

THIERRY DEPAULIS

## The Tarot de Marseille – Facts and Fallacies

## Part I

**A**lthough the term ‘Tarot de Marseille’ is the IPCS *recommended* name for a specific standard pattern (Pattern Sheet no. IT-1), and although there are several other recognised standard patterns for tarot cards that are very different in design and may be older than the Tarot de Marseille (e.g. Pattern Sheets IT-2: Tarocco Bolognese; IT-3: Belgian Tarot; IPT-1: Minchiate; IPT-2: Tarocco Siciliano, etc.), the Tarot de Marseille is considered by some as THE tarot. Its true essence or its absolute ancestor. That the French Wikipédia, very regrettably, offers its main Tarot entry under the heading ‘Tarot de Marseille’ is telling. (Under ‘Tarot’ only the modern French game is described.)

Today the name ‘Tarot de Marseille’ – or ‘Tarot of Marseille(s)’, or even TdM – has been widely spread, and the City of Marseille is not without taking pride of this situation. Of course, there are people who firmly believe that the Tarot was invented in Marseille, or that it was made there since the Middle Ages. This has so much become an obsession that most ‘tarotists’<sup>1</sup> base their quest on this sole pattern, neglecting all other tarot packs (Florentine, Bolognese, Sicilian, and the long extinct Ferrarese and Roman patterns).

### History of a name

#### *a. From scholarship to the occult*

The earliest use of the name ‘Tarot de Marseille’ that I have found appears under the pen of Romain Merlin in 1856, in his report on ‘Calligraphy, engraving, and playing cards’ made for the 1855 Paris International Exhibition (*Exposition universelle de 1855. Extrait des rapports du jury de la XXVIe classe : Calligraphie, gravure, cartes à jouer...*, Paris, 1856, “Cartes à jouer”, p. 644 footnote 1):

“Dans les tarots de Besançon, le pape et la papesse sont remplacés par Jupiter et Junon. Le tarot de Marseille n’offre pas ce changement.”

This article was reprinted in the following year as “Les cartes à jouer”, in Paul Lacroix’s *Revue universelle des arts* (vol. V, 1857, pp. 97-124), where the quotation is on p. 100.

---

<sup>1</sup> ‘Tarotists’ are people who still believe the Tarot is a ‘secret code’, which they try to ‘decipher’. They never do any historical research, they rarely visit libraries, and less so record offices. They often have read Dummett, at least through Google Books’ snippets’, they however set up their own theories, unendlessly speculating on whatever new idea they might have had. (Which are not all stupid...) Contrary to ‘Tarotists’, who are sincere and unselfish, ‘Tarologues’ are those who ‘know’. They have found the ‘keys’ to the Tarot, and they therefore feel allowed to sell them. Of course they do not care of any historical research. ‘Tarotists’ and ‘Tarologues’ share a common love of the Tarot de Marseille.

In 1859, Romain Merlin published a new article in the *Revue archéologique*, under the title “Nouvelles recherches sur l’origine des cartes à jouer”, which was a kind a draft outline of his later book *Origine des cartes à jouer: recherches nouvelles sur les naïbis, les tarots* (Paris, 1869). In it Merlin writes:

“Prenons, en effet, les tarots de Besançon, de Genève et de Marseille qui représentent le plus fidèlement l’ancien tarot vénitien...” (p. 288) and further on, he makes a clear distinction between the two main types of French tarots:

“Le Pape et la Papesse ne se trouvent pas dans tous les tarots français modernes. Dans les tarots de Besançon, ils sont remplacés par Jupiter et Junon. Ce changement est dû, sans doute, à ce que la puissance espagnole, puissance très-catholique, a possédé cette ville jusqu’à la conquête de Louis XIV. Ce qu’il y a de curieux, c’est que les tirages du midi de la France n’offrent pas cette particularité. Nous avons même sous les yeux un tarot à légendes françaises, gravé et imprimé à Bologne, chez Franc. Berti, qui offre le Pape et la Papesse.” (p. 307)

So, as early as the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, the names ‘tarot de Marseille’, ‘tarot de Besançon’ were familiar to Merlin. In his eyes these traditional tarot packs “represented the ancient Venetian tarot the most faithfully”.

It was not long before these appellations were adopted by occultist circles. As early as 1860, Éliphas Lévi, who has been dubbed the ‘Renovator of French Occultism’, referred to ‘les tarots de Besançon’ in his *Histoire de la magie* (Paris, 1860, p. 327):

“M. Vaillant, que nous venons de laisser parler, suppose donc que le tarot a été modifié et changé, ce qui est vrai pour les tarots allemands à figures chinoises; mais ce qui n’est vrai ni pour les tarots italiens qui sont seulement altérés dans quelques détails, ni pour les tarots de Besançon, dans lesquels on retrouve encore des traces des hiéroglyphes égyptiens primitifs.”

As we can see, Lévi does not mention the ‘Tarot de Marseille’, which he calls ‘tarots italiens’, while he uses ‘tarots de Besançon’, in the plural, exactly like Merlin. The probability that Éliphas Lévi read one of Merlin’s three articles is high. Neither ‘tarot(s) de Marseille’ nor ‘tarots de Besançon’ appeared in his earlier *Dogme et rituel de la haute magie* (1856) where only “les tarots chinois” (*sic*) and “les tarots italiens” are mentioned.

Another great figure of the occultist wave of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, Papus (Dr Gérard Encausse), was also familiar with these different types of tarot packs. In his influential *Le Tarot des Bohémiens* (1889), Chapter IX, he lists ‘Tarot italien’, ‘Tarot de Marseille’ and ‘Tarot de Besançon’, giving first rank to the second:

“Le Tarot italien, celui de Besançon, celui de Marseille sont les meilleurs sans contredit que nous possédions aujourd’hui, surtout le dernier, qui reproduit assez bien le Tarot symbolique primitif.”

Or, in A. P. Morton's English translation:

"The *Italian Tarot*, that of *Besançon* and of *Marseille*, are unquestionably the best which we now possess, particularly the latter, which fairly reproduces the *Primitive symbolical Tarot*."<sup>2</sup>

After Papus' death, in 1916, the name 'Tarot de Marseille' became more and more frequently used in occultist circles. In the years 1927-28 occultists like P.-S. Darc or Eugène Caslant praised the 'Tarot de Marseille' because it was the "richest and purest in terms of symbolism".<sup>3</sup> In his book *La magie* (Paris, 1923) Joseph Maxwell complained that "La seule édition correcte semble être le Tarot dit de Marseille, dans laquelle la I<sup>le</sup> et la V<sup>e</sup> figure sont la Papesse et le Pape. Cette édition est épuisée et la maison Grimaud l'a remplacée par une édition dans laquelle au Pape et à la Papesse ont été substitués Jupiter et Junon" (p. 36).

