *Villeroy*) scratches his head in disbelief. The view through the open door shows a man and his lover, they represent *Phillipus* (king Philip V) and his *beminde*. The print has appeared with different texts, but all are about the siege and conquest of the city of Bergen (Mons). This indicates that contemporaries thought that *Verkeren* was very suitable as a symbol for war and that this did not change between 1569 and 1709.

The comparison of *Verkeren* with war was popular in the seventeenth century. It probably derives from the fact that war and *Verkeren* are based on the same key elements: strategy and intelligence, necessary for predominance, but in order to achieve victory, the odds need to be in one's favour. Victory and defeat on the battlefield are equivalent to winning and losing on the playing field. Victory is the most decisive part in war, as winning is in a game. Therefore, the philosopher Michael Gelven concludes that war can be compared to a game, "an activity made sense by winning."<sup>53</sup>

War as a game of *Verkeren*; this metaphor is not solely applied on prints but is also applied in several pamphlets in the seventeenth century. In 1638, a pamphlet appeared with the name, *Het spel van Brasilien vergheleken by een goedt Verkeer-spel*. As the name suggests, information about events in Brazil where the Dutch had conquered several areas, was spread by comparing the

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<sup>52</sup> *Den Beyervorft, in dit gewoel, Sit blootshoofst mackelijck op fyn ftoel.*

<sup>53</sup> Gelven 1994, 95 and 105.

conquest in Brazil to a game of *Verkeren*.<sup>54</sup> This comparison was also applied during the proceedings in the Second Anglo-Dutch War, which lasted from 1665 until 1667. In these two years, three pamphlets about the skirmishes between the Republic and England were published, *Het Engelschen Verkeer-Bert* and *Het Herftelde Verkeer-Bert*, both in 1666 and *Het nieuwe Engels Verkeerbort* in 1667. The first describes a battle on the coast of Flanders; the second brags about the victory of the Four Days' Battle and the capture of the English admiral George Ayscue at the Loevestein Castle. The third pamphlet provides information about the successful expedition to the English town of Chatham and the achievements of the Dutch fleet.<sup>55</sup> The last pamphlet that makes the comparison between war and *Verkeren* was published in 1674, during the Dutch War (1672-1679). The content of the pamphlet informs its readers about the unfolding events of this war against France, England, Munster and Cologne.<sup>56</sup>

The political function of *Triktrak* is also noticeable in this rhyme that was published in 1698:

*"De draeyspil van den Staat  
't orakel van den Raadt  
De schrik van Frank en Brit  
't Verkeerspel van de Tijd  
En 't Bloet aas van de Nijd  
Was Meester Jan de Wit."*<sup>57</sup>

In this rhyme, Johan de Witt (1625-1672) is praised for his work as leader of the Dutch Republic. At the time, the poem was collected as a droll and earnest inscription, rather than as glorification: Johan de Witt was hanged in 1672, the Year of Disaster for the Dutch Republic. Twelve years later, in 1710, another political rhyme with a reference to the *Verkeerspel* was published:

*"Louis de Bombardier en Karel slegten hals,  
En Leopold, die 't spel niet regt verstaat in als,  
En Koning Willem Heer en meester van zyn Heeren, Dees vier in 't groote bort te*

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<sup>54</sup> Pamphlet: *Het Spel van Brasilien* 1638.

<sup>55</sup> Pamphlet: *Het Engelschen Verkeer-Bert* 1666, *Het Herftelde Verkeer-Bert* 1666 and *Het nieuwe Engels Verkeerbort* 1667.

<sup>56</sup> Pamphlet: *Aen den liefhebbers van het Verkeeren* 1674.

<sup>57</sup> Sweerts 1698.

*samen nu verkeeren,  
 Waar van de eerst wel sterkst van schyven is, de left  
 Hout op zyn banden 't spel, geschut heeft en geres,  
 Nu zie men al het volk al bevende verlangen  
 Na d'uitslag van die slag, daar 't heel spel aan zal hangen. Want het al lang aan 't  
 volk ter wederzyds verveelt,  
 Dat men zoo met haar goet, en bloed, en vryheid speelt.”<sup>58</sup>*

Although these rhymes refer to different political events, it clarifies that the symbolism of the *Triktrakspel* as a political game was not only applied on prints and pamphlets, but was also used in rhymes. Thus, seeing the different media using *Verkeren* as a symbol for war, it can be concluded that this significance was well known among the Dutch people.

## **Narrative context**

### **1.3 Merry company**

The six prints in this category all depict several figures situated around a *Triktrakbord*. Two prints contain text and therefore will be discussed in this paragraph. The first one is made by Jan de Velde II between 1620 and 1641 and is entitled *Verkeerden Yver* (Fig. 17). In a dark room, four people are bowed over a *Verkeerbord*. The only light comes from a candle that stands in the middle of the table. The candle provides just enough light for the figures to see and to concentrate on the game. The man with the large dagger on his belt and his hat behind his back, is holding a chip in his hand. His opponent makes a relaxed impression. He has neglected his belt, which indicates that he is no longer alert and combatable. The woman with the cornet and folded collar on the other side of the table is totally focussed on the game. Beside the candle a clay pipe, some chips, two dice, a cup and a jar are visible. On the floor is another, larger jug, and on the left stands a full kettle.<sup>59</sup> A Dutch rhyme accompanies the print:

*“Hoe licht verkeermen t’ geen soo kommerlijck komt in,  
 En vort in Luijheyt op de waert en sijn waerdin,*

<sup>58</sup> P. van der Goes 1710.

<sup>59</sup> The name of the artist is written on the right side of the jug on the floor, *I.V. Velde fecit*, and the name of the publisher is visible on the other side, *CJ Visscher excudi*.

*Al lyden tuijs gebreck de kinderen en wijven,  
Soo kanmen dach of nacht niet uijt de piskroech blijven.”<sup>60</sup>*

The title *Verkeerden Yver* (wrong zeal) indicates the meaning of the print (Fig. 3). The subscription clarifies the title; it states that *Triktrak* makes men poor. While the men squander their money on alcohol and gambling, their wives and children suffer at home. The board game was seen as a waste of time or idleness. The *Verkeerspel* serves as an advice; Van de Velde II warns the viewer for the consequences of gambling.

The other print (1713) with added text is created by Pieter Schenk (1693-1775) and depicts three young, richly dressed boys, who are sitting on luxurious chairs (Fig. 18). Behind them stands a man with the same expensive clothes and a wig on his head. Two of the boys are playing *Verkeren*, while the third is watching. The title of the image is *nevitiarum magister* and the rhyme is by Ludolph Smids:

*“Tvchtmeefter van de jeugd die eer en deugd verbrandt,  
en kaart en teerling geeft in plaats van wyfe boeken.  
Wat brave vader fal uw leffen niet vervloeken,  
wiens kinderen gy bederft tot nadeel van het landt.”*

It reads that the teacher throws away the honour and youth of his students, by giving allowing them to play cards and dice. The father, whose children are spoiled for the country, will curse those lessons.

With the depiction of the high society (according to the clothes of the figures), this print indicates that *Verkeren* was not solely played by the lower life, like peasants, alcoholics, or brothel visitors. The verse tells us that in the higher classes *Triktrak* was also seen as a waste of time, a way to spoil the children, whereby the game symbolises sloth.

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<sup>60</sup> Translation by author: The game *Verkeren* makes you poor. And forth comes the laziness of the innkeeper and his wife, Even though the children and wives suffer at home, The men still cannot stay away from the tavern.

#### 1.4 Tavern scenes

This category consists of a total of eleven prints. Interestingly, all the figures in the tavern settings are men that are dressed as peasants. As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, peasants were mainly depicted as figures of amusement; the more the peasant was fooled, the more humoristic it became for the urban public and the bigger the social distinction.

It is striking that all eleven prints date between 1635 and 1720. A plausible justification for this phenomenon is the increase of the urban population.<sup>61</sup> This urban society looked down on peasants and distanced them from the agricultural low life. It is assumable that the humoristic prints depicting peasants started to appear when the city's newcomers had settled down, which was in the seventeenth century.

The compositions on all prints are quite similar; men in poor clothes are seated around a table playing *Triktrakbord* in a dark room with jars and jugs on the floor. Willem de Broen's print (1686-1748) houses the most information of this category about the meaning of *Verkeren*. The print is made in 1705 and is designed after Adriaen van Ostade (1610-1685). Van Ostade was a member of the Saint Lucas guild in Haarlem from 1634 until his death in 1685. So his print had to be produced in that period, which indicates that more than twenty years later, the composition was still popular and the viewer could still relate to it. The image shows six peasants situated around a table (Fig. 19). Several white clay pipes and jugs are visible, which shows that the men are smoking and drinking, whilst playing *Triktrak*. Behind the open doorway, forces a man himself on a woman. The text tells about a rich man who played *Verkeren* and lost; now he lives from a jug: "*Verkeeren hiet ons spel, maar hoor, 't Ging soo met Ryk de Man, Die door 't verkeeren 't zyn verloor, Nu leeft hy van de Kan.*" Crispijn de Passe mentions this in his emblem as well (Fig. 2). His text reads that gambling, hence squandering money, goes hand in hand with excessive drinking and going to prostitutes. This is also what we see in Ostade's/ De Broen's print; (empty) jugs as a symbol for drinking, the figures in the back as a reference to fornicating, and the rhyme warns against the consequences of gambling. Therefore, it can be

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<sup>61</sup> Blockmans 2011, 1.

assumed that the *Verkeerbord* contains a similar meaning as in De Passe's print, namely a connotation to licentious behaviour.

This licentious behaviour was clearly a problem, seeing that it is also mentioned in songs, for example in a song by Matthijs van der Merwede (1625-1677) named *Aen de Hollandse Kroegers, ende Verkeer-speelders* (1651). In this song, Van Der Merwede warns that playing *Triktrak* is addictive and often goes hand in hand with excessive drinking. The song counts six couplets that all warn against tavern visits, where the alcohol flows freely and one can be easily tempted to a game of *Verkeren*.<sup>62</sup>

*"(...) Ey laet die malle grillen blijven  
Dat gy moet alle daeg' ter kroeg,  
En dat u 'tklappen van de schijven  
Van d'alderschoonste Kleuter joeg,  
Speel't verkeer immermeer, dat het klappen haet,  
En voor het berd sijn steenen laet. (...)"<sup>63</sup>*

The white clay pipe was very popular in images, not only in De Broen's print, but also in sixteen other prints. Why was the pipe so often depicted in images containing *Triktrak*? Tobacco was a relatively new phenomenon, shipped from the colonies to the Low Countries in the sixteenth and seventeenth century. This new fad was associated with bad behaviour, as Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687) illustrates in a verse:

*"Roock-drinckers krygen dorst van drinken: want die dorst  
Komt van haer binnenste te droogen tot een' korst:  
Die korst eischt vochticheit en moet van nieuws genatt zijn:  
Soo drincken s'haer doornatt tot dat sij drinckens sat zijn:  
Die over-vochticheit veriescht weer nieuwen roock.  
Soo zyn sij stadigh aen 't gelep of aen 'tgesmoock  
En dat rad gaet rondom; hoe soumen seggen mogen,  
Of droogen s'om 'tgenatt, of natten s'om het droogen."<sup>64</sup>*

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<sup>62</sup> See for the whole song appendix 3.

<sup>63</sup> M. Van der Merwede, 1654, 141.

<sup>64</sup> De Jongh 1976, 56. Translation by the author: Drinking makes smoke-drunkards thirsty: because that thirst, comes inside and dries up like a crust: That crust needs moisture and needs

It was assumed that smoking caused thirst and this dehydration would trigger impotence; in order to slake this thirst, people who smoked also drank excessively, and drunkards were a burden to society.<sup>65</sup> The clay white pipes that are depicted in the majority of this corpus are a reference to drunkenness and vanity; life is transitory, as the smoke of a pipe.<sup>66</sup>

## 1.5 Brothel scenes

Tavern and brothel scenes are more difficult to differentiate from each other; in practice they were often the same venues. This is clarified by the old Dutch saying '*voor herberg, achter bordeel*' (inn in the front, brothel in the back).<sup>67</sup> However, tavern and brothel scenes can be distinguished by the presence of sexual references, like a bed, provocatively dressed women or a procuress. These references all occur in the seven images that this category contains. Remigius Hogenberg (1536-1588), Pieter Nolpe and Pieter Bout (1658-1719) depicted a bed in their compositions, while Pieter Coecke van Aelst (1502-1550), Leendert van der Cooghen (1632-1681) and Jan van Somer (1645-1699) drew sensual and lascivious women with deep cleavages. The banquet print by Johannes Sadeler I (1550-1600), after Joos van Winghe (1544-1603), is the only print that shows a procuress (Fig. 34).

Remigius Hogenberg's composition turned out to be the most popular, as three paintings attributed to Aertgen Claesz. Van Leyden (1498-1564) or Lucas van Leyden (1494-1533) that appeared around the same time copied Hogenberg's composition (Fig. 20). The print shows four women and one man (Fig. 21). One woman is playing a game of *Triktrak* that is situated in the centre of the image. Her provocative dress, and the fact that she is sitting on a bed, indicate that she is a prostitute. The poor and ripped clothes of her opponent, on the other hand, suggest that he is a simple farmer. He is scratching his head in disbelief, while the female player collects his coins. The woman in the back,

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to be wet: So they are drinking it soggy until it is enough: This much humidity demands new smoke, so they are steadily gulping or smoking, And it goes on and on; it can be said, are they drying because it is wet or are they moisturizing because it needs to be dry?

<sup>65</sup> Gendt 2006, 21.

<sup>66</sup> Roy 1992, 113.

