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Selling Like a State? Lottery Advertising, Commercial Rivalries, and the Public Sphere in Eighteenth-Century Germany

In late 1787, senior government officials in the Kingdom of Prussia debated whether the then highly profitable Royal Prussian Lottery should be abolished due to what its opponents saw as its detrimental economic, social, and cultural effects. Unsurprisingly, the Prussian lottery entrepreneur Count von Eickstedt defended the merits of the lottery and denied all accusations of its harmfulness. Eickstedt not only apologetically argued for the innocuousness – even the virtues – of the state lottery but he also pointed to one moral advantage of his Prussian lottery over other comparable enterprises, especially in smaller polities of the Holy Roman Empire:

> In smaller states [...] foreigners, usually Italians, are the lottery entrepreneurs [...] since the cities or states are too small and therefore have too few players, they use the most seductive means, such as brochures, sumptuous calendars and other kinds of jugglery [...] Obviously, here [in Prussia] there is none of that [...] no brochure, no means of persuasion is permitted.[1]

Advertising was presented here as a moral, somewhat suspect, issue, but also as something that smaller actors under foreign leadership had to resort to, because they had no domestic market to speak of and therefore competed for desperately needed "foreign" market shares. In doing so, they developed elaborate advertising media and techniques.

Pamphlets and booklets such as the *Almanach de la Bonne Fortune* were indeed a striking example of the sort of "jugglery" introduced by foreign entrepreneurs that Eickstedt was referring to. It presented an ensemble of images and short, entertaining texts that promoted the lottery of the prince-electors of the Palatinate to the public. The original French version pointed to the origins of both this type of literature in a French language culture of almanacs and calendars and the entrepreneurs operating the lottery at the behest of the prince

1 [Graf Eickstedt] "Pro Memoria" [1787] (GStA PK, Rep. 9, JJ 13a, Pak. 4, fol. 43v -44r).

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elector.[2] A German-language edition addressed the broader public in and outside the territory.[3]

The *Almanach* illustrates some of the means of persuasion used here. On the surface, it presented a narrative very loosely linked by a walk through the city of Mannheim on the day of the lottery draw and included occasional dialogues between a group of friends and acquaintances, interspersed with commentary on various illustrations praising the *lotto di Genova* and practical instructions on how to play in this game. With the appropriate degree of repetition, the lottery was presented as the most pleasurable and economical way to stimulate and indulge one's fantasies of status and wealth. It played with circumventing the norms of a society of orders where status was determined by birth, as well as with bourgeois values where status was obtained through merit, intelligence, or prudence. Such calendars, almanacs, guides to dream interpretation, and similar types of media promoting the lottery were broadly circulated in Germany during the late eighteenth century,[4] including a Prussian lottery calendar that was continued at least until 1783; a fact that Eickstedt conveniently omitted.[5]

The ethical aspect of advertising commercial games, the moral distancing from undue emotionalised stimulation of consumerist desires, and the use of seductive media and aggressive marketing seem surprisingly contemporary. This is perhaps even more unusual considering that the history of "modern" advertising and marketing both outside and within the German-speaking world has traditionally assumed that all key features for the development of this field practice did not emerge until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[6] Advertising can broadly be

2 *Almanach de la Bonne Fortune de la Loterie Électorale Palatine pour l'Année* [...] (Imprimerie de la Loterie Palatine, 1772). For the French origins of this type of literature, see Bianca Weyers, "Ein Vademekum täglichen Glücks? Der Almanach utile et agréable de la Loterie Electorale Palatine im kulturwissenschaftlichen Kontext", in *Französische Almanachkultur im deutschen Sprachraum (1700–1815)*, ed. Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink and York-Gothart Mix (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), 213–226.

3 See *Glückscalender der Chur-Pfälzischen Lotterie für das Jahr 1772* (Chur-Pfälzische-Lotterie-Buchdruckerey 1772).

4 See, for instance, Günther G. Bauer, "Vorwort zum Reprint, Glücks-Calender für und durch die Chur-Pfälzische Lotterie für das Jahr 1770", in *Lotto und Lotterie*, ed. Günther G. Bauer (Katzbichler, 1997), 316–332.

5 *Berlinischer Lotterie-Calender auf das Jahr 1774, mit Genehmhaltung der Königl[ichen] Preussischen Academie der Wissenschaften* (s.n., 1774).

6 Mark Tungate, *Adland. A Global History of Advertising* (Kogan Page, 2013), 11–12. For the German case more specifically, see Dirk Reinhardt, *Von der Reklame zum Marketing. Geschichte der Wirtschaftswerbung in Deutschland* (Akademie-Verlag, 1993), 429–430; Peter Borscheid, "Am Anfang war das Wort. Die Wirtschaftswerbung beginnt mit der Zeitungsannonce", in *Bilderwelt*

defined as a set of activities within the broader field of marketing intentionally designed to circulate information with the objective of promoting a particular business and the goods and services that it offers. More specifically, it usually employs media to address an audience beyond the scope of marketing practices in interpersonal interaction, persuading members of the public to take certain actions or shape perceptions of enterprises and other institutions.[7] Subsequently, the evolution of printed mass media communication in the latter half of the nineteenth century and consumer markets in industrialised societies have typically been regarded as the main driving forces for the use of persuasive, emotionally charged, seductive language, script, and imagery to stimulate consumerist desires for material goods and "products".

By contrast, early modern advertising – particularly regarding the German periodical press – seemed to lack many of these characteristics. Informational purposes clearly took precedence over the more elaborate persuasive aspects of advertising, which seem to have only gradually and slowly evolved during the nineteenth century.[8]

The conventional perspective on the history of advertising, its media, and communication techniques has indeed been challenged by more recent research for valid reasons. First, it appears more reasonable to assume that its rise was already closely tied to the emergence of consumer societies at various centres throughout the early modern period, becoming a more general European reality during the eighteenth century.[9] This also went along with sophisticated techniques and advertising media as integral components of consumer cultures.[10]

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des Alltags. Werbung in der Konsumgesellschaft des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts, ed. Peter Borscheid and Clemens Wischermann (Franz Steiner Verlag, 1995), 20–43.

7 For this vague consensus in terms of definitions set by textbooks and "practitioners" of advertising, see: Jef I. Richards and Catherine M. Curran, "Oracles on 'Advertising'. Searching for a Definition", *Journal of Advertising* 31 (2002): 63–77.

8 Heidrun Homburg, "Werbung – 'Eine Kunst, die gelernt sein will'. Aufbrüche in eine neue Warenwelt 1750–1850", *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 1 (1997): 11–52.

9 See the classical reference: Neil McKendrick, John Brewer, and J.H. Plumb eds., *The Birth of a Consumer Society, The Commercialization of Eighteenth-Century England* (Europa Publ. Limited, 1982); Michael Kwass, *The Consumer Revolution, 1650–1800* (Cambridge University Press, 2022). For the multiple historical origins of consumer culture, see Jan de Vries, *The Industrious Revolution. Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present* (Cambridge University Press, 2008), 37–39.

10 Maxine Berg, *Luxury and Pleasure in Eighteenth-Century Britain (*Oxford University Press, 2005), 145; Clemens Wischermann and Elliott Shore, "Placing Advertising in the Modern Cultural History of the City", in *Advertising and the European City. Historical Perspectives,* ed. Clemens Wischermann and Elliott Shore (Ashgate, 2000), 1–31.

Lotteries are a case in point, as they were part of a much earlier development of emotionalising languages and the imagery of advertising in the early stages of an emerging consumer culture. Sophie Raux's study on predominantly Dutch lottery placards has demonstrated that these methods were employed by the onset of the early-modern period to promote lotteries on art and luxury objects, with the objective of stimulating material aspirations towards these goods through advertising.[11]

Certainly, lotteries offering monetary prizes could not directly establish a connection between advertising messages and desirable material goods. Nevertheless, the more abstract concept of attaining pleasure and potential financial success through lotteries was also marketed through sophisticated advertising methods, which effectively engaged recipients' emotions and captured their attention well before the mid-nineteenth century. Natalie Devin Hoage's chapter in this volume draws attention to the efficacy and pervasiveness of early nineteenth-century London lottery offices' advertising techniques. These encompass a range of methods, including the use of hidden messaging and visually sophisticated forms of newspaper advertisements, or the distribution of trading cards and other items. They alluded to playing and winning the lottery while employing motives from contemporary theatre and other forms of popular entertainment.[12]

Similarly, the aforementioned *Almanach* employed suggestive texts and imagery to promote the lottery as a pleasurable and exciting event, centred around the "consumption" of anticipatory fantasies of winning. It invoked the thrill of contingent events and the joyful anticipation of increased status and upward social mobility. With the motif of the "Bourgeois se seigneurisant" and allusions to Molière's character Monsieur Jourdain, the *Almanach* created the image of happily spending social climbers who – as the text remarked ironically – were provided with the means to justify their obnoxiousness.

The *Almanach* itself observed and reflected on the lottery's business model, the psychological and emotional effects of anticipation as an "immaterial good". Engaging in the lottery gives players "a reason to [...] anticipate a thousand pleasures they will procure for themselves shortly", and to occupy their minds "with using the money they hope to win. All these pleasures exist in their imagination".[13]

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11 Sophie Raux, *Lotteries, Art Markets and Visual Culture in the Low Countries, 15th–17th Centuries* (Brill, 2018).

12 See, *infra*, Natalie Devin Hoage, "Lottery Advertisements". The elaborate "multimedia" effort in marketing and promoting lotteries in early nineteenth-century London was also not lost on German observers. See the article "Lotterie-Wuth der Londoner, und Künste der Lotterie-Unternehmer", *London und Paris*, 16, piece 6 (1805), 125–135.

13 *Almanach*, 93–94.