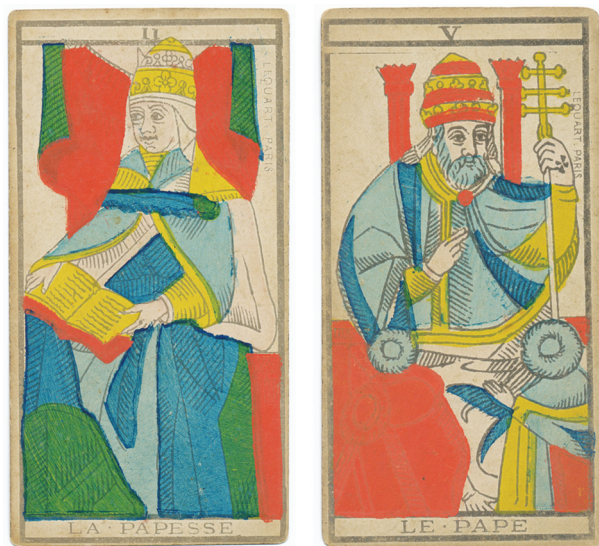
It is likely that Paul Marteau heard the message. Marteau met these requirements by publishing B.P. Grimaud's 'Ancien Tarot de Marseille' in 1930. Not only was he the head of the Grimaud firm, being the direct heir of Baptiste-Paul Grimaud, since his father Léo was Grimaud's nephew, but he also had occultist leanings. Although his father and uncle Georges had been trained in engineering and manufacturing, Paul Marteau had graduated in philosophy and, in 1921, he had published a short essay on "l'Ésotérisme de Gabalis" (in the book *Le Comte de Gabalis, ou Entretiens sur les sciences secrètes*, ed. René Louis Doyon, Paris, 1921).

The 1930 'Ancien Tarot de Marseille' soon became a touchstone. It was, however, a kind of revival, being based on a previous tarot, that had been designed by Lequart, a cardmaking company founded in Paris in 1872, and later taken over by Grimaud in 1891. Although Lequart is better known for its 'Besançon'-like tarot, which Grimaud took over in 1891 and continued until 1930,<sup>4</sup> it seems Paul Marteau has used an early edition of Lequart & Thuillier's Italian-suited tarot with Popess and Pope. Yves Reynaud is the happy owner of a rare copy of this tarot, signed LEQUART PARIS on all trumps and courts, where trumps II and V are the Popess and the Pope [Fig. 1, next page]. It is printed in lithography and coloured with stencils, whereas later copies are made in chromolithography. Save trumps II and V, it is identical to the better-known version with Juno and Jupiter. A quick comparison shows that its design is typically based on a tarot

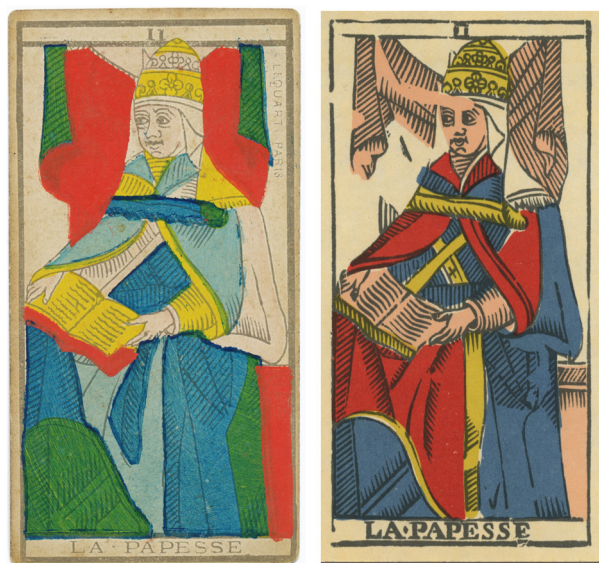
<sup>2</sup> Papus, *Absolute Key to Occult Science: The Tarot of the Bohemians, the most ancient book in the world*, transl. A. P. Morton, London, 1892, p. 89. My thanks to Kenji Ishimatsu for calling my attention on this. For Éliphas Lévi, Papus and other 19<sup>th</sup>-century French occultists, see R. Decker, T. Depaulis, M. Dummett, *A Wicked Pack of Cards: The Origins of the Occult Tarot*, London, 1996.

<sup>3</sup> Gwenael Beuchet, "Paul Marteau, auteur et éditeur de l'Ancien Tarot de Marseille (1930)", *Le Vieux Papier*, no. 358, Oct. 2000 (*Actes du Colloque «Papiers, Images, Collections»*, 28, 29, 30 avril 2000, Paris, 2000), p. 31-40. See also R. Decker & M. Dummett, *A History of the Occult Tarot 1870-1970*, London, 2002, p. 302.

<sup>4</sup> See T. Depaulis, *Tarot, jeu et magie*, Paris, 1984, nos. 112-114 (with some errors).



**Fig. 1:** Popess and Pope from a tarot by Lequart, c. 1875 (Yves Reynaud coll., by kind permission).



**Fig. 2:** Two Popesses compared: left Lequart, c. 1875 (Yves Reynaud coll., by kind permission), right A. Camoin, 1960 (author's coll.).

pack made in Marseille, not on a Besançon tarot. In fact, it is very similar to the Nicolas Conver tarot, which Camoin was still printing in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (from very worn woodblocks). A comparison between the two Popesses is striking [Fig. 2].

It is very likely that Camoin's Conver tarot formed the basis of Lequart's own, since even the 'royal' coat of arms with fleurs-de-lis on the two of Cups has been copied. Strangely this tarot shows "1748 - ARNOULT - 1748" on the scroll of the two of Coins. Although Lequart claimed to be "Ancienne maison Arnoult", this was only through the purchase (in 1872) of the Charles Maurin Company, which took over Arnoult in 1864, a firm which had been in the playing-card business for over 40 years.<sup>5</sup> However, there is no evidence that Arnoult or Maurin ever made a Latin-suited tarot, so it is probably Lequart who designed it and added this caption, pretending it had been inherited from an 18<sup>th</sup>-century pack.

<sup>5</sup> For Arnoult, Lequart, Maurin, see T. Depaulis, *Cartiers parisiens du XIXe siècle*. Nouvelle édition, Paris, 1998.





Fig. 3: Two of Coins and two of Cups, Lequart, c. 1875 (Yves Reynaud coll., by kind permission).

introduced two new figures on trumps II and V, Juno and Jupiter. Did Lequart realise that players in Besançon formed a more solid market?

It seems that the revival of tarot playing in Franche-Comté, during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, had encouraged more cardmakers to offer tarot cards of the same design as the local manufacturers (Jerger, and his followers): Deckherr in Montbéliard,<sup>7</sup> Pellerin in Épinal are known to have produced tarot packs with a 'Besançon' pattern in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Lequart had a ready Italian-suited tarot, they just had to swap the Popess and the Pope for Juno and Jupiter to match the Comtois players' taste. It would not be surprising to see a Parisian firm, like Lequart, trying to grab this market.

After 1891, Lequart's catalogue was continued under the imprint of B.P. Grimaud. But, after the First World War, French tarot players had turned

There was indeed a Paris stationer called Arnoult in the 18<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>6</sup> though it is not possible to know if he was related to the 19<sup>th</sup>-century Arnoult, who did not begin making playing cards before the 1820s. If Lequart was the originator of this tarot, he probably first made a copy of Conver's. But why? For which market? They must have been disappointed, because they clearly dropped the Popess and Pope and



Fig. 4: Two of coins from the Ancien Tarot de Marseille, B.P. Grimaud, 1930 (MFCJ, by kind permission).

<sup>6</sup> J. Grand-Carteret, *Papeterie et papetiers de l'ancien temps*, Paris, 1913, p. 192 mentions a trade card bearing "Arnoult, Au Saint-Esprit, rue Coquillière, vis-à-vis celle des Vieux-Augustins", but says Arnoult never appears in 18<sup>th</sup>-century trade directories.