<sup>67</sup> Grosjean 1974, 138.

who chalks on the board, is keeping the score. With five ticks on the board and an almost empty purse on the table, it does not look good for the peasant. To make matters even worse, the man is in such a fuddle that he is unaware he is being pickpocketed. So not only does his money vanish before his eyes, his earnings also disappear behind his back. Next to the board lies a deck of cards with the jester and the ace turned around.<sup>68</sup>

This subject of trickery and deceit was very popular in early modern times. These images served mostly as humoristic, moralistic warnings against the power of women over men. Urbanisation caused separation between the tasks of the sexes. The men had to work to earn money, while the women stayed home and took care of the household. Women's influences decreased and those of men increased. These changes between the sexes are designated as the cause of the popularity of the prints, where women fool men.<sup>69</sup> To emphasize this, a card depicting a jester is shown, as symbol to foolishness.

The function of the prints in this category was to entertain the spectator with a moralistic thought. This is also traceable in the emblems by Jacob Matham (Fig. 4), Crispijn de Passe (Fig. 9) and Willem den Elger (Fig. 10). All three warn their readers that the game of 'love' can be tricky and seductions are luring everywhere. However, the image was also amusement; the more the man was fooled, the more it would provoke laughter.<sup>70</sup> In this category, *Verkeren* represents the game of love, similar to Matham's, De Passe's and Den Elger's prints. All seven images depict women seducing men, excessive drinking and gambling. Hogenbergs' and Van Aelst's prints also show how the men had to pay the price for this licentious behaviour.

## 1.6 Other

One print cannot be grouped in the previous categories and therefore will be discussed separately. This print (1559) by Philips Galle (1537-1612), after Maarten van Heemskerck (1498-1574) is not directly traceable to the emblems, so the iconographic method will be applied. Galle depicted a man and woman on

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<sup>68</sup> The print is signed with the monogram *RHB* on the tally board in the upper right corner. On the table in the foreground, the name of the publisher *Jan de Merchie excude bat* is written.

<sup>69</sup> Bleyerveld 2000, 249, 251 and 252.

<sup>70</sup> Moxey 1989, 52 and 53.

a large bed (Fig. 22). The man grabs the woman, while she is trying to push him away. In their struggle, a table topples, causing bowls with food and cups to fall on the floor. Next to the door, on a table lies a *Verkeerbord*. The caption reads "*Eam construpat, odioque deinde habet*", which is a reference to a bible passage about Amnon and Tamar (2 Samuael 13). According to the story, Amnon was madly in love with his half-sister Tamar. Amnon tricked Tamar to bring him food and once she was in his room, he raped her. Tamar's father swore wrath and two years later Amnon drank too much and was killed while he was intoxicated. In this story, several subjects are integrated: love, trickery, deceit, wrath, and alcohol, which eventually led to death. These topics correspond to the emblems' topics of which the meaning and function of the *Triktrakbord* is known. Therefore, it can be assumed that Galle depicted *Verkeren*, because contemporaries knew that it contained negative connotations and would strengthen the sad story of Amnon and Tamar.

This chapter establishes that the subjects of the ten emblems that contain the *Verkeerspel* are traceable in almost every other print. Because of the gambling element, the game was often associated with licentious behaviour, which includes excessive drinking, unchaste behaviour, smoking and squandering of money that could lead to stealing, cursing, fighting and eventually to death. The narratives on prints also show that several vices are linked to *Triktrak*, like sloth, wrath, gluttony and vanity and that these seductions are lurking while you are walking the path of life. Lastly, the *Verkeerspel* was depicted as a game of love and war, in which two opponents play against each other. Only De Galle gave the game a place in a mythological print that could not directly be traced back to the emblems. But after applying the iconographic method of Panofsky, the meaning of the game could be found. Similar to other prints, was *Triktrak* in De Galle's print associated with licentious behaviour.

The function of the game was to show the viewer an anti-vision of a certain situation. This satirical way of instructing provided the spectator with both amusement as well as pedagogy. This is based on the principle of Horiatius to

combine the useful (*utile*) with the pleasant (*dulce*).<sup>71</sup> The next chapter will show whether this principle could also be applied on paintings and how their subjects relate to the emblems.

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<sup>71</sup> Bleyerveld 2000, 249.

## Chapter 2      Geluk in het spel, geen geluk in de liefde

In the previous chapter, the emblems and other prints are discussed and studied thoroughly to find the contemporary meaning of the image and the function of *Triktrak* in particular. This chapter solely focuses on the role of *Verkeren* on paintings, whereby prints with a similar subject serve as an essential information source.

Equivalent to prints, the paintings are divided into two parts: *Triktrak* in an emblematic and narrative context. These are further classified in terms of subject, which results in six groups: allegory, merry company, tavern scenes, brothel scenes, guardrooms and other. The questions who the viewers were and whether they were equivalent to the depicted figures are answered, and a closer look is taken at how the prints relate to the paintings.

Most of the genres that are discussed in this chapter find their origin in the sixteenth century. Lucas van Leyden was the first to depict both men and women on a social level, engaged in games, music and drinking. Paintings by Van Leyden are regarded as the earliest genre paintings.<sup>72</sup> The tension between the sexes often plays an important role in these genre scenes.<sup>73</sup> During Van Leyden's life, three paintings (1500-1549) were created depicting a very similar composition as the Remigius Hogenberg print (see paragraph 1.5, Figs. 20 and 21). Besides the resemblances with Hogenberg's print, the images also contain stylistic features of Van Leyden. Both the RKD and Van Regteren Altena consider Aertgen van Leyden, contemporary of Lucas, as the artist.<sup>74</sup> Whoever the artist may be, these three Netherlandish images are the oldest known paintings depicting the *Verkeerspel*.

In order to see and make connections between the images, it is necessary to understand how the game was depicted. To maintain a clear overview, only the most representative painting(s) is/are discussed. This selection is, if applicable, based on similarities with the prints. The quantity, size and possible changes of compositions throughout the centuries are researched. The painting's size can help to determine its buyers; the larger the measurements, the thicker

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<sup>72</sup> Rosen 2010, 43 and 44.

<sup>73</sup> Veldman 2011, 71.

<sup>74</sup> Van Regteren Altena 1939, 137.

the wallet of the purchaser had to be. As mentioned in the Introduction, contemporary sources stated that art was even present in the houses of the lower classes. Therefore, the size of the painting plays an important role in this chapter, because it shows who the intended public would be and to what class they belonged, which then contributes to the function, meaning and symbolism of the images and the *Verkeerspel*.

Furthermore, five of the six categories are equivalent to the prints; only the category 'guardrooms' is not traceable to prints. Militaries were depicted in prints, but not in the typical setting of a guardroom; soldiers at leisure waiting for battle or with the seized booty often in an unidentifiable surrounding. This scene cannot be found in prints, probably because the subject emerged from the merry company, a composition that became popular in the beginning of the seventeenth century. The origins of these *vrolijke gezelschappen* can be found in the paintings by Lucas van Leyden (Fig. 20).<sup>75</sup> Not only guardrooms derive from this genre, brothel and tavern scenes also derive from the merry company. Similar to the prints, these subjects can be distinguished; the merry company's focus is on the richly dressed men and women and their interaction. Tavern scenes, on the other hand, show poorly dressed people in an inn and in brothel scenes a procuress, a bed and sexy dressed women are often present. Rosen states that "the seventeenth-century Dutch brothel scene differed from the merry company scene in the licentious behaviour of the protagonist characterised by rude gestures and physical contact, in the inclusion of an old procuress, and in emphatic and common symbols such as oysters and roses, which in this context had a strong sexual overtone."<sup>76</sup>

Since the category of emblems cannot be found in paintings, allegory is the only subject that contains an emblematic context. To maintain a clear structure, I have chosen to retain a similar order as in the previous chapter, which means that the first category is allegory, after which the subjects with a narrative context follow, in the order of tavern scenes, brothel scenes, merry company, guardrooms and other.

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<sup>75</sup> Rosen 2010, 44 and 47.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid, 74.

## Emblematic context

### 2.1 Allegory

This group contains a total of eleven diverse paintings. The oldest one dates from 1562-1563 by Pieter Brueghel (1525-1569) and depicts the triumph of death. Two other paintings from the same period, painted by an unknown follower of Hieronymus Bosch, also show a landscape full of horrors that depict the hell. In these cases, the spectators are warned for sinful behaviour, like gambling, which would send them to the burning underworld. From the 1616 onwards, these terrifying warnings changed into more gentle compositions; Joost Cornelisz. Droochsloot (1586-1666) and Jan Brueghel II (1601-1678) provided the viewer with a moralistic warning by showing five wise and five foolish personifications as juxtaposition in one composition (1616 and ca. 1650). Furthermore, Brueghel's image shows three masked figures who are dancing and making music. These figures are very similar to De Passe's print, in which the masked persons are a symbol for deceit (Figs. 23 and 9). The two satirical allegories by Cornelis Saftleven (1607-1681), both painted circa 1655, in which animals personate a political event, depict the *stultitia mundi* or the foolishness of the world.<sup>77</sup> Adriaen Pietersz. van der Venne (1589-1662), on the other hand, painted an allegory of wealth, whereby a man is carrying a woman who scatters coins and wine. A closed *Verkeerbord* lies on the ground together with rackets, a mask and the fallen coins (1625-1649). In ca. 1660, Jan van Kessel the Elder (1626-1679) created a still life with the personification of *ecclesia* (Christianity) surrounded by a *Triktrakbord*, several musical instruments, cards and rackets. The same objects are visible on two paintings by Theodoor van Thulden (1606-1666), made in 1630 and 1640-1645.

Both paintings show a richly dressed lady accompanied by a putto and surrounded by luxury items, including a *Verkeerbord* (Figs. 24 and 25). Van Thulden's compositions correspond with De Gheyn's print of young woman looking in the mirror (Fig. 13). Since the subscriptions in De Gheyn's print clarify that *vanitas* is the subject, it is highly assumable that this is also the theme on Van Thulden's paintings. It is also notable that in five compositions, the game is

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<sup>77</sup> Schulz 1978, 35.

depicted in the presence of other objects, like rackets, cards, masks or music instruments. This implies that the symbolism of the game per se, was not directly recognised, but when grouped with the other items, its representation could be identified. Hence, it is much likely that these objects contain the same meaning. Music instruments, like lutes are often depicted as symbol of *vanitas*; their tones are volatile, just as life itself.<sup>78</sup> The masks and cards are attributes of vice or lust and represent trickery and deceit.<sup>79</sup> Apes allude to foolishness and vanity.<sup>80</sup> Playing cards was considered a waste of time, like sloth and vanity and was closely connected to excessive drinking and gambling, gluttony and squandering money.<sup>81</sup> Rackets are a symbol for tennis, which was also regarded as idleness and vanity. In addition, tennis equal to cards and *Triktrak* was a game of gambling and thus was considered as licentious behaviour.<sup>82</sup>

All the objects on the image are considered activities of vanity, including *Triktrak*. The objects warn that life is precarious and that when you die, you cannot take your earthly belongings with you. This is accentuated by the fact that Van Thulden's painting is comparable with De Gheyn's print that contains two inscriptions about *vanitas* (see paragraph 1.2).

## **Narrative context**

### **2.2 Merry company**

Merry companies or *vrolijke gezelschappen* was a new subject created in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. The term 'merry company' does not consist of one type of composition. In most paintings, young men and women are depicted while interacting with each other, making music, drinking and playing social games. However, sometimes solely men are painted or the figures are situated in an architectural interior. This category houses eighty-four paintings of which five can be subdivided into architectural paintings. Because these compositions differ from the rest, the architectural painting will be discussed

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<sup>78</sup> Roy 1992, 112 and 113.

<sup>79</sup> Hall 2011, 140 and 289.

<sup>80</sup> *Ibid*, 3.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid*, 320.

<sup>82</sup> De Bondt, 127 and 19.

separately as a subcategory. The public of the merry companies belonged to the middle and upper classes, the levels of society that could relate to the depicted figures. Since Dirck Hals (1591-1656) painted almost twenty percent of this category, it is logical to discuss an image by his hand.

The most aesthetic merry company (ca. 1625) by Hals shows eight figures who are sitting in an unidentified room around a table with a *Verkeerbord* on top that is in use by two men (Fig. 26). One has the dice in his hands and the other points towards the board. The rest of the party is engaged in other activities, such as dancing, smoking, caressing and blowing bubbles. The floor is littered with oysters, cards and a sword lies between the table legs. All men and women are dressed beautifully in satin costumes and dresses, which indicates that we are looking at rich youngsters.

Hals situated the group, which consists of five men and three women, around the *Verkeerbord*, giving it a very central position. In the painting, the oysters and wine are considered aphrodisiacs and therefore refer to the intimacy between the sexes.<sup>83</sup> From the seventeenth century onwards, young people were accused of fornicating, drinking and gambling, causing them to be vain. Although the painting does not directly correspond with the prints, they both carry a similar message: the viewer is shown the image of licentious behaviour, whereby Hals also alerts to vanity; pride comes before the fall.

A painting by Dirck van Baburen (1595-1624) and a similar print by Crispijn de Passe demonstrate how compositions on prints were used again on paintings (Fig. 26 and 14). It also shows that there was so much demand that Van Baburen decided to copy the composition on a painting. Van Baburen painted three soldiers in the heat of a game of *Triktrak* (ca. 1622). It is obvious that they are in the military, since their armour is clearly visible. The man is taken back by the result of the game that is ticked on the board. The composition on De Passe's print (Fig. 14) is very similar to Van Baburen's, but a text explains and warns the viewer that drinking and gambling is dangerous and it is best to avoid these impious activities, because they can lead to aggression: "*Irarvm causas fvgito*" (flee from the causes of anger). In this composition, *Triktrak* is depicted to enhance that drinking and gambling can lead to violence and wrath. Jacob

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<sup>83</sup> Brown 1984, 134.