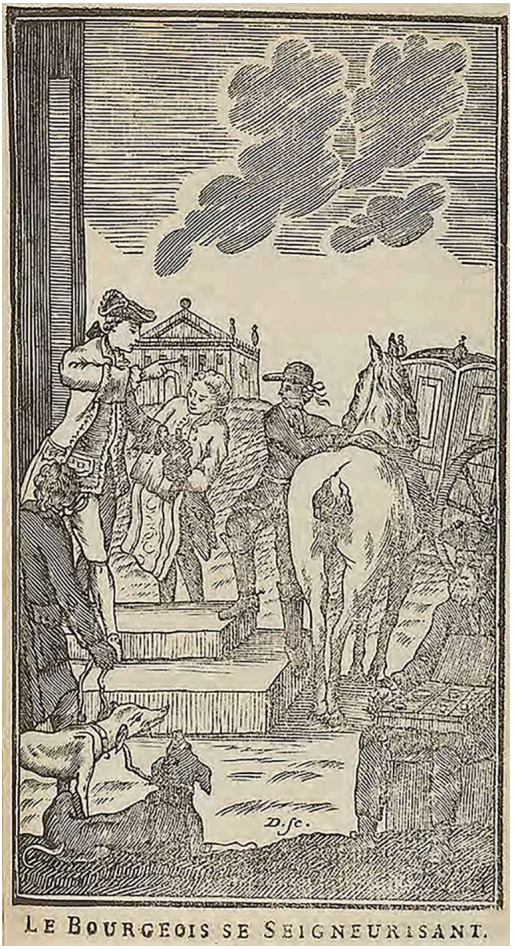

Figure 1. "Le Bourgeois se seigneurisant", *Almanach de la Bonne Fortune*, 97. The bourgeois behaving as a nobleman, indulging in luxuries and undermining social conventions, is presented as a template for the lottery fantasy.

Esoteric ways of divining the future were suggested to the readers to further sustain pleasure and suspense, such as the so-called Kabbalah and dream interpretation.[14]

The act of playing the lottery was presented as a catalyst for anticipation and a promise of imminent gratification. As the *Almanach* stated: "this for sure, is a lot

14 *Almanach*, 114–116.

to be envied".[15] What the *Almanach* promoted can be classified as experiential consumerism – as posited by Colin Campbell[16] – or through the concept of marketing emotions in an "experience economy".[17] It served as a guide and tool to stimulate and direct fantasies and emotions, deepening the emotional engagement with the lotto and its outcomes. This underpinned the business model of the lotto, which endures well into the twenty-first century.[18] It functioned well beyond rudimentary advertising, as this medium was typically sold and not distributed at no cost.

Second, a modernist approach runs the risk of assuming misleading dichotomies. For example, allegedly dry and visually unappealing eighteenth-century newspaper adverts could be read and perceived differently by contemporaries. When lottery collectors announced which of the winning tickets from a class lottery drawing had been purchased in their shop, this could be perceived as stimulating the lottery fantasy, with similar effects as the presentation in the artful *Almanach.* In 1788, the Leipzig City Council suspected that such advertisements – while simply conveying information on the surface – were designed to "incite fantasies of luck".[19] Ten years later, Prussian officials were wary that such newspaper advertisements by collectors might encourage emotionalised crowds to flock to their shops and thus "equate lotteries to gambling dens".[20]

Such examples are indicative of the shortcomings of an advertising history that clings to established timelines, limits the scope to certain genres, and takes an all-too superficial look at advertising media. A history of lottery advertising should not be explored in terms of "modernity" and relative "backwardness". It should rather account for the diversity and interconnections of various media, styles, and settings for marketing and advertising lotteries.

Based on case studies from territories of the Holy Roman Empire, this chapter argues that lottery advertising – and the less appealing "wordy" items in particular – is a genre of communication that is particularly responsive to political and economic contexts. It absorbed and referred to specific problems and conditions

15 *Almanach*, 93–94.

16 Colin Campbell, *The Romantic Ethic and the Spirit of Modern Consumerism*, 2nd edition (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

17 B. Joseph Pine and James H. Gilmore, *The Experience Economy. Work is Theatre and Every Business a Stage* (Harvard Business Press, 1999); Jon Sundbo and Flemming Sørensen, "Introduction to the Experience Economy", in *Handbook on the Experience Economy*, ed. Jon Sundbo and Flemming Sørensen (Edward Elgar Publishing, 2013), 1–17.

18 See Mark Lutter, *Märkte für Träume: die Soziologie des Lottospiels* (Campus, 2009).

19 [Report of the Lottery Deputation], Leipzig, 11 August 1788 (StA L, no. LIII, B 5b, fol. 1v).

20 Voß an Weydmann, Berlin, 3 July 1799 (GStA PK, II. HA, Abt. 5, Tit. XLV, no. 1, vol. 1, fol. 102r/v).

of the contemporary lottery business in general, as well as the "terms of trade" lotteries in particular under which German states were operating. On the other hand, historical analysis needs to place lottery advertising in the contemporary public sphere and its "information spaces" and social arenas, in which it is formulated and published.[21]

This chapter's objective is not to provide a comprehensive history of lottery advertising in Germany but rather to explore, through the lens of contemporary advertising and marketing practices, key aspects of the lotteries' standing and performance in early-modern markets, such as institutional trust, competition, and the regulation of access to markets, but also public discourse around the "moral economy" of lotteries in eighteenth-century Germany. The chapter will first provide an overview of the development and expansion of lotteries in the Holy Roman Empire during the eighteenth century. It will subsequently outline specific challenges that the practitioners of the lottery business in its territories faced, providing some context for the problems discussed in the following case studies.

The second part will, alongside the case of an early eighteenth-century lottery promoting life annuities, examine how mass marketing and advertising strategies were organised on a large scale, combining face-to-face interactions and print media. It will also point out how marketing functioned as a conduit for the collection of information on the public's response to the lottery, informing subsequent changes in marketing strategies and the lottery's further presentation in printed advertising media. Here, concerns regarding the financial soundness of the lottery and the public's confidence in the fiscal state were a crucial factor.

The third part of this chapter expands on the issues of institutional trust. This section highlights how the importance of public trust in the financial stability and reliability of lotteries, especially the frequent lack thereof, promoted a culture of remarkable administrative transparency. This transparency is displayed in a range of advertising media that responded to wide-spread fraud and bankruptcies in the lottery markets, as well as to practical administrative challenges, particularly regarding the lotto.

The fourth section outlines how contemporary political and economic conditions resulted in lotteries and commercial actors connected to them entering aggressive competition with one another. This dynamic gave rise to a highly contentious "information sphere", in which competing lotteries and their personnel have

21 See, for the Dutch and German cases, the important methodological considerations in Christina Brauner, "Recommendation und Reklame. Niederrheinische Brandspritzenmacher und Praktiken der Werbung in der Frühen Neuzeit", *Zeitschrift für historische Forschung* 46 (2019): 1–45.

resorted to "counter advertising" tactics, seeking to publicly discredit and damage the reputation of their competitors.

The final section of this chapter demonstrates how lotteries were marketed against the backdrop of an increasingly vocal moral discourse on the dangers, cultural vices, and socioeconomic consequences of the lottery in the latter decades of the eighteenth century. It elaborates on how this type of moral discourse could be adapted for counter-advertising and policing contexts, as well as on how advertising media reacted to this type of critique.

1 Lotteries in the Holy Roman Empire: developments and key problems

In the territories and cities of the Holy Roman Empire, lotteries were adopted during the early-modern period, encompassing all of their various forms and stages of development. Lotteries involving commercial goods emerged as early as the late fifteenth century, with the first documented lucky dips ("Glückshafen") being played in Munich in 1467 and Augsburg in 1480, likely influenced by Dutch and Flemish models. These types of lotteries persisted in the German-speaking regions well into the late eighteenth century.[22]

However, by the late seventeenth century, lotteries with monetary prizes organised by public authorities or entrepreneurs acting on their behalf were much preferred. They were played out in various stages or classes, evidently following successful models in the Netherlands.[23] By the early eighteenth century, a variety of short-lived lotteries of this type had been established, for example in Leipzig (1697), Dresden (1715, 1724), Nuremberg (1699, 1715), Frankfurt (1713), Altona (1713), and Vienna (1721).[24] Some of these offered not only monetary rewards but also annuities as prizes, thereby establishing a direct correlation with public

22 Harry Kühnel, "Der Glückshafen. Zur kollektiven Festkultur des Spätmittelalters und der frühen Neuzeit", *Jahrbuch für Landeskunde von Niederösterreich* 62 (1996): 319–343; Manfred Zollinger, *Geschichte des Glücksspiels vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zum Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Böhlau, 1997), 187–188, 198–202.

23 For more on the class lottery in the Netherlands, see, *infra*, Jeroen Salman, "The Political, Socio-Economic, and Cultural Impact".

24 Paul Krey, *Die Leipziger Stadt-Lotterie als Vorgängerin der königlich Sächsischen Landes-Lotterie. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des sächsischen Lotteriewesens nebst kurzer Geschichte der öffentlichen Glücksspiele überhaupt nach archivalischen Quellen* (L. Rohn, 1882), 31. See also Christian Kullick, *'Der herrschende Geist der Thorheit'. Die Frankfurter Lotterienormen des 18. Jahrhunderts und ihre Durchsetzung* (Klostermann, 2018), 43–44.

debt management by various state actors, as evidenced by certain lotteries in the Netherlands and Great Britain, although they were considerably less attractive to the public than their Western European counterparts.[25]

From the mid-eighteenth century, German states began to adopt what was arguably the most consequential innovation in the lottery business: the lotto, or *lotto di Genova*, as it was known at the time. Following an unsuccessful attempt to introduce the lotto in Bavaria in the 1730s, the first permanent lottery in the Empire was established in Vienna in 1751 under the leadership of the Italian financier Ottavio Cataldi.[26] This established a recurring pattern in which Italian entrepreneurs acquired privileges for the lotto in the various territories of the Empire.[27] In 1763, Giovanni Antonio Calzabigi – a seasoned lottery entrepreneur who had previously operated in Paris and Brussels – established a Prussian lottery in Berlin. The Genovese financier San Vito re-established the lotto in Bavaria in 1768, while the Lucchese Aurelio Mansi – residing in Vienna – acquired privileged lotto licenses for Austrian territories in Southern Germany, and later for the Duchy of Württemberg alongside other states of the Holy Roman Empire.[28]

The political and economic forces and ideas at play – including competition for financial resources, the potential loss of revenue to neighbouring states, and the desire to generate revenue from external sources – collectively drove a remarkable wave of newly established lotteries during the 1760s and 1770s, which lead to even diminutive polities instituting lottos. The list includes the Palatine electors (1764), the prince-bishops of Bamberg und Würzburg (1767), the Free Imperial cities of Augsburg (1768) and Dillingen (1769), the margraves of Ansbach, and the prince-electors in Mainz and Trier (all 1769).[29] The prince-electorate of Cologne established a lottery in 1770, and the Free Imperial City of Cologne followed suit the same year with a competing lottery. A similar pattern emerged in other

25 As early as 1715, the economist Paul Jacob Marperger enumerated six such lotteries in the Germanies. See Paul Jacob Marperger, *Montes Pietatis, oder Leyh-Assistentz und Hülf-Häuser, Lehn–Banquen und Lombards* […] (Peter Groschuff, 1715), 311–452.