<sup>7</sup> See T. Depaulis, "Montbéliard, les Deckherr et les cartes à jouer", *Le Vieux Papier*, no. 388, 2008, pp. 241-3.

to French-suited cards, so that the old Italian-suited Comtois pattern was probably more or less abandoned, save by fortune-tellers. As Paul Marteau became aware in the 1920s, there was a demand for a “true” Tarot de Marseille, it was easy to come back to Lequart’s early version, with Popess and Pope.

From 1930, the so-called ‘Ancien Tarot de Marseille’ became paramount among French occultists. After the Second World War Paul Marteau published a book entitled simply *Le Tarot de Marseille* (Paris, 1949) [Fig. 5], which was illustrated with cards cut from sheets of his ‘Ancien Tarot de Marseille’ glued in the pages of the book.

### **b. From the occult to... scholarship**

While the name ‘Tarot de Marseille’ had definitely entered the occultist vocabulary, Merlin’s most important successor, Henry-René D’Allemagne (*Les cartes à jouer du XIVe au XXe siècle*, 2 vol., Paris, 1906), seems to ignore it! For D’Allemagne, following here Merlin’s classification, there are three types of tarots, all Italian, depending on the number of cards in the pack, the Tarots of Bologna (62 cards), the Tarots of Florence (i.e. Minchiate, 97 cards), and the ‘classic’ 78-card tarot pack, which he calls ‘Tarots de Lombardie’, or ‘Tarots vénitiens’. As late as the 1960s Jean-Pierre Seguin, in his *Le jeu de cartes* (Paris, 1968), echoed these views, speaking of the “« tarots de Venise », dénommés plus tard en France « tarots de Marseille », du nom de la ville où on les fabrique en grand nombre au XVIIIe siècle” (p. 85).

But the true comeback of the name ‘Tarot de Marseille’ into the scholars’ community occurred with Sylvia Mann. In her book *Collecting Playing Cards* (New York, 1966) she devoted a whole paragraph of her chapter ‘The standard cards of Europe: France and England’ to the ‘Tarot de Marseille’ (p. 78), introducing it p. 61 thus:

“The tarot pack is the only Italian-suited pack used in France – principally along the eastern borders of the country and along the south-eastern coast<sup>8</sup> – although Paris cardmakers have always made a number of them. This is generally termed the *Tarot de Marseille* although other early packs are known to have originated in such distant places as Dijon, Strasbourg, Lyons, Besançon and so on.”



Fig. 5: Paul Marteau, *Le Tarot de Marseille*, Paris, Arts et Métiers Graphiques, 1949 (MFCJ, by kind permission).

<sup>8</sup> Although she says it in the present, Sylvia Mann had probably 18<sup>th</sup>-century France in mind. When she was writing her book, in the 1960s, the game of tarot was expanding again and was played in most of the country (though not yet in my native Bordeaux). Italian-suited cards were no longer used for the game. That “Paris cardmakers have always made a number of them” remains to ascertain...

The seed was sown. In his 1975 *Playing cards and their story*, George Beal made use of the name 'Tarot de Marseille', although 'Tarot de Besançon' does not seem to have its place. Even Stuart Kaplan's *Encyclopedia of Tarot* (New York, 1978), while using 'Tarot of Marseille', ignores 'Tarot of Besançon'. However, by the same time, the IPCS was publishing its first 'Pattern Sheets', and the very first of these were devoted to various types of tarot packs. Sheet IT-1<sup>9</sup> described the pattern as:

"Popularly known as the 'Tarot de Marseille' which is the recommended name. It is a relatively late term, probably due to the large output of the cards by makers of that city although the cards were made elsewhere in France and Switzerland including the cities or towns of Paris, Belfort, Avignon, Fribourg and Neuchâtel."

Pattern Sheet IT-1.4<sup>10</sup> must have followed soon, since it obviously belongs to the same undated, pre-1978 set of IPCS sheets. Its first lines read:

"Popularly known as the 'Tarot de Besançon' which is the recommended name although there is evidence that its origins lay further east."

So at last this is it. Note that 'Tarot de Marseille' and 'Tarot de Besançon' are "the recommended name(s)". No surprise if Michael Dummett uses both names (with due IPCS numbers) in his book *The Game of Tarot* (London, 1980). Dummett's book was to prove much more influential than the IPCS Pattern Sheets. Although recognised misnomers 'Tarot de Marseille' (TdM) and 'Tarot de Besançon' (TdB) are now almost universally used among tarot experts of all schools.

## Why Marseille?

By calling a standard pattern 'Tarot de Marseille' we assume that either this type of cards was designed in that city, or that it has become that city's very pattern, like we have a Provence pattern for ordinary cards, which probably was designed in Lyon but became Provence's very particular pattern.

### *a. 'Not invented here'*

There are people who claim that Marseille has very early credentials as far as playing cards are concerned, and that local artists must have been ready to paint tarot cards in the Middle Ages, but there is no evidence for this. One document that is sometimes referred to are the Statutes of St. Victor Abbey of 1337, where it is said "Quod nulla persona audeat nec præsumat ludere ad taxillos, nec ad *Paginas*, (nec) ad eyssuchum." In reporting this, Du Cange's low-Latin dictionary

---

<sup>9</sup> See online version at <http://i-p-c-s.org/pattern/ps-2.html>. My A5 original copy is undated (and unsigned), but it must have been published shortly before March 1978 (after which date all Pattern Sheets were dated), and I suspect Sylvia Mann to be its author. Paris is surprising here, but may be an allusion of the then unpublished pack by Jean Noblet (17<sup>th</sup> cent.), which Michael Dummett certainly knew by this time.

<sup>10</sup> Online version at <http://i-p-c-s.org/pattern/ps-6.html>.

(*Glossarium mediæ et infimæ latinitatis*, New edition, Paris, 1736) had no doubt that *paginas* were playing cards:

“PAGINÆ, Folia lusoria, ni fallor. *Ludus ad Paginas*, nostris *Jeu de cartes*. Statuta ann. 1337. ex Tabular. S. Vict. Massil. :

|| Quod nulla persona audeat nec præsumat ludere ad taxillos, nec ad *Paginas*, “(nec)” ad *eyssuchum*.

F. *eyssachum*, *Echets*. Vide *Ludus de Rege*.”

Since ‘*ludere ad taxillos*’ means playing at dice, and *eyssachum* is “*Echets*” (chess), *paginas* cannot be but playing cards... Unfortunately there are many reasons for doubting this. First *eyssuchum* (misspelled as *eyssachum* in the last line...) has never meant chess (which was *scacchi* in Latin), but is clearly the Latinised form of the Provençal word *eyssuch*, which means ‘dry’. The words ‘*ludere ad eyssuchum*’ are in fact common in medieval local laws. They are often opposed to ‘*ludere ad bagnat*’ (Prov. ‘*jugar al banhat*’), which literally means “to play for the wet”, i.e. for the drinks.

As many Provençal scholars of the 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century have shown, *ludere ad eyssuchum* means to play ‘dry’, i.e. not for drinks but for real money. It has nothing to do with chess.<sup>11</sup>

In the South of France, as well as in some parts of the Iberian Peninsula, and perhaps in Italy too, lawmakers, who had to face various forms of gambling, had come to distinguish gambling for the drinks, where the loser(s) had to buy drinks for the other players, from gambling for real money – it is where ‘dry’ comes in, there is no liquid... – which had to be strictly forbidden. ‘Wet’ gambling was tolerated, not ‘dry’ gambling. Of course both forms of gambling were forbidden to clerics.