Matham also points to this danger and the vice of wrath as consequences of alcohol (Fig. 5).

The architect and painter Bartholomeus van Bassen (ca. 1590–1652) is responsible for three of the eight paintings in the subcategory of architectural interiors (the other two images are by Hendrick van Steenwyck the Younger, 1580-1649 and Monogrammist PW, 1592-1650). Van Bassen was specialised in the architectural shape and often had the figures painted by Esaias van de Velde (1587-1630).<sup>84</sup> This was not an uncommon phenomenon, as architectural painters frequently asked other artists to ‘furnish’ their work.

Van Bassen’s *Interior with Elegant Company* is also established with the help of Esaias van de Velde (Fig. 27). This image of ca. 1624 shows a large room with several figures. The wooden ceiling and panels on the walls are beautifully decorated. The large windows on the left shine enough light into the room to illuminate the carved timber. Three paintings are hanging on the right wall, and the others are placed next to a large fireplace. The floorboards are laid along the length of the room, giving it a longer and more spacious shape. A wooden cupboard and table are also placed along the length of the room. Only a single chair is situated mischievously out of perspective. The ten figures in the room are wearing expensive costumes and dresses. Two men are engaged in a game of *Verkeren* that is placed on a Persian rug on the table, while a lady is watching. Another gentleman is entering the room through an open arch on the right, while in the back a woman is showing the wooden cupboard to her bourgeois-looking friends. The actions of the figures are easy to see because the audience is situated a little higher than the scene they are looking at. From this point of view, the spectator does not feel part of the room but is an observer of the events that take place inside this palace. By placing the viewer slightly above room level, Van Bassen created a space between the scene and the outside world through which the viewer could catch a glimpse of the luxurious life of the super rich. Scholars Rüger and Billinge state that it is reflected in contemporary sources that the spectators of these perspective views were similar to the figures on the images.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Montias, 1987, 457.

<sup>85</sup> Rüger 2005, 34.

The rectangular lines, angles and perspective are the most important features in these images. *Triktrak* is solely part of the leisure activities of the upper class and therefore plays a subordinate role in these architectural paintings. As mentioned in the beginning of this paragraph, different artists often decorated the room with figures and objects. Therefore it is assumable that *Triktrak* did not contain a specific function or symbolism. It does indicate that *Verkeren* was a highly popular game amongst all levels of society, thus it was not unusual for the aristocracy to engage in a game of *Triktrak*.

It has already been established that the lower classes participated in the game, but that *Triktrak* was also played by the upper class becomes clear in the journal of Lodewijck Huygens (1631-1699). During his journey to Spain, he wrote on October 23, 1666, that he passed time on board of the ship by playing the *Verkeerspel* with the ambassador Godard Adriaan van Reede van Amerongen, who belonged to the nobility.<sup>86</sup>

Aristocracy participating in the game is highlighted in several prints and paintings, where the depicted figures can be classified as the upper class, according to their clothes and their wigs. Hendrick ter Brugghen (1588-1629) shows five gentlemen, dressed in expensive clothes, around a *Verkeerbord* (1654-1660). One man is leaning on his hand with his mouth slightly open and looks directly at the viewer (Fig. 28). His posture gives the feeling that he is bored and that he cannot be captivated by the game. There are no signs of women or alcohol. In 1665, an anonymous painter depicted four serious gentlemen, focusing hard on the game (Fig. 29). They are wearing sober clothes, black with a white neck and a black hat, except for the man sitting on the chair; his costume is grey, with a blue belt and has white ruffles on his sleeve too. Again, no glasses, jugs or women are depicted. The painting measures 103 x 124 cm, which indicates that the intended public belonged to the middle and higher classes. It is plausible that the figures on the canvas are a reflection of the viewers. Jan Baptist Lambrechts (1680-1731) depicted an elegant company of three high-ranking men, wearing wigs and expensive clothes playing *Triktrak* (Fig. 30). Although two women are depicted, they are dressed appropriate and it does not look like the men are drinking excessively. A portrait of Henck Waerden

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<sup>86</sup> Ebben 2005, 79 and 13.

(commissioner of Small Businesses) and Dirck Waerden (an alderman) underlines that the game was also played in higher circles (Fig. 31). However, this painting by David van der Plas (1647-1704) also depicts clay pipes and a lascivious woman with a jar in her hand. In addition, one of the portrayed shows his handkerchief heedless in his hand, probably to let the lady know that he is interested.

Although the aristocracy participated in the game of *Verkeren*, it does not mean that the significance of the game changed; Pieter Schenk states this clearly in the subscription of his print where three young boys and their teacher are depicted around a *Triktrakbord* (Fig. 18). The text reads: "*Tvchtmeester van de jeugd, die eer en deugd verbandt, En kaart en teerling geeft in plaats van wife boeken. Wat brave vader zou uw leffen niet vervloeken, Wiens kinderen gy bederft tot nadeel van het landt.*"<sup>87</sup> Hence, the association of *Verkeren* with bad behavior does not change throughout the different layers of society.

### 2.3 Tavern scenes

The dark interior of tavern scenes shows peasants and other low life figures in a filthy atmosphere, where one can smell the alcohol, the unwashed bodies and clothes and can feel the pests crawling over one's body. This in high contrast with the merry companies, where alcohol is also abundantly consumed but the rooms look fresher and the depicted figures are from the higher classes. According to Hall, the author of one of the leading iconographic manuals, the origin of tavern scenes can be found in sixteenth-century images in which vices such as avarice (greed), licentious behaviour (lust) and idleness were depicted. He also states that these scenes were probably meant as a negative moral mirror for the middle and upper classes.<sup>88</sup> This is in line with the function of tavern scenes on prints. As is stated in the introduction of chapter 1, peasants were depicted to amuse the spectators, the latter belonging to higher classes. However, low life could only be entertaining when there was a clear social distance

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<sup>87</sup> Translation by the author: Teacher of the youth, who burns honour and virtue, and who gives cards and dice instead of intellectual books. A good father will curse your lessons, who's children you deprave as detriment of the county.

<sup>88</sup> Hall 2007, 135.

between them and the spectators, states Silver.<sup>89</sup> This is also evident in the forty-one tavern scenes in which *Verkeren* is depicted. David Teniers (1610-1690), Jan Steen (1626-1679) and Egbert van Heemskerck (1634-1704) created several tavern scenes containing *Triktrak*. Adriaen van Ostade, however, did not only create tavern scenes on prints, but he is also responsible for four paintings in this category. In the previous chapter, a print by Willem de Broen after Adriaen van Ostade was discussed (Fig. 19). To compare these prints and paintings, I have chosen to examine a painting by Van Ostade made between 1669-1674.

Van Ostade depicted a dark, brown tavern with a stairs, a large fireplace and a fallen stool (Fig. 32). The floor looks dirty and the room is a mess. Two peasants are playing *Verkeren*, while two others are watching. Alcohol and tobacco are represented in abundance; there are several full glasses, a jar and several men are smoking. Next to the open door hangs a tally board. The whole atmosphere in the tavern feels stuffy and dingy. Although the print by De Broen depicts peasants outside of the tavern, it contains the same, slightly chaotic ambiance. De Broen's rhyme explains that by playing *Verkeren*, a man lost all his money and he has turned into an alcoholic now.<sup>90</sup> According to the excessive drinking and playing *Triktrak*, this is also applicable on Van Ostade's painting. Thus, the painter wanted to warn the viewer for this kind of debauched behaviour.

## 2.4 Brothel scenes

Brothel scenes can be distinguished from merry companies and tavern scenes by the sensually dressed women who are trying to seduce the customers with their cleavage and with alcohol. To maintain order and to keep an eye on the payments, a procuress is often present, as is the bed where the actual deed takes place. No painting in this corpus of twenty-six images contains all elements as discussed (bed, procuress, alcohol and scarcely dressed women); however, Jacob Ochtervelt's (1634-1682) *The Embracing Cavalier* covers three of the four elements (Fig. 33). The painting of ca. 1660-1663 shows the inside of a brothel.

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<sup>89</sup> Silver 2006, 108.

<sup>90</sup> "Verkeren hiet ons spel, maar hoor, 't Ging zoo met Ryk de Man, Die door 't verkeeren 't zyn verloor, Nu leeft hy van de Kan."

The light reflects on the breast armour of a kissing cavalier who sits on the lap of a young woman. While he leans back to kiss his companion, another young woman, with a red bodice that emphasises her breasts, is filling up the cavalier's glass. A man has laid his head on a *Verkeerspel* and has fallen fast asleep. It would have been more comfortable if he had used the discarded pillow on the floor that lies just to the left of a broken clay pipe. A procuress is closely keeping an eye on the scene from the open door in the back, as are the two doves in the cage above the sleeping man. Several objects are visible on the mantelpiece of the fireplace, including some glasses, a pipe and an unlit lantern.

This is one of the few images that depict a closed *Triktrakbord*. The artificial light shines on the two harlots and the man in armour, causing the closed board to be a minor detail of the scene. This is in line with the other twenty-seven paintings, where the prostitutes try to trick men in order to confiscate money, similar to the composition on the prints.

Ochtervelt's painting contains more symbolism. In sixteenth-century paintings, a bird in a cage was a symbol for a brothel. 'birds' refer to the Dutch word '*vogelen*' ('to copulate'), and the doves connote prostitutes.<sup>91</sup> The two doves depicted in Ochtervelt's image are an analogy of the embracing couple.<sup>92</sup> Furthermore, '*de duiven op zolder houden*' was a Dutch expression for visiting a brothel.<sup>93</sup> The lantern on the fireplace is also a reference to prostitution, according to a description by Jacob Cats: "*Al heeft een hoer een fchoon geficht, 't is een lanteerne fonder licht.*"<sup>94</sup> The crushed pipe symbolises that love is transitory. The pillow on the floor is probably a reference to the Dutch word '*kussen*', which is homonymous to the act of kissing.<sup>95</sup> The *Verkeerbord* symbolises the relation between the sexes; in this case, the game has already been played and has finished for the sleeping cavalier, but the other soldier shows lust and therefore looks like he is still in the mood for a game between the sheets.

Both emblems by Jacob Matham (Fig. 4) and De Passe (Fig. 9) depict the

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<sup>91</sup> Friedman 1996, 123.

<sup>92</sup> De Jongh 1995, 25.

<sup>93</sup> *Ibidem*, 28.

Translation by the author: Keeping the doves in the attic.

<sup>94</sup> Cats 1632.

Translation by the author: A harlot can have a lovely face, it is still a lantern without a light.

<sup>95</sup> Salomon 1998, 117.

vice of lust. Prints and paintings showing brothels contain a moralistic warning: do not be seduced by lust and gluttony. This reference to vices also becomes clear in Sadeler I's print (Fig. 34). His prints shows three couples that are situated at a table in the back, representing *Gula* (gluttony), *Acedia* (sloth) and *Luxuria* (lust) by gulping down liquor, playing *Verkeren* and caressing.<sup>96</sup> Not only in prints are men warned about the feeling of lust, a song dating from 1720 also forewarns men that adultery is a sin. This song tries to keep the men on the right path of virtue with the title '*Nieuw Liedeken ghemaect op de grouwelycke sonde van Overspel, om de menschen te verwecken tot deught en eerlycke oeffeningen.*'<sup>97</sup> The song contains six couplets of which the first is a reference to *Triktrak*:

*"Menschen blijft staen,  
 En hoort dit Liedt eens aen,  
 't welck ick vertellen gaen,  
 Hoe dat men Godt versmaet,  
 Als men sijn wetten laet,  
 In plaets van deught te doen gaet m' in bordeelen,  
 Tuysschen, spelen, vloecken en krakeelen,  
 Door overspel, komt menigh mensch in d' Hel."*<sup>98</sup>

Here, 'tuysschen' is a reference to *Verkeren*. It states very clearly that if one does not obey God's laws by visiting brothels, playing *Triktrak*, fighting or adultery, one will end up in hell. These claims are harsh, but it espouses the theory that brothel scenes contain a moralist warning.

As discussed in the previous chapter, women were regarded irrational and dangerous and therefore, men were warned for their power to deceit and for the power of love. This topic is also applicable on the paintings and contains the similar function of amusement with a moralistic warning.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>96</sup> Kolfin 2005, 51.

<sup>97</sup> J. De Ruyeter 1720, 23.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid, 23 and 24. See for the whole song appendix 4.

<sup>99</sup> Bleyerveld 2000, 249, 251 and 252.

## 2.5 Guardrooms or *kortegaardjes*

From 1568 throughout 1648, the Eighty Years' War against Spain swept through the Republic. During this on-going state of war, armed troops were permanently stationed in the larger cities. Thus, these soldiers were a familiar sight on the streets in the Dutch Republic and became a popular theme in the arts from which the genre *kortegaard* could emerge.<sup>100</sup> A guardroom or *kortegaardje* is the name for seventeenth-century paintings with scenes of soldiers sitting or standing in a dark, unidentified interior or guardroom.<sup>101</sup> Thirty-nine of these guardrooms depict the *Verkeerspel*.

Although the Eighty Years' War did leave its mark on prints, Joris Hoefnagel's emblem does refer to the war (Fig. 1), as well as the political prints of (paragraph 1.1). However, the typical guardroom scene is not depicted on prints, thus the method of comparison with emblems cannot be performed. Nevertheless, Panofsky's theory and other sources can indicate *Triktrak's* significance.

The *kortegaardjes* can be divided into compositions that are derived from the visual tradition of peasants in which the soldiers are depicted as low class (see paragraphs 1.4, 1.5, 2.3 and 2.4), and as scenes in which the high officers are presented as heroes. Although the majority of the thirty-nine images does not explicitly mock soldiers, examples of both themes will be discussed in this category.

