

Ein Marder erdeltet in einem Dorf bei
 Fall von einem Baum ab so sturte
 er in den Fall geräthlich, weil er sich
 gestürzt worden, so soll er 3 Tage
 lang bei sich gehalten werden, und
 aber durch einen reinen Siquitt glückselig
 mit einem Eiben gewaschen, das so noch
 12 Tage gelabst. So soll ein Fisch,
 Linsen fisch, und ein Stein Linsen
 davon, so soll der fisch, Man
 kriegel einen noch ein andern welche
 in das große sein soll, als furcht
 gewaschen da er gestürzt worden ist.

Ein Eiben schallalain welche das
 rothene Läng in einem Linsen
 schüttet, und 3 Tage bei sich gehalten soll.

Ein Eiben welche als zwei ein
 Eiben schallalain, und das rechte
 ① gewaschen bei dem andern als das
 sie natürlich weis in nicht wenigen
 zu erdeltet zu erdeltet, auf zwei
 gestrichen, ~~das andere welche~~
 gar nicht erdeltet

Wird man denn gewaschen erdeltet
 die in der Eiben erdeltet werden.

2 Africanische Pul, sein weis
 und fahm über den ganzen Eiben
 Craus fahm den ~~ein~~ Gedächtnis
 gebricht.

Ein Eiben mit Singeln welche
 als mittelst einet Ufowand nam
 sie selbstan ging und nicht sie
 werden.

+ ein ein Linsen
 aliud. in fahm er erdeltet
 das die rechte nicht 2 erdeltet
 gewaschen soll, und 12 gelabst
 da welche das andern nicht weis
 so erdeltet, so soll der fisch
 was erdeltet, Linsen, so erdeltet
 aber dabei erdeltet. In erdeltet
 in fahm ein erdeltet erdeltet
 zu erdeltet, da es als erdeltet
 andern fahm erdeltet, da es erdeltet
 gewaschen, so soll er mit dem
 einen erdeltet. Erdeltet
 erdeltet erdeltet erdeltet
 erdeltet und erdeltet
 erdeltet. Erdeltet
 die es was erdeltet erdeltet
 erdeltet 13.

Callot and the Berlin Kunstkammer

Between the massacres of the Thirty Years' War, mercenaries would often relax by playing dice. In the lower right-hand corner of Jacques Callot's etching *The Hanging*, which was part of his series *The Great Miseries of War* (1633) and has become perhaps the most significant pictorial *lieu de mémoire* of this era, two men can be seen playing dice on a military drum beneath the tree (fig. 2–3). The traditional interpretation has been that these two mercenaries were amusing themselves in the immediate proximity of men who had been hanged after wild marauding – that is, that Callot was sarcastically contrasting the dead with the dice players in order to glaringly underscore the horror of what had occurred. This interpretation was radically revised in the context of the four hundredth anniversary of the Thirty Years' War in 2018.

In fact, the print depicts a scene of strictly regimented martial law – not an amusing pastime for diversion, but instead a deadly game of life and death. The right arm of the standing player appears to be tied behind his back, as is perhaps the left arm of his seated counterpart. The losing player – the one who rolls the lower number with the dice – will join the other men hanging from the tree. This procedure was closely related to the ancient practice of *decimatio*: after a mutiny, for instance, only every tenth man of the troop section condemned to death would actually be executed, and the condemned soldiers would draw lots to determine who would die. During the Thirty Years' War and its aftermath, numerous cases of a similar strategy for conserving human resources were formalized into martial law. The legendary Frankenburg dice game, for example, occurred in Upper Austria in 1625 after an uprising against the re-Catholicization of the area. Prisoners were rounded up and thirty-six ringleaders were condemned to death; they had to roll dice in pairs for their lives. Following additional reprieves, sixteen of the losers were hanged.¹

The bellicose seventeenth century and the era of the Great Elector also provide the historical context for the die that was kept in the Ivory Cabinet (Room 989) [■ Crab Automaton, fig. 5], probably in the right-hand wall case next to the door to the Naturalia Cabinet or in a table drawer.² Wolff Bernhard von Tschirnhaus included this object in his selection *Was merckwürdiges auf der Kunst-Kammer in Berlin zu sehen* (What remarkable things can be seen in the Kunstkammer in Berlin):

A die that two people must use to play for their lives; one rolls a six, but when the other rolls, the die shatters so that a six and a one are showing, making seven pips; for this reason the one who had six pips must be hanged.³

In this passage, Tschirnhaus referred to the remarks in the inventories of 1688 and 1694 concerning the shattered die.⁴ The die is a prime example of a collection object that subsequently sank to the level of mere curiosity and was lost in the aftermath, but in the eighteenth century was regarded

◀ 1 | Page from the travel journal of Johann Andreas Silbermann with a description of the shattered die, 1741, Sächsische Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden.