The publication of D’Allemagne’s book and his claim that 1337 was the earliest reference to playing cards prompted Abbé Henri Requin’s suspicion.<sup>12</sup> He suggested to understand *paginas* as a misreading of *bagnas* (or *bagnat*), thus re-establishing the classic balance between *ad bagnas* and *ad eyssuchum*, and giving some sense to an otherwise incomprehensible sentence. He offered to reconstruct it as: “Quod nulla personna presumat ludere ad taxillos nec *ad bagnat* nec *ad eyssuchum*”, that no person should dare play at dice, neither for the drinks, nor for real money. Note that dice is the only game mentioned.

---

<sup>11</sup> D. Arbaud, *Études historiques sur la ville de Manosque au moyen-âge*, Digne, 1847, I, p. 191, n.2; C. Arnaud, “Organisation administrative et judiciaire de la ville de Draguignan”, *Bulletin de l’Académie du Var*, VI, 1876, p. 288; M. Mireur, in *Bulletin historique et philologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, 1885, p. 82; G. Lambert, “Histoire de Toulon (suite)”, chap. IX, *Bulletin de l’Académie du Var*, 55-56, 1887, pp. 168-9, n.1 all dismiss Du Cange’s interpretation.

<sup>12</sup> H. Requin, “VIII : Curiosités notariales”, *Congrès des sociétés savantes de Provence, Marseille (31 juillet-2 août 1906): Comptes-rendus et mémoires*, Aix-en-Provence, 1907, pp. 283-4.



Actually the earliest mention of playing cards in Marseille is a notarised act of 1381. In that year Jacques Jean, the son of a Marseillais merchant adventurer, committed himself, before a notary, to avoiding gambling (particularly at *nahipi*) during his trip to Egypt and back, and also during the eight days following his return to Marseille.<sup>13</sup> *Nahipi* is of course the same word as *naibi*, which is found in Italy, and the same as the Catalan *naips* and Castilian *naipes*, 'playing cards'. It is interesting to read that Jacques Jean was about to sail to Alexandria, where we strongly suspect playing cards to come from.

Joseph Billioud, who is my compass here, has no other evidence of playing cards in Marseille before 1562, but it is amazing to see that it is a 'no-gambling contract' ('contrat de non-jouer') again, and this time, it is a lawyer who promises to refrain from playing at cards, tarot and dice. Another such contract was signed by another Marseillais gambler in 1567, also mentioning cards and tarot, and all sorts of other games, save tennis.<sup>14</sup> So tarot was played in Marseille in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Another evidence (not in Billioud) comes from Louis Bellaud de La Bellaudière (c.1543-1588), a Provençal playwright and poet who was born in Grasse but lived between Marseille, Aix-en-Provence and Avignon. In his *Premier livre de la prison* (1572-4) we find these two verses:

Et dirias qu'an troubat un ferre d'aguilleto,  
Quand fan d'un prisonnier lou douze d'as Tarotz.<sup>15</sup>

("And you will say that you have found an aglet tag, when a prisoner plays the XII of tarot.")

Another witness, and friend of Bellaud, was Capt. Jacques Perrache, "gentilhomme provençal", who published a short pamphlet against gaming, *Le Triomphe du berlan* (Paris, 1585), where he painstakingly piles up words in order to make verses. Stanza 59 has "...Et s'aider aux tarots de la reigle de vingt ...", while Stanza 66 reads: "Mornifle, quatre rois, sept tarots, raflegaye [...] / Et de mille autres noms qu'il ne me souvient plus".<sup>16</sup> These somewhat puzzling lines testify for a clear popularity of tarot in Provence. A dozen years later another

<sup>13</sup> A. Mortreuil, "Les cartes à jouer", *Revue de Marseille et de Provence*, IV, 1858, pp. 301-2; D'Allemagne, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 12+14; J. Billioud, "La carte à jouer: une vieille industrie marseillaise", *Marseille. Revue municipale*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., no. 34, 1958, p. 16, also in *Cartes à jouer & tarots de Marseille: la donation Camoin. Collections du musée du Vieux-Marseille*, Marseille, 2004, p. 59.

<sup>14</sup> Billioud, *loc. cit.*

<sup>15</sup> Bellaud de La Bellaudière, *Obros et rimos, Don-don infernau, Passa-tens*, ed. Auguste Brun, Avignon, 1954. See *Obros et rimos*, Sonnet VI, p. 17. The 'XII of tarots' is of course the Hanged Man.

<sup>16</sup> Interestingly one of the introductory poems is by Bellaud de La Bellaudière, while Perrache signed two Castilian *coplas* and an Italian sonnet at the beginning of Bellaud's *Obros et rimos provençals*, which was (posthumously) edited by Pierre Paul and published in Marseille in 1595. For a detailed analysis of Perrache's lines on tarot play, see T. Depaulis, "Étienne Tabourot et le tarot", *Le Vieux Papier*, no. 379, Jan. 2006, pp. 386-92.

Marseillais writer, Pierre Paul, or Peire Pau (c.1554-*post* 1615), wrote a poem ‘A Monsieur de Gallaup’ (i.e. Louis Galaup de Chasteuil, 1555-1598), where we read “Si non fau faire lou malau, Et das taros prendre l’excuso” (Yet you must not do evil, and take the Excuse [Fool] of tarot).<sup>17</sup>

As it seems tarot was quite popular among literary circles of Marseille, and probably in other segments of the population too. But the Marseillais had to buy their cards from elsewhere, since no cardmaker is known to have made cards in Marseille before the 1630s. There were not so many places where playing cards were manufactured in the late 16<sup>th</sup>-early 17<sup>th</sup> century. Lyon is an obvious

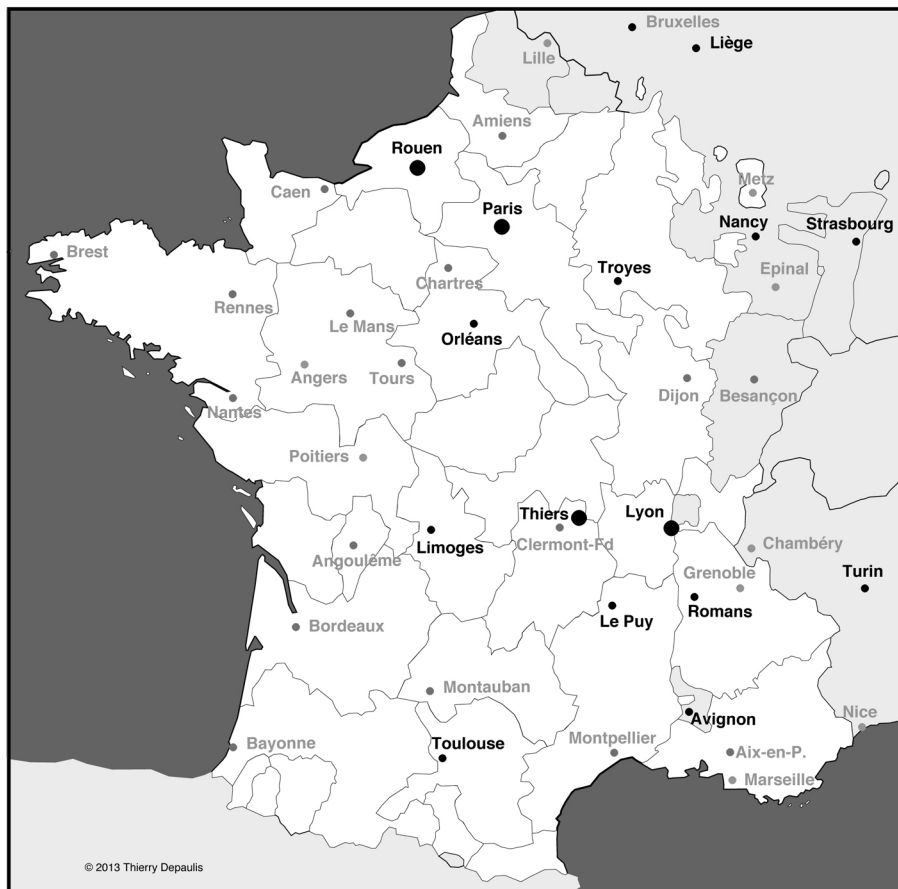


Fig. 6: Map of France and surrounding countries by 1600. In **bold** type places where playing cards were made.