26 Manfred Zollinger, "'Verkauf der Hoffnung'". Das Zahlenlotto in Österreich bis zu seiner Verstaatlichung 1787. Wirtschafts- und finanzpolitische Aspekte", in *Lotto und andere Glücksspiele. Rechtlich, ökonomisch, historisch und im Lichte der Weltliteratur betrachtet*, ed. Gerhard Strejcek, (Linde, 2003), 135–143.

27 Manfred Zollinger, "Organisierter Zufall. Lotterieunternehmer im 18. Jahrhundert", in *Unternehmertum im Spannungsfeld von Politik und Gesellschaft. Unternehmerische Aktivitäten in historischer Perspektive*, ed. Herbert Matis (LIT 2010), 7–33.

28 Zollinger, "Organisierter Zufall", 7–33. For the Bavarian case, see Koch, *Lotterien*, 53–70.

29 Günther G. Bauer, "6 aus 45. Das Österreichische Lotto von 1751–1876", in *Lotto und Lotterie*, ed. Günther G. Bauer (Katzbichler, 1997), 49; Kullick, *Geist der Thorheit*, 35.

territories with often poorly defined borders with one another.[30] The establishment of a lotto in the City of Hamburg in 1770 was followed up by a Danish one in Altona in 1771, and in Wandsbek in 1774.[31] Similarly, instituting the lotto of the City of Regensburg, the seat of the Permanent Imperial Diet responded to the outlet of the Bavarian lotto in neighbouring Stadtamhof right across the Danube.[32] Other lotteries explicitly targeted larger markets in neighbouring territories, such as the lotto of the diminutive Gotha, an enclave to the prince-electorate of Saxony or the lottery of Friedberg, a small town to the north of the commercial metropolis of Frankfurt.[33]

The political structure of the Holy Roman Empire, which comprised a multitude of political entities of various types and sizes, in conjunction with the prevailing economic rationale of the era, proved to be a pivotal structural factor for the lottery business in the Germanies. As we have seen, lottery operators' advertising and marketing media often targeted players outside their territory. Gregorio Bissi – head of the Württemberg lotto – estimated that about two-thirds of the circulation of his company's lotto calendar went abroad.[34]

To mitigate the effects of outside lotteries, states typically resorted to negotiated licensing, primarily based on bilateral contractual agreements between states resp. entrepreneurs known as "reciproca".[35] These arrangements were designed to facilitate the operation of lotteries across state boundaries, with the aim of mitigating the perceived economic losses. While this pragmatic solution had the additional benefit of allowing for recourse to local courts in case of legal disputes, and increased trust and security in the system, these arrangements were usually uneasy as they often left at least one party dissatisfied.

Conversely, the alternative of imposing a more stringent prohibition on the collection of "foreign" lotteries frequently proved exceedingly challenging, if not impossible to enforce effectively. The impracticability of regulations stemmed

30 For the lotto in Cologne, see Hans Grotjan, *Das Kölner Lotto. Ein Beitrag zur Kölner Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (Müller, 1923).

31 Max Predöhl, *Die Entwicklung der Lotterie in Hamburg. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Lotterie* (Lütcke & Wulff, 1908), 5–42. For Danish lotteries in these parts and in Denmark proper, see, *infra*, Johanne Slettvoll Kristiansen, "Innovation, Temptation, and Mathematical Education", as well as her upcoming monograph, *The Great Gamble: A History of Eighteenth-Century Scandinavian State Lotteries.*

32 Johannes Thomas Koch, *Geschichte des Lotteriewesens in Bayern* (Thomas Ackermann, 1908), 76.

33 Kullick, *Geist der Thorheit*, 37.

34 Bissi an Griesinger, Stuttgart, 17 October 1775 (HStA S, A 211, Bü. 453, fol. 13r).

35 For a definition and comments on the practice of the reciprocum, see Johann Heinrich Bender, *Die Lotterie. Eine juristische Abhandlung* (J.G.B. Mohr, 1832), 36.

from the porous nature of borders, the advantages offered by territorial enclaves, and the capacity of collectors and players to manage operations through postal services from outside the territory.[36] This produced a highly competitive and contested market environment that – as will be elaborated below – had a profound impact on the marketing communication by lottery entrepreneurs and the language employed in their advertising.

The harsh competitive environment in which lotteries operated also contributed to an additional issue that permeated the rhetoric of advertising and public communication. A significant proportion – particularly in the early eighteenth century – proved to be commercial failures, which can be attributed to inadequate conception, organisation, and management, as well as marketing. For instance, the first Bavarian lotto of 1736 went out of business after the first draw due to the inexpertly crafted winning tables and lack of financial provisions, which did not account for an initially extraordinarily high payout of prizes.[37]

Another problematic factor on which the success or failure of the lotteries depended concerned issues of the perceived stability and economic viability of lotteries often tied to the attribution of state credit. Saxony, for example, which was chronically beset by financial crises during the first half of the eighteenth century, attempted three lotteries with only limited success. A fourth instalment in 1771 took almost twenty years to generate satisfactory profits.[38] This underscores the overall importance of trust in the reliability, the proper functioning of lotteries, and the credit of the states for which they were operated.

2 "They do not want to trust us": marketing, advertising, and decision-making around the Saxonian state lottery in 1723 – 1725

In autumn 1723, the Saxonian envoy to the Netherlands, Baron von Bildstein, communicated unfavourable news to his superiors in Dresden. Bildstein now at-

36 For these problems, see Tilman Haug, "'Une Circulation continuelle'? Lotterien und das Problem der Einhegung und Kontrolle von Informations- und Güterzirkulation im 18. Jahrhundert", in *Zirkulation und Kontrolle. Dynamiken des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Marian Füssel (Wehrhan, upcoming).

37 Koch, *Lotteriewesen*, 39. For the problem of inexpertly calculated lottery plans, see also Lorraine Daston, *Probability in the Enlightenment* (Princeton University Press, 1995), 143.

38 See Ulf Molzahn, *Lotterien in Sachsen. Wissenschaftliche Studie zum 285jährigen Bestehen sächsischer Landeslotterien* (Sächsische Lotto GmbH, 1998).

tempted to assess the viability of the new Saxonian lottery in the pivotal Dutch market, resulting in very unsatisfactory outcomes:

> I have filled all the respectable coffee houses [...] with the drafts [of the lottery plan]. I would be willing to act as a collector, if only one soul had requested a ticket from me [...]. To engage a nation that has itself invented the lottery, one must present advantages that surpass those they find domestically.[39]

As was the case with most contemporary class lottery schemes, the organisers were faced with the challenging issue of selling a considerable number of tickets – numbering in the tens of thousands – both within Saxony and more significantly across Central and Western Europe.

Following an extensive period of development and planning, the projector Georges Louis de la Sarraz – an agent and client of Saxony's influential First Minister, Jacob Heinrich von Flemming, collaborating with the Saxonian fiscal administration – had devised a complex lottery plan. It featured an array of cash prizes, as well as life annuities for a select number of winning tickets. The state officials had envisaged marketing the lottery in Central and Western Europe, with the primary objective of augmenting the coffers of the Saxon treasury.[40]

The impending commercial disaster of this lottery enables an organisational perspective on practises of lottery marketing. The extensive documentation pertaining to this specific lottery makes it possible to reconstruct the decision-making process and the crafting of advertising and public announcements regarding the lottery. It also provides insight into how market interactions shaped these types of communication. Furthermore, it helps us understand the organisers' self-assessment of their market position, trustworthiness, and how they adapted their marketing and advertising strategies accordingly.

Bildstein's ad-hoc-report from Dutch and German coffeehouses was not an isolated incident. The persistent underperformance in the sales of lottery tickets compelled the board of directors to undertake a systematic reassessment of their marketing strategy for lotteries. They composed two rare extensive memoranda on lottery marketing.[41] While the approach of this type of writing was

39 "Bildsteins abgelaßenes Schreiben", The Hague, 21 August 1723 (HStA D, 10026, Loc. 3445/7, fol 7r).

40 La Sarraz laid out his plans to market the lottery in the Netherlands mainly. See La Sarraz to Flemming, The Hague, 18 August 1722 (HStA D, 10026, Loc.704/2, fol. 62r).