1 On the ancient practice of *decimatio*, see Fiebiger 1901; on the reinterpretation of the Callot print and the game of dice as a procedure of martial law, see Geiger/Potempa 2018; on the Frankenburg dice game, see e.g. Leidinger 2010.

2 This was its location in the room, at least according to the list composed by Jean Henry, *Kunst-sachen und Seltenheiten welche in dem Spinde, rechts der Thüre die nach dem Naturalien Cabinet führt, und in dem Schubladen des Tisches aufbewahrt werden* (SMB-ZA, I/KKM 40, pp. 283–5; on the die, see p. 285).

3 Tschirnhaus 1727, p. 284.

4 "55. A die thus shattered in two when two men played for their lives; the first rolled a 6, the second rolled a 7 when the die split during the roll" (Eingangsbuch 1688/1692b, fol. 4v; identical wording with different orthography under no. 25, Inventar 1694, p. 140).



2 | Jacques Callot, *The Hanging*, from *The Great Miseries of War*, 1633.

as a main attraction of the Berlin Kunstkammer [◆ Changing Focuses]. Tschirnhaus’s list of things worth seeing – published in 1727 and conceived as a “model of an academy and travel journal” – was based on a visit on 27 February 1713 and formulated a canon of the collection that prepared travellers for its condition at the end of the era of the first Prussian king. This list remained relevant into the mid-eighteenth century, as is evident in its verbatim adoption not only in the *Neues Europäisches Historisches Reise-Lexicon* (1744), but especially in accounts by other visitors [● Around 1740]. The shattered die invariably assumed a prominent position in these travelogues, although at times the authors had difficulty recounting its story in comprehensible form.⁵

Alsatian organ builder Johann Andreas Silbermann wrote in his travel journal from 1741 (fig. 1):

A die that two people were made to play with for their lives [inserted: on a drum]; and the first one rolled; with the second one, who of course couldn’t dare to roll a lower number, the die broke in two. ~~the second one didn’t want to roll at all.~~⁶

Silbermann was not allowed to take notes on location, which was quite unusual.⁷ In his notes, he wrestled with precision after the fact and sought, perhaps sitting at a table in his inn, to recall the details related about this object during his visit, as indicated by the insertion “on a drum.” The die, however, seems to have been so interesting to him that he included in the margins – at a later point in time? – an alternative narrative that again takes up the crossed-out note concerning the motivation of the second player:

aliud [i.e. another version]. I also heard it told as follows: when the first person threw 2 dice and rolled a 12, the other person didn’t want to roll because he saw that he couldn’t roll more. He was, however, induced to roll in the hopes that he would roll just as much. . . . He now rolled and with one die he rolled [here a drawing of one side of a die: 6]; the other die shattered in two and both parts lay thus [here a drawing of two sides of a die: 6 + 1] So he had more than the first person, namely 13.⁸

It remains unclear where this alternative story about *two* dice originated.⁹ It did not, at any rate, lead Silbermann to doubt the authenticity of the narrative tied to this object. Such doubt certainly does appear in inventories, where it was noted, for instance, in regard to a penknife dated to 1584 that was supposed to have belonged to reformer John Calvin (who had died in 1564): “non credimus”; as well as in travel journals, one of which noted concerning a mandrake root that the owner could ostensibly turn into a wolf: “Who believes it?”¹⁰

The shattered die of the Berlin Kunstkammer was an everyday object of the early modern era and was so banal that neither its precise size and form nor its materials were mentioned in the registers and reports. Even its damaged condition was nothing remarkable in itself. Contemporary rule books detailed how to proceed if a die split in two,¹¹ which underscores the greater fragility of the ordinary wood, bone, or clay dice of the time, as well as perhaps their rougher handling within the body politics of reduced emotional control in the early modern era.