<sup>17</sup> *L'autounado*, as quoted in *Poètes provençaux du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle: Pierre Paul, Michel Tronc, textes inédits*, ed. Aug. Brun, Gap, 1957, pp. 61-2. French tarot players were already using the word *Excuse* for the Fool.

candidate, but Avignon, then a papal city, where cards were made since the 15<sup>th</sup> century, was probably a supplier, too.

***b. Marseille cardmakers and their tarots before 1719***

In 1608 the cardmakers of Lyon complained that their trade was endangered because playing cards were illegally made in such cities as Dijon, Langres, Nantes, Le Puy, Romans, Valence, Marseille and “toutes autres villes deffendues”.<sup>18</sup> In 1605 an edict of Henri IV had decided to raise a tax on playing cards, and to limit to seven the number of towns where cardmakers could settle, namely Paris, Rouen, Lyon, Toulouse, Troyes, Limoges, and Thiers. This was a means to better control their production and therefore the tax revenue. The 1608 Lyonese list sounds strange. It is likely that it contains some bluff. Craftsmen did not like competition, and the guild system made everything possible to protect them. They often complained, using exaggerated arguments, in order to obtain more protection. In this case, only Le Puy and Romans were known to have cardmakers at the time (thus ignoring the 1605 edict), whereas we have no records of cardmakers in the other cities. Langres and Valence never had one, while Dijon and Nantes cardmakers started in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century only. Marseille was to be included in the amended official list of 1631, when King Louis XIII decided to add Romans, Orléans, Marseille, and Angers to the previous seven.

While there is no trace of any cardmaker in Marseille before 1631, just a few years later we meet the names of Jean Pradines (1634), Louis Garret (1638), and Benoît Ganteaume (1638-64). No playing cards from their workshops have survived, but a Spanish pack, of the ‘nacional’ pattern, in the Museo de Naipes ‘Fournier’ de Álava (ESP 3)<sup>19</sup> may be attributed to Ganteaume. Benoît Ganteaume had been apprentice to Jean Pradines, and was briefly in partnership with Louis Garret in 1638. In 1648 he formed a company with a woodcutter in order to print cotton cloth in the Indian manner. Soon his two sons-in-law Jean-François Attingan (from Rouen) and Antoine Bourlion joined the company (in 1658 and 1659, respectively), and a year later, Nicolas Sicard (also from Rouen), who had married Ganteaume’s third daughter, became a collaborator. It seems Sicard was already familiar with calico printing, since he is said “compagnon cartier et faiseur d’indiennes, habitant Marseille, fils de Jean Sicard, maître cartier de Rouen”. Two other early Marseille cardmakers are recorded for printing both cards and calicoes, the earliest calico prints in Europe. In 1662 they styled themselves as “cartiers et faiseurs de vanes et indiennes”.<sup>20</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> D’Allemagne, *op. cit.*, II, p. 244.

<sup>19</sup> F. Alfaro Fournier, *Los naipes. Museo Fournier*, Vitoria, 1982, p. 27, ESP 3. On the ace of Coins one can easily read *benoist* and, on the second line, something like *gameton*. Ganteaume?

<sup>20</sup> For these early steps of cardmaking in Marseille, see Billioud, *loc. cit.* For the beginning of calico printing, H. Chobaut, “L’industrie des indiennes à Marseille avant 1680”, *Mémoires de l’Institut historique de Provence*, XVI, 1939, pp. 81-95. *Vannes* were ‘painted’ quilts.

The fact that many of these cardmakers and woodcutters came from elsewhere – Rouen, but also Caen, Marsac (in Auvergne), etc. – is good evidence of the trade being recent and ‘imported’. Another hint is a new complaint from the Lyon cardmakers in 1642. In an official petition, which was cried out throughout Marseille by the city council,<sup>21</sup> they complained that their cards and imprints were counterfeited by the local cardmakers and demanded a ban on this. This is a clear sign that, in Marseille, the art of making cards was dependent on the Lyon models. Even the Provence pattern comes from Lyon, where its earliest examples are to be found.<sup>22</sup> Was this petition the reason why so many Marseillais cardmakers turned to calico printing in the 1650s-60s? But this proved to last only a few decades.

In 1669 competition came from Aix-en-Provence where playing cards started to be made, and a ban was imposed by Louis XIV on calico printing in 1686. (French *soyeux* – silkmakers – wanted to be protected.) In spite of these setbacks the Marseillais cardmakers seem to have been quite successful. At the turn of the century there were ten workshops, all busy with both the local and export markets. Were tarot cards made in Marseille at that time? This is very likely. Although no cards with a name or an address from Marseille is known to exist, Yves Reynaud was lucky enough to find two tarot cards, a nine of Coins and a Popess [Fig. 7a-b], that had been re-used to reinforce the binding of a small



<sup>21</sup> AM Marseille, HH 397, 30 July 1642, in Billoud, *loc. cit.*

<sup>22</sup> BnF, Est. Kh 381 Rés. and Lyon, Musée Gadagne.





Fig. 7a (previous page), 7b (above): Nine of Coins and Popess found in a bookbinding, Marseille (?), c. 1685.

book printed in Marseille in 1686, the anonymous *L'amy sincere de Messieurs de la Religion P.R. qui veut les convaincre des erreurs de leur secte* (A Marseille: chez C. Brebion, 1686).<sup>23</sup> These cards were probably made in the same city, thus providing us with the earliest 'Tarot de Marseille' tarot cards! They postdate, however, by some twenty years the cards of same design produced by Jean Noblet in Paris.

In October 1701 a new royal edict introduced a tax on playing cards and tarots. The enormous needs of money caused by the War of the Spanish Succession (1700-13) made it necessary.<sup>24</sup> The edict ruled that all workshops had to be inventoried by public officers, and "les planches qui ont servi jusqu'à présent à l'impression desdites cartes, pour être sur le champ rompues et brisées" (woodblocks for export patterns and tarot cards were not included). Fortunately the records of these inventories have been carefully kept in Marseille.<sup>25</sup> They rather disappointingly show us that, among the ten master cardmakers, only one, François Tourcaty, had tarot cards! The inventory mentions "tarotz pliés

<sup>23</sup> Y. Reynaud, "Autopsie chez le libraire: les tarots étaient dans la reliure", a paper read at the IPCS Convention, Issy-les-Moulineaux, 14-17 September 2012. I thank Philippe Subrini, for his kind permission to reproduce the cards and the book, and Yves Reynaud for his help.