The guardroom scenes in which soldiers kill time by playing games, drinking, smoking and sleeping is best captured by Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (1621-1674). He painted two soldiers who are passing time with a game of *Verkeren* (Fig. 35). The man on the right, in a brown costume with his hat in his hands, is surrounded by a black cloth, a shiny plastron, hay, a jug, a barrel and a pike. He has just thrown the dice on the board, which is standing on a drum. Both soldiers are leaning forward to see the outcome. The other man wears a beige suit with a red girdle knot around the waist. His hat, with a large feather, is still on his head. The soldier on the left cannot be bothered by the game and is resting on some hay. Two muskets hang upside down on the wall, next to a yellow flag.

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<sup>100</sup> Salomon 1998, 33.

<sup>101</sup> Borger 1996, 7.

The candle in the niche illuminates the room; however, other lighting comes from somewhere behind the spectator and sheds light on the two soldiers, who as a result, become the centre of attention. Van Eeckhout perfectly depicted the dullness of the situation.

*Triktrak* plays a supporting role in this painting. Apparently, the soldiers are not at the highest level of alert; armour lies on the floor and one man is asleep in the hay. The passing of time or idleness is shown through the played game.

On the other hand, Jacob Duck's (1600-1667) *kortgegaardje* displays a heroic cavalier who strikes a bold pose (Fig. 36). On the other side of the room lie his armour and his spoils of war. The men in the back are celebrating victory, as is the soldier behind the *Verkeerbord* who is saluting with his glass. A boy in the front is pouring a glass of wine. Although the military is depicted as victors in this painting, Duck emphasises the drinking with several depictions of glasses and jugs, the licentiousness behaviour of the soldiers in the back, and the idleness by the cards on the floor and the *Verkeerbord*. Duck's painting represents most of the images in this category and thus is a good example of a composition that looks heroic at a first glance, can contain aspects that allude to the sins. This is underlined by Brown, conservator of seventeenth-century Netherlandish and Flemish art at the National Gallery in London. He refers to contemporary literature in which the soldiers are described as comic figures, who were always in search of pleasure and amusement, alike peasants and other lowlife figures.<sup>102</sup> Therefore, equivalent to tavern and brothel scenes, the intended public were the urbanised citizens, whereby the separation between 'us' the higher classes and 'them' the lower classes played a significant role.<sup>103</sup>

Already in the thirteenth-century's *Carmina Burana*, *Triktrak* had a bad name (see introduction of chapter 1). This derives from the fact that *Verkeren* is based on two key elements: chance and skill. For example, dice is solely a game of chance, thus no skills are needed, and it was a beloved pastime of the lower classes of society. Chess, on the other hand, is based on intelligence and

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<sup>102</sup> Brown 1984, 106.

<sup>103</sup> Rosen 2010, 126.

skilfulness and was seen as a game for the elite, because they were able to master the skills and expertise that were needed to win the match. Abbot Jean-Baptiste Thiers (1636-1703) described this as a trichotomy. In his *Traité des jeux et des divertissements* (1686), he stated that all games can be divided into three groups: games of chance, game of skilfulness, and games that combine both chance and skill.<sup>104</sup> The first and second group were mostly played in taverns, coffeehouses and *speelhuizen*, where the players drank alcohol and gambled. It is not clear whether gambling led to drinking or the other way around. As Sebastiaen Franck (1499-1543) describes, "What is worse, a gambler, womanizer or drunkard? A drunk, because this behaviour leads to prostitutes and gambling."<sup>105</sup>

Both gambling and drinking could provoke cursing, fighting and even murder after disputes about a game or losing money after a wrong bet. This is also visible in four images by Jan Steen, Theodor Rombouts, Abraham Diepraam and Jacob Duck. These artists show how a peaceful game of *Verkeren* can easily turn into a fight, where daggers are drawn and wrath is present. Hence, games involving chance and gambling elements were a threat to the public order and against God's wish. Petrus de Witte (1622-1669) argues that playing dice or cards violates the eighth commandment ('Thou shall not steal'): By squandering money during games and not supporting their families, men indirectly steal from their wives, children, and other heirs. De Witte's book clearly states that playing cards or dice is impermissible, because both violate the Sabbath and men neglect their work and their families. Furthermore, these games could cause fights, murders, and drunkenness; the obtained winnings were not earned in a fair way; and lying, cursing, swearing, and slander go hand in hand with playing dice or cards. De Witte states that despite these negative side effects, gambling could be very addictive ("*De begeerte van de ziele ftrecken hier geheel ende al toe/ 't zy men wind/ 't zy men verliest*").<sup>106</sup> He ends his argument with a warning: "If one commandment is broken, it is very likely that others will be violated too, and a life of drinking, cursing, stealing, fighting and even murder awaits."<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> Thiers 1686.

<sup>105</sup> Franck 1621.

<sup>106</sup> Witte 1652, 913.

<sup>107</sup> Ibid, 913.

The contemporary writer Houbraken mentions the *Verkeerbord* in his book, *schaadelyk huisraat* (1729). He describes the *Verkeerspel* as a typical tavern game that is played by drunks who betray their families by wasting money on gambling. True Christians should be with their loving wives and children instead of drinking and squandering money in a tavern.<sup>108</sup> This is in line with the merry companies, tavern and brothel scenes, in both print and painting. However, Houbraken also writes that *Triktrak* is not all bad; the game can also be an example for the real life, in addition to Van Leeuwen. Others can change one's luck and one learns how to deal with prosperity and adversity. Houbraken ends with a life lesson, "(...) *gelyk hy in den bloei zyner zaken gedachtig is dat na fchoon weder donkere wolken kunnen opkomen.*"<sup>109</sup> To protect its citizens against these dark clouds, authorities of several cities tried to regulate or prohibit certain games, including *Verkeren* that could disrupt the public order. Several surviving ordinances underline the difficult position of the authorities regarding their approach towards dice; the game was so immensely popular that it was impossible to banish the game completely.

That *Triktrak* can be classified as a combination of both chance and skill, was also evident in early modern times. This becomes clear in several ordinances written between 1422 and 1700 in the cities Doetichem, Brielle, Hoorn, Grootebroek and Groningen. These placards state that *dobbelen* (playing dice) is forbidden except for "*worttavelen, triktrakspel, wortafelen, spel mit sciven, werptafelen* and *wortafelspil.*"<sup>110</sup> The word *wort* derives from *weurd*, which means fate, or the turning of things, and is a synonym of *Verkeren*.<sup>111</sup> It can be concluded that *Verkeren* was classified as a game of dice, but because it consists of both chance and skill, exceptions for playing it were sometimes made.

On February 10, 1587, the authorities of the city of Utrecht stated that disturbances in or around the church, before and during the mass, were prohibited since it would cause distraction and prevention of the hearing of *des Goddelyken Woorts*. Therefore, shooting, swaying and rolling dice were forbidden

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<sup>108</sup> Houbraken 1729, 56.

<sup>109</sup> Ibid, 57 and 58

<sup>110</sup> Doetichem: Alberts 1979 47 and 48, Brielle: De Jager 1901, 239, Hoorn and Grootebroeck: Pols 1885, 33 and 246, Groningen: Telting 1886, 58.

<sup>111</sup> Taalaandacht.nl

at cemeteries, in the streets and on the walls of the city of Utrecht.<sup>112</sup> Apparently, the citizens of Utrecht did not obey this proclamation, because the same ordinance was issued a total of seven times over an indefinite period between 1587 and 1611.<sup>113</sup> Utrecht was not the only town in the Republic that faced problems with certain leisure games around the city. The authorities of Groningen produced an ordinance on November 17, 1666, about the prevention of playing dice or cards on the streets, curbs, walls or at the cemeteries of the city, since it provoked the pious (*door ergenis van vromen*) and could seduce youth (*tegen verleiding van de jonge jeugd*).<sup>114</sup>

In the second half of the seventeenth century, cities became more concerned about the welfare of their burghers. On July 25, 1681, Amsterdam distributed an ordinance; from then on it was forbidden to play dice and other games because it incited men to squander money, neglect time and ruin their family. Losing caused blasphemy, cursing, the desperate urge to win and drunkenness. The latter caused professional incapability; thus the authorities tried to protect its citizens against themselves, so they would not neglect their wives and children and the city of Amsterdam did not have to look after the poor families. It is striking that the game was not prohibited, but it was forbidden to play or bid for more than twenty-five guilders.<sup>115</sup> In 1692 and 1697, a similar placard appeared; apparently the game was so popular that the ordinance needed to be reprinted.<sup>116</sup>

Utrecht and Amsterdam were not the only cities that repeatedly issued ordinances over the rules of playing dice. The municipality of Amersfoort published a placard twice about the prohibition of playing dice and gambling, respectively in 1587 and 1700.<sup>117</sup> Not only the big cities faced problems

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<sup>112</sup> Van De Water, 1728, 438.

<sup>113</sup> Ibid, 438 and 527.

<sup>114</sup> Groningen Stadsarchief, 2188 plakaten en ordonnanties GAG, 1595-1795, nummer 52, 1666-11-17.

<sup>115</sup> Amsterdam Stadsarchief, 5020.17.243, 25-07-1681.

<sup>116</sup> Amsterdam Stadsarchief, 5020.18.219, 30-01-1692 and Amsterdam archief 5020,19,75, 27-02-1697.

<sup>117</sup> Eemland Stadsarchief, 0001.01 Stadsbestuur Amersfoort, 1300-1810, inventarisnr. 1914 and 15.

concerning dice; smaller places like Diest, Nijmegen, Enkhuizen, Westwoude and Rhenen had to publish several ordinances prohibiting dice.<sup>118</sup>

Similar to the discussed prints, the authorities of several cities in the Dutch Republic associated the game of *Verkeren* with trouble. The authorities warned their citizens through regulations and prohibitions against the negative effects of playing and gambling. The different belief systems in the Low Countries also tried to keep their followers on the right track. In the *Oeconomia Christiana ofte Christelicke huys-houdinghe*, it is stated that playing dice, dancing and drunkenness belong to the vice of all vices: pride, which is also known as vanity.<sup>119</sup> The Calvinists wrote that it is obligatory that fathers take care of their families and not “*t goet van de familie met tuffschen, fpelen, drincken, hoererijen, ende andere foodanighe middelen verquist eden verdoet.*”<sup>120</sup>

The discussed images, ordinances and books had the same aim, namely to forewarn their audiences about the negative effects of playing dice. The authorities effectuated this caution by the use of the law, while artists tried to achieve the same goal through moralistic and comical narratives in their images. Hence, the view of the artists was in line with society’s general perceptions.

## 2.6 Other

This category houses two images that cannot be classified in the previous paragraphs. Cornelis Jacobsz. Delff (1570-1643) is a kitchen still-life painter and between 1600 and 1610 he created a painting with two tables full of food. The foreground showing herring, salmon, poultry, a hare, vegetables, fruit, several copper pots, a caressing couple and in the back is a company playing *Verkeren* visible (Fig. 37). According to the catalogue of Sotheby’s, where the painting was sold in 2006, Delff refers to the pleasures and leisure of life. However, after applying Panofsky’s method, it becomes clear that the abundant food indicate to the sin of greed, the couple to lust and the company playing *Triktrak* refers to idleness. The food on the table accentuates this reflection of the vices; the fowl is a symbol for sexual connotations (see paragraph 2.4), the hare stands for lust

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<sup>118</sup> Diest: Stalleart 1885, 24, Nijmegen: Krom 1894, 50 and 51, Enkhuizen, Westwoude: Pols 1885, 199 and 347 and Rhenen: Van De Water 1728,1100.

<sup>119</sup> Wittewrongel 1661, 1058.

<sup>120</sup> Hazart 1683, 512.

and the apple for sin.<sup>121</sup> The intimacy of the amorous couple and the lasciviousness of the woman allude to lechery. The company in the back is busy playing *Verkeren* instead of cooking and doing the household, therefore resembling the game as the vice of sloth. The abundance of food was known as *luxuria*, a vice representing lust, gluttony and insobriety.

The size of the canvas, 131,8 x 219,1 cm, implies that the aimed public was the bourgeoisie. By depicting the kitchen with servants, Delff created a social distance between the 'simple' figures and their sophisticated superiors. Again, the painting clarifies that the depicted figures are the outsiders, they do not belong to the spectators who laugh at them and as a result the classes are even more separated.

Franchois Elaut (1589-1635) painted a different still life. He depicted a table with a white cloth, on which two plates are painted with a piece of bread and the skin of a lemon (Fig. 38). Furthermore, a tin can, a rummer, a lighthouse with glowing coals, a knife and a white clay pipe lie on top of the table. On the right a partly open *Verkeerbord* is depicted with the chips still inside the case.

Art historian Chong describes that there are several contemporary views about Dutch still life, because most of the compositions did not contain an underlying story, so multiple interpretations were possible. He continues that some would recognise religious or moralistic ideas, while other contemporaries would have made a connecting to the Dutch daily life.<sup>122</sup>

The prices of paintings and thereby the intended public varied widely between artists and their work. The sizes are helpful to determine the intended public; Delff's large painting supposedly attracted the higher classes, but Elaut's painting with a size of 63 x 80 cm, probably would have been cheaper and could be sold to a wider range of people. The meaning of the painting and the *Verkeerspel* is hard to determine. According to Chong, several interpretations are possible.<sup>123</sup> Seeing the moralistic messages of the previous images, it is likely that those ideas are also applicable to Elaut's work. The nibbled bread and fallen drinking utensils may symbolise *luxuria*, the jugs can refer to gluttony and the half eaten bread can be a representation of lust. The depiction of the

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<sup>121</sup> Hall 2011, 130 and 29.

<sup>122</sup> Chong 1999, 32.

<sup>123</sup> Chong 1999, 32.