3 | Dice players, detail of figure 2.

Associating and Narrating

With the cultural practices of perception, recollection, and chronicling, the shattered die was meaningfully connected for travellers of the eighteenth century with other objects in the Kunstkammer collection in order, from the perspective of the recipients as well, “. . . to enter into the closest conceivable relation to things of the same kind.”¹² The die was seen and conceived in correspondences and connections that travellers construed quite differently than the inventories in which things were grouped according to location or genre taxonomies. With things ordered in this way, visitors to the Kunstkammer opposed an “exploding” of that very human and semantic meaning of the objects.¹³ However, what Walter Benjamin called “things of the same kind” was defined in different ways by travellers in their selected lists of what was worth seeing, which were certainly influenced by cultural practices of guided and directed seeing during their visits. In their notes, most travellers combined spatial and semantic proximity with the ambient ordering of things and associated the die purely spatially with other objects that were kept in the Ivory Cabinet, as well as with curiosities that comparable narratives of origin inevitably tied to immediate, universal human urgency and physical experience. Tschirnhaus’s “model of an academy and travel journal” introduced this strategy in exemplary form when he grouped the die with its existential background in the Second Room – embedded between Kunstkammer objects of ivory, amber, wax, and other materials – together with the “. . . knife that had been swallowed by a barber who was still alive and that had festered out the front of his chest . . .” [◆ Changing Focuses / ◆ Availability] as well as the “. . . very small silver shoe-buckle that his now reigning Royal Majesty had swallowed in his third year of life and was said to have passed only three days later” [■ Pearls]. A second group then emerges with the silver cup crushed by Augustus II the Strong and the “. . . glass which during the royal entry [of Friedrich I] was thrown down from the spire and nevertheless remained entirely whole except for a small piece that broke off at the base” [◆ Intact and Damaged].¹⁴ It appears to have been of subordinate significance that the protagonists in these dramas of swallowing things involved a common man and the later Prussian King

- 5 See Schramm 1744, col. 150; Küster 1756, p. 19 and col. 542; as well as Hagelstange 1905, p. 209; Anonimo Veneziano 1999, pp. 124–5; Silbermann 1741, p. 33; Anonymus A, fol. 38r; Anonymus B, fol. 4v.
- 6 Silbermann 1741, p. 33.
- 7 See *ibid.*, p. 31.
- 8 *Ibid.*, p. 33.
- 9 In Küster 1756, p. 19, col. 542, the orthographic variations with only slightly deviating additions to the story of the die point to a compilation from various *written* sources.
- 10 Inventar 1685/1688, fol. 96v; Anonymus B, fol. 8r.
- 11 For instance, according to the *Neues Königliches L’Hombre*, a roll counts in Trictrac or Toccategli when only one of the shattered pieces displays pips, but not when both fragments do, “. . . because one is not playing with three dice” (Anonym 1775, p. 378).
- 12 Walter Benjamin 1999b, p. 204 (H 1a, 2).
- 13 On this, see Bredekamp 1995 with a sharp critique of Foucault, especially pp. 109–10; the quotation is on p. 110.
- 14 See Tschirnhaus 1727, pp. 282–6; the quotations are on pp. 283–4 and 285.

15 A milestone here was the elaborate publication of the Museum of Decorative Arts by Lessing/Brüning in 1905 (on the dice, see p. 45); for recent literature on the Pomeranian Art Cabinet, see especially Wunderwelt 2014.

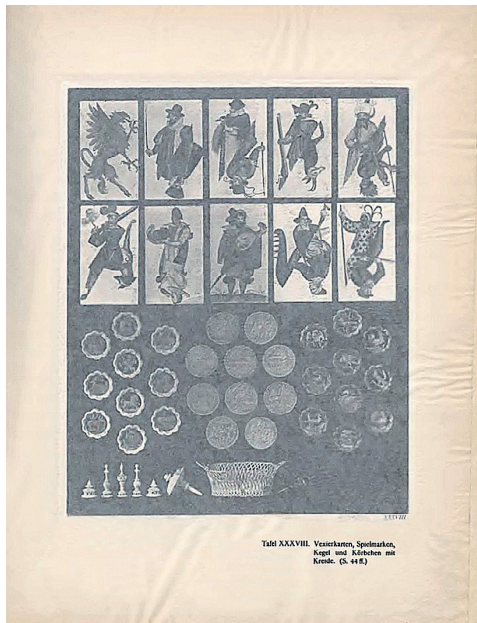
Friedrich Wilhelm I, and that the embarrassing shoe buckle and the crushed cup were both princely memorabilia [■ Pearls].