<sup>24</sup> D'Allemagne, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 314-15. A tax had previously been raised on playing cards between 1622 and 1670.

<sup>25</sup> AM Marseille, HH 397, 15 November 1701. I owe a copy of this document to Ingrid Sénépart, then in charge of the *Cartes à jouer & tarots de Marseille* exhibition, Marseille, 2004.

dans du papier jeu par jeu" (tarots packs wrapped in paper individually); some workshops are explicitly noted for not having tarot packs. Guillaume Sellon "a dit n'avoir aucun jeu de cartes & tarotz ny aucune feuilles de cartes comancée & à l'esgard des planches il nous a dit n'en avoir que deux dont il se sert pour faire toutes les figures de cartes qu'il debitte" ('has said that he had no card or tarot packs, nor half-worked sheets, and for the plates, he has told us that he only had two, which he uses for making all courts for the cards he sells'), which means that with only two woodblocks (the *planches*) he could only make ordinary cards. In fact nine cardmakers declared to possess only a few woodblocks, while Fabry Sicard alone had eleven ("pour ce qu'y est des planches il nous en a représenté onze"). Eleven woodblocks may represent seven for a tarot, plus four for French and Spanish playing cards. But if Sicard had enough woodblocks for producing tarot cards, no tarot packs were in his stock. This is somewhat puzzling, and I suspect the Marseillais cardmakers to have limited their stocks and woodblocks to a minimum in the expectation of the visits... A better insight is given by the "académies" (licensed public gaming houses for lawful games), which too were scrupulously inventoried (although this was not actually required by the edict). There were twelve of these in Marseille,<sup>26</sup> and it turned out that seven out of twelve had... tarot packs in store. The "maison & academie de Hierosme [Jerome] Dufrene" had "trante sept douzaine [i.e. 444!] jeux de cartes & treize [13] ieux de tarotz", the "maison & academie du Sr Louis Jolly" had "vingt quatre [24] jeux de tarotz & cinquante neuf [59] jeux de cartes", the others had just four or five, while a few gaming-house owners said they had no tarot packs. For example, Catherine Delion "a dit n'avoir aucun jeux de tarotz ny davantage de jeux de cartes", and some explicitly replied they had no tarot packs: "à l'esgard des tarotz ledit [Pierre] Turreau nous a déclaré n'avoir aucun", "à l'esgard des tarotz il [one 'mons<sup>r</sup> de Marignan'] a déclaré n'en avoir aucun". So it seems the public officers were particularly careful to check whether tarot packs were present, or not, in the "académies".

That tarot cards were used for a game is here nicely confirmed by these tarot packs stored in public gaming houses.

### *c. Marseille cardmakers and their tarots after 1719*

According to Billoud, the tax on playing cards had negative effects on the trade, forcing some masters out, inciting the others to smuggle their production. Even the tax-farmer smuggled! In 1708 the number of master cardmakers had fallen down from ten to six. The end of the taxation period came in 1719 with a more liberal Regency, thus opening new paths to prosperity. In 1730 the Marseillais cardmakers were strong enough to request and obtain the status of an official guild, the "communauté des maistres fabricants cartiers de cette ville de Marseille".<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Actually thirteen were visited, but the house of 'd<sup>lle</sup> Helaine Meynard' was about to close, since she had "aucune cartes ny tarotz pour ne donner plus à jouer".

<sup>27</sup> D'Allemagne, *op. cit.*, II, Doc. XXI, pp. 509-16.

Although none of the 45 points of the 1730 constitution has a word for tarot cards – even the required *chef-d'œuvre* only needs to be the realisation of a complete pack of cards (“un jeu de cartes complet”) – an appendix (“Taux général”) fixes the costs and prices of all sorts of cards that the Marseille cardmakers were making at the time: cartes à la française (also “cartes portrait de Marseille”), cartes espagnoles dites Grand Baston, cartes espagnoles façon de Madrid, cartes espagnoles façon de Lima, tarots. At last we have another occurrence of the game from Marseille.

Should we not have some tarot packs made in Marseille in the 1760s we could have overlooked this kind of production. Obviously, to judge from the various archives that have been published by D'Allemagne and referred to by Chobaut and Billoud, tarot cards were not so important. Of the thirty or so playing-card wrappers that were registered by the master cardmakers from 1676 to 1771 and which are now preserved in the City Archives,<sup>28</sup> there is no wrapper bearing the word TAROTS. They are all CARTES FINES...

But tarot packs are generally impressive, and they are not so easily thrown away. They are kept in greater number than ordinary playing cards. For Marseille we are fortunate to know nearly 40 tarot packs from the 18<sup>th</sup> century and the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Not all are complete, not all have been published, but they offer enough cards to let us see what they are. Here is a ‘catalogue’:

### **Tarot packs made in Marseille**

François Chosson 1C72 [1762 ?], probably before 1734

Museum Blumenstein Solothurn, Switzerland (Kaplan 1986, p. 312)

The date is obviously in error, since it makes no sense to read 1672: François Chosson is not known before 1734 (D'Allemagne) and 1736, when he registered a wrapper (“Chez François Chosson, cartier et graveur, demeurent [sic] rue St-Fereol, près l'Operat [sic], à Marseille”<sup>29</sup>). He is recorded until 1756 (though not as late as 1762). There are no cardmakers by this name before him, whereas his son Guillaume Chosson was active from 1773 to 1809. Lastly there are features which clearly make it a ‘modernised’ version (on which more later).

However, thanks to the recent facsimile edition published by Yves Reynaud, a closer examination of the cards is possible. (In Kaplan 1986, the photo of the cards was blurred.) It becomes evident that the woodcutter of the cards is a skilled one – faces are well drawn, hair curls are well rendered, bodies are proportionate, hands are nicely done; he is also good at spelling – surprisingly his captions are all correctly spelled, and the letters are carefully cut, even with downstrokes and upstrokes! His initials GS, also well formed, can be seen on trump VII and the two of Cups. Although François Chosson claimed to be “cartier et graveur” on

<sup>28</sup> *Cartes à jouer & tarots de Marseille*, Marseille, 2004, pp. 68-73.

<sup>29</sup> *Cartes à jouer & tarots de Marseille*, op. cit., p. 69.

his wrapper for “CATESFINES” (*sic*), he obviously is not the woodcutter of the tarot which bears his name. He certainly bought the woodblocks from a previous owner and changed the name to his. (His surname is smaller than the first name and its curve does not follow exactly that of the scroll.) Therefore this tarot was probably designed before François Chosson started his business in 1734.

Joseph Chaffard 1747

Museum zu Allerheiligen, Schaffhausen, Switzerland (Schaffhausen 2004, no. 22)

This is a small puzzle. The two of Cups has no address and shows only a little Bacchus. The Chaffards, Louis and his sons (to no less than three wives...), were cardmakers in Béziers.<sup>30</sup> The elder, Jean-Louis (b.1718), was in Marseille in 1753. We have no account of his younger step-brother Joseph-Louis (b.1728), probably the maker of this tarot, although this would mean he

was 19... It is not certain that tarot cards were made in Béziers; the little Bacchus may rather hint at Marseille, since the same figure appears on the same card of Jean-François Tourcaty fils’ tarot.

Jean-François Tourcaty fils *ca* 1750?