*Triktrakbord* and the clay pipe, both associated with licentious behaviour would place the painting in the context of the vices.

At first glance, most discussed compositions look innocent, but when comparing them to emblems and other prints or applying the iconographic theory of Panofsky, it becomes clear that most paintings contain a deeper meaning. It is in this 'hidden' narrative that *Verkeren* plays a significant role and contributes to the contemporary understanding of the image.

## **Conclusion    Teerlingen, vrouwen en kannen, onteren de mannen**

History has shown that life can indeed be compared with *Verkeren*. Fate changes, just as the odds can suddenly turn during a game of *Triktrak*. Van Leeuwen was not the only one who used the symbol of *Triktrak* as a certain life lesson; most images in this corpus share this view. In this thesis are these views studied, whereby the question 'how would the contemporary public interpreted *Verkeren*' is answered. As this question does not provide an unambiguous answer, the prints and paintings are classified and analysed per category. This analysis focussed on the intended public and their relation to the depicted subject. Emblems were used as the starting point of this research, since they contain the most essential information about the meaning of *Triktrak*. Thereafter, the remaining prints were discussed. In the second chapter the paintings were examined and merged with the prints from the same category. If the images could not be compared with emblems or other prints, Panofsky's iconographic theory was applied. The game's significance is revealed by these methods and is presented in this final chapter, whereby it will also become clear whether the interpretation of *Verkeren* changed throughout the centuries.

The two hundred and fifty images have shown that the symbolism of *Triktrak* was not unambiguous. In the eyes of the contemporary public, the game could refer to the vices, licentious behaviour to social distinction or to a combination of these three. The negative side of the game was already acknowledged in the Middle Ages, as became clear in the *Carmina Burana* (1230), where references of losing money, poverty and greediness are found. As became clear during this research, these views about the game did not change throughout the centuries. By combining the similar categories of the prints and paintings, we see that most images contain a warning or a moralist message for the intended public. This is emphasised by the texts on the emblems, songs, pamphlets, rhymes and other contemporary sources.

The category of the merry company shows that it was indeed customary to play the game during banquets and dinner parties, as Van Leeuwen wrote in 1685. In a world where the norms and values of a new, upcoming and rich

middle class needed to be determined, people were afraid of the downfall of a well-bred society. These moral alarmists believed that the licentious behaviour of the wealthy youth (drinking, flirting and gambling, like *Triktrak*) would cause misfortune. Therefore, these adolescents had to be kept in line, and they had to learn the rules of the middle class. The merry company compositions contained moralistic messages that were shown as exuberant youngsters, while eating, drinking and playing *Verkeren*. This licentious behaviour was depicted to show how not to behave, as a negative reflection. Especially Dirck Hals specialised in this category (Fig. 26). *Triktrak* plays a supporting role in these compositions; it contributes to licentious behaviour, as a gambling game. Municipalities of different cities struggled to maintain order and stability, and tried to control the bets or even prohibited *Triktrak* and other dice games. With these ordinances, the authorities tried to warn their burghers of the consequences of gambling, which often went hand in hand with excessive drinking and brothel visits; in their turn, these would lead to poverty and the neglect of wives and children.

To this end, artists admonished the people of the foundation of all-evil, namely the vices, and mainly the mother of all sins: pride, also known as vanity. As a way of warning, artists highlighted the source of licentious behaviour in their work. This was often drunkenness, which is visualised as empty glasses, fallen jars and jugs, white pipes and the *Verkeerbord*. With these images the artists reflected immoral behaviour, often with humour and satire, expressed by the means of social distinction. The intended viewers were the middle and upper classes, the levels that could relate to the depicted figures or feel superior if peasants or other low classes were portrayed. This social distinction combined with sins, is shown in the tavern scenes by Willem de Broen and Adriaen van Ostade, in the brothel scenes by Remigius Hogenberg and Jacob Ochtervelt, and in the *kortegaardjes*. (Figs. 19, 21 and 33). Hogenberg's and Ochtervelt's images also contain a reference to another, then popular subject, namely trickery and deceit by women. Hence, *Triktrak* does not only symbolise bad behaviour, but also serves as a warning that men had to watch out for the tricks of women.

The role of *Triktrak* in the majority of the pictures is a supporting one; it contributes to the general theme of bad behaviour or vices. Five of the seven vices are depicted multiple times and often in combination with each other. The

mother of all vices is *vanitas*, which is caused by wealth and results in pride. A good example is Jacques de Gheyn's print of *Vanity*, which contains the message that earthly goods will not be of any help once one is dead (Fig. 13). De Gheyn's print supports Van Thulden's image, a painting with a similar subject (Figs. 24 and 25). Another vice that is depicted is sloth. When one can play a game, one is not doing something useful, thus playing games was seen a waste of time. This is clarified by Jan van de Velde II in his print entitled *Verkeerden Yver* (Fig. 17), by Pieter Schenk (Fig. 18) and underlined in several *kortegaadjes*. A combination of several vices also often occurred; in the images by Jan Sadeler I and Jacob Delff, the vices *Gula* (gluttony), *Acedia* (sloth) and *Luxuria* (lust) are shown (Figs. 34 and 37). Jacob Matham made a series about the consequences of alcohol in which the *Triktrak* was depicted twice, in a plate about wrath and in one about idleness (Figs. 4 and 5).

However, not all significances refer to bad behaviour, as the game is also associated with war. The *Verkeerbord* as a representation of war was shown in Joris Hoefnagel's print (Fig. 1), the political prints with their explanatory texts and the comparison with pamphlets. The texts and pamphlets clarify that the board game contains the same elements as war; the opponents who want to defeat one other, the chips symbolising the troops, and every conquest of a side on the board resembling a victory. Hence, *Triktrak* was used to describe several conflicts and battles between the Dutch and other powers.

The *kortegaard* was also a product of the Eighty Years' War, although the board does not resemble the war, but it was depicted in compositions that showed the 'side effects' of the war, such as soldiers celebrating after victory, but also the time between the battles was depicted in guardroom scenes. At first sight, Jacob Duck's painting looks as a scene of proud men who just obtained a victory. However, after applying Panofsky's method, it became clear that this scene also has a negative connotation and that *Verkeren* contributes to the bad behaviour. The leisure between the battles, mainly in wintertime, had to be bridged, and this gap was often filled with gambling games. Playing dice itself was not a problem, but the excessive drinking and squandering of money on liquor and harlots that often accompanied, led to immoral behaviour.

Occasionally, soldiers are depicted as those drunkards, changing the meaning of the board game to vice, equivalent to the brothel and tavern scenes.

The game can also refer to a game of love, as in brothel scenes, but this indication is more often than not a negative comparison.

The painting by Elaut seems to stick out. It shows a still life, with a partly open *Verkeerbord*. It does not look similar to any of the other images in this corpus. However, after thorough study and with the help of Hall's Iconography book, the composition does indeed contain a reference to bad behaviour, as most of the images with a depiction of *Triktrak* do.

To conclude, the meaning of *Verkeren* is not unambiguous; in the majority of the images, the game is associated with sinful behaviour and in particular the vices. This is a result of the dissolute behaviour of the wealthy youth of the Golden Age. However, not all connotations are negative; the comparison with war or love is neutral, as is the comparison with life by Van Leeuwen and Houbraken that is depicted in *Den wech des eeuwig levens* by Antoine den Sucquet. The majority of images in this corpus contain a message against immoral behaviour. The persistent prohibitions by the authorities apparently did not work, because the quantity of images depicting *Verkeren* indicates the need for these artistic warnings. This demonstrates how the art historian's research can serve as a verification of history. Further research on the subject is recommended, mostly because not all the Netherlandish images depicting the *Verkeerspel* are found and the reason for the sudden increase and decrease of the game in Netherlandish prints and paintings between 1520 and 1720 is still unknown. In addition, it would be very interesting to research whether *Triktrak* has the same meaning in other countries. Nevertheless, *Verkeren* honours its own name and significance with this precariousness.

*'t kan Verkeeren, zey Bredero en hij ging van de kerk in 't hoerhuys.'*<sup>124</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Anonymous 1709, 27.

Translated by the author: 'It can be, said Bredero and he went from the church into the brothel.'

*'Een kaartje te fpelen in plaats van Studeren,  
Libros vendre, en 't gelt te verfmeren.  
Een nachtje te Tiktakken of te Verkeren:  
Sou ook een Efel fo niet wel wat leren?  
's Avonds op ftraat te fchrappen en te akkermenten,  
Is hedendaags de mode der Studenten.'*<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> Sweerts 1698, 219.

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<https://images.memorix.nl/rkd/thumb/650x650/142f15f4-dadc-4e1c-115e-222610e293e9.jpg>

Retrieved on February 2, 2017.

- Franchoys Elaut, Still Life, 1625-1629.

<https://images.memorix.nl/rkd/thumb/650x650/85e6a2f7-bbfc-e5af-2f3d-efc7558f92e0.jpg>

Retrieved on March 16, 2017.

## **Appendix I List of all images**

### **Prints**

#### **Emblems**

- Brant Sebastian, Aff-ghebeelde Narren Speel-Schuyt, Koninklijke Bibliotheek The Hague, 1610.
- Bry, Johann Theodor de, Doctor of Fools, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1627.
- David Johannes, Christeliicken waersegher, de principale stucken van t'Christen geloof en leuen int cort begrijpende. Met een rolle der devgtsaemheyt daer op dienende. Ende een schildtwacht teghen de valsche waerseghers, toueraers, etc., Koninklijke Bibliotheek The Hague, 1603.
- Elger Willem den, Het spel der liefde is gevaarlijk in Zinne-beelden der liefde: Leiden, 1703.
- Hoefnagel Joris, Patientia Verkeerder 1569, Municipal Library of Rouen France, 1569.
- Matham Jacob, Couple playing Backgammon, British Museum London, 1621.
- Matham Jacob, Fighting men over a game, British Museum London, 1621.
- Passe, Crispijn de, the elder, Hortus Voluptatum, British Museum London, 1599
- Passe Crispijn de, Niewen ieuch spiegel, Koninklijke Bibliotheek The Hague, 1617.
- Sucquet Antoine, Den wech des eeuwig levens: Antwerpen, University Library Utrecht, 1622.

#### **Allegory**

- Anonymous, Satirical Flemish engraving depicting European nobility playing Trictrac for the possession of Europe, Bibliothèque Nationale Paris, 17<sup>th</sup> century
- Anonymous, 't wonderlik verkeerspel, British Museum London, 1652.
- Anonymous, Anti-Catholic Print, British Museum London, 1598-1600.
- Anonymous, Aurea Libertas, British Museum London, 1656.

- Anonymous, Verkeespel van Brabant en Vlaanderen, British Museum London 1708.
- Athnisz Cornelis, The prodigal son, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1535-1545.
- Gheyn Jacques de II, Vanity, British Museum London, 1595.
- Nolpe Pieter, Triktrak Spel om Bergen, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1709.
- Passe Crispijn van de, after Maerten Vos, Landscape with Father Time and the personification of Socordia and Neglectia, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1589-1611.
- Passe Crispijn de the Elder, the Choleric Temperament, British Museum London, 1620.
- Schenk Leonard, Monkeys in tavern, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1720.
- Velde Jan van de, II The mirror of vanity, British Museum London, 1633.

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- Coster Adam de, Merry company by Candlelight, British Museum London, 1630-1640
- Schenk Pieter (I), Teacher and three boys by a Backgammonboard, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1670-1713.
- Teniers David, Monkeys playing Backgammon, British Museum, 1635-1668.
- Velde Jan van de (II), Backgammon players, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1620-1641.
- Vliet Jan van, Merry company by candlelight, British Museum London, 1631-1635.
- Zaal P., Merry company, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 17<sup>th</sup> century.

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- Broen Willem de, after Adriaen van Ostade, Tavern scene with text, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1705.
- Bruggen Jan van der, Tavern scene, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1659-1685.
- Gole Jacob, after Adriaen van Ostade, Tavern scene, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1670-1704.
- Gole Jacob, Het Verkeert bort, British Museum London, 1675-1724

- Gole Jacob, naar Jan Havicksz. Steen, Tavern scene, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1680-1724.
- Ostade Adriaen van, Tavern scene, British Museum London, 1659-1670.
- Ostade Adriaen van, The Backgammon players, British Museum London, 1668.
- Ostade Adrian van, Tavern scene, British Museum London, 1659-1670.
- Suyderhoef Jonas, Tavern scene, British Museum London, 1633-1686.
- Vaillant Wallerant, Backgammon players in tavern, British Museum London, 1660-1675
- Visscher Johannes, after Adriaen van Ostade, Peasants outside a tavern, British Museum London, 1670

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- Bout Pieter, Company in brothel, British Museum London, 1673-1719
- Coecke van Aelst Pieter, Brothel scene with board game, Boijmans van Beuningen Rotterdam, 1529.
- Hogenberg Remigius, The peasant in the tavern, British Museum London, 1550-1560.
- Cooghen Leendert, Two men playing Backgammon, British Museum London, 1666.
- Nolpe Pieter, Brothel scene, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1623-1653.
- Somer Jan van, Peasant in tavern, British Museum London, 1671.
- Sadeler Johannes I after Joos van Winghe, Masquerade, British Museum London, 1588.

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- Galle Philips, after Maarten van Heemskerck, Amnon rapes Tamar, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1559.

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- Bosch Jeroen after, The Hell, art dealer Paul Graupe, Paris/Berlin/New York City, 1550-1600.