41 "Außerordentliche Mittel die Sächsische Lotterie complet zu machen" [1723] (HStA D, 10036, Loc. 41613, Rep. 58, Lit. L, no. 32b); "Unvorgreiffliche, jedoch wohlmeinende Gedancken die Sächsische Lotterie betreffend" [1723] (HStA D, 10026, Loc. 1300/10).

more practical than systematic, one of the memoranda distinguished various classes or "gradus" of measures, albeit without a truly consequential or systematic order.[42] Some of the measures proposed focused on conditions that the electorate of Saxony as a state could set to facilitate the sale of lottery tickets; for example, by mandating that salaries for state officials or military officers were to be paid in lottery tickets or making them a legitimate currency for the purchase of certain luxury goods.[43]

On the other hand, these memoranda elaborated face-to-face practices of salesmanship for the lottery. This involved identifying individuals with significant connections residing in Saxony or in the service of the state; in many cases they were diplomats. The Saxonian officials attributed a commercially very useful talent of persuasion to them.[44] Trans-territorial trading networks – notably those of Italian and Jewish merchants who, according to contemporary stereotypes, were believed to possess a natural aptitude for salesmanship and persuasion – were deemed a considerable factor.[45] However, marketing activities were not restricted exclusively to professional merchants or other commercial actors. The lottery could enlist actors attached to the Saxonian state and their social capital. The dissemination of copies of the lottery plan was intended for prominent individuals such as the Polish Marshal Poniatovsky or the Archbishop of Cracow, with the expectation that their influence within the aristocratic and social circles would serve to enhance the lottery's visibility and appeal.[46]

On the other end of the social spectrum, the memoranda advocated for the involvement of innkeepers and coffeehouse proprietors, recognising their role as conduits for the lottery's reach. They should be instructed to circulate plans of the lottery in their establishments and encourage and instruct their patrons on its manifold benefits. However, the printed plans and the written descriptions and announcements of the lottery were not represented as persuasive on their own; rather, they were perceived as instruments and props to facilitate a transition from face-to-face interactions in places of socialising to informal salesmanship.[47]

The memoranda conceptualised lottery marketing on a large scale as an accumulation of activities within smaller social circles, either between friends and contacts over extended distances or as face-to-face interactions. However, this

42 "Wohlmeinende Gedancken", fol. 120r.
43 "Wohlmeinende Gedancken", fol. 120r.
44 "Wohlmeinende Gedancken", fol. 121r.
45 "Wohlmeinende Gedancken", fol. 124r–125r.
46 "Wohlmeinende Gedancken", fol. 122v.
47 "Außerordentliche Mittel", fol. 123r.

type of accumulated small-scale lottery marketing ensured that information and its persuasive effects did not only flow in one direction. Saxonian state officials – tasked with addressing suboptimal sales figures – collated and utilised localised information, drawing from first-hand interactions by collectors, diplomats and other relevant parties into large tables.[48] The reassembling of local market interactions provided a European overview of the lottery's poor performance. The carefully crafted arrangement of information revealed two major flaws in the lottery. First, pricing for the lottery was wholly misguided. For example, the ambassador and part-time collector Debrose in The Hague stated: "Every last one is complaining that the tickets are by far too expensive, the whole operation is not even directed at single ticket buyers".[49] The incorporation of life annuities and the marketing strategy directed towards a high-end demographic proved incongruent with the necessity of selling a substantial volume of tickets through various lottery classes. The viability of the lottery hinged on whether "the common man can wager", since "the number of prospective buyers" was the decisive factor, as the state council eventually put it.[50]

However, a more fundamental problem was exposed, which was recorded in remarks such as "they do not want to trust us" or even worse: "Some malcontents have starkly decried Saxony".[51] It appears that the lottery operators had miscalculated the crucial role of trust and state credit as a pivotal factor for the operation of this type of lottery and their own standing in this respect. Furthermore, the poor commercial performance of the lottery served only to exacerbate the issue of state credit and its impact on trust. The protracted delays in the drawing process following sluggish sales further eroded public confidence among both existing ticket holders and prospective participants. This in turn gave rise to rumours that were detrimental to the reputation of both the lottery and its operators. For instance, in Venice, a certain Ferrazi was reported to have made the damaging claim that the lottery might not be drawn at all and that, in the event of a draw, prize money might be withheld from the players.[52]

The issue of trust was further complicated by the long-term nature of this lottery. The attachment of life annuities to the lottery not only resulted in an increase

48 "Tabelle, worinnen die eingelauffenen Rapports von denen Collectoribus extractsweise befindlich" [1724] (HStA D, 10024, Loc. 9996/14, [unpaginated]).
49 "Tabelle", 1724.
50 Secret Council to Friedrich August, Dresden, 30 August 1724 (HStA D, 10024, Loc. 9997/1 [unpaginated]).
51 "Tabelle", 1724.
52 Lotterie-Kommission an Friedrich August, Dresden, 20 September 1723 (HStA D, 10024, Loc. 9996/15, no. 420).

in ticket prices. Saxony's poor credit record also made it difficult to inspire long-term trust in the annuities. According to one report, potential ticket buyers and annuity purchasers would not "have complete confidence [...] that these are properly paid for all their lifetime".[53] However, the unsuccessful marketing interactions and the problems documented by the lottery officials also yielded valuable insights that contributed to the redesign of the lottery plan and directly informed advertising and public communication. In late 1723, the lottery administration specifically addressed the rumours that the lottery might withhold payment of prizes or defraud players. In response, the lottery administration introduced a subscription-based "buy-now-pay-later system" in the widely read Leipzig news periodical *Extract derer eingelauffenen Nouvellen.*[54]

Subsequently, the administration proceeded to amend the plan, particularly regarding the annuities that were increasingly perceived as a principal liability for the lottery's success. In response to the public's lukewarm reaction, the administration issued an announcement in the newspapers, stating they had observed that "many people in and outside of the realm [...] do not properly understand what has been proposed by the plan published for the Saxonian lotteries". However, the administration's response to this challenge was consistent with their marketing strategy, which emphasised direct interaction as the optimal medium. Rather than providing new, extensive explanations, the lottery directors offered to enter in direct and personalised communication with members of the public, in writing or face-to-face. The director's board within the lottery house in Dresden promised everyone interested in the offer a prompt and comprehensive response to any questions posed.[55] The board of directors here not only responded to reports of prospective players' confusion but also presented itself as a "service institution", open to inquiries and even offering direct access for potential players to disseminate information.

Since the public response did not improve and marketing yielded devastating results, the lottery operators fundamentally changed the lottery plan. In a printed brochure, they laid open the reasoning behind this decision to the public:

> Since we have realised that, with the Saxonian lottery, the life-annuities were not favourably received and the cost was deemed to be too considerable, we prefer to accommodate our-

53 Lotterie-Kommission an Friedrich August, Dresden, 20 September 1723 (HStA D, 10024, Loc. 9996/15, no. 420).

54 *Extract derer eingelauffenen Nouvellen* [December 1723]. See Collection of Paper clippings in: 10036, Loc. 41613, Rep. 58, Lit. L, no. 32b [unpaginated].

55 *Extract derer eingelauffenen Nouvellen* [October 1723]. See Collection of Paper clippings in: 10036, Loc. 41613, Rep. 58, Lit. L, no. 32b [unpaginated].

> selves to the tastes of the public and to simplify the operation through the cancellation of the life annuities, in order to not let those who have already taken part wait any longer for the draw.[56]

It signalled to the public that the lottery would be changed according to their demands and once again ostentatiously addressed what marketing interactions had revealed as its most pressing issues, including the long delay of the drawing and its implication for trust in the lottery and the general "taste" of the public.

Behind the scenes, not all lottery officials were convinced of the wisdom of this type of advertising. One of the lottery directors, Georges Louis de La Sarraz, had brought forward the final concept of the lottery and arguably risked losing a great deal in personal revenue and reputation from a redesigned plan. He objected to being this candid about modifying the lottery plan and fully acknowledge its failure. It would in effect further undermine trust in the lottery and engender the perception of a lack of meticulousness in the planning and execution of the lottery. According to him, it was more advisable to "hide the true state of our great lottery as a secret from the public". La Sarraz advocated maintaining the existing lottery framework and posited that it was the fluidity in plans and the transparency of self-correction that might have a detrimental impact on public trust.[57]

Nevertheless, his colleagues asserted that all measures needed to be taken to ensure the successful culmination of the lottery, irrespective of the potential consequences, including the non-materialisation of the anticipated additional revenue. This was deemed imperative to avert potential damage to reputation and credibility that made any future annuity or lottery operation impossible, and to showcase transparency and sincerity to both foreign and domestic audiences.[58]

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56 "Kurtze Benachrichtigung von der getroffenen vortheilhaften Aenderung der ietzigen Chur-Sächsischen Lotterie", Dresden, 1724.

57 La Sarraz to Flemming, Den Haag, 12 September 1724 (HStA D, 10024, Loc. 9997/1 [unpaginated]); La Sarraz to Watzdorff, Paris, 24 July 1724 (HStA D, 10024, Loc. 9996/15 [unpaginated]).

58 Lottery commission to Friedrich August, Dresden, 6 February 1725 (HStA D, 10024, Loc. 9997/1 [unpaginated]).

3 Open books: financial security and the transparency of administrative procedure as themes in lottery advertising

Class lotteries were not the only type of lotteries susceptible to financial and operational shortcomings that jeopardised their economic sustainability and the confidence in the authorities overseeing them. Advertising media for the lotto addressed similar issues, although the practical problems and the respective contents of advertising media were quite different. For this reason, media such as the *Almanach* not only stimulated a lottery fantasy to persuade its readers of the benefits of the lotto and provide them with templates and additional means to entertain imaginations of luck; the text and imagery of the *Almanach* also directly and indirectly addressed issues specific to the lotto to stabilise trust in the functionality and financial viability of the operation.

Both aspects were connected in a table entitled "Bureau de la Caisse". It showed extremely busy officials at work in allotting money poured out by an allegorical Fortuna for a multitude of lucky winners who cashed in their prizes. The image visualised the pleasures of receiving money, although, as an image of abundance, it also suggested that the lottery could not ever run out of funds – as the *Almanach* explained – and was devoted to paying out all prizes to the lucky winners.[59]

To lend further credence to this image of an extremely well-endowed and very reliable lottery, the *Almanach* offered the public a glimpse into the "real world" backgrounds that enabled the payment of generous prizes. Securing "financial securities in external capital", the lottery was safeguarded from financial crises and embarrassment, even during periods when they had to make significant payouts.[60] The *Almanach* also presented its readers with an impressive list of banking houses in different European cities that guaranteed the assets of the lottery and ensured its operations under all circumstances.[61]

The decision of the *Almanach* editors to include such information, and their highlighting of the financial potency of the lottery, should be understood in the context of a number of bankruptcies and fraud cases that had affected the lotto

59 *Almanach*, 89.
60 *Almanach*, 15.
61 *Almanach*, 165–167.