From a modern museological perspective, it would seem obvious to place the die, as equipment for an early modern game, in relation to other game utensils in the collection – for example, contrasting the material value and artistry with the costly puzzle dice and bright sounding chime dice that belonged to the realm of games in the late mannerist universe of the Pomeranian Art Cabinet.

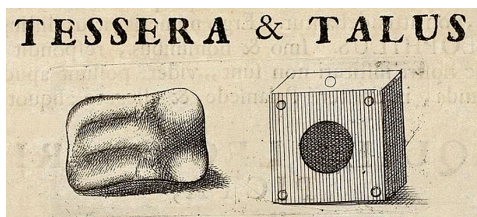
While this cabinet was not absent in descriptions of the eighteenth century, it was elevated to a purported principal part of the *Kunstkammer* only in the course of the nineteenth century, with the growing significance of the decorative arts, accompanied by the rise of art history as an academic discipline (fig. 4) [◆ Cases, Boxes].¹⁵ In his travel journal of 1741, Silbermann also paid due attention to the elaborate game utensils of this art cabinet, which visitors could indeed touch, but were not allowed to play with. Silbermann, however, associated these objects as little with the shattered die as the other writing visitors did.¹⁶ Evidently the issue here was also not one of the military-historical connotations of a past era in which “things of the same kind” could have been found for the die among the numerous memorabilia of the Great Elector’s bellicose deeds of glory.

Instead, it was the visual argument of the abstract *form* of the object (in German, the word *Würfel* means both cube and die) that moved Silbermann – after the swallowed knife and the shoe buckle of the crown prince (both in the same room) and before mentioning “2 African donkeys” and a ship automaton (both in the first cabinet) – to associate the shattered die with “many of those grown cubes (*Würfel*) that had been excavated in Switzerland.”¹⁷ Another roughly contemporary visitor offered

an explanation of these cubic objects based on ludology, rather than natural origins: “It is said that the Romans had a camp there [at Swiss Baden, the ancient *Aquae Helveticae*], and because they were suddenly prohibited from playing, they threw the dice (*Würfel*) all away.”¹⁸ In any event, all of the sources emphasized the discovery in the soil, and thus these cubes were also displayed in the *Naturalia Cabinet* as *ludi naturae* (whims of nature), like the pieces of ruin marble, including “two rectangular and polished marble stones that depict plants such as trees,” and the ingrown antlers that the Venetian visitor of 1708 called “scherzo della Natura” [■ Antlers].¹⁹ At the same time, we can also perceive an echo here of the erstwhile ambivalent position between *naturalia* and *artificialia* of antiquities excavated from the soil. Doubtless there was excellent antiquarian expertise in Berlin, and in the *Thesaurus Brandenburgicus* Lorenz Beger discussed the use of tesserae and animal bones in games on the basis of objects in the *Antiquities Cabinet* (fig. 5).²⁰ Perhaps the mysterious and long-lost cubes in the Swiss soil were tesserae, monochrome stones from a Roman floor mosaic (fig. 6).²¹



4 | Game paraphernalia from the Pomeranian Art Cabinet, illustration (under a semi-transparent protective sheet) in Julius Lessing and Adolf Brüning, *Der Pommersche Kunstschrank*, 1905.



5 | Knucklebone and tessera from the Antiquities Cabinet, illustration in Lorenz Beger, *Thesaurus Brandenburgicus*, 1701.