- Bosch Jeroen after, The hell, private collection of Alvares Lissabon, 1550-1600.
- Brueghel the elder Pieter, The triumph of death, private collection, 1562-1563.
- Brueghel Jan, Landscape with Mercury and his children, private collection of Nuno Souza Coutinho Portugal, 1616-1678.
- Droochsloot Joost Cornelisz., The parable of the five wise and the five foolish virgins, art dealer Colnaghi, London/New York, 1616.
- Kessel, Jan van, the Elder, Ecclesia Surrounded by Symbols of Vanity, Johnny van Haeften Gallery London, ca. 1660.
- Saftleven Cornelis, Animal allegory, private collection, 1660.
- Saftleven Cornelis, Animal Allegory, whereabouts unknown, ca. 1660.
- Thulden Theodoor van, Vita brevis, Noordbrabants Museum Den Bosch, 1630.
- Thulden Theodoor van, Allegory of Vanity, Alte Pinakothek Munich, 1640-1645.
- Venne Adrieaen van der, (attr. to), Allegory of wealth, private collection, 1625-1649.

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- Anonymous, Men seated at a table, playing Backgammon, private collection, after 1665.
- Anonymous, Two Monkeys Playing Tric Trac on a Table, private collection, 17<sup>th</sup> century.
- Anthonissone Willem, Nightbanket with masquerade, Loterijmuseum Brussel, 1628.
- Baburen Dirck van, The Backgammon Players, private collection New York, ca. 1595-1620.
- Bassen Bartholomeus van, An interior with elegant company playing Backgammon, private collection, ca. 1624.
- Bassen Bartholomeus van. Return of the Prodigal Son, The Detroit Institute of Arts, ca. 1618-1620.

- Bassen Bartholomeus van, An interior with paintings, National Gallery of Denmark, 1622-1630.
- Berckheyde Job, Men playing Backgammon under the Pergola, private collection, 1645-1694.
- Bruggen Hendrick ter, Tric-Trac Players, Bildergalerie am Schloss Sanssouci, Potsdam, 1654-1660.
- Buytewech Willem Pietersz, Three gentlemen playing Trictrac, dealer Gebr. Douwes, Amsterdam/London, 1625.
- Carre Hendrik, Company playing Triktrak, art dealer H. Bukowski Stockholm 1680-1689.
- Codde Pieter, Elegant company playing music and Backgammon in an interior, private collection, 1625-1630.
- Codde Pieter, Interior with a group conversing, National museum Stockholm, 1624-1668.
- Codde Pieter, Three gentlemen smoking and playing Backgammon, whereabouts unknown, 1630-1639.
- Codde Pieter, Elegant company conversing and playing Backgammon, Národní Galerie of Praze Prague, 1630-1639.
- Codde Pieter, Interior with two men and a woman sitting around a table, private collection, after 1635.
- Doncker Herman, An interior with an elegant company playing Backgammon, private collection, 1634.
- Duck Jacob, Merry company, Tula Museum of Fine Arts, Tula, 1620-1657.
- Duck Jacob, (c.1600-67), A Merry company in an Interior, private collection of Salomon Lilian Old Master Paintings, Amsterdam/Genève, 1635.
- Duck Jacob, The sleeper, Gemaldegalerie der akademie der Bildenden Kunste Vienna, 1600-1667.
- Duck Jacob, Elegant couple smoking and drinking in an interior, art dealer Paul Larsen London, 1650.
- Duck Jacob, Elegant company singing and playing music in an interior, art dealer F. Enneking, Amsterdam, 1650.

- Duyster Willem Cornelisz, Two men playing Tric Trac with a woman scoring, National Gallery London, 1625-1630.
- Duyster Willem Cornelisz, Men playing Checkers in an interior, private collection of Earls of Chesterfield Beningbrough Hall, 1615-1635.
- Francken Frans, Monkeys playing Backgammon in an interior, Staatliches Museum Schwerin, 1599-1632.
- Hals Dirck, Large company in a room, art dealer Richard Green London, 1628.
- Hals Dirck, Men playing Backgammon and smoking in an interior, private collection, 1630.
- Hals Dirck, Company smoking, drinking and playing Backgammon in an interior, private collection of W.J.C. Donk-van Baalen The Hague, ca. 1630.
- Hals Dirck, Elegant company drinking and playing Backgammon in an interior, Museum der bildenden Künste Leipzig, ca. 1630.
- Hals Dirck, Elegant company of men playing Backgammon and smoking in an interior, Kunstmuseum Düsseldorf, ca. 1630.
- Hals Dirck, Elegant company playing Backgammon, smoking and drinking, Fürstlich Liechtensteinische Gemäldegalerie Vienna, 1630.
- Hals Dirck, Elegant company playing music and playing Backgammon in an interior, private collection of Zamek Królewski Kraków, after 1625.
- Hals Dirck, Elegant company playing music, drinking and playing Backgammon in an interior, private collection W. Ubbens Stockholm, ca. 1625.
- Hals Dirck, Men playing Backgammon and smoking in an interior, private collection 1630
- Hals Dirck, Men playing Backgammon, drinking and smoking in an interior, a woman in the doorway, art dealer D. Katz, Dieren Rheden, ca 1630.
- Hals Dirck, Merry company, private collection, 1620-1640.
- Hals Dirck, Merry company smoking and playing Backgammon in an interior, private collection of Adolphe Schloss Paris, ca. 1630.
- Hals Dirck, Merry company smoking, drinking and playing Backgammon in an interior, art dealer Herbrand Paris, 1628.

- Hals Dirck, Merry company, Muzeum Narodowe Poznaniu Poznań, 1630-1655.
- Hals Dirck, Elegant company smoking, drinking and playing Backgammon in an interior, private collection Austria, 1640-1645.
- Hemessen Jan Sanders van, Portrait of Couple, private collection, 1532.
- Honthorst Gerard van, Backgammon Players, Bode-Museum Berlin, 1644.
- Laemen Christoffel van, Elegant company playing Trictrac, private collection, 1635.
- Laemen Christoffel van, Elegant company playing Trictrac, private collection 1640.
- Laemen Christoffel van, Elegant company in een interior, private collection, 1621-1652.
- Lambrechts Jan Baptist, Elegant company seated at a table, drinking and playing Backgammon, private collection, 1695-1720.
- Leyster Judith, A Game of Tric-Trac, Worcester Art Museum Massachusetts, ca. 1630.
- Lievens Jan, The Tric-Trac players, The Spier Collection London, 1623-1625.
- Loo Jacob van, Interior with company, Backgammon and young women making music, private collection Scotland, 1629-1635.
- Mieris Frans or Willem, Interior with figures playing Tric Trac, whereabouts unknown, 1680.
- Molenaar Jan Miense, Company making music, art dealer David Koetser Zurich/New York, ca. 1630.
- Monogrammist PW., Palace hall with a game of Backgammon, Staatliches Museum Schwerin, 1625-1630.
- Ochtervelt Jacob, Tric-trac players with a lady and her dog, private collection, 1666-1682.
- Olis Jan, Elegant company playing Backgammon in an interior, private collection, ca. 1640.
- Olis Jan, Gentlemen playing Backgammon, The Fitzwilliam Museum, ca. 1630-1666.

- Olis Jan, Elegant company of men smoking, drinking and playing Backgammon in an interior, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België Brussels, ca. 1640.
- Olis Jan, Elegant company smoking and playing Backgammon in an interior, Mittelrhein-Museum Koblenz, ca. 1630.
- Olis Jan, Elegant company smoking, drinking and playing Backgammon in an interior, Musée des Ursulines Mâcon, 1640.
- Olis Jan, Three men smoking, drinking and playing Backgammon in an interior, private collection, 1625-1660.
- Palamedesz. Anthonie, Merry company, private collection, 1626-1663.
- Palamedesz. Anthonie, Elegant company drinking and playing Backgammon in an interior, art dealer Léon Seyffers Brussels, ca. 1640.
- Palamedesz. Anthonie, Elegant company in conversation and playing Backgammon in an interior, private collection Mannheim, 1645.
- Palamedesz Anthonie, Elegant company in conversation and playing Backgammon in an interior, private collection, ca. 1630.
- Palamedesz. Anthonie, Elegant company in conversation, drinking and playing Backgammon in an interior, private collection, 1625.
- Palamedesz. Anthonie, Elegant company playing music, playing Backgammon, drinking and smoking in an interior, Sinebrychoff Art Museum Helsinki, 1632.
- Palamedesz. Anthonie, Elegant company in interior, Victoria and Albert Museum, ca. 1630.
- Pietersz van Zijl Gerard , Company playing Backgammon in an interior, private collection, 1625-1665.
- Plas David van der, Double portrait of Herck Waerden and Dirck Waerden, private collection Maclain Pont, ca. 1662-1688.
- Potter Pieter, Elegant company playing Backgammon, smoking and playing music in an interior, private collection of Carl. L. Lagerbring Sweden, 1630-1639.
- Potter Pieter, Elegant company playing Triktrak, private collection of Freiherr Hans Hugold Schwerin Skarhult, ca. 1630.

- Potter Pieter, Men smoking, drinking and playing Backgammon in an interior, SMK - National Gallery of Denmark Copenhagen, 1629.
- Quast Pieter Jansz, Elegant company playing music and playing Backgammon in an interior, private collection of Hugo von Kilényi Budapest, 1630.
- Quast Pieter Jansz, Elegant couple playing Backgammon, private collection, 1633.
- Rombouts Theodore, The Backgammon Players, North Carolina Museum of Art Raleigh, 1634.
- Rombouts Theodor, Card and Backgammon Players. Fight over Cards, Statens Museum for Kunst, Copenhagen, Denmark, 1620-1630.
- Schrijvers M.S., Elegant company in conversation, playing Backgammon and drinking in an interior, art dealer A.M. Bouwens The Hague, 1633.
- Steenwyck the Younger Hendrick van, The gardens of a palace with elegant figures strolling, making music and playing Backgammon in a loggia, private collection, 1590-1639.
- Sweert Michael, The Backgammon players, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1656.
- Verkolje Jan, Elegant company around a table with a Backgammon board, Robert Noortman Gallery Maastricht/London, ca. 1690.
- Verkolje Jan, The Messenger, Mauritshuis The Hague, 1647.
- Verkolje, Nicolaes, Elegant Company playing Backgammon, Private Collection, 1690-1700.
- Verwilt Francois, Three men situated around a Triktrakboard, private collection of SØR Rusche Sammlung Oelde (Germany)/Berlin, 1638-1645.
- Vos, Cornelis de (attr. to), the Game of Backgammon. Musee Boucher de Perthes, Abbeville, ca. 1630.

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- Anonymous, Interior of a Tavern or Brothel with People Drinking and Playing Trictrac, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, ca. 1620-1625.
- Bega Cornelis, Interior with Peasants, art dealer Jack Kilgore & Co., New York City/London. 1654-1658.

- Both Andries, Tavern interior with a gypsy reading someone's hand, together with peasants playing Backgammon, private collection, 1626-1642.
- Brakenburgh Richard, Merry company in a tavern, private collection, 1650-1702.
- Codde Pieter, Tavern interior, Gallerie Thalacker Zurich, 1660-1678.
- Diepraam Abraham, Peasants brawling in an inn, Galerie Marcus Paris, 1637-1670.
- Duck Jacob, Interior with smoking and drinking Backgammon players, art dealer Moatti Fine Arts Paris, ca. 1650.
- Duck Jacob, The Backgammon game, Galerie De Jonckheere Brussel/Parijs, 1620-1670.
- Duck Jacob, The determined landlady during a game of "Trick-Track", private collection, 1630-1635.
- Essen Cornelis van, Landscape with figures at a tavern, private collection, ca. 1700.
- Heemskerck Egbert van, Peasants playing Checkers in a tavern, private collection, 1660-1685.
- Heemskerck Egbert van, Tavern interior with men smoking and playing Backgammon, private collection Switzerland, 1656-1704.
- Heemskerck Egbert van, Tavern scene, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1669.
- Heemskerck Egbert van, Men playing a game of Backgammon, private collection, 1666-1704.
- Molenaer Jan Miense, Tavern scene, private collection, 1650.
- Natus Johannes, Men in tavern playing Backgammon, private collection, 1659.
- Ostade Adriaen van, Tavern scene with three men playing Backgammon, Kunsthandel P. de Boer Amsterdam, 1660-1685.
- Ostade Adriaen van, Men playing Tric Trac, Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe, Karlsruhe, ca. 1660.
- Ostade Isaac van, Peasants drinking and playing Backgammon in an interior, private collection of Norman & Suzanne Hascoe United States, ca. 1640.

- Ostade, Adriaen Jansz. Van, Tavern with Tric-Trac of Backgammon Players, Guildhall Art Gallery London, 1669.
- Ostade, Adriaen Jansz. Van, Village Inn with Backgammon and Card, Guildhall Art Gallery London, 1674-1675.
- Schaeck Cornelis, Smoking and drinking peasants during a game of Backgammon, Kunsthandel P. de Boer Amsterdam, 1660.
- Sorgh Hendrick Martensz, Tavern scene with Backgammon players, private collection, 1659.
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- Steen Jan, Parrot Cage, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1660-1670.
- Steen Jan, Soo gewonne, soo verteert, Boijmans van Beuningen Rotterdam, 1661.
- Steen Jan, Tavern scene, private collection Thomas Mellon Evans, New York City/Greenwich CT, 1660-1674.
- Steen Jan, Tavern scene with procuress, Sammlung Thyssen, 1661-1665.
- Steen Jan, Two kinds of games; unequal love, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1660-1679.
- Steen Jan, Fighting cardplayers, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin, ca. 1667.
- Steen Jan, Fight over gamblin game, Detroit Institute of Arts, ca. 1665.
- Teniers David, Tavern scene with men playing Backgammon and drinking, private collection Engeland, 1660-1669.
- Teniers David, Tavern interior with Backgammon players, Galerie Emile et Isaac Péreire Paris, 1640.
- Teniers, David the Younger, The Backgammon Players, National Gallery London, 1640-1645.
- Teniers, David the Younger, A Game of Tric-Trac, Museum of Fine Arts Budapest, 1635-1637.
- Teniers, David the Younger Men Playing Backgammon in a Tavern, Musee des Beaux-Arts Reims, 1634-1645.