Formerly Guiard Collection, Millon Auction 5/11/2011, no. 121

In the auction catalogue I have explained that this tarot is different from another, later Jean-François Tourcaty tarot, and that its woodblock is certainly pre-1760. It is very similar to the Chaffard 1747 tarot, with the same Bacchus on the two of Cups. Both call the Fool ‘Le Fol’. (Strangely a hand has added, in pencil, XXII on top of the card.)



Fig. 8: Tarot cards by François Chosson, probably before 1734 (facsimile edition).

<sup>30</sup> I am grateful to Ross (Caldwell), “Biterrois d’honneur”, and to Ros (one s), the author of a short article on the Chaffards of Béziers in 1978, for their lights.





Fig. 9: Tarot cards by Jean-François Tourcaty fils c.1750? (former Guiard Collection).

#### Joseph-Noël Icarden c.1755

Private collection, Nantes. Hitherto unknown. According to D'Allemagne Joseph Icarden is recorded in 1753 and 1773. In September 1774 his son Antoine gets married (G. Rambert, *Histoire du commerce de Marseille*, VI: *De 1660 à 1789. Les colonies*, Paris, 1959, p. 68 n. 3). Note that here too the Fool is called Le Fol (and numbered XXII in pen). Many details belong to the same type as Chaffard and Jean-François Tourcaty fils I.

#### François Bourlion 1760

Cary Coll., Keller 1981, FRA 153; BnF, Depaulis 1984, no. 40; Oxford, Bod. Lib. 1995, no. 4 (Douce: French, Box 3)

#### Nicolas Conver 1760

- 18<sup>th</sup>-century copies (pre-1808): Miike Playing-Card Museum, Omuta (Japan): a few cards (including Trump XIII) in poor condition; Piasa Auction 28/03/2009, no. 194 (71/78 cards); Musée de l'Image, Épinal (72/78 cards, with ms. divinatory additions); MFCJ, IS.90.11.4.220 (72/78 cards)

- early 19<sup>th</sup>-century copies (post 1808): BnF, Depaulis 1984, no. 41; BM, O'Donoghue 1901, F.15; Tajan Auction 16/11/2009 'Passion Collections', no. 69; The Worshipful Company of Makers of Playing Cards Collection, London (Berry 1995, no. [51])

- later copies: Cary Coll., Keller 1981, FRA 155 & 156; Alfaro Fournier 1982, FRA 55; DSM, Hoffmann/Dietrich 1988, no. 11; etc.

#### Joseph Fautrier 1762

Marseille 1974, Part 2, no. 40 = Marseille 2004, no. 83; Cary Coll., Keller 1981, FRA 157; BnF: 4 copies, all 52 cards!: KH 381 RES. no. 79, KH 384

no. 26, KH 384 no. 26b, KH 384  
no. 27; former Atger Collection  
(Tajan Auction catalogue, 18-11-  
2000, no. 122), also 52 cards

Antoine Bourlion 1768

MuCEM (formerly MNATP),  
70.141.96

J-François Tourcaty fils ca 1785

BM, O'Donoghue 1901, F.17;  
Cary Coll., Keller 1981, FRA  
169; BnF, Depaulis 1984, no.  
138 (with 'corrected' captions,  
1793/94; divinatory comments  
added in pen); Turnhout, NMS  
(F. Cremers, *Belasting is troef*,  
Turnhout, 1992, p. [103] (with  
'corrected' captions, 1793/94); Bern, Bernisches Historisches Museum,  
2093.c [not seen]

Amphoux & Arnoux 1802/3

DSM, Hoffmann/Dietrich 1988, no. 13

André Arnoux post 1808

Cary Coll., Keller 1981, FRA 149; Schaffhausen 2004, no. 25

Bernardin Suzanne 1839

Alfaro Fournier 1982, FRA 195; MFCJ (from Eliphas Lévi)

Bernardin Suzanne no date (c.1850?)

BM, Willshire 1878, F.39; Mann 1990, no. 204; Schaffhausen 2004, no. 28;  
Tajan Auction 6/11/2004, no. 107; Piasa Auction 28/03/2009, no. 194  
bis

## References

Abbreviations: BM = British Museum; BnF = Bibliothèque nationale de France;  
DSM = Deutsches Spielkarten-Museum; MFCJ = Musée Français de la Carte  
à Jouer; MSJ = Musée Suisse du Jeu, La Tour-de-Peilz; MuCEM = Musée des  
Civilisations de l'Europe et de la Méditerranée, Marseille (formerly MNATP,  
Paris); NMS = Nationaal Museum van de Speelkaart, Turnhout

Alfaro Fournier 1982 = F. Alfaro Fournier, *Museo Fournier. Los naipes*, Vitoria,  
1982

Berry 1995 = J. Berry, *Playing-cards of the world : Catalogue of the collection of  
the Worshipful Company of Makers of Playing Cards and cards owned by Guildhall  
Library*. London, 1995

D'Allemagne 1906 = H.-R. D'Allemagne, *Les cartes à jouer du XVe au XXe  
siècle*. 2 vol., Paris, 1906



**Fig. 10:** Two cards by Joseph Fautrier 1762  
(former Atger Collection).

- Depaulis 1984 = T. Depaulis, *Tarot, jeu et magie*. Paris, 1984
- Hoffmann/Dietrich 1988 = D. Hoffmann, M. Dietrich, *Tarot. Tarock. Tarocchi*, Leinfelden-Echterdingen, 1988
- Kaplan 1978 = S.R. Kaplan, *The Encyclopedia of Tarot*, New York, 1978
- Kaplan 1986 = S.R. Kaplan, *The Encyclopedia of Tarot*, II, New York, 1986
- Keller 1981 = W.B. Keller, *A catalogue of the Cary collection of playing cards in the Yale University Library*. 4 vol., New Haven, 1981
- Mann 1990 = S. Mann, *Alle Karten auf den Tisch / All cards on the table. Collection / Sammlung Sylvia Mann*, Leinfelden-Echterdingen / Marburg, 1990
- Marseille 2004 = *Cartes à jouer & tarots de Marseille: la donation Camoin. Collections du musée du Vieux-Marseille*, Marseille, 2004
- O'Donoghue 1901 = F.M. O'Donoghue, *Catalogue of the collection of playing cards bequeathed to the trustees of the British Museum by the late Lady Charlotte Schreiber*. London, 1901
- Schaffhausen 2004 = *Schweizer Spielkarten 2 : Das Tarockspiel in der Schweiz / Tarocke des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts im Museum zu Allerheiligen Schaffhausen*. Schaffhausen, 2004
- Willshire 1876 = W.H. Willshire, *A descriptive catalogue of playing and other cards in the British Museum*. London, 1876 (rp. Amsterdam, 1975)

No other city has handed down to us so many tarot packs: from Dijon we have nine packs; from Grenoble, four; from Lyon we know only two; Avignon has left us with five copies of the Jean-Pierre Payen 1713 tarot, and three by Jean Payen 1743; from Besançon we know one 'TdM' tarot, by Jean Tissot (c.1725) and of course a plethora of copies of 19<sup>th</sup>-century 'TdB' packs, by Jerger, Renault, Blanche, and Kirchner. In fact the only city that can rival with Marseille is Strasbourg, with 31 tarot packs that have been preserved here and there (my own count from various resources, some unpublished). However, they are all – almost all... – of the 'Tarot de Besançon' type, the only variation being *Le Printemps* and *L'Hyver*, instead of Juno and Jupiter (more on which in a further article).