Figure 2: "Bureau de la Caisse", *Almanach de la Bonne Fortune*, 89. The image depicts a richly endowed lottery whose officials are intent on paying out prizes. It suggests an abundance of inexhaustible funds that will leave all winners satisfied.

business in the German-speaking lands.[62] In 1771 – the very year in which this issue of the Palatine *Almanach* was published – the recently introduced lotto of

62 For the risks and risk management in the lottery business, see Stefan Brakensiek, "Unsicherer Ausgang? Die Geschäftsmodelle von Lotterieunternehmen im 18. Jahrhundert", in *Möglichkeitshorizonte. Zur Pluralität von Zukunftserwartungen und Handlungsoptionen in der Geschichte*, ed. Markus Bernhardt, Wolfgang Blösel, Stefan Brakensiek, and Benjamin Scheller (Campus, 2018), 193–222.

the Duchy of Württemberg not too far from Mannheim had failed spectacularly, as the entrepreneur Johann Wilhelm Krohne was unable to pay out prizes. He consequently absconded from the realm with the few remaining funds from the lottery. This action led to discontent among the winners and the ducal administration. Baron von Wimpffen, official holder of the Württemberg lottery monopoly, who had leased the lotto franchise to Krohne, was mortified by the latter's apparent unfamiliarity with specific practices of "risk management". Krohne had exposed himself to the risk of losing substantial sums with each draw: "and therefore it is unheard of that one operates a lotto unsupported by guarantees".[63] The failure of Krohne's lotto demonstrated the importance of assuring the public of the financial stability of lottery enterprises. It also revealed the potentially deceptive and fraudulent nature of such assurances, as Krohne had publicly advertised non-existent securities, in a ruse also employed by other German lottery operators.[64]

This demonstrated the need for providing tangible evidence to support new lottery ventures and enhance public confidence. In the case of the Palatine lottery, this took the form of lists of names and locations of individuals in the *Almanach*, while, in the Württemberg lottery, a "paper trail" was added to authenticate the guaranteed security of the operation, following its acquisition by Italian-Austrian lotto magnate Aurelio Mansi and his business associates.[65] His official "Avertissement" differed from Krohne's by specifying the precise nature of securities, here obligations by the Vienna Stadt Banco. It also furnished precise information regarding the physical location of the deposit at the trusted Württemberg church administration. A written and signed confirmation attached to the "avertissement" from the Württemberg church administration verified this information.[66]

The potential for financial security to be subject to fraudulent activity necessitated further displays of transparency regarding administrative procedures behind the scenes. Consequently, the inclusion of rather dry formal financial documentation became part of lottery advertising. The *Almanach* and other marketing media addressed a second potential breaking point of trust, namely that the lotto relied on a complex system of sending and resending information and money,

63 Wimpffen to Duke Carl Eugen, Ludwigsburg, 22 September 1772 (HStA S, A 213, Bü 6594 [unpaginated]).

64 Calzabigi used a comparable ruse when the Prussian lotto was initially announced. See Wolfgang Paul, *Erspieltes Glück. 500 Jahre Geschichte der Lotterien und des Lotto* (Deutsche Klassenlotterie GmbH, 1978), 12.

65 Zollinger, "Organisierter Zufall", 23–24.

66 "Plan und Erläuterung der herzogl[ichen] Würtembergischen privilegirten und garantirten Zahlen-Lotterie zu Stuttgart", Solitude 1772 (HStA S, A 202, Bü. 882 [unpaginated]).

accounting, calculating, and reducing entrepreneurial risks with the *castelletto.*[67] All of this required complex bureaucratic procedures and division of labour. Errors and irritations in this process were perceived as potential threats to the trust and creditworthiness of the lottery. In this regard, advertising media played a pivotal role in illuminating the inner workings of the lotto and its administration, with the objective of fostering public confidence in its reliability.

The *Almanach* meticulously documented the lottery's operations, featuring a section entitled an "Expedition of Dispatches". This section visualised and explained the inner workings of a diligent administration conducting calculations and managing and sending off correspondence, emphasising the dedication to ensuring procedural compliance and expediting the flow of operations and the processing of information. Thus, even the most suspecting individuals should be reassured by the meticulous attention to detail in preventing even the most miniscule of errors occurring with the vast quantity of numbers. This was exemplified by highlighting the administration's oversight of the lottery's print shop, where the betting lists and the finalised tickets were printed. The *Almanach* purported to offer deeper insight into the lottery's inner workings, showcasing an official inspecting the printer's efforts to ensure accuracy.[68]

The *Almanach* offered a highly schematic and unspecific glimpse into the usually concealed backstage of the lottery, integrating it into its strategies of persuasion. By contrast, marketing media by other lottery operators displayed a greater degree of realistic detail. A guide for the Bavarian lottery, authored by the somewhat enigmatic Franz Xaver Zwackh, sought to detail the intricate procedures with which the lottery guaranteed accuracy and security. Zwackh's approach emphasised the transparency and visibility of the procedure, including the numbers and the capsules in which they were contained, to the audience present at the drawings, ostensibly to ensure verifiability.[69]

Moreover, the text also provided a comprehensive exposition of the lottery office's internal mechanisms and the administrative procedures in place, thereby demonstrating the efficacy and reliability of the operation rather than relegating the administrative aspects to the princely Arcanum. The lottery's backstage as a well-oiled, precise machine with no space for manipulation or errors was presented as a legitimate object of public scrutiny and judgement. Zwackh stated, "that in order to properly judge the entirety of the business", the exact inner work-

67 On the *castelletto*, see also, *infra,* Johanne Slettvoll Kristiansen, Marius Warholm Haugen, and Angela Fabris, "A Cultural History of European Lotteries".

68 *Almanach*, 127.

69 [Franz Xaver Zwackh], *Anleitung zur Lottokenntniß, oder kurze und gründliche Abhandlung von dem Ursprung der Lotterien überhaupts* […] (Johann Pötter, 1780), 39–41.

Figure 3: "L'Expédition des Dépêches", *Almanach de la Bonne Fortune*, 75. The image remarkably depicts the administrative inner workings of the castelletto and the efficiently managed "flux and reflux" of letters, lists, tickets, and monies.

ings and the various positions and their duties within the lotto administration should be exactly laid out in public.[70] The text also expended considerable effort to elucidate the rationale underpinning the castelletto, the blockage or modera-

70 [Zwackh], *Anleitung*, 43–44.

tion of numbers or prizes, which was presented to the public as a measure to enhance the lotto's security and trustworthiness.[71]

While this "documentational" style of self-presentation might seem anticlimactic compared to the spectacle of the draw or to the vibrant language and imagery of the lottery fantasy in the *Almanach*, it fulfilled a unique function in securing trust in a business that had to weather financial risks and instabilities, and which featured a complicated, error-prone and in some respects controversial array of practices, by displaying ostentatious transparency of backstage procedure.

However, it should be noted that openness and transparency of lottery administration by its operators was only permissible on their own terms. Things were much different when unauthorised actors made insights from the administration accessible, reflecting security risks that might require censorship. For instance, in Prussia, the learned chamber official Johann Andreas Kossmann was pre-emptively censored and threatened for attempting to publish details of the castelletto and of how the Prussian lottery secured its profits.[72] A few years later, Prussian lottery officials declined to hand over internal accounts and documents to the government's statistics department, citing the latter's "propensity to generate publicity" around financial details of the lottery operation.[73] The officials specifically sought to keep them secret and were reluctant to lose control over them.

4 The duty of a true patriot? (Counter) advertising for lotteries and the issue of market competition

The attempt to persuade the public of the merits and trustworthiness of a lottery constituted merely one element of the equation. In the eighteenth-century German states, those engaged in the lottery business were confronted with the challenges posed by the prevailing competitive environment and a set of measures to precariously control lottery markets.

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71 Zwackh, *Anleitung*, 47–48.

72 Voss to Johann Andreas Kosmann, Berlin, 20 January 1799 (GStA PK, II. HA, Abt. 5. Tit. XLV, no. 2, vol. 2, fol. 86r). Voss's efforts were only partially successful, since he managed to publish an abridged version. See Johann Andreas Kosmann, "Ueber das Streichen in den Zahlenlotterien", *Denkwürdigkeiten der Mark Brandenburg*, 3 (1800), 350–352.

73 Grothe and Weyer to Friedrich Wilhelm III., Berlin, 13 March 1806 (GStA PK, II. HA, Abt. 5. Tit. XLV, no.1, vol. 2, fol. 91r).

The fact that prohibitions and regulations for outside competition were usually difficult to enforce fostered and shaped an environment characterised by intense rivalry and public polemics, in which spreading discrediting information through the press or other media was a crucial tool.[74] Competition gave rise to a form of public "counter-advertising", characterised by the dissemination and combating of disinformation, attacks on trustworthiness, allegations of intransparency and covertness, and the deconstruction of persuasive rhetoric. Thus, marketing and advertising of lotteries can be placed within a contested information sphere.

The periodical press, mainly the semi-official periodical advertising papers known as the "Intelligenzblätter", played an important role. It typically combined functions of public announcement, business and private advertising, as well as news reports, and – depending on the publishers and their staff – all sorts of "enlightened" practical information, for example on agricultural practices, or more erudite content.[75] However, as will be demonstrated below, antagonistic marketing communication could also inform the rhetoric of advertising media designed to market lotteries. This section examines the role of the press in contemporary print media centres, such as the City of Leipzig, and interconnections and exchanges between a specific rhetorical style and business practices, as well as policing markets.

While, in the late eighteenth century, the Leipzig *Intelligenzblatt* in many instances often simply refuted false claims about the legality of lotteries circulating in the city,[76] it also published critical articles concerning the recently instituted class lottery of the City of Regensburg. The author noted that public newspapers had devoted considerable attention to the purported advantages of this specific lottery. As outlined by the text, the lottery plan comprised a few tables and calculations, which – according to the author – employed "seductive pretensions" to the

74 Marie-Laure Legay, *Les Loteries dans l'Europe des Lumières 1680–1815* (Septentrion, 2014), 127–131.

75 Astrid Blome, "Wissensorganisation im Alltag. Entstehung und Leistungen der deutschsprachigen Regional- und Lokalpresse im 18. Jahrhundert", in *Presse und Geschichte. Leistungen und Perspektiven der historischen Presseforschung*, ed. Astrid Blome and Holger Böning (Edition Lumière, 2008), 179–208; Holger Böning, "Das Intelligenzblatt", in *Von Almanach bis Zeitung. Ein Handbuch der Medien in Deutschland 1700–1800*, ed. Ernst Fischer, Wilhelm Haefs, and York-Gothart Mix (Beck, 1999), 89–104; Holger Böning, *Das Intelligenzblatt. Gemeinnutz und Aufklärung für jedermann. Studie zu einer publizistischen Gattung des 18. Jahrhunderts, zur Revolution der Wissensvermittlung und zu den Anfängen einer lokalen Presse.* 2 vols. (Edition Lumière, 2023).