Silbermann’s reminiscent imagination, which connected the die in the deadly game to cubes found in the soil, also confirmed for visitors Benjamin’s conviction about the objects of the world that appeared present and ordered in the collection, “. . . however, according to a surprising and, for the profane understanding, incomprehensible connection. This connection stands to the customary ordering and schematization of things something as their arrangement in the dictionary stands to a natural arrangement.”²²

The shattered die is distinguished from innumerable everyday game paraphernalia by its damage. This legitimated its inclusion in the collection, whereby the die belonged to a group of objects that could be seen in the *Kunstkammer* *because* of the damage they had sustained –for instance, the crushed silver cup and the ingrown antlers [◆Intact and Damaged]. This damage, however, was meaningful for the collection only in combination with the story of how it had occurred. Object and narration formed an intimate and indispensable connection that was repeatedly actuated in oral communication during a visit to the *Kunstkammer* with the cultural practice of being-guided. This was based in turn on the textuality – or rather, to echo Jan Assmann, the inscription – of the explanatory legends in the registers or perhaps on an accompanying slip of paper as paratext or *parerga* [◆Cases, Boxes].²³



6 | Roman tesserae from Turicum, Thermengasse, Zurich.

Silbermann illustrated his notes with three clumsy drawings of the sides of the dice, ostensibly among the very few contemporary depictions of *Kunstkammer* objects (fig. 1). In fact, however, they are not actual renditions of a specific object, but rather functional schemas of generic dice. Embedded in the narrative variant of condemned men playing with *two* dice, the upper drawing depicts an intact die – which was not an object in the *Kunstkammer* – rolled to a six. In this way, the value of the narrative is confirmed: what was curious was not the damaged ordinary die, but rather the story of men rolling dice for their lives. The die was an object that provided the occasion for a narrative, a mnemotechnic prosthetic – with the flavour of a secular contact relic – for a performative event that the narration was supposed to actuate, comparable to the relics of performative art in present-day museums that have hardly any aesthetic value as objects themselves and function rather to awaken, along with other forms of documentation, the memory of the actual artistic process.²⁴

The die comes from the era of the Great Elector and was the remnant of a game of two condemned soldiers playing for their lives, which, given the indifference to a very concrete phenomenon of erstwhile martial law, was mentioned in only a few of the inventories and reports.²⁵ Although authoritative versions were noted in the registers of the *Kunstkammer*, narrative variants such as the one reported by Silbermann point to a more general fascination with a legendary occurrence about which there was perhaps something uncanny. In *Simplicissimus* (1668) – which dates to the same time as this *Kunstkammer* object – Grimmelshausen concluded his catalogue of the possibilities of cheating at dice with the following remark:

... because it is said that dice belong to the devil as soon as they leave the hand: I should imagine that a little devil goes running after every die to leave the player's hand and rolls upon the coat or table. He wants to guide it or give it eyes so that it will best serve the interests of his master.²⁶

The Venetian visitor of 1708 sought to draw a moralizing conclusion about the “*rarrità del Caso*” of the Berlin game: “They have only preserved the die ostensibly because it shows how deplorable fatalists are.”²⁷ The tradition of stories about winning games of dice with an irregular

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- 16 See Silbermann 1741, pp. 38–9.
 - 17 *Ibid.*, p. 33.
 - 18 Anonymus B, fol. 9r.
 - 19 Inventar 1685/1688, fol. 111r; and Anonimo Veneziano 1999, p. 122.
 - 20 See Beger 1696/1701, vol. 3, pp. 412–16.
 - 21 While Silbermann in 1741 speaks of *many* cubes, there are *two* in the approximately contemporaneous Anonymus B, fol. 9r, and in Küster 1756, col. 547. *Three* are listed in 1734 (no. 330, “dug out of a meadow near Basel” – Augusta Raurica?), and *four* more (no. 336, “found in the soil in Switzerland”) (Verzeichnis 1735, fol. 17r).
 - 22 Walter Benjamin 1999b, p. 207 (H 2, 7; H 2 a, 1).
 - 23 See Assmann 2003, *passim* and p. 87 with a tabular comparison of the characteristics of communication forms highlighting the similarity between orality and inscription (*Inschriftlichkeit*), among other things for the situational bond.
 - 24 See e.g. Herbstreit 2015.
 - 25 The dating of the die to the era of the Great Elector is mentioned only in Küster 1756, col. 542; and in Anonymus B, fol. 4v, who identifies the protagonists as “2 deserters.” The editor of Anonimo Veneziano 1999, p. 124, n. 320, states: “The Venetian did not learn the reason why the two played dice for their lives: recklessness, reprisal, or the consequence of a judgement?”
 - 26 Grimmelshausen (1668) 1986, p. 85.

number of pips extends from Old Norse sagas to Juliane Werding’s song *Das Würfelspiel* (The dice game) in 1986.²⁸ In his cultural history of dice published in 1910, Franz Semrau argues that such events have always belonged more to the realm of literature than of real life.²⁹ One indication of this legendary character is that the obligatory winning roll is always a 6 + 1, although every variant of a shattered die would result in a 7 as the sum of the pips on the opposite sides of the die.