#### **d. Other places in Provence**

Aix-en-Provence has always been Marseille's great rival. It was the See of the Parlement de Provence and of an archbishopric, whereas Marseille was only a trading port (though very busy). Aix was the cultural and administrative centre, while Marseille was all business. This might explain why Aix had no cardmakers until 1670. However, there were eight masters in 1696.<sup>31</sup> During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, cardmakers continued to compete with Marseille. Strangely we have no record of tarots made in Aix-en-Provence.

Not far from Aix and Marseille, Avignon was of course not in the Kingdom of France, since it was a Papal enclave (until 1791). As Hyacinthe Chobaut has shown in *Les maîtres cartiers d'Avignon du XVe siècle à la Révolution* (Avignon,

<sup>31</sup> D'Allemagne, *op. cit.*, II, p. 332.

1955, offprint of *Mémoires de l'Académie de Vaucluse*, IV, 1955), there was a first cardmaking 'boom' between c.1480 and c.1520, then a long silence of the records of more than a century and a half, with few or no cardmakers. Their presence, though, resumed in the late 17<sup>th</sup> century, particularly with the celebrated Payen family.

*Taraux* were made in Avignon as early as 1505,<sup>32</sup> but unfortunately all of Chobaut's other early references to 'tarots' prove to be to Latin-suited cards (*cartae de spazis, de bastonis*, etc.) not to real tarots. We have to wait until the late 17<sup>th</sup> century to meet documents where they are mentioned, although these seem to be scarce. Among the post-mortem inventories that Chobaut has found, only that of Guillaume Garet, done in January 1686, has some 'moules de tarots' (woodblocks for printing tarot cards). For the 18<sup>th</sup> century it is not surprising to find 'dix-huit moules à imprimer les cartes et tarots' in Jean Payen's inventory (17 March 1731), as well as various tarot woodblocks in Pierre-Jean Payen's inventory (14 July 1764).<sup>33</sup> Regrettably Chobaut only sums up the contents of the inventories, and consistently calls all Latin-suited cards 'tarots'. So it is not easy to know what he means when he does not quote the documents themselves. Pierre-Jean Payen's "deux moules pour les grands tarots, d'autres moules de tarots" make me suspect not all 'tarots' here were real ones, since two woodblocks are not enough for printing a complete tarot pack and would rather fit Spanish cards. (Marseille cardmakers made "cartes espagnoles dites Grand Baston".) However, on p. 29 of his booklet, Chobaut lists the cards that were in stock in Pierre-Jean Payen's shop, and these comprise "115 jeux de tarots à 14 sous". Even if it is again in Chobaut's words, there is no doubt that tarot packs are meant, since '14 sous' is a realistic price – though expensive! – for one tarot pack. But it is a fact that none of the twenty-two original documents which Chobaut publishes in appendix to his work offers the word *tarots* or *taraux*.

Hopefully we do know of actual tarot cards made in Avignon. Here is a (short) list:

Jean-Pierre Payen 1713

Cary Coll., Keller 1981, FRA 166 = Kaplan 1986, 316; Depaulis 1984, no. 38 (now MFCJ, IS.94.58.8); Jean Verame Coll.; DSM, Hoffmann/Dietrich 1988, no. <9> (errore 10) = D. Hoffmann, *Kultur- und Kunstgeschichte der Spielkarte*, 1995, no. 141; MSJ, 10027

Jean Payen 1743

Kaplan 1978, 148 = Alfaro Fournier 1982, FRA 48; Cary Coll., Keller 1981, FRA 165; BnF, Est. Kh. 34 + / pet.fol.

Although an overlooked centre, Toulon had four cardmakers by 1700, and as everywhere in France, following the edict of October 1701, their workshops

<sup>32</sup> See my article "Des 'cartes communément appelées taraux'", *ThePC*, 32-5, March-Apr. 2004, pp. 199-205 ; 32-6, May-June 2004, pp. 244-49.

<sup>33</sup> Chobaut, *op. cit.*, p. 22-23. The 14<sup>th</sup> of July was still a working day...



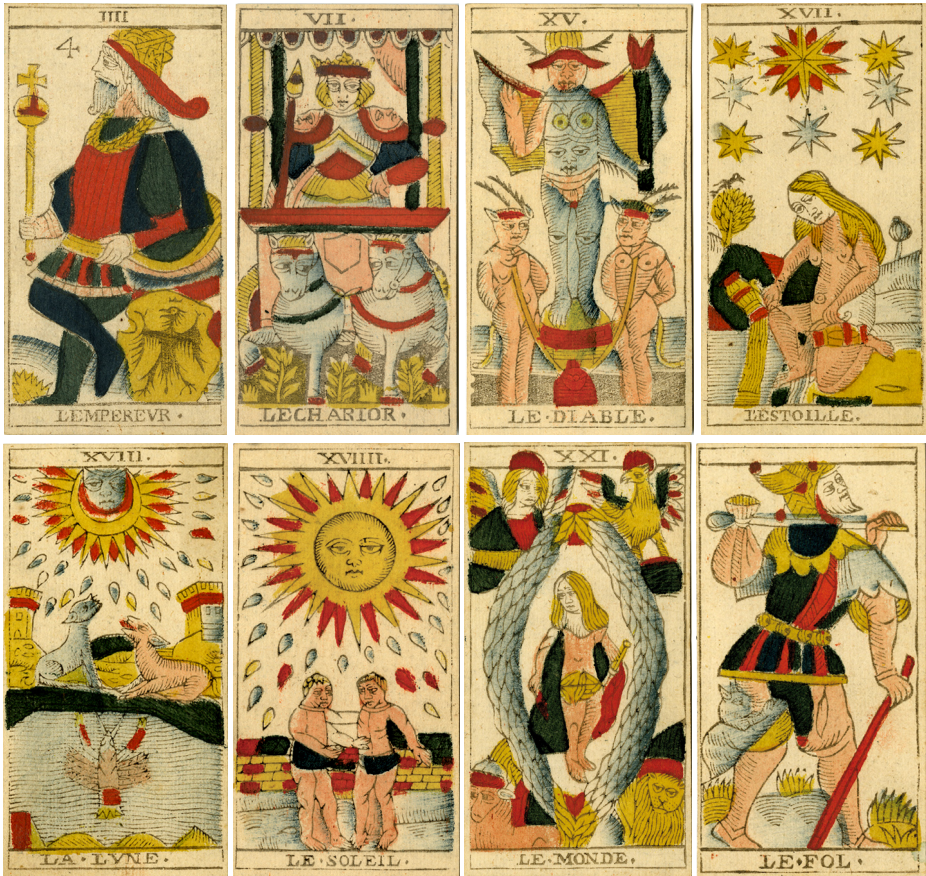


Fig. 11: Tarot cards by Jean-Pierre Payen 1713 (Musée Suisse du Jeu, La Tour-de-Peilz).

had to be inventoried. On 5 December 1701 only Pierre Vial declared he had “4 douzaines 6 jeux de tarots aussi pliés et finis” although he had only “deux moules en bois, de figures à teste et à valet”, so that he probably did not print his tarots himself. One retailer had seven tarot packs in his shop. D’Allemagne states that by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Toulon cardmakers were producing “trois sortes de cartes : les cartes françaises, les cartes espagnoles et les tarots”<sup>34</sup> but no one has ever seen tarot cards made in Toulon!

(to be continued)

<sup>34</sup> D’Allemagne, *op. cit.*, II, p. 340.