- Teniers, David the Younger, The Game of Backgammon, private collection, 1670.
- Teniers David, Tavern interior with cardplaying apes, private collection, 1650-1670.
- Toorenvliet Jacob, Three men playing Triktrak, private collection, after 1700.
- Verbeeck François Xaver Henri, Tavern interior with Backgammon players, Neumeister München, 17<sup>th</sup> century.

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- Anonymous, Interior with figures and bed, Galerie Bassenge, ca. 1700.
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- Doncker Herman, Elegant company in interior, private collection, 1634.
- Duck Jacob, A couple playing Backgammon, private collection of Achillito Chiesa Milan, 1615-1667.
- Duck Jacob, A Merry Company in an Interior Art Painting, art dealer Robert Noortman, Maastricht/London/Hulsberg, 1650-1667.
- Duck Jacob, Elegant company playing music in an interior, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden - Gemäldegalerie Alte Meister, 1650.
- Hals Dirck, Elegant company playing music and playing Backgammon in an interior, private collection, after 1625.
- Hals Dirck, Elegant company playing music, singing and playing Backgammon in an interior, private collection, 1630-1639.
- Hals Dirck, Merry company playing Backgammon in an interior, art dealer Rob Kattenburg, The Hague/Aerdenhout/Breukelen/Bergen, ca. 1630.
- Jordaens Jacob, Backgammon players in a brothel, private collection, 17<sup>th</sup> century.
- Laemen Christoffel Jacobsz. Van Der, Backgammon players at a table with a lady playing a lute in an interior, private collection, 17<sup>th</sup> century.
- Laemen Christoffel Jacobsz Van Der, Elegant company in an interior, private collection, 1641-1682.
- Leyden Aertgen Claesz. van, (attr. to), Peasant losing at Backgammon, private collection, 1500-1550.

- Leyden Aertgen Claesz. van, (attr. to), Peasant losing at Backgammon, private collection, 1500-1550.
- Leyden, Aertgen Claesz. van, (attr. to), Peasant losing at Backgammon, private collection, 1500-1550.
- Ochtervelt Jacob, The Backgammon Players, Foundation E.G. Bührle, ca. 1667-1669.
- Ochtervelt Jacob, Backgammon players and woman playing the lute in an interior Museum der bildenden Künste Leipzig, 1671,
- Ochtervelt Jacob, The embracing cavalier, Manchester Art Gallery, 1660-1663.
- Olis Jan, Interior with four women around a table, smoking and drinking; a man in the doorway, art dealer David Koetser Zurich/New York, 1645.
- Olis Jan, Elegant company smoking, drinking and playing Backgammon in an interior, private collection, ca. 1640.
- Steen Jan, Tavern scene, Hermitage Saint Petersburg, 1670.
- Steen Jan, Brothel scene, private collection, ca. 1667.
- Steen Jan, Tric Trac Players, Hermitage Saint Petersburg, 1625 or 1626-1679.
- Winghe Joos van, Masquarade, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, 1590-1620.
- Winghe, Joos van, Nightly party and masquerade, Museum of Fine Arts Brussel, 1564-1603.

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- Anonymous, A Group of Figures playing Backgammon, private collection, 1606-1651.
- Anonymous, Elegant company playing Backgammon in an interior, private collection of Sumanski Schloss Tharandt, 1630.
- Borch Gerard ter, Interior with soldiers and a woman smoking and playing Backgammon around a table, Musée des Beaux-Arts et de la Céramique de Rouen, 1636.
- Borch Gerard ter, Soldiers playing Backgammon in an interior, disappeared between 1945 and 1960, 1640.

- Bruggen Hendrick Ter, The Backgammon Players, Private collection, 1588-1629.
- Codde Pieter, Two young men playing Backgammon, private collection, 1630-1639.
- Codde Pieter (attr. to), Interior with two men, Frans Halsmuseum Haarlem, 1630-1639.
- Codde Pieter, Officers playing Backgammon in guardroom, Mauritshuis The Hague, 1628.
- Duck Jacob, Guardroom interior with soldiers and young women smoking and playing Backgammon, art dealer Julius Böhler Munich, ca. 1640.
- Duck Jacob, Guardroom interior with soldiers and young women smoking and playing Backgammon, private collection, ca. 1640.
- Duck Jacob, Guardroom, Otto Naumann Ltd. New York City, 1615-1667.
- Duck Jacob, Guardroom, private collection, 1615-1670.
- Duck Jacob, Interior of a barn with soldiers and women in conversation, smoking and playing Backgammon, The Israel Museum Jerusalem, ca. 1650.
- Duck Jacob, Soldiers drinking and relaxing in a guardroom, art dealer Peter H. Tillou, Litchfield (Connecticut)/London, ca. 1650-1659.
- Duyster Willem Cornelisz., Backgammon players, Hermitage Saint Petersburg, 1620-1629.
- Eeckhout Gerband van den, Interior with talking figures and people playing Backgammon, private collection, after 1645.
- Eeckhout Gerband van den, Soldiers playing Backgammon in a tavern, art dealer C. Gebhardt Munich, ca. 1655.
- Eeckhout Gerband van den, Tric-Trac Players, private collection, 1653.
- Eeckhout Gerbrand van den, (after), Soldiers playing Backgammon in a guardroom, Dessau (Saksen-Anhalt), Anhaltische, ca. 1690-1710.
- Eeckhout, Gerbrandt van den, Soldiers Playing Tric-Trac, Johnny van Haeften Gallery London, 1653.
- Hals Dirck, Interior with six smoking and Backgammon playing men, private collection, 1606-1656.

- Hals Dirck, Men playing Backgammon, drinking and smoking in an interior, private collection Károlyi Budapest, after 1621.
- Hals Dirck, Cavaliers in a tavern, private collection of Serge Philipson Ireland, 1627.
- Hals Dirck, Backgammon Players, Alan Jacobs Gallery London, 1620-1650.
- Hals Dirck, The Game of Backgammon, Musee des Beaux-Arts Lille, 1620-1650.
- Hals Dirck, Company playing Backgammon in an interior, with a maid, private collection, after 1630.
- Hals Dirck, Interior with Figures Smoking and Playing Tric Trac, Hoogsteder & Hoogsteder The Hague, 1591-1646.
- Hals Dirck, Men playing Backgammon and smoking by a fireplace, private collection, 1625-1649.
- Hals Dirck, Men playing Backgammon and smoking in an interior, private collection, 1630.
- Hals Dirck, Three men playing Backgammon in an interior, private collection of Jacob Ellie Safra United States, 1626.
- Hals Dirck, Young men smoking, drinking and playing Backgammon in an interior, art dealer D. Heinemann Munich, ca. 1630.
- Hooch Pieter de, Backgammon players in a barn, National Gallery of Ireland Dublin, 1625-1655.
- Mahu Cornelis, Officers and peasants playing Backgammon and other games in a guardroom, private collections, 1648.
- Olis Jan, Soldiers playing Tric Trac in an interior, private collection Vorst van Liechtenstein, Vaduz/Vienna/Feldsberg (Südmähren), after 1640.
- Olis Jan, Soldiers playing Backgammon, smoking and drinking in an interior, Galerie Sanct Lucas Vienna, 1645.
- Potter Pieter (attr. to), Company playing Backgammon in an interior, Museum voor Schone Kunsten Gent, ca. 1630.
- Potter Pieter, Soldiers playing Backgammon in an interior, Museum Schwerin, Schwerin, ca. 1630.
- Teniers David, Monkey allegory; Monkey's guardroom, Salomon Lilian Old Master Paintings Amsterdam/Genève, ca. 1633.

- Witting D., Two gentlemen playing Tric-Trac around a table in an interior, private collection, 1630.

**Other**

- Delff Cornelis Jacobsz., Kitchen stillife with a man and a maid, private collection, 1595-1633.
- Elaut Franchoy, Stillife, art dealer Robert Noortman, Maastricht/London/Hulsberg, 1625-1629.

### **Appendix 3     Matthijs van der Merwede (1654)**

#### *Uyt-heemsen oorlog ofte Roomse min-triompfen*

*Aen de Hollandse Kroegers, ende Verkeer-speelders.*

*Op de maet Van: Bacchus apres tant de victoires &c.*

*O P Kitte-broers van doele-gilden,*

*Siet waer u mijn gedicht toe noyt,*

*Die al u vreugd in't slikken spilden,*

*En hoeft en beurs door 'tglas beroyt.*

*Werp de kroes voor den Droes, vat de Meyt na't gat,*

*Het keeltje droog, en't veetje nat.*

*Om dat sy wilde in een Klooster gaen, als ik van Roomen soude vertrekken,  
seggende, schoon*

*ik haer raden om te trouwen, dat sy niet en sou lijden dat daer immermeer een  
Reekel sou*

*komen, daer soo eerlijken Man geweest was.*

*Matthijs van der Merwede, Uyt-heemsen oorlog ofte Roomse min-triompfen*

*Wat staet gy met beangste sinnen*

*Op't ongestadig lot en kijkt?*

*Dat ook een kreupel vaek doet winnen,*

*En voor een steen sijn zeylen strijkt,*

*Sit de kans van de lans, van de swans aen't gat,*

*Daer 'tlot niet in te seggen had.*

*Ey laet die malle grillen blijven*

*Dat gy moet alle daeg' ter kroeg,*

*En dat u 'tklappen van de schijven*

*Van d'alderschoonste Kleuter joeg,*

*Speel't verkeer immermeer, dat het klappen haet,*

*En voor het berd sijn steenen laet.*

*Daer sult gy noyt u ziel verkrachten,*

*En met een opgevulde kroes,*

*En onversade Duytse nachten,*

*Gestaeg gaen jagen voor den Droes;  
Want een nacht uyt gewacht by een aerdig Dier  
Joeg onse ziel door't Vege-vyer.  
Dewijl't met kittelend gesitter  
Haer van haer grootsten brand ontlast,  
En maekt met onbegrepen schitter  
Ons, spijt de Goden haren gast,  
Wakker an alle Man, geeft de kan den ban,  
En slaet de Eyers in de pan.  
En leert met my ten Hemel heffen  
Het schoot-gevley van Vrou of Maegd,  
Dat selfs de Goden soo kan treffen,  
Dat het haer uyt den Hemel jaegd,  
En gestroopt en gedoopt in de Kleuter-bend  
Weer in triomften Hemel send.*

## Appendix 4    Jacob de Ruyter (1720)

*Nieuw Liedeken ghemaect op de grouwelycke sonde van Overspel, om de menschen te verwecken tot deught en eerlycke oeffeningen*

*Op de wyse: Hoe quelt de min.*

*1. Menschen blijft staen,  
En hoort dit Liedt eens aen,  
't welck ick vertellen gaen,  
Hoe dat men Godt versmaet,  
Als men sijn wetten laet,  
In plaets van deught te doen gaet m' in bordeelen,  
Tuysschen, spelen, vloecken en krakeelen,  
Door overspel, komt menigh mensch in d' Hel.*

*2. Den Man ontrouw,  
Slaet ende smijt sijn Vrouw,  
Laet sijn Kinders in rouw,  
Gaet naer een anders wijf.  
Vol van onkuys bedrijf,  
Verteirt sijn geldt en goet, verkort sijn daghen,  
Vreest duyvel doodt, noch hel t' is te beklaghen,  
want sulcke Lien, Godts aenschijn noyt en sien.*

*3. weet sulck een man,  
En Vrouw die dit treckt aen,  
Noyt salligh wesen kan,  
Het volcxken dat soo leeft,  
Hun aen den duyvel gheeft,  
't waer beter noyt van uw' Moeder gheboren,  
Als lijf en Ziel soo te smijten verloren,  
Voor kort plaisier, verwacht vry 't eeuwigh vier.*

4. *Mensch doet afstand,*  
*Van sonden t' allen kant,*  
*Vreest doch den helschen brant,*  
*Ghy moet naer d' Eeuwigheyt,*  
*Maeckt doch uw' Ziel bereyt,*  
*Hout op van sweiren, vloecken en hoereren,*  
*Jacobus de Ruyter, Nieuw liedboek genaemt den vrolyken speelwagen*  
*Peyst op de doot die ghy eens moet passeren,*  
*Leght af u quaet, Eer dat het is te laet,*

5. *Veel dat my deirt,*  
*Hebben hun gelt verteirt,*  
*Met hoeren op ghesmeirt,*  
*Die voor uw' kost en dranck,*  
*V weten geen danck,*  
*Hebt ghy te veel wilt het den armen gheven,*  
*'t Huys met kinders en Vrouwe in vrede leven,*  
*Ghy sult Godt sien, En oock met hem verblien.*

6. *Ach menschen doet,*  
*Nu afstand met' er spoet, Eer dat gy sterven moet,*  
*Bidt Godt en Maria, Uyt herten vroegh en spa,*  
*Ghy sult van daegh misschien of morgen sterven,*  
*Leght af uw' quaet wilt gy van Godt verwerven*  
*De saligheyt, Met Godt in eewighyt.*

## Appendix 5 Figures

Figure 1



Fig. 1: Joris Hoefnagel, Patientia Verkeerder 1569, Municipal Library of Rouen, France.

**Figure 2**



Crispian de Passe the elder, Hortus Voluptatum 1599, 9,6x14 cm, etching and engraving on paper, British Museum London.

Figure 3



Antoine Sucquet, Den Wech des Eeuwig Levens, 1622, University Library Utrecht.

**Figure 4**



Jacob Matham, Fighting Men over a Game, 1621, 17,8x19,8 cm, engraving on paper, British Museum London.