Reordering, the Death Die, and the Olympic Games

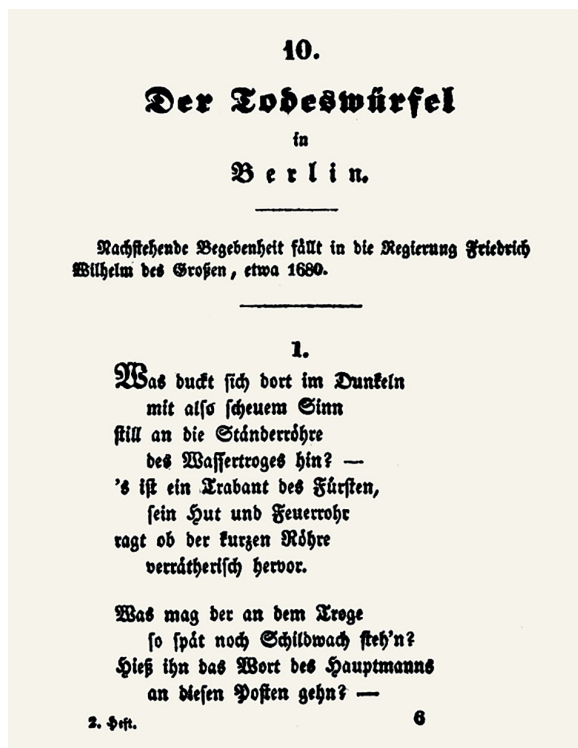
The semanticization of the Berlin die – fascination with a legendary story, connected with indifference to the concrete historical background and to the thingness of the object itself – proved to be stable over an extended period of time, until these same moments led to a decline of interest in the late eighteenth century. By 1769 the die was no longer mentioned in Friedrich Nicolai’s description of the *Kunstkammer*, and in 1805 Jean Henry recalled in his guide that while the residual pieces listed by Nicolai were still present, they “. . . have more or less lost their relative value and as a result are only shown when expressly requested . . .”³⁰

With the redefinition of the *Kunstkammer* after the founding of the (Altes) Museum [●Around 1855], Leopold von Ledebur sought to find new locations for the narrative-based curiosities in the altered epistemic architecture of the collection. Within the “Historical Section”, the shoe buckle swallowed by the crown prince was now classified with the “Historical Curiosities of the High Royal House”, while the swallowed knife and the shattered die became part of the “Historical Curiosities of the Fatherland.”³¹ The prerequisite for this was the historical revision of the narrative, the source-based historical localization:

7 | “Der Todeswürfel in Berlin”, beginning of poem from Ernst Widar Amadeus Ziehnert, *Preußens Volks-sagen, Märchen und Legenden*, 1839.

Of interest is a die shattered into two pieces (II, B.19), about which the privy councillor and warden of the *Kunstkammer* at the time of King Friedrich I related the following, according to statements by an eyewitness, the electoral courtly book printer Lippert: “In Berlin two soldiers were condemned to death for an offense. The elector wanted to spare one of their lives. The dice were supposed to decide. The first of the two immediately rolled the highest number (6) and was thus free; in despair the second one rolled with such force that the die broke into two pieces, displaying the numbers 6 and 1, whereupon he was also pardoned.”³²

This historical reclassification, however, remained uncertain. While the die was still an object of Prussian history in the Hohenzollern Museum (which opened in 1877), its materiality now motivated its placement: the two pieces “loose on a round, lathed black base” were located in the Ivory Cabinet, and the inventory faithfully recorded it as being made from ivory and its dimensions as 0.16 x 0.17 x 0.17 (presumably) dm.³³ Reclassifications of collection history prevailed, in contrast, when in 1905 – shortly before the publication of Julius von Schlosser’s epoch-making monograph *Art and Curiosity Cabinets of the Late Renaissance* in 1908 – art historian Alfred Hagelstange polemicized against early modern practices. Hagel-



stange had evidently taken little pleasure in his edition of the travel journal of Count Rindsmaul and his entourage: “The object of interest is not the work itself, but rather what is said about it; and the stranger the fairy tale emanating from the individual object sounds, the more important is its ‘curiosity’” – knife, shoe buckle, and crushed cup from the *Kunstammer* description of 1706 serve in the following as ironic evidence.³⁴