76 For the remarkably tenacious Dortmund lottery in this respect, see *Leipziger Intelligenzblatt,* 15 April 1780, 129; 6 May 1780, 164–165; 3 June 1780, 195.

public, warranting further scrutiny.[77] Interspersed with contemporary discourse on public utility, this was presented as public information, as an obligation of every "true patriot" to "enlighten" potentially interested lottery players, who might be persuaded by the alluring promises of this lottery.[78] As one of the texts highlighted, it was already indicative of intransparency and a lack of trustworthiness that a lottery should find itself in need of being clarified for the public. All those interested in lotteries could expect that "just as in most lotteries […], everything is handled sincerely and without any cover-up". The text reaffirmed that there were norms and expectations of transparency in the lottery business that the Regensburg lottery flagrantly infringed upon. Indeed, the articles revealed that the plan insidiously left "certain aspects hidden behind others", and that the entrepreneurs made excessive profits, while concealing the true costs players faced until the lottery's final stages. While its promises might sound alluring, playing in this lottery might prove even ruinous for some.[79]

It is important to note that the Regensburg lottery was not illegal in Saxony, as the city had obtained explicit permission to collect for their lottery in Saxony based on a reciprocum contract in 1769, and advertisements had been placed by collectors to publicise their services for this specific lottery. However, by 1770, Thomas von Fritsch, a prominent reformist minister in Saxony, expressed his regret at having ever licensed the lottery and was concerned that the operators used their network of collectors to clandestinely introduce their lotto in Saxony.[80] The allegations of intransparency and disproportionate profits were directed at a reluctantly admitted competitor on the domestic lottery market to discredit their operation.

By contrast, another critical invective in the *Intelligenzblatt*, directed at the Württemberg lottery in February of 1770, attacked an illicit competitor.[81] Its entrepreneur Franz Ludwig von Wimpffen persistently but unsuccessfully had lobbied the government in Dresden for a licence. This did not deter him from illegally

77 "Anderweite Beleuchtung der Regenspurger Geld- und Rentenlotterie", *Leipziger Intelligenzblatt*, no. 50, 18 November 1769, 481–484.

78 "Anderweite Beleuchtung der Regenspurger Geld- und Rentenlotterie", 481. A similar strategy was employed by writers in the Danish realm, see, *infra*, Kristiansen, "Innovation, Temptation, and Mathematical Education".

79 "Unpartheyische Gedanken eines Interessenten der Regenspurger Lotterie, bey Gelegenheit der Beleuchtungen und Gegenbeleuchtung entworfen", *Leipziger Intelligenz-Blatt*, no. 14, April 1770, 142–145.

80 Thomas von Fritsch to State Government, Dresden, 7 September 1770 (HStA D, 10025, Loc. 5632/20, fol. 166r).

81 "Bilance der wuerttembergischen Renten-Lotterie", *Leipziger Intelligenzblatt*, no. 10, February 1770, 50.

employing unauthorised collectors in Saxony. For example, one Johann Carl Müller was apprehended in Dresden and subsequently punished for his illicit collecting for the Württemberg lottery.[82] Negative press coverage in this case not only disparaged a potential rival in the domestic lottery market but also complemented the less than efficient legal prohibitions.

Against this background, the *Intelligenzblatt* disparaged the Württemberg plan and highlighted that it effectively penalised players with an excessive number of blanks and gave very unclear information about the amount of the rents to be paid out. Here, according to the author, incompetence was indistinguishable from malice. Wimpffen's lottery surpassed the Regensburg lottery in its dishonesty and was in effect little more than glorified fraud.[83] In response, Baron von Wimpffen vehemently countered these criticisms in the Stuttgart *Intelligenzblatt* with its much more local outreach, characterising the Leipzigers' attack on his lottery as a deliberate attempt to discredit his enterprise. He even highlighted that attacking outside lotteries was by now a typical and predictable strategy by the Leipzig press, citing the Regensburg example. The article itself would not even have warranted a response were it not for the fact that "bold untruths also produce prejudices in many a well-meaning person".[84] The Leipzig *Intelligenzblatt* functioned as an instrument of both central and local authorities, with the intricate interweaving of editors and government officials ensuring its resolute opposition to external competition, whether it was deemed illegal or simply inconvenient.

However, it should be noted that the editors of the *Intelligenzblatt* had a vested interest in the success of the struggling lottery in their city of Leipzig. Although the accounts of the Leipzig lottery administration show that the publishers' revenues from domestic lottery advertising were comparatively small, they were directly involved in the domestic lottery business in other ways. As was typical of many comparable publications at the time, it was operated in conjunction with an information agency – the so-called "Intelligenz Comptoir" – which also commissioned all sorts of services for profit or even sold certain goods.[85] In Leipzig, as in other cities,

82 Duke Carl Eugen von Württemberg to Prince-Elector Friedrich August, Ludwigsburg, 22 January 1770 (HStA D, 10025, Loc. 5632/20, fol. 131r–132); [Secret Council Resolution], Dresden, 18 May 1770 (HStA D, 10025, Loc. 5632/20, fol. 128r–129v). The Müller case is documented in (StA D, 2.1.1 A.XXIV, no. 31).

83 "Bilance der wuerttembergischen Renten-Lotterie", *Leipziger Intelligenzblatt*, no. 10, February 1770, 50.

84 "Ulm", *Stuttgardische privilegierte Zeitung*, no. 51, 9 March 1770.

85 For these institutions apart from the advertising journal, see Anton Tantner, *Die ersten Suchmaschinen. Adressbüros, Fragämter, Intelligenz-Comptoirs* (Wagenbach, 2015).

the "Intelligenz Comptoir" was collecting for the lottery, providing its largest collecting agency in the city.[86] As entrepreneurs and editors, they were not only attacking competition to domestic lotteries on behalf of the authorities or out of genuine concern over lotteries defrauding the citizenry, but they were also interested in a viable Leipzig lottery out of strictly business considerations. Against this backdrop, it is perhaps also unsurprising that when the Intelligenzblatt published an article in 1783, discussing much-needed improvements of the struggling Leipzig lottery, they included a remark that – despite the potential for improvement – the lottery still surpassed any of its outside competitors.[87]

Furthermore, the *Intelligenzblatt* provided a platform for individual lottery collectors to highlight questionable business practices by colleagues and foreign lotteries. They also intervened in the struggle for the information space to combat competitors, albeit for their own advantage and with their own interests in mind. In early 1787, the lottery collector Johann Karl Krumbhaar placed an advertisement in the widely circulating *Leipziger Zeitung* that accused two merchants from Braunschweig of illicitly collecting for their hometown's lottery and engaging in illegal collecting for non-licensed lotteries by employing postal services. Krumbhaar used the medium of newspaper advertisements not only to inform the public on his own about the legalities of foreign lottery tickets. He also emphasised that an electoral decree made the sale of such lottery tickets subject to special licence, a privilege that Krumbhaar himself held for quite a few lotteries. In highlighting the legalities of purchasing foreign lottery tickets in Saxony, he sought to discredit and inhibit business partners who had turned rivals by venturing into his own field of business. On the other hand, the threat of illegality here served to promote and advertise his own activities as a collector as all other legitimate foreign lottery tickets could be purchased easily and comfortably in his shop.[88] Although he used the content of a law protecting the viability of the domestic lottery business for his own interests, which were notably in non-Saxonian lotteries, he claimed to have – at least indirectly – acted as "a citizen and as patriot" in publishing the advert.[89]

This type of "counter-advertising", which sought to undermine the principles of trustworthiness, credit, and transparency in information dissemination among competitors, was not limited to fending off illicit or legalised competition in newspapers. A pamphlet entitled the *Vergleichung der berühmten Haager Generalitaets-*

86 The role of this institution in collecting for the lottery becomes clear from the accounts of the Leipzig lottery for 1789. See StA L, Tit. LIII, A, no. 40, fol. 21r, fol. 22v.

87 "Von Eintheilung der Gewinnste bey Lotterien", *Leipziger Intelligenzblatt*, no. 48, 1783, 401.

88 "Avertissement" (StA L, Tit. LIII, B 4, fol. 25r).

89 [City court protocol], Leipzig, 14 February 1787 (StA L, Tit. LIII, B 4, fol. 27v–28r).

Lotterie mit der Stuttgardter Armen-Lotterie ("A Comparison of the Stuttgart Poor House-Lottery to the Lottery of the Estates General in the Hague") shows that the same techniques were employed for the purpose of discrediting competitors in conjunction with the active promotion of a specific lottery.[90] They were apparently part of an effort in advertising through comparison.

Württemberg had only recently abandoned its lotto and in the following years attempted to exclude almost all foreign lotteries from their territory, with limited success. Measures also included disparaging press coverage against infringing outside lotteries.[91] In the case of the *Vergleichung*, polemicising against the towering Dutch lottery also points to an attempt to limit the Dutch lottery in Southern Germany in favour of a lottery designed to finance poor relief, rather than venturing into the Dutch lottery market, as Saxony had unsuccessfully attempted in the 1720s.

Very similar to the attack on the Regensburg lottery in the Leipzig press, the *Vergleichung* borrowed concepts from late Enlightenment language, styling the text as an exercise in public reasoning and civic patriotism: "Those who assume public action and invite not only their fellow citizens but those of foreign lands [...] to participate must be subject to public scrutiny". Lauding merits and naming flaws of each lottery therefore "was nothing less than the duty of any true patriot".[92] Disguised as a neutral third-party analysis, the pamphlet – probably intentionally misleading – gave Leipzig rather than Stuttgart as the place of publication on the frontispiece.