**Figure 5**



Jacob Matham, Couple playing Backgammon, 1621, 18x20 cm, engraving on paper, British Museum London.

Figure 6



Jan van de Velde II, The Mirror of Vanity, 1633, 16,8x11,7 cm, etching and engraving on paper, British Museum London.

Figure 7



Johannes David , Christeliicken waersegher, 1603, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Den Haag.

Figure 8



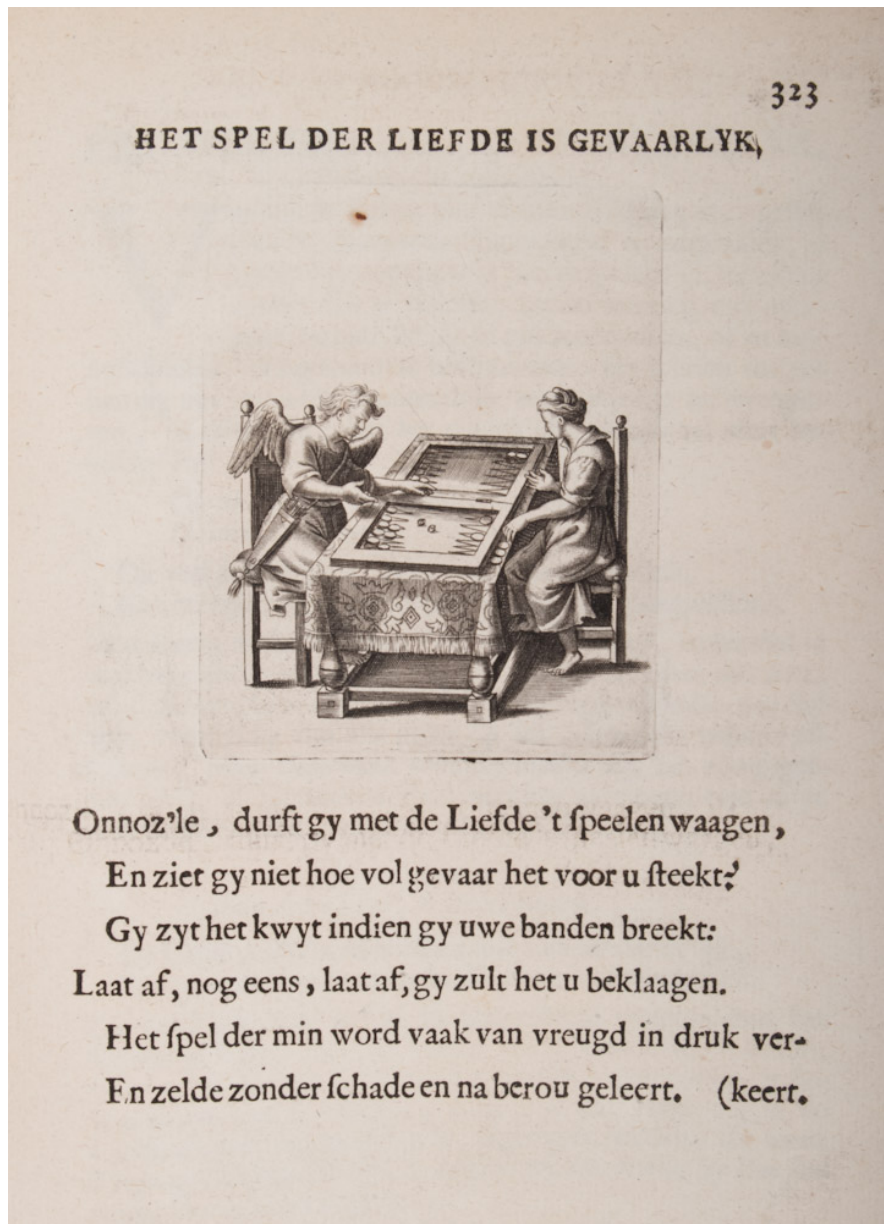
Sebastian Brant, Aff-ghebeelde narren speel-schuyt, 1610, Koninklijk Bibliotheek Den Haag.

Figure 9



Crispijn de Passe, Nieuwen Ieucht Spiegel, 1617, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Den Haag.

Figure 10



Willem den Elger, Het Spel der Liefde is Gevaarlyk, 1703, Zinne-beelden der liefde, Leiden.

Figure 11



Cornelis Anthonisz., The Prodigal Son, 1535-1545, 27x21,2 cm, woodcut, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.

Figure 12



Crispian van de Passe after Maerten Vos, Landscape with Father Time and the personifications of Socordia and Neglectia, 1589-1611, 21,0x24,9 cm, engraving on paper, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.

Figure 13



Jacques de Gheyn II, Vanity, 1595, 27,8x18,5 cm, engraving on paper, British Museum London.

Figure 14



Crispijn de Passe, The Choleric Temperament, 1620, 21,2x14,7 cm, engraving on paper, British Museum London.

Figure 15



Leonard Schenk, Monkeys in Tavern, 1720, 15,7x20 cm, etching and engraving on paper, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.

Figure 16



Pieter Nolpe, Triktrak spel om Bergen, 1709, 13x17,1 cm, etching and engraving, text in book, Rijksmuseum.

Figure 17



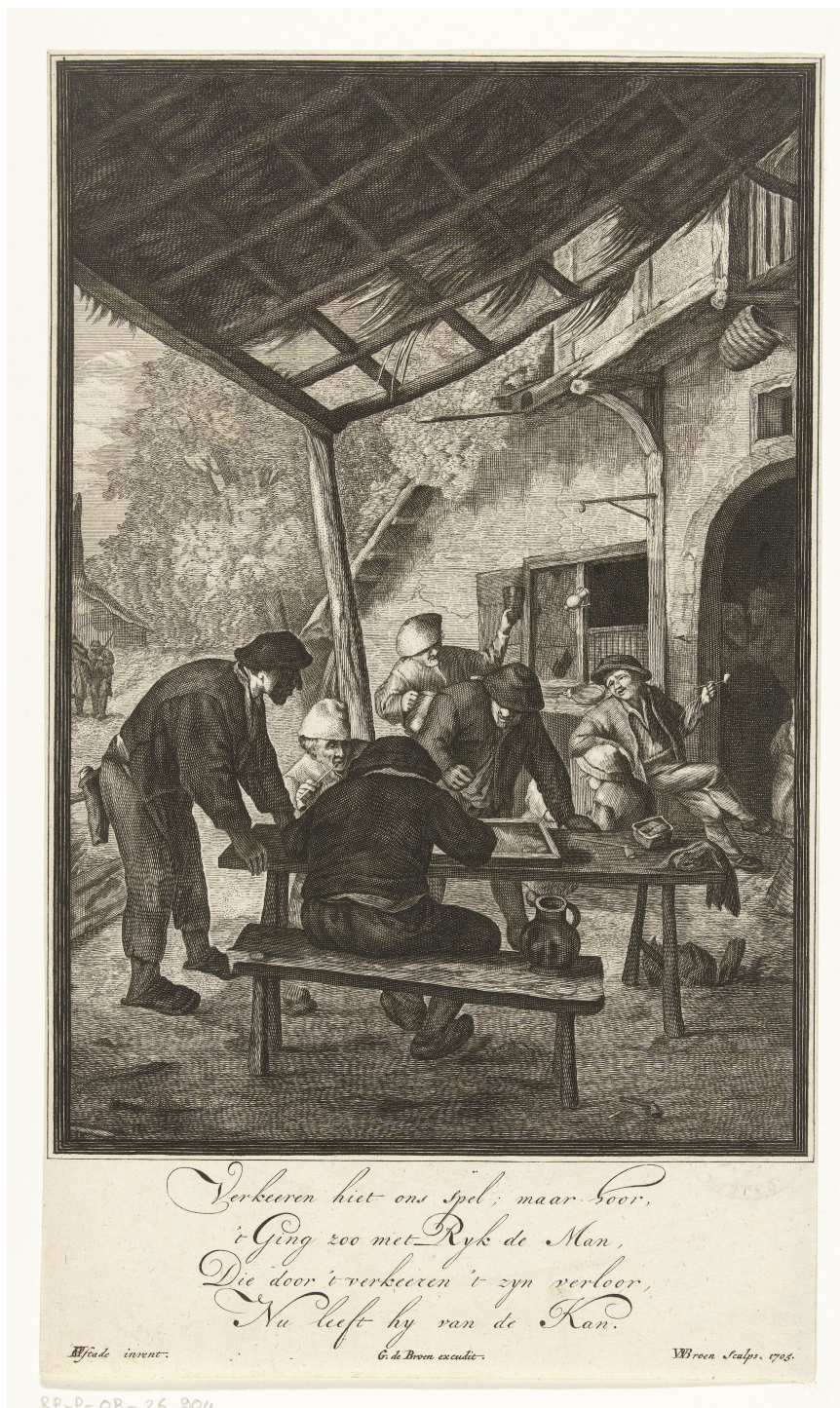
Jan van de Velde II, Backgammon Players, 1603-1652, 23,6x26,9 cm, etching and engraving on paper, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.

Figure 18



Pieter Schenk, Teacher and three boys by an Backgammonboard, 1670-1713, 24,8x18,2 cm, engraving on paper, Rijkmuseum Amsterdam.

Figure 19



Willem de Broen after Adriaen van Ostade, Tavern Scene with Text, 1705, 20,3x17,8 cm, etching, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.

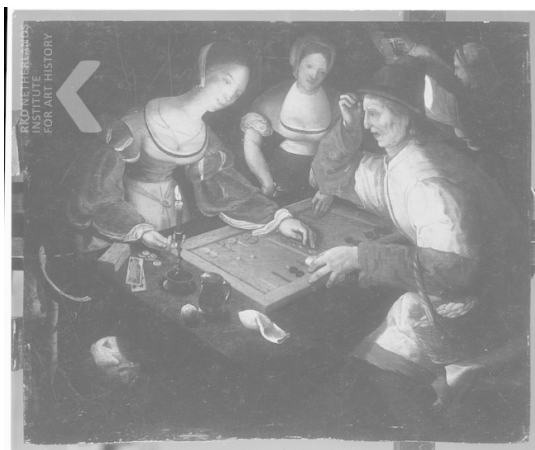
## Figure 20



Aertgen Claesz. van Leyden (attr. to), Peasant losing at Backgammon, 1500-1550, 25,7 x 32,9 cm, oil on panel, Private collection.



Aertgen Claesz. van Leyden (attr. to), Peasant losing at Backgammon, 1500-1550, 30 x 40 cm, oil on panel, Private collection



Aertgen Claesz. van Leyden (attr. to), Peasant losing at Backgammon, 1500-1550, 32 x 38,5 cm, oil on panel, Private collection.

**Figure 21**



Remigius Hogenberg. The Peasant in the Tavern, 1550-1560, 24,5x34,2 cm, etching on paper  
British Museum London.

**Figure 22**



Philips Galle after Maarten van Heemskerck, Amnon rapes Tamar, 1559, 20,3x24,5 cm, engraving, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.

**Figure 23**



Jan Brueghel, Landscape with Mercury and his Children, 68,8 x 88,8 cm, oil on copper, private collection of Nuno Souza Coutinho Portugal, 1616-1678.

Figure 24



Theodor van Thulden, Vita Brevis, 1630, 72,5x83 cm, oil on canvas, Noordbrabants Museum Den Bosch.

**Figure 25**



Theodoor van Thulden, *Allegory of Vanity*, 1640-1645, 168 x 232 cm, oil on canvas, Alte Pinakothek Munich.

Figure 26



Dirck Hals, Merry Company, 1606-1665, 31,1x40 cm, oil on panel, Private collection.

**Figure 27**



Dirck van Baburen, *The Backgammon Players*, ca. 1595-1620, 105x128 cm, oil on canvas, private collection New York.

**Figure 28**



Bartholomeus van Bassen, *An Interior with Elegant Company playing Backgammon*, 64,2x81 cm, oil on panel, private collection, ca. 1624.

**Figure 29**



Hendrick ter Brugghen , Tric-trac players, 1654-1660, 97 x 121 cm, oil on canvas, Bildergalerie am Schloss Sanssouci, Potsdam.

**Figure 30**



Lambrechts Jan Baptist, *Elegant Company seated at a Table, drinking and playing Backgammon*, 57 x 47,5 cm, oil on canvas, 1695-1731, private collection.

**Figure 31**



David van der Plas, *Double Portrait of Herck Waerden and Dirck Waerden*, ca. 1662-1688. 67 x 83 cm, oil on canvas, private collection Maclain Pont.

**Figure 32**



Adriaen Jansz. Van Ostade, Tavern with Tric-Trac or Backgammon Players, 1669, oil on canvas, Guildhall Art Gallery London.

**Figure 33**



Jacob Ochtervelt, *The Embracing Cavalier*, 1660-1663, 44.6x35.6 cm, oil on panel, Manchester Art Gallery.

**Figure 34**



Jan Sadeler I after Joos van Winghe, Masquerade, 1588, 36,8x45,6 cm, pen on paper, British Museum London.

**Figure 35**



Gerbrandt van den Eeckhout, *Soldiers playing Tric-Trac*, 1653, 52,4x65,3 cm, oil on canvas, Johnny van Haeften Gallery London.

**Figure 36**



Jacob Duck, *Soldiers drinking and relaxing in a Guardroom*, ca. 1650-1659, 103x89cm, oil on canvas, art dealer Peter H. Tillou, Litchfield (Connecticut)/London.

**Figure 37**



Cornelis Jacobsz. Kitchen Still Life, 1600-1610, 131.8 by 219.1 cm, oil on canvas, Private Collections.

**Figure 38**



Franchois Elaut, Still life, 1625-1629, 64x82 cm, oil on canvas, art dealer Robert Noortman, Maastricht/London/Hulsberg.