While Ledebur sought a repositioning, narrative variance as implied in Silbermann’s journal and the assimilability of narrative traditions ensured at the same time that the Berlin die had a renaissance beyond the *Kunstammer*. The narrative took on a life of its own, and the die, like the ring with a snake crown [■Monkey Hand], was included in collections of sagas of the Mark – for instance by Alexander Cosmar in 1833, Ernst Widar Amadeus Ziehnert in 1839, and Johann Georg Theodor Grässe, director of the Green Vault in Dresden, in 1868. Historically, the narrative was now anchored in the era of the Great Elector and his dispute with Sweden, as emphasized in Ledebur’s *Kunstammer* guide, Ziehnert’s Biedermeier versification (fig. 7), and Grässe’s simple prose version.³⁵ This “death die”, however, revolves – with great variance in details – around the drama of jealousy between Rudolf and Heinrich, two electoral body guards, for Röschen, the daughter of a Berlin gunsmith or blacksmith – in terms of gender aesthetics, inevitably over *her* dead body. Neither the court nor the elector could determine which of the two beaus had shot or stabbed Röschen; thus the elector called for a judgement by God through a game of dice, in which the guilt of the one and the innocence of the other would be demonstrated. Two dice were rolled, and only the shattered death die can still today, as the epilogue in each case asserts, be admired in the *Kunstammer* at the Berlin Palace as an “. . . emblem of the fate of miraculous coincidences and the eternal justice of heaven.”³⁶ This object reference constitutive for local sagas, however, remains vague: when Grässe’s work was published in 1868, the *Kunstammer* had already been moved into the Neues Museum for more than ten years. An echo could still be perceived, however, in the Hohenzollern Museum in Monbijou Palace, when the patriotic object was listed here as “the so-called death die.”

In 1936, in contrast, the real military-historical background of dice rolled for dear life celebrated its pompous reintroduction in National Socialist Berlin. Nazi author Eberhard Wolfgang Möller composed *Das Frankfurter Würfelspiel* (The Frankenburg dice game) for the program accompanying the 1936 Olympic Games. The play was based on the historical events of 1625 with a game of dice as a form of *decimatio* regulated by martial law. Since 1925, lay actors in Austria have come together every two years to re-enact this historical occurrence. Möller’s dramatic version, which premiered on the Dietrich Eckart Stage – today the Waldbühne at Olympia Stadium (fig. 8) – is regarded as both the climax and the swan song of the Thingspiel movement of the early Nazi era.³⁷ There were no longer any references here to a former object in the Berlin collections.



8 | Admission ticket for *Das Frankfurter Würfelspiel*, 1936.

Translated by Tom Lampert

- 27 Anonimo Veneziano 1999, pp. 124–5.
- 28 “Whatever I rolled, he had more / I had three times six, and he had nineteen”, for the German text see Songtexte.com, at: <https://www.songtexte.com/songtext/juliane-werding/das-wurfelspiel-7bdb4a7c.html> (accessed 22 June 2021).
- 29 See Semrau 1910, p. 72, with examples.
- 30 Henry 1805, p. 3.
- 31 See Ledebur 1844, pp. 94 and 101–2; in Henry 1805, in contrast, the knife and buckle are still listed in an immediate nexus (p. 8).
- 32 Ledebur 1844, pp. 101–2; the cited sources have not yet been identified.
- 33 SPSG Historisches Inventar 833–836 [1876/77], Hohenzollern-Museum, here vol. 834, no. 2751.
- 34 Hagelstange 1905, p. 197.
- 35 See Ziehnert 1839, pp. 81–9; and Grässe 1868, pp. 48–9.
- 36 *Ibid.*, p. 49.
- 37 On Möller’s *Würfelspiel* in context of the Nazi reception of the Thirty Years’ War, see Lehmann 2004, *passim*.