The *Vergleichung* amalgamated rhetorical strategies into languages of persuasion, trust, and transparency to present the advantages of the newly introduced Stuttgart lottery. It drew a very favourable comparison to its well-established Dutch counterparts. The text acknowledged the renown and popularity of the lottery of the Estates General, attributing it to the abundance of substantial prizes offered. The text acknowledged that the lottery's appeal lay in its seemingly high probability of winning significant sums. When faced with such great chances of winning big, "what friend of the lottery would not have a laughing heart?"[93] However, the *Vergleichung* sought to prove that the plan presented deceptive and, in fact, very risky chances for lottery players. The Dutch lottery plan largely

90 [Anonymous], *Vergleichung der berühmten Haager Generalitaets-Lotterie mit der Stuttgardter Armen-Lotterie. Mit einigen Erlaeuterungen und Anmerkungen* (No publisher, 1784).

91 For example, the Württemberg administration threatened resp. ordered disparaging coverage of the Stolberg lottery and their collectors in the local press. See: Instruction by the Ducal Administration, Stuttgart, 3 December 1788 (HStA S, A 404 L, Bü. 42 [unpaginated]); Instruction by the Ducal Administration, Stuttgart, 10.9.1790 (HStA S, A 404 L, Bü. 42 [unpaginated]).

92 *Vergleichung*, 5.

93 *Vergleichung*, 21.

concealed inherent costs. Indeed, the *Vergleichung* supported this argument through the extensive use of tables and calculations. Such exaggerated promises by the Hague lottery could only be believed by those who were "either unwilling or unable to calculate".[94]

The Stuttgart lottery was presented as a risk-free alternative, as well as a prudent and modest person's choice for a lottery. Instead of appealing to lottery fantasies, the *Vergleichung* argued for seeing through them and making an informed decision to wager for more than decent – but significantly more attainable – prizes. In stark contrast to the deceptive promises of the Dutch plan, the Stuttgart lottery plans and announcements were specifically characterised by "no contradictions and not the slightest improbity or ambiguity". They simply used "straight language, that is due at home and abroad".[95] In this case, the sincerity of communication was utilised as an indicator for trustworthiness. Furthermore, the *Vergleichung* posits that the issue of misleading plans can be at least partly attributed to the utilisation of flawed and potentially manipulative German translations of the Dutch original plans. This introduced a novel dimension to the "patriotic" aspect of the disparaging comparison as an advertising technique. The comparison not only tied notions of trust and transparency to the distinction between "foreign" and "domestic" but also suggested that foreign languages and faulty translations (perhaps deliberately manipulated by greedy collectors) contributed to the deceptive nature of the Dutch lottery.

The subtle arrangement of both plans printed in the appendix suggested that the lottery of the Hague left many of its Southern German winners with insufficient time to claim their prizes, due to the geographical distance. By contrast, the Stuttgart lottery was more generous in this regard. It even disclosed the addresses of its officials, thereby creating an impression of proximity and familiarity among the actors involved in the lottery.[96] The concept of "foreignness" and spatial distance were highlighted as factors that engendered mistrust, which contrasted with "familiarity" and the relative proximity of the lottery and its facilities, underlining a difference in trustworthiness. This was emphasised by the call to the interested public to inspect the set-up for the drawings in Stuttgart, should they be present, leading the *Vergleichung* to emphatically comment on this maximal transparency, stating: "Any more publicness cannot possibly be expected".[97]

In alignment with the "patriotism" of the *Vergleichung*, it utilised a comparable contrast of "foreign" and "domestic" to evaluate the moral aspects of the allo-

94 *Vergleichung*, 16.
95 *Vergleichung*, 17.
96 *Vergleichung*, 35 – 36, 45.
97 *Vergleichung*, 54.

cation of proceeds from this lottery. Participation in the Stuttgart lottery was exclusively beneficial to the economically disadvantaged. Given the primary marketing of the lottery to a domestic audience, the numerous modest prizes contributed to enhancing the social and economic status of fellow subjects while, at the same time, aiding those in need. Playing in the lottery was depicted as a true act of solidarity and charity, at least for the domestic market for which the lottery was mainly designed.

By contrast, the lottery of The Hague did not – according to the pamphlet – offer such a worthy moral cause. The very name implied that the Estates General would receive the proceeds. This was morally incomparable to the perfect redistribution of monies within one polity offered by the Poor House lottery without seeking the excessive profits. The suggestive argument aligned with stereotypes of Dutch wealth and greed to further discredit a specific foreign competitor. Since "Holland owns the greatest riches, it really has no need to increase them at the cost of others".[98] In this instance, the pamphlet's advertising rhetoric combined praising the benefits of avoiding the economic ills of foreign lotteries with claiming a superior moral and "patriotic" cause.

5 Who is at risk? The impact of public moral critique on advertising the lotto in late eighteenth-century Germany

By the late 1760s and early 1770s, a different challenge to lotteries, and particularly to the business model of the lotto, had emerged. Its rapid expansion coincided with a surge in publicised critique, primarily through contemporary Enlightenment media. This type of critique fundamentally attacked the economic immorality of the business model itself and its alleged pernicious social and cultural impact. The criticism levelled at lotteries mainly highlighted that they led to a decline in commercial diligence and work ethic, and that they caused ordinary people to invest their modest means in idle hopes, plunging themselves into economic ruin while eroding the foundations of society and inspiring thievery, embezzlement, and other types of crime.[99]

98 *Vergleichung*, 26.

99 For a concise outline of the critique, see Wolfgang Weber, "Zwischen gesellschaftlichem Ideal und politischem Interesse. Das Zahlenlotto in der Einschätzung des deutschen Bürgertums im späten 18. und frühen 19. Jahrhunder", *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, no. 69 (1987): 116–149.

The titles of various pamphlets and journal articles are indicative of this line of criticism. They decried the *Pernicious influence on the state mainly in regard to the producing class of people* or sought to propagate a moral *Preventive against Lottery addiction.* The dangers of addiction were also the subject of a sermon that was heavily publicised and focused on its *Consequences for country folk.* An article in the *Berlinische Monatsschrift* – the foremost periodical of the Prussian Enlightenment – even bemoaned a "suicide from lottery addiction".[100]

The growing negative publicity surrounding the lottery did not go unnoticed by those involved in the business. This moral and economic critique of the lottery as an illegitimate component of the state economy often aimed to persuade political decision-makers to abolish the lottery. Nevertheless, it also sought to dissuade the public from participating in the lottery and to undermine its economic profits, as well as its moral and social acceptability. In his autobiography, the eminent public law scholar Johann Stephan Pütter, who had authored one of the most influential German-language treatises against the lotto, regarded this work as a major influence on the discontinuation of the lotto in some German states during the 1780s. Moreover, Pütter was convinced that the publicity surrounding his treatise had contributed to dissuading the lotto-playing public from their vice and had made a dent in the profits of German lotteries.[101] This assertion was corroborated by Pütter's confidant and fellow Enlightenment moral entrepreneur August Wilhelm Schlözer, who expounded on the repercussions of Pütter's public intervention in lottery marketing. Drawing from anecdotal evidence, a lottery collector had allegedly complained to him about the effect of Pütter's widely read account, stating that he clearly "felt the influence of that damned book on his business; his very best customers did not want to play anymore".[102]

It is perhaps unsurprising that the publicity of such criticism was built upon and amplified by the journalistic gatekeepers of the Leipzig press, in the hope of dissuading the public from participating in the lotto. The editors of the Leipzig

100 Christian Friedrich Roscher, *Von dem verderblichen Einfluss des Lotteriewesens auf den Staat in vorzüglichster Hinsicht auf die arbeitende und productive Volksclasse* (Voß, 1795); [Anonymous], *Präservativ wider die Lotteriesucht, oder richtige Beurtheilung der Lotterie, besonders der genuesischen Erfindung* (No publisher, [1778]); [Anonymous], *Fragmente einer Predigt über die Lotto-Sucht und deren verwüstende Folgen beym Land-Volk. Gehalten am Sonntag Lätare 1780* [No publisher, 1780]; "Selbstmord aus Lotteriesucht. Geschehen in Berlin im Aprilmonat 1785", *Berlinische Monatsschrift*, no. 5, 1 (1785), 483–484.

101 Johann Stephan Pütter, *Über die Rechtmäßigkeit der Lotterien. Eine rechtliche Erörterung*, (Eichenbergische Schriften, 1780); Id., *Selbstbiographie,* vol. 1. (Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1798), 704, FN f and h.

102 August Wilhelm Schlözer, *Briefwechsel meist historischen und politischen Inhalts,* no. 6, Heft XXXV. no. 41 (Vandenhoeck'sche Buchhandlung, 1780), 151.

Intelligenzblatt largely shared concerns regarding the moral and economic impact of lotteries, particularly the lotto. Furthermore, Saxony's Enlightenment reformists – a dominant political force after the Seven Years' War with close ties to the editors – categorically rejected the introduction of a lotto in Saxony. Naturally, this contributed to the proliferation of illegal foreign lotteries.

In this context, the publication and promotion of this type of critique in announcements and short review articles in the *Intelligenzblatt* served a function analogous to the more targeted criticism of the rivalling lotteries analysed above. In 1765, for instance, a review article endorsed and indirectly promoted the leading German economist Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi's highly critical essay on the Genoese lotteries. The reviewer not only emphatically stressed the importance of its economic and moral critique but also encouraged the readers to emulate Justi and write and publish their own contributions against the lotto.[103] Later, the *Intelligenzblatt* published one such critique of the lotto, in addition to further favourable appraisals of polemical literature concerning lotteries.[104] In one instance, they ventilated the claim made in the above-cited Schlözer correspondence that the Austrian lotto granted a scandalously high profit of eight million talers per annum to its entrepreneurs and asked its readers for possible verification.[105] With a vested political and economic interest, the *Intelligenzblatt* played an active role in promoting anti-lottery polemic. The high level of public scrutiny directed towards the moral implications of lotteries in turn prompted entrepreneurs and their principals to pay close attention to the public portrayal of lotteries. This often led to an effort to manage the impact of public criticism. For example, the Bavarian authorities attempted to censor even the slightest critical press coverage of the lotto.[106]

Advertising media published by the operators of the lottery also reacted to moral and social critique of the lottery as potentially damaging factors. For example, the *Palatine Almanach* satirised moral critique featuring the character of Zoyle, a stern moralist and ardent critic of lotteries, trampling on lottery tickets and numbers. Incorporating this vocal critic in promotional media for the lottery

103 *Leipziger Intelligenzblatt*, 11 May 1765, 176; Johann Heinrich Gottlob von Justi, "Von denen genuesischen Lotterie", in *Johann Heinrich Gottlobs von Justis gesammlete Politische und Finanzschriften über wichtige Gegenstände der Staatskunst, der Kriegswissenschaften und des Cameral- und Finanzwesens*, vol. 3. (Rothensche Buchhandlung, 1764), 256–270.

104 See "Vom Lotto di Genoua". *Leipziger Intelligenzblatt*, no. 53, 4 December 1773, 547–549.

105 "Aufgabe und Anfragen", *Leipziger Intelligenzblatt*, no. 27, 22 June 1782, 239.

106 See the complaints about too lax press censorship concerning the lotteries, in "Pro Memoria" [1776] (BHStA M, Bücherzensurkollegium, 99 [unpaginated]); Max III. Joseph to Fulgentius Mayer, Munich, 12 February 1776 (BHStA M, Bücherzensurkollegium, 99 [unpaginated].

Figure 4: "Zoyle, ennemi des loteries", *Almanach de la Bonne Fortune*, 117. With the figure of "Zoyle, the enemy of lotteries", trampling on tickets, the *Almanach* acknowledges the rising moral critique against lotteries and the lotto in particular, by satirising its critics.

was much more than a mere satirical gimmick, as the loose narrative of the *Almanach* eventually reveals Zoyle as an over-zealous convert to the entertaining allures of the lottery. He derives thrill and pleasure from playing the high-risk *quaterne.*[107] This moralist-turned-unreasonable-gambler trope not only ridicules moral critique but underscores a pivotal and frequently reiterated message: de-

107 *Almanach*, 129 – 131.

spite engaging in the lottery in the least sensible manner, Zoyle – like any other lottery player – can enjoy such entertainment without fear of the financial or psychological repercussions that the critics maintained it would have.[108] Similarly, the 1774 Prussian "Lottery Calendar" made the case for the lotto as a low-risk, easy to budget, and financially controlled form of entertainment:

> In most cities, it has become customary for every household to wager a fixed amount annually, which is then divided by the number of annual draws [...] in accordance with the financial situation of each household.[109]

However, in other cases, advertising media engaged directly with specific writings and authors of lottery critique. In 1765, Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg – director at the Prussian lottery and also a composer, music theoretician and critic of some note – published a "guide" for the recently introduced Prussian lotto.[110] The work was not merely an attempt to introduce players to the practical aspects of the game and the allegedly advantageous strategies of playing. He also responded to the above-mentioned book on the Genoese lottery by Justi (as chief administrator in Prussia's royal mining department, also a remote colleague of Marpurg). Justi had characterised the lotto as an inherently unfair if not outright fraudulent operation that necessarily awarded asymmetrically high and immoral profits to lottery entrepreneurs, and pointedly concluded that "all the advantages are with the lottery, all hazard is with those who play in it".[111] Marpurg's lotto guide, by contrast, highlighted how "der Herr von J." erred in his analysis. According to Marpurg, it was mainly lotto entrepreneurs who were exposed to the risk of substantial losses due to the potential for large payouts if players won big on specific numbers and combinations, stating: "Experience teaches us that often there is not only no surplus, but that the lottery might operate at a heavy loss". Marpurg backed up this assessment by including the balance sheet of an unfavourable draw with a considerable payment of prizes and losses of more than 12,000 talers for the lotto.[112] According to Marpurg, financial securities or the moderation of prizes through the castelletto could not prevent such losses.[113]

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108 *Almanach*, passim.

109 *Berlinischer Lotterie-Calender auf das Jahr 1774*, A 2v.

110 Friedrich Wilhelm Marpurg, *Die Kunst sein Glück spielend zu machen: Oder ausführliche Nachricht von der italienischen, und nach Art derselben zu Berlin, Paris und Brüssel [et]c. errichteten Zahlen-Lotterie zwischen 1 und 90, mit beygefügten Planen, sein Geld bey selbiger mit Vortheil anzulegen* (Wittwe Hertel und Gleditsch, 1765).

111 Justi, *Von denen genuesischen Lotterien*, 264.

112 Marpurg, *Kunst*, 42–43.

113 Marpurg, *Kunst*, 39.

The dispute with Justi is notable for two reasons. Firstly, it moved the public debate on the moral dangers and merits of the lotto surrounding its basic mathematical foundation (as reconstructed for the Danish case by Johanne Slettvoll Kristiansen[114]) into the realm of advertising media. Secondly, it established a connection between the presentation of mathematical evidence and the strategy of purported transparency in the administrative inner workings of the lottery. Marpurg distinguished between a theoretical, external point of view of "learned calculators" and "speculators" such as the high-minded von Justi, and his perspective as an experienced practitioner of lottery administration. Justi hypothesised an equal distribution of bets on all numbers that only occurred in the realm of mathematical calculation, not in the everyday reality of lottery administration. From the perspective of an "insider", things were, according to Marpurg, much more unpredictable, since some numbers and combinations were more frequently played than others. He commented: "I know very well what usually does happen, as well as I know what should happen according to the principles of the lottery".[115] Marpurg's response to Justi's positing of the lotto as a game rigged in advance towards a risk-averse entrepreneur is remarkable. He once again made inside knowledge of the lottery administration transparent, in this case as a statement of authority informed by practice against abstract, learned probabilistic calculations.

Moreover, this approach to lottery advertising walked a very fine line between somewhat contradictory messages: by highlighting the tangible and consequential entrepreneurial risks involved and refuting one of the lotto's most prominent critics, Marpurg risked undermining an otherwise carefully curated image of entrepreneurial security and an "abundance" of funds. This is even more remarkable given that Marpurg's principal – the embattled Italian lottery entrepreneur Giovanni Antonio de Calzabigi – indeed struggled to keep his lottery company afloat. Marpurg's comments not only portrayed the predicaments of the Prussian lotto in a realistic manner. They were also subverting Calzabigi's strategy of avoiding, as much as possible, any transparency on financial risks and troubles, even internally. These might leak to the public, thus damaging trust in the lottery and exacerbating its troubles, since even "the smallest suspicion, the smallest rumour excites the most dangerous imaginations".[116] Lottery administrators did not always speak with one voice to the public, as they alternated between morally justifying their business model by highlighting entrepreneurial risks, promoting

114 See, *infra*, Kristiansen, "Innovation, Temptation, and Mathematical Education".

115 Marpurg, *Kunst*, 40.

116 Calzabigi to General-Directorium, Berlin, 16 October 1765 (GStA PK, I. HA, Rep. 190 IB, no. 230, vol. VIII, fol. 49v).

their own risk management, and refuting the impression of a rigged game posited by increasingly vocal moral critique.

6 Conclusion

The various styles and genres of eighteenth-century lottery advertising are not indicative of a genre limited by contemporary techniques and an "underdeveloped" state of the art in this field. The example of the Palatine lottery *Almanach* demonstrates that suggestive imagery and intricately persuasive emotional language were an integral part of this genre of advertising the lottery. However, lottery advertising took place in specific contexts and social arenas. It absorbed and integrated various social and political languages, and it revealed itself as a genre that was both highly responsive to certain issues of marketing and to the self-presentation of lotteries. It was also shaped by the highly fragmented and in many ways contested nature of lottery markets within the Holy Roman Empire and by issues of public trust and the financial failure of lotteries. Thus, this chapter has largely focused on how issues of trust, illicit or legalised competition, and public challenges to the entire business model from a moral perspective were negotiated in contemporary advertising media.

In particular, the first case of the Saxonian lottery of 1723/1724 has demonstrated that advertising responded to information drawn from mainly face-to-face interactions, often within close-knit interpersonal networks. They were still regarded as primary drivers of marketing the lottery. Revealing various issues of institutional trust that negatively affected sales of lottery tickets in a reinforcing cycle, the administration published adverts and announcements that directly responded to the problem of trust and made the rationale of decision-making as a response to the public's taste more general.

Media promoting the lotto reacted to issues of trust in the financial viability and the effectiveness of complicated and – in the case of the operations of the castelletto – controversial administrative procedures by ostentatiously shedding light on the backstage of an otherwise arcane state administration. This was all the more necessary as stability and trustworthiness could be called into question by various entrepreneurial failures and bankruptcies.

Conversely, disputing trustworthiness and transparency of foreign lotteries were at the very core of aggressive competition carried out through practices of "counter advertising". In a large commercial city such as Leipzig, newspaper articles and advertisements were a crucial medium in this struggle for the information sphere but also enabled private business interests to influence and reshape such competition. The rhetoric and techniques of this type of marketing commu-

nication could also be found in longer advertising brochures. A bold comparison between the towering lottery of the Dutch Estates General and the newly established lottery of the Stuttgart Poor House not only made transparency and how information was presented a core argument in favour of the Württemberg lottery; it also employed an antagonism of "foreignness" versus "familiarity" and the illegitimate flow of money to a wealthy state versus a righteous moral cause for domestic benefit, as core issues in favour of the Stuttgart lottery.

The final part of this chapter has highlighted the impact on lottery advertising of the highly publicised social and moral critique of the lotto in the second half of the eighteenth century. Fearing the impact of this type of discourse – which was also highlighted in newspaper "counter advertising" – marketing media not only satirised lottery critics and highlighted the harmlessness of playing in the lottery. A Prussian lotto "guide", written by one of its directors, explicitly refuted the image of a game rigged towards the entrepreneurs, by playing out administrative inside knowledge against learned mathematics, even though it came at the very real danger of hazarding trust in the financial viability of the operation.

While a comprehensive history of eighteenth-century lottery advertising remains to be written, hopefully this chapter has demonstrated that the subject matter offers much more than printers' ink and endless newspaper columns; rather, it provides a privileged perspective on the inner (and "outer") workings of the lottery business at the time